Ainmean Tuineachaidh Leòdhais

The Settlement Names of Lewis

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The Settlement Names of Lewis
by Richard A.V. Cox

Published for the first time in Scotland in 2022 by
Clann Tuirc, Tigh a' Mhaide, Brig o' Turk, Perthshire FK17 8HT

Printed in Wales by Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul

ISBN 978-0-9562490-1-2 Vols I-II
ISBN 978-0-9562490-2-9 Vol. I
ISBN 978-0-9562490-3-6 Vol. II

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The Gaelic Books Council helped the publisher with the costs of this book.

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Ainmean Tuineachaidh Leòdhais
le Richard A.V. Cox

Air fhoillseachadh airson na ciad uarach ann an Albainn ann an 2022 le
Clann Tuirc, Tigh a' Mhaide, Ceann Drochaid, Siorrachd Pheairt FK17 8HT

Air a chlò-bhualadh sa Chuimrigh le Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul

ISBN 978-0-9562490-1-2 Leabh. I-II
ISBN 978-0-9562490-2-9 Leabh. I
ISBN 978-0-9562490-3-6 Leabh. II

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#199 *Geàrraidh Raisteal* PRC 733
#200 *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* PRC 733
#201 *Geàrraidh Sgoir* STN (Eng. *Newpark*) 733
#202 *Na Geàrrannan* TSR (Eng. *Garenin*) 735
#203 *Gèiseadar* ÙIG (Eng. *Geshader*) 735
#204 *Gil MhicPhàic* PRC 737
#205 *Gil Thàiseadair* BAC 741
#206 *Giosladh* ÙIG (Eng. *Gisla*) 741
#207 *Giùrsadar* STN (Eng. *Guershader*) 743
#208 *Giùrsadar* RBH 743
#209 *Gleann Cloidh* PRC 743
#210 *An Gleann Dubh* STN 745
#211 *Gleann Ghrabhair* CDL (Eng. *Glen Gravir*) 745
#212 *Gleann Tholstaidh* BAC (Eng. *Glen Tolsta*) 747
#213 *An Gleann Ùr* STN (Eng. *Newvalley*) 747
#214 *An Glìb* CTL (Eng. *Keose Glebe*) 749
#215 *Glogaiseadar* CTL 749
#216 *An Gnìp* ÙIG (Eng. *Kneep*) 749
#217 *Grabhair* CDL (Eng. *Gravir*) 753
#218 *Gràsabhig* ÙIG 755
#219 *Grèineabost* BRN 755
#220 *Griais* BAC (Eng. *Gress*) 757
#221 *An Grianan* STN 759
#222 *Griogasbol* TLS 761
#223 *Grìomarstadh* BRN (Eng. *Grimersta*) 761
#224 *Gruimseadar* CTL (Eng. *Grimshader*) 763
#225 *Iarsadar* BRN (Eng. *Earshader*) 769
#226 *Iomair Sligeach* STN 771
#227 *Ìsginn* PRC (Eng. *Eishken*) 773
#228 *Ìslibhig* ÙIG (Eng. *Islivig*) 773
#229 *Làbost* CLA (Eng. *Labost*) 775
#230 *Lacasaigh* CTL (Eng. *Laxay*) 775
#231 *Lacasdal* STN (Eng. *Laxdale*) 777
#232 *Laidhmiseadar* TSR 779
#233 *Làmadal* ÙIG 779
#234 *Leathad Oilibheir* STN (Eng. *Oliver's Brae*) 781
#235 *Leumrabhagh* CDL (Eng. *Lemreway*) 781
#236 *Lìnseadar* BRN (Eng. *Linshader*) 785
#237 *Lìonal* NIS (Eng. *Lionel*) 787
#238 *Lite Sithinn* CDL 787

#197 *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* TSR 732
#198 *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* ÙIG 732
#199 *Geàrraidh Raisteal* PRC 734
#200 *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* PRC 734
#201 *Geàrraidh Sgoir* STN 734
#202 *Na Geàrrannan* TSR 736
#203 *Gèiseadar* ÙIG 736
#204 *Gil MhicPhàic* PRC 738
#205 *Gil Thàiseadair* BAC 742
#206 *Giosladh* ÙIG 742
#207 *Giùrsadar* STN 744
#208 *Giùrsadar* RBH 744
#209 *Gleann Cloidh* PRC 744
#210 *An Gleann Dubh* STN 746
#211 *Gleann Ghrabhair* CDL 746
#212 *Gleann Tholstaidh* BAC 748
#213 *An Gleann Ùr* STN 748
#214 *An Glìb* CTL 750
#215 *Glogaiseadar* CTL 750
#216 *An Gnìp* ÙIG 750
#217 *Grabhair* CDL 754
#218 *Gràsabhig* ÙIG 756
#219 *Grèineabost* BRN 756
#220 *Griais* BAC 758
#221 *An Grianan* STN 760
#222 *Griogasbol* TLS 762
#223 *Grìomarstadh* BRN 762
#224 *Gruimseadar* CTL 764
#225 *Iarsadar* BRN 770
#226 *Iomair Sligeach* STN 772
#227 *Ìsginn* PRC 774
#228 *Ìslibhig* ÙIG 774
#229 *Làbost* CLA 776
#230 *Lacasaigh* CTL 776
#231 *Lacasdal* STN 778
#232 *Laidhmiseadar* TSR 780
#233 *Làmadal* ÙIG 780
#234 *Leathad Oilibheir* STN 782
#235 *Leumrabhagh* CDL 782
#236 *Lìnseadar* BRN 786
#237 *Lìonal* NIS 788
#238 *Lite Sithinn* CDL 788

#239 *Liùrbost* CTL (Eng. *Leurbost*) 789
#240 *Loch Croistean* ÙIG (Eng. *Lochcroistean*) 793
#241 *Loch Gainmhich* TSR (Eng. *Lochganvich*) 795
#242 *Loch Shiadair* CTL 797
#243 *Lunndal* BRN (Eng. *Lundale*) 797
#244 *Manaiseadar* CLA 799
#245 *Mangarstadh* ÙIG (Eng. *Mangersta*) 801
#246 *Marabhig* CDL (Eng. *Marvig*) 803
#247 *Am Margadh Ùr* STN (Eng. *Newmarket*) 803
#248 *Mealbost* STN (Eng. *Melbost*) 805
#249 *Mealbost* CLA (Eng. *Melbost*) 807
#250 *Mealbost* ÙIG 807
#251 *Miabhag* ÙIG (Eng. *Miavaig*) 807
#252 *Mialastadh* ÙIG (Eng. *Mealista*) 815
#253 *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* PRC 815
#254 *Mol na Hearadh* TLS 817
#255 *Mol Shanndabhig* STN (Eng. *Lower Sandwick*) 819
#256 *Mol Truisg* PRC 819
#257 *Morsgail* ÙIG (Eng. *Morsgail*) 819
#258 *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* TSR (Eng. *Upper Carloway*) 821
#259 *Orasaigh* CDL (Eng. *Orinsay*) 823
#260 *Pabaigh Mhòr* ÙIG 825
#261 *Pabail* RBH (Eng. *Bayble*) 827
#262 *A' Phàirc* CLA (Eng. *Park*) 829
#263 *A' Phàirc* TSR (Eng. *Breasclete Park*) 829
#264 *A' Phàirc* TSR (Eng. *Carloway Park*) 829
#265 *A' Phàirc* TSR (Eng. *New Shawbost*) 831
#266 *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* STN (Eng. *Manor Park*) 831
#267 *Pàirc Gharraboist* RBH (Eng. *New Garrabost*) 831
#268 *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* BRN 833
#269 *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* ÙIG 833
#270 *Peighinn Thinndealan* BRN 833
#271 *Am Poileagan* BAC (Eng. *New Street*) 835
#272 *Am Poll Dubh* TLS 837
#273 *Port Mholair* RBH (Eng. *Portvoller*) 837
#274 *Port nan Giùran* RBH (Eng. *Portnaguran*) 839
#275 *Port Nis* NIS (Eng. *Port of Ness*) 841
#276 *Raon na Crèadha* STN (Eng. *Plasterfield*) 841
#277 *Rathanis* CTL (Eng. *Ranish*) 841
#278 *Rèimeir* ÙIG 843
#279 *Rias* PRC 843
#280 *An Riobh* ÙIG (Eng. *Reef*) 845

#239 *Liùrbost* CTL 790
#240 *Loch Croistean* ÙIG 794
#241 *Loch Gainmhich* TSR 796
#242 *Loch Shiadair* CTL 798
#243 *Lunndal* BRN 798
#244 *Manaiseadar* CLA 800
#245 *Mangarstadh* ÙIG 802
#246 *Marabhig* CDL 804
#247 *Am Margadh Ùr* STN 804
#248 *Mealbost* STN 806
#249 *Mealbost* CLA 808
#250 *Mealbost* ÙIG 808
#251 *Miabhag* ÙIG 808
#252 *Mialastadh* ÙIG 816
#253 *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* PRC 816
#254 *Mol na Hearadh* TLS 818
#255 *Mol Shanndabhig* STN 820
#256 *Mol Truisg* PRC 820
#257 *Morsgail* ÙIG 820
#258 *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* TSR 822
#259 *Orasaigh* CDL 824
#260 *Pabaigh Mhòr* ÙIG 826
#261 *Pabail* RBH 828
#262 *A' Phàirc* CLA 830
#263 *A' Phàirc* TSR 830
#264 *A' Phàirc* TSR 830
#265 *A' Phàirc* TSR 832
#266 *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* STN 832
#267 *Pàirc Gharraboist* RBH 832
#268 *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* BRN 834
#269 *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* ÙIG 834
#270 *Peighinn Thinndealan* BRN 834
#271 *Am Poileagan* BAC 836
#272 *Am Poll Dubh* TLS 838
#273 *Port Mholair* RBH 838
#274 *Port nan Giùran* RBH 840
#275 *Port Nis* NIS 842
#276 *Raon na Crèadha* STN 842
#277 *Rathanis* CTL 842
#278 *Rèimeir* ÙIG 844
#279 *Rias* PRC 844
#280 *An Riobh* ÙIG 846

#281 *Rònaigh* NIS 847
#282 *Rothasgair* TSR 855
#283 *Rubha an Tiompain* RBH (Eng. *Tiumpan Head*) 857
#284 *Rubha Robhanis* NIS (Eng. *Butt of Lewis*) 859
#285 *Sanndabhig* STN (Eng. *Sandwick*) 861
#286 *Sanndaig* TSR 863
#287 *Na Seachd Peighinnean* CLA 863
#288 *Seiseadar* RBH (Eng. *Sheshader*) 863
#289 *Sgapraid* BRN 865
#290 *Sgealadal* PRC 867
#291 *Sgealasgro* BRN (Eng. *Scaliscro*) 869
#292 *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* CLA 869
#293 *Sgianailt* ÙIG 869
#294 *Sgiogarstaidh* NIS (Eng. *Skigersta*) 871
#295 *Siabost* TSR (Eng. *Shawbost*) 875
#296 *Siadar* CLA (Eng. *Shader*) 877
#297 *Siadar* TSR 887
#298 *Siadar* RBH 887
#299 *Silltinis* CDL (Eng. *Shieldinish*) 887
#300 *Silltinis* STN 889
#301 *Siùiliseadar* RBH (Eng. *Shulishader*) 889
#302 *Smuaisibhig* PRC 891
#303 *Sòbhal* CTL (Eng. *Soval*) 893
#304 *An t-Sràid a Tuath* STN (Eng. *North Street*) 893
#305 *An t-Sràid an Ear* STN (Eng. *East Street*) 893
#306 *An Sròm* BRN 893
#307 *Sròmas* PRC 895
#308 *Stèinis* STN (Eng. *Steinish*) 895
#309 *Steòrnabhagh* STN (Eng. *Stornoway*) 897
#310 *Stìomrabhagh* CDL 901
#311 *Suaineabost* NIS (Eng. *Swainbost*) 901
#312 *Suardal* RBH (Eng. *Swordale*) 907
#313 *Suardal* CDL 909
#314 *Sùlaisgeir* NIS 909
#315 *Tàbost* NIS (Eng. *Habost*) 915
#316 *Tàbost* CDL (Eng. *Habost*) 921
#317 *Tàcleit* BRN (Eng. *Hacklete*) 921
#318 *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* ÙIG 921
#319 *Tamnabhagh* ÙIG (Eng. *Hamnaway*) 925
#320 *Tangaidh* CLA 927
#321 *Tanganis* BRN 929
#322 *Teallasbhagh* ÙIG 929

#281 *Rònaigh* NIS 848
#282 *Rothasgair* TSR 856
#283 *Rubha an Tiompain* RBH 858
#284 *Rubha Robhanis* NIS 860
#285 *Sanndabhig* STN 862
#286 *Sanndaig* TSR 864
#287 *Na Seachd Peighinnean* CLA 864
#288 *Seiseadar* RBH 864
#289 *Sgapraid* BRN 866
#290 *Sgealadal* PRC 868
#291 *Sgealasgro* BRN 870
#292 *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* CLA 870
#293 *Sgianailt* ÙIG 870
#294 *Sgiogarstaidh* NIS 872
#295 *Siabost* TSR 876
#296 *Siadar* CLA 878
#297 *Siadar* TSR 888
#298 *Siadar* RBH 888
#299 *Silltinis* CDL 888
#300 *Silltinis* STN 890
#301 *Siùiliseadar* RBH 890
#302 *Smuaisibhig* PRC 892
#303 *Sòbhal* CTL 894
#304 *An t-Sràid a Tuath* STN 894
#305 *An t-Sràid an Ear* STN 894
#306 *An Sròm* BRN 894
#307 *Sròmas* PRC 896
#308 *Stèinis* STN 896
#309 *Steòrnabhagh* STN 898
#310 *Stìomrabhagh* CDL 902
#311 *Suaineabost* NIS 902
#312 *Suardal* RBH 908
#313 *Suardal* CDL 910
#314 *Sùlaisgeir* NIS 910
#315 *Tàbost* NIS 916
#316 *Tàbost* CDL 922
#317 *Tàcleit* BRN 922
#318 *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* ÙIG 922
#319 *Tamnabhagh* ÙIG 926
#320 *Tangaidh* CLA 928
#321 *Tanganis* BRN 930
#322 *Teallasbhagh* ÙIG 930

#323 *Teampall Chanaiseadair* ÙIG 931
#324 *Thàiseadar* CTL 933
#325 *Thamarsadar* CTL 933
#326 *Thèicleitir* ÙIG 933
#327 *Theòrsadar* CDL 935
#328 *Thòmasgro* PRC 935
#329 *Tiodaborgh* BRN 937
#330 *Tolm* STN (Eng. *Holm*) 937
#331 *Tolstadh* TSR (Eng. *Tolsta Chaolais*) 941
#332 *Tolstadh* BAC (Eng. *North Tolsta, South Tolsta*) 945
#333 *Tom an Fhuadain* CDL 945
#334 *Tom Shiadair* CLA 947
#335 *Tòpsann* BRN (Eng. *Tobson*) 947
#336 *Tòranis* BRN 949
#337 *Torfhstaidh* CDL 951
#338 *Torraigh* ÙIG 953
#339 *Totarol* (TSR) 955
#340 *Tràigh an Teampaill* BRN 957
#341 *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* ÙIG 959
#342 *Tuimsgearraidh* ÙIG (Eng. *Timsgarry*) 959
#343 *Tunga* BAC (Eng. *Tong*) 961
#344 *Tùthair* ÙIG 961
#345 *Na h-Ùigean* ÙIG (Eng. *Uigen*) 963
#346 *Ungaiseadar* ÙIG (Eng. *Ungeshader*) 963

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#347 *Àird Sgarfhstaigh* ÙIG 967
#348 *Barraid a' Chamshronaich* CTL (Eng. *Cameron Terrace*) 967
#349 *Cnoc Amhlaigh* RBH 969
#350 *Dùn Innes* BRN 969
#351 *Garbost* NIS 969
#352 *Geàrraidh Èiriseadair* CTL 969
#353 *Gleann Thormoid* CTL 971
#354 *Grìomanis* ÙIG 971
#355 *Peighinn—* ÙIG 971
#356 *Srath Bhàin* CLA 971
#357 *Taobh a' Ghlinne* CDL 973
#358 *Tobhta Gormaig* NIS 973

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#323 *Teampall Chanaiseadair* ÙIG 932
#324 *Thàiseadar* CTL 934
#325 *Thamarsadar* CTL 934
#326 *Thèicleitir* ÙIG 934
#327 *Theòrsadar* CDL 936
#328 *Thòmasgro* PRC 936
#329 *Tiodaborgh* BRN 938
#330 *Tolm* STN 938
#331 *Tolstadh* TSR 942
#332 *Tolstadh* BAC 946
#333 *Tom an Fhuadain* CDL 946
#334 *Tom Shiadair* CLA 948
#335 *Tòpsann* BRN 948
#336 *Tòranis* BRN 950
#337 *Torfhstaidh* CDL 952
#338 *Torraigh* ÙIG 954
#339 *Totarol* (TSR) 956
#340 *Tràigh an Teampaill* BRN 958
#341 *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* ÙIG 960
#342 *Tuimsgearraidh* ÙIG 960
#343 *Tunga* BAC 962
#344 *Tùthair* ÙIG 962
#345 *Na h-Ùigean* ÙIG 964
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#347 *Àird Sgarfhstaigh* ÙIG 968
#348 *Barraid a' Chamshronaich* CTL 968
#349 *Cnoc Amhlaigh* RBH 970
#350 *Dùn Innes* BRN 970
#351 *Garbost* NIS 970
#352 *Geàrraidh Èiriseadair* CTL 970
#353 *Gleann Thormoid* CTL 972
#354 *Grìomanis* ÙIG 972
#355 *Peighinn—* ÙIG 972
#356 *Srath Bhàin* CLA 972
#357 *Taobh a' Ghlinne* CDL 974
#358 *Tobhta Gormaig* NIS 974

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Outline maps: <Vemaps.com>.
Boundary detail: Linda Colquhoun <lindalcolquhoun@gmail.com>.

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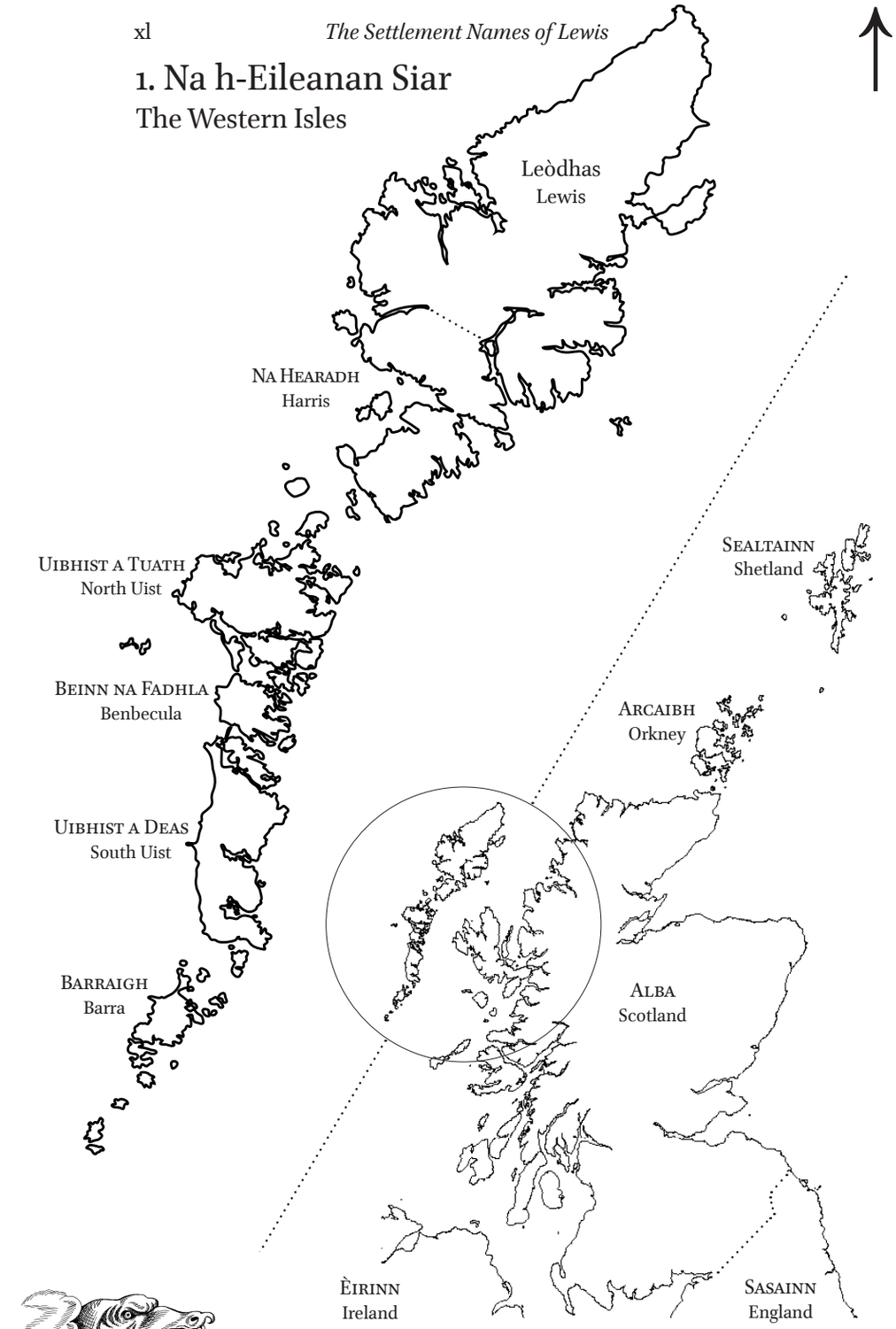
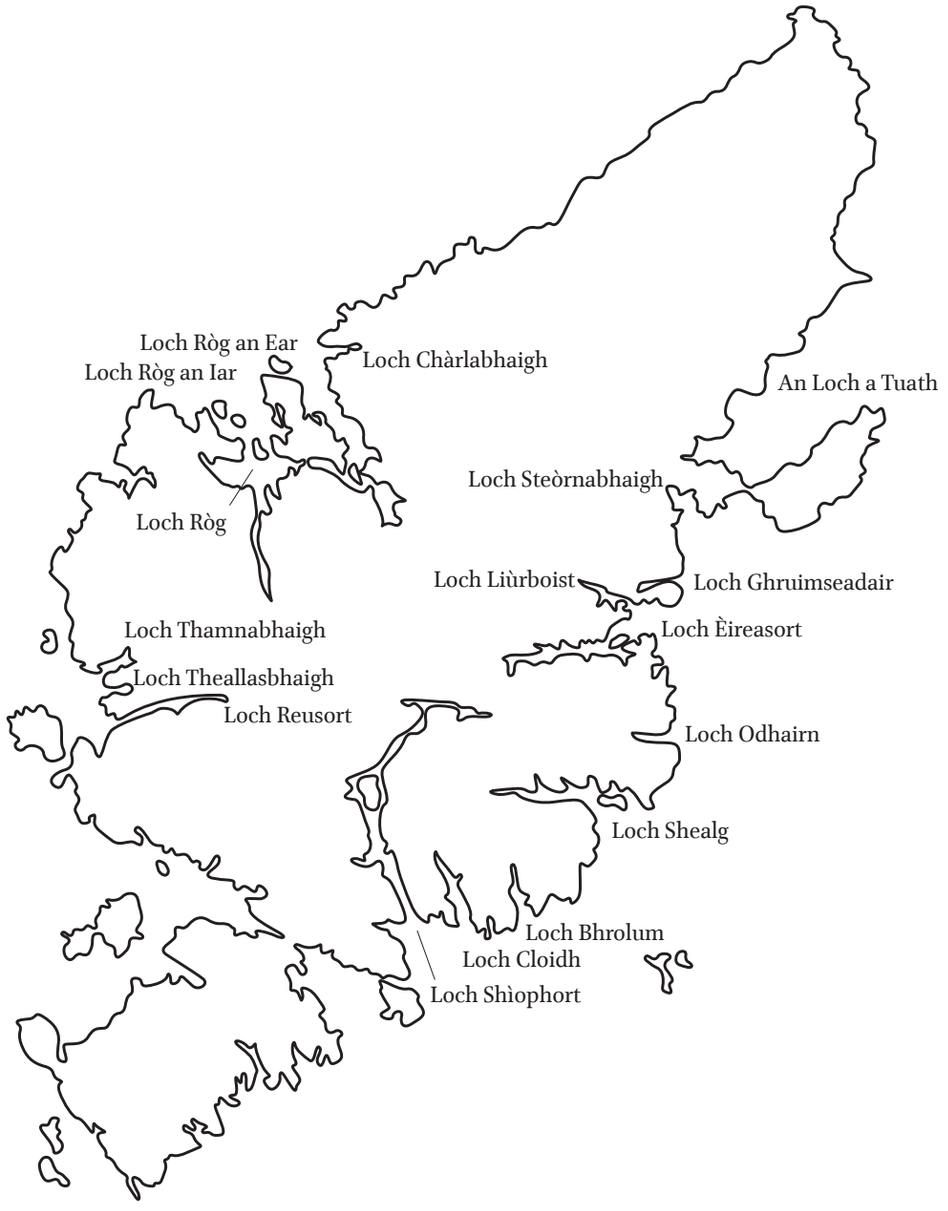
Mapaichean iomaill: <Vemaps.com>.
Tuairisgeul chrìochan: Linda Colquhoun <lindalcolquhoun@gmail.com>.

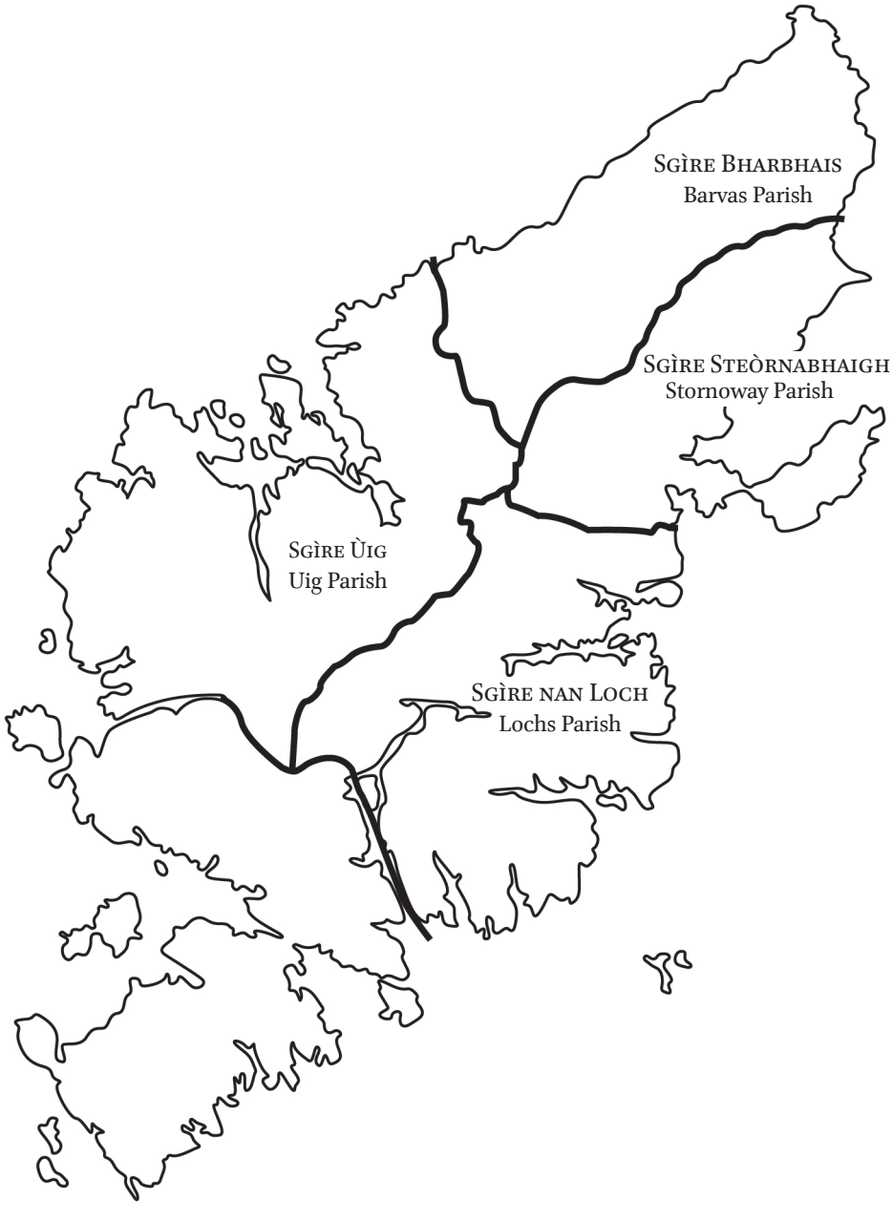
1. Na h-Eileanan Siar
The Western Isles



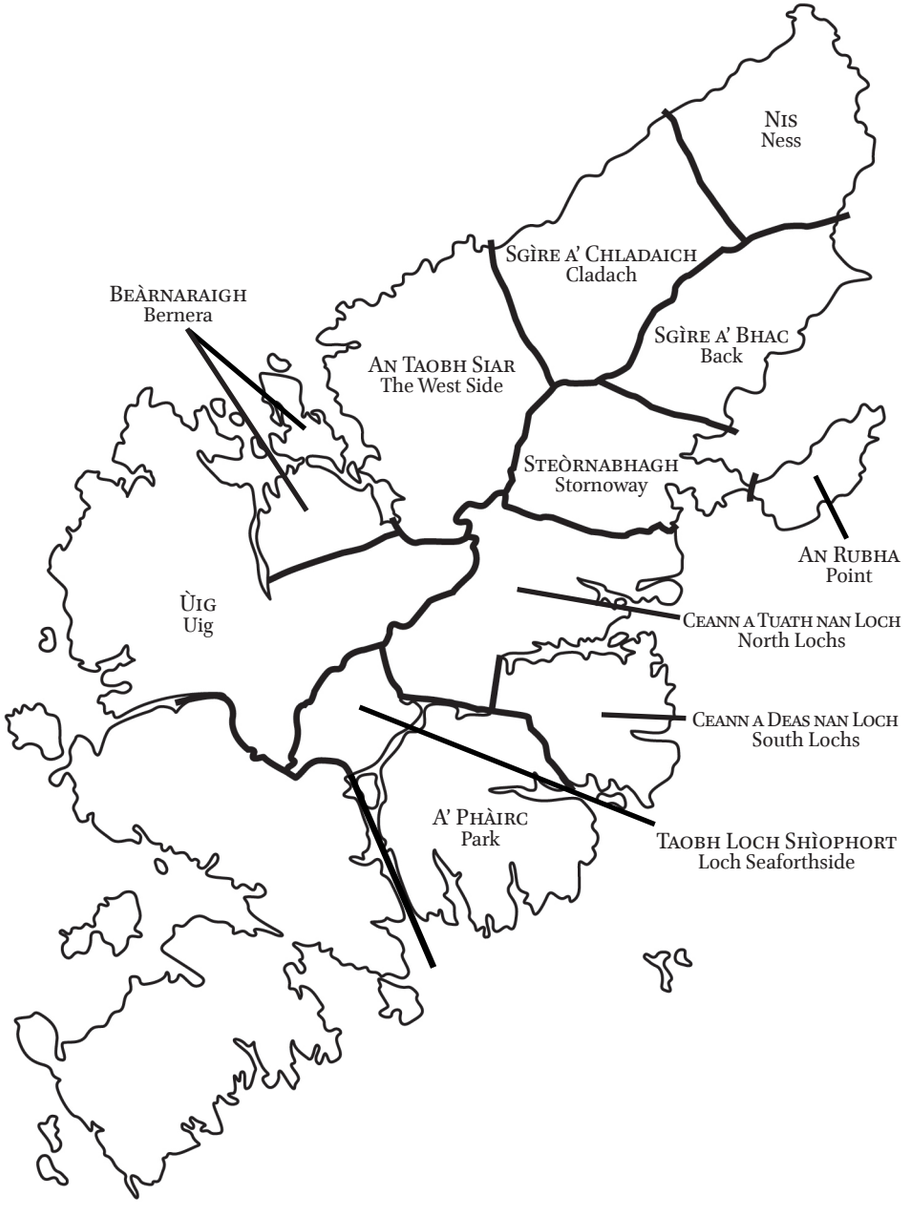
2. Lochan Mara ann an Leòdhas
Sea Lochs in Lewis



3. Sgìreachdan Catharra Leòdhais
The Civil Parishes of Lewis

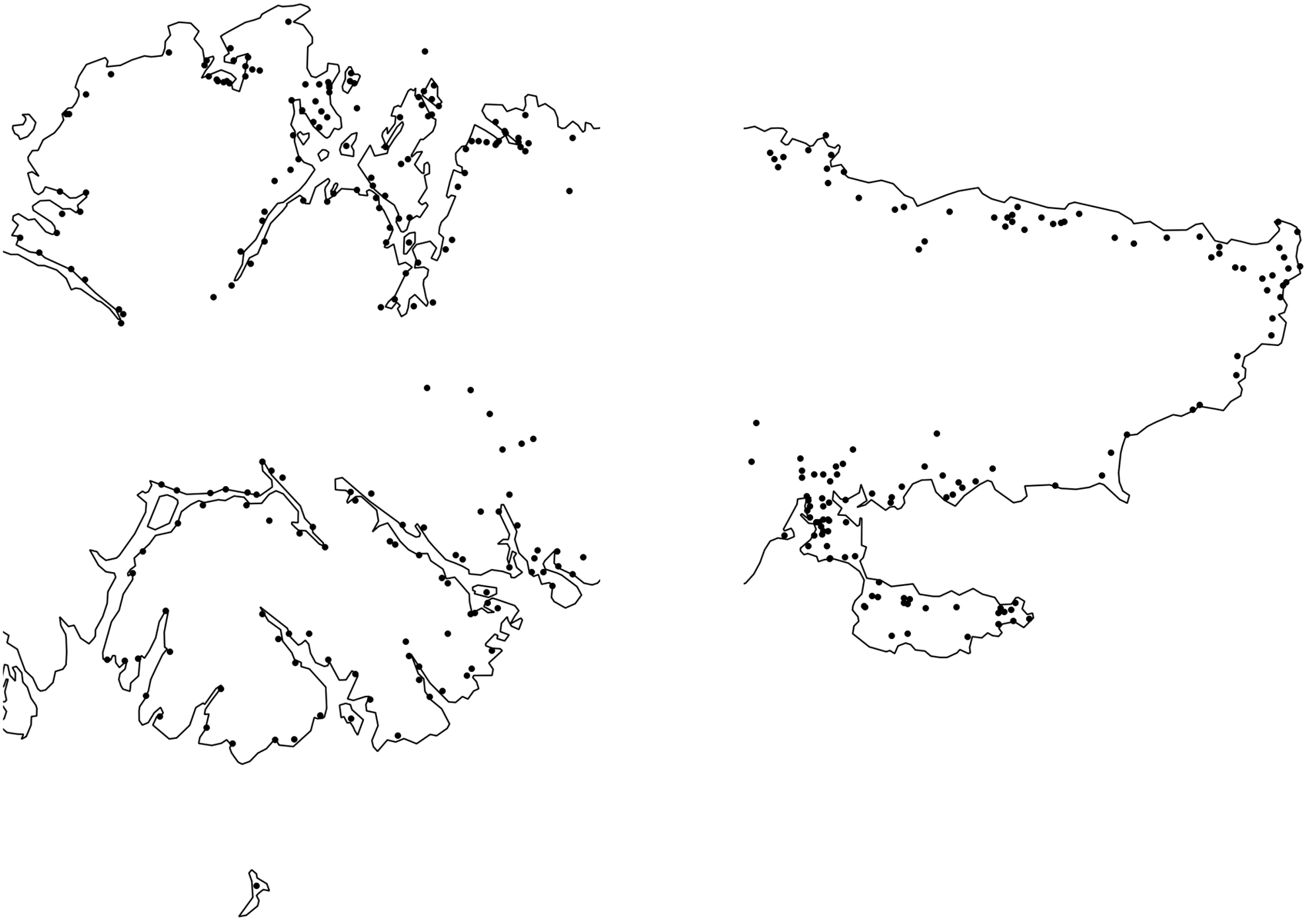


4. Ceàrnaidhean Ionadail ann an Leòdhas
Local Areas in Lewis



5. Àite nan Ainmean Tuineachaidh ann an Leòdhas

The Location of Settlement Names in Lewis



6. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Nis

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6. *Am Baile Ùr* #43
7. *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85
8. *Caithiseadar* #92
9. *Cealagbhol* #101/*Port Nis* #275
10. *An Cnoc Àrd* #140
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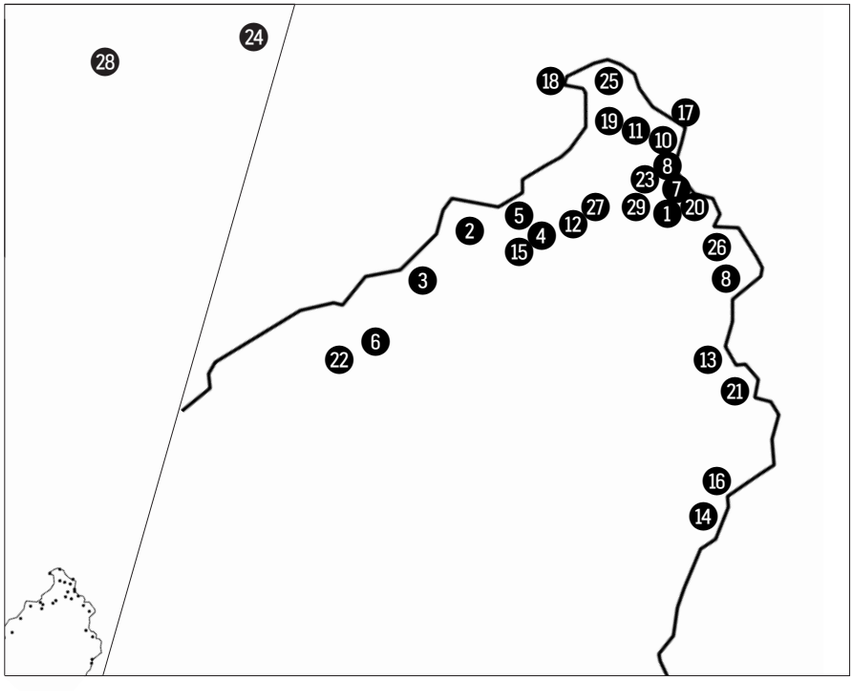
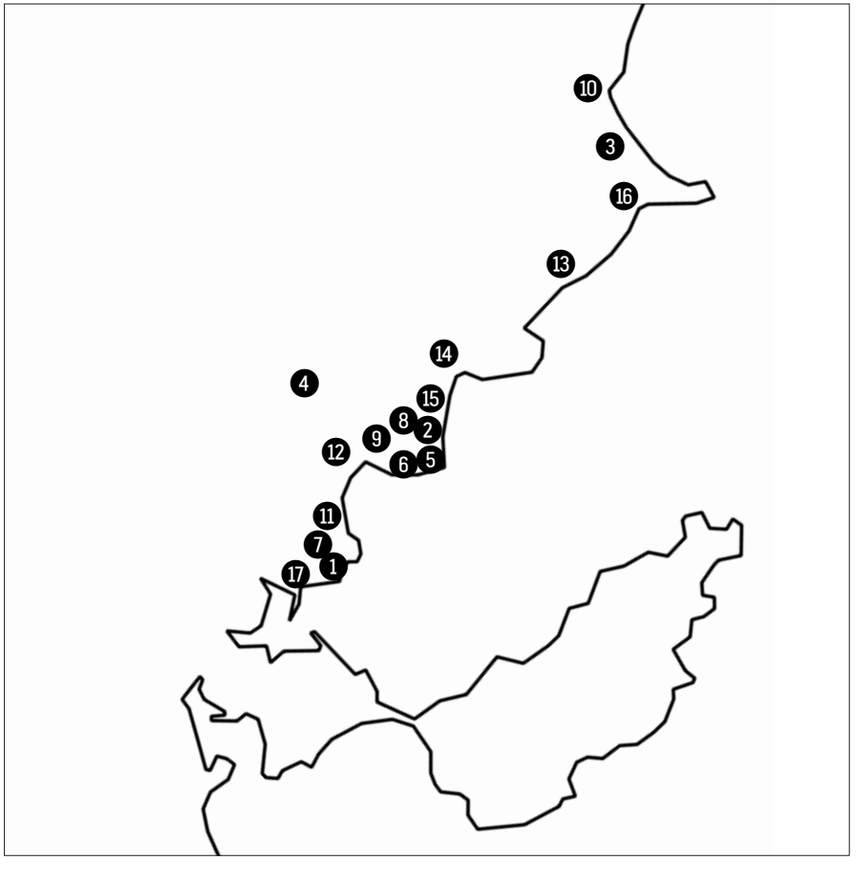
12. *Cros* #155
13. *Cuidhiseadar* #162
14. *Cùileatotar* #163
15. *Dail* #166
16. *Dìobadal* #168
17. *Dùn Èistean* #171
18. *Eilean nan Luchraban* #175
19. *Eòrrabidh* #182
20. *Eòrradal* #183
21. *Fileascleitir* #186
22. *Gabhsann* #188
23. *Lìonal* #237
24. *Rònaigh* #281
25. *Rubha Robhanis* #284
26. *Sgiogarstaidh* #294
27. *Suaineabost* #311
28. *Sùlaisgeir* #314
29. *Tàbost* #315



7. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Sgìre a' Bhac

Settlement Names in Sgìre a' Bhac

1. *Àird Thunga* #11
2. *Am Bac* #23
3. *Am Baile Ùr* #44
4. *Bàraiseadar* #46
5. *Bhataisgeir* #65
6. *Brèibhig* #76
7. *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135
8. *Cnoc an t-Solais* #139
9. *Col* #150
10. *Geardha Bheag* #191
11. *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195
12. *Gil Thàiseadair* #205
13. *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212
14. *Griais* #220
15. *Am Poileagan* #271
16. *Tolstadh* #332
17. *Tunga* #343



8. Ainmean Tuineachaidh An Rubha

Settlement Names in An Rubha

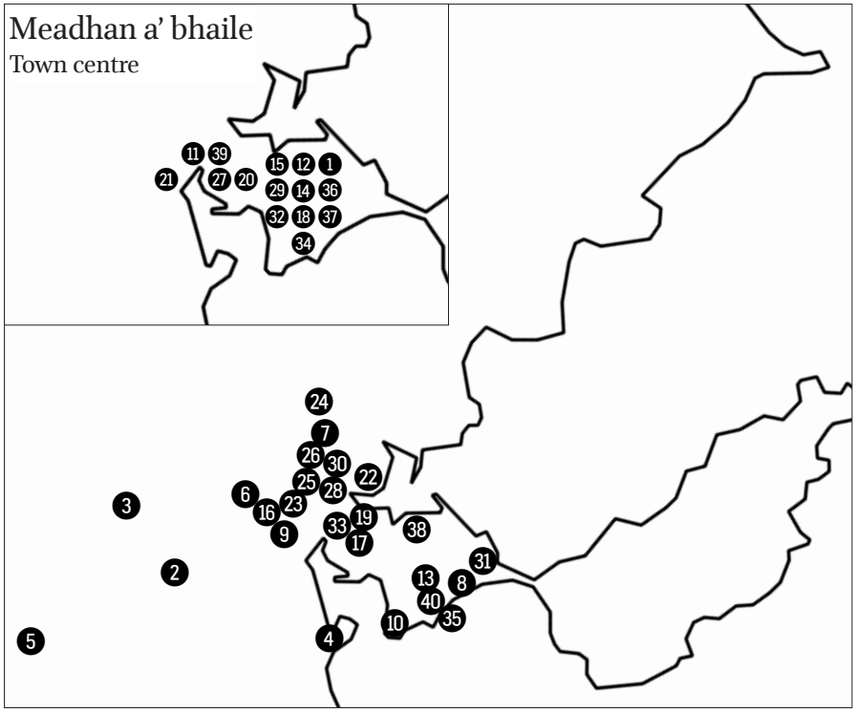
1. *Aiginis* #4
2. *An Àird* #6
3. *Baile na h-Iolaire* #37
4. *Am Baile Ùr* #45
5. *Bòstadh* #73
6. *Brocair* #80
7. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86
8. *An Ceann Beag* #104
9. *An Ceann Shìos* #114
10. *An Cnoc* #133
11. *An Cnoc Mòr* #144
12. *Na Fleisearan* #187
13. *Garrabost* #189
14. *Giùrsadar* #208
15. *Pabail* #261
16. *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267
17. *Port Mholair* #273
18. *Port nan Giùran* #274
19. *Rubha an Tiumpain* #283
20. *Seiseadar* #288
21. *Siadar* #298/*Siùiliseadar* #301
22. *Suardal* #312



9. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Steòrnabhaigh

Settlement Names in Steòrnabhagh

1. *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1/ *Raon na Crèadha* #276
2. *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14
3. *Àirigh na Bèist* #18
4. *Àranis* #19
5. *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52
6. *Beinn na Dròbh* #54
7. *Beinn na Saighde* #55
8. *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75
9. *Bruach Màiri* #83
10. *Buaile na Cloich* #87
11. *Ceann a' Bhàigh* #102
12. *Ceann na Còinnich* #110
13. *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111
14. *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137
15. *Cnoc Òomhair* #142
16. *Cnoc Màiri* #143
17. *Cnoc nan Gobhar* #145
18. *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146
19. *Cùl ri Grèin* #165
20. *Èinicleit* #179
21. *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194
22. *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201
23. *Giùrsadar* #207
24. *An Gleann Dubh* #210
25. *An Gleann Ùr* #213
26. *An Grianan* #221
27. *Iomair Sligeach* #226
28. *Lacasdal* #231
29. *Leathad Oilibheir* #234
30. *Am Margadh Ùr* #247
31. *Mealbost* #248
32. *Mol Shanndabhig* #255
33. *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266
34. *Sanndabhig* #285
35. *Silltinis* #300
36. *An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304
37. *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305
38. *Stèinis* #308
39. *Steòrnabhagh* #309
40. *Tolm* #330



10. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Cheann a Tuath nan Loch

Settlement Names in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch

1. *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2
2. *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13
3. *Baile Ailein* #28
4. *Am Baile Ùr* #41
5. *Beinn Chasgro* #53
6. *Bhaltos* #64
7. *Ceann Shìophort* #113
8. *Ceann Tarbhaigh* #115
9. *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* #117
10. *Ceòs* #123
11. *An Cleit* #128
12. *Cliasgro* #131
13. *Crosabost* #156
14. *Crothairgearraidh* #158
15. *Cuidhir* #161
16. *An Glìb* #214
17. *Glogaiseadar* #215
18. *Gruimseadar* #224
19. *Lacasaigh* #230
20. *Liùrbost* #239
21. *Loch Shiadair* #242
22. *Rathanis* #277
23. *Sòbhal* #303
24. *Suardal* #313
25. *Thàiseadar* #324
26. *Thamarsadar* #325



11. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Cheann a Deas nan Loch

Settlement Names in Ceann a Deas nan Loch

1. *An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17
2. *Baile Phàil* #40
3. *Borraiseadar* #70
4. *Cabharstaidh* #90
5. *Calbost* #93
6. *Càros* #100
7. *A' Cheannmhor* #118
8. *Cearsadar* #120
9. *Cleitir* #130
10. *Crò Beag* #152
11. *Crò Mòr* #154
12. *Cùiriseal* #164
13. *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173
14. *Eilean Iuthort* #174
15. (*Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177)
16. *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192
17. *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211/ *Am Baile Ùr* #42
18. *Grabhair* #217
19. *Leumrabhagh* #235
20. *Lite Sithinn* #238
21. *Marabhig* #246
22. *Orasaigh* #259
23. *Silltinis* #299
24. *Stìomrabhagh* #310
25. *Tàbost* #316
26. *Theòrsadar* #327
27. *Tom an Fhuadain* #333
28. *Torfhstaidh* #337



12. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Na Pàirce

Settlement Names in A' Phàirc

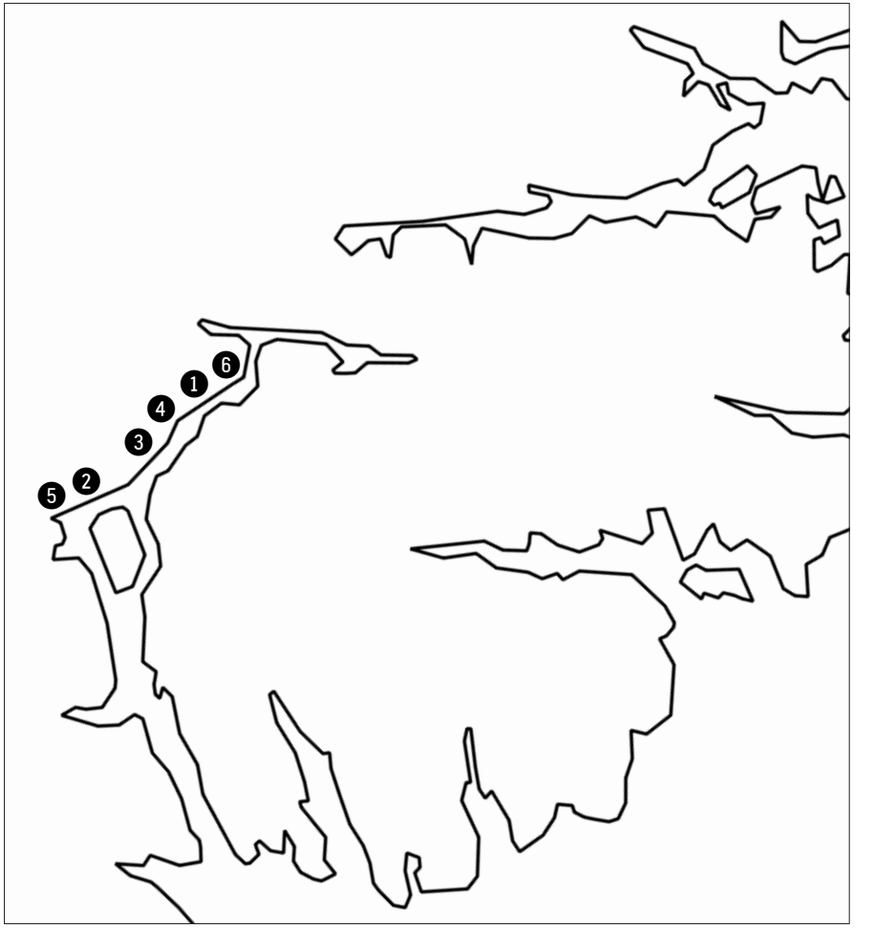
1. *Ailltinis* #5
2. *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16
3. *Bàgh Ciaraich* #24
4. *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25
5. *Bhalamus* #61
6. *Brolum* #81
7. *Bruinigil* #84
8. *Bun Chorcabhig* #88
9. *Buthanis* #89
10. *Caolas an Eilein* #95
11. *An Ceannmhor* #119
12. *Ceann Chrìonaig* #105
13. *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108
14. *Ceann na Caradh* #109
15. *Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199
16. *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200
17. *Gil MhicPhàic* #204
18. *Gleann Cloidh* #209
19. *Ìsginn* #227
20. *Mol Chathaigearraidh* #253
21. *Mol Truisg* #256
22. *Rias* #279
23. *Sgealadal* #290
24. *Smuaisibhig* #302
25. *Sròmas* #307
26. *Thòmasgro* #328



13. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Thaobh Loch Shìophort

Settlement Names in Taobh Loch Shìophort

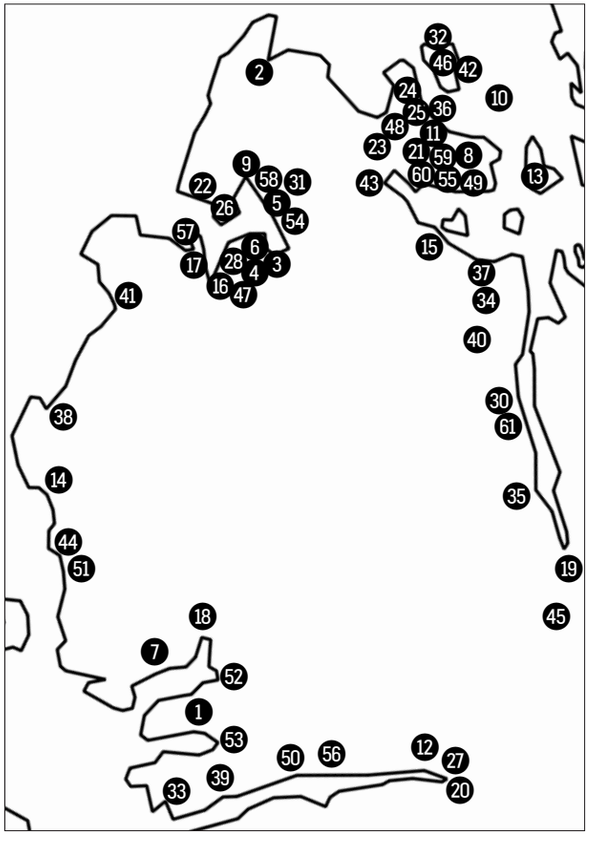
1. *Àird an t-Sròim* #7
2. *Àth an Linne* #22
3. *Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich* #38
4. *Griogasbol* #222
5. *Mol na Hearadh* #254
6. *Am Poll Dubh* #272



14. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Ùig

Settlement Names in Ùig

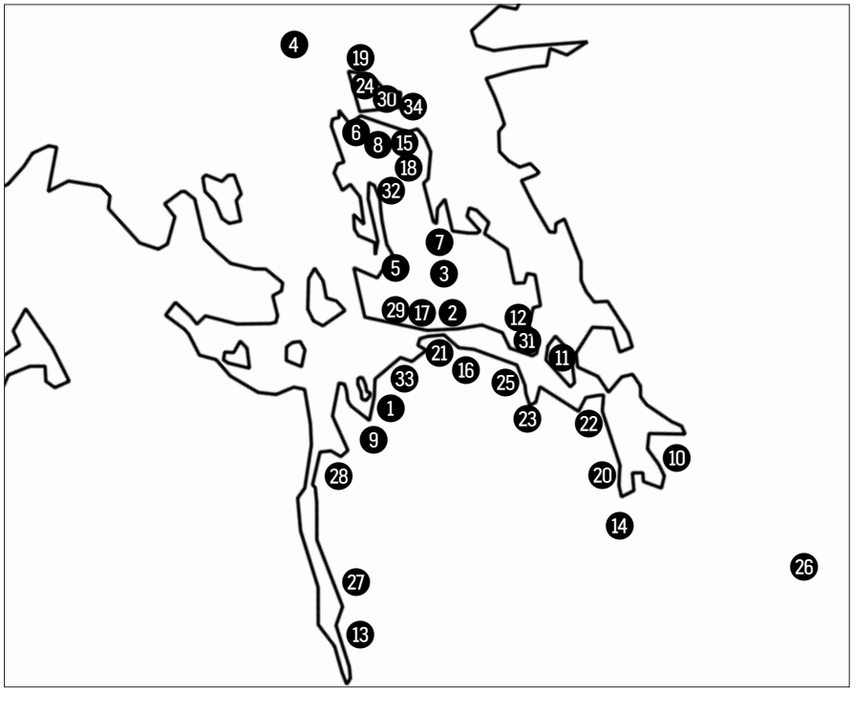
1. *An Àird Bheag* #8
2. *Àird Ùig* #12
3. *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26
4. *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27
5. *Baile na Cille* #36
6. *Baile Neacail* #39
7. *Beanasbac* #50
8. *A' Bheirgh* #57
9. *Beirghro* #59
10. *Bhàcasaigh* #60
11. *Bhaltos* #63
12. *Bhinndeam* #66
13. *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67
14. *Brèinis* #77
15. *Càiriseadar* #91
16. *Capadal* #97
17. *Càrnis* #99
18. *Ceann Chùisil* #106
19. *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107
20. *Ceann Reusort* #112
21. *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug* #122
22. *Clèidir* #127
23. *A' Chlibh* #132
24. *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136
25. *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141
26. *Crabhlastadh* #151
27. *Crò Leatha* #153
28. *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172
29. (*Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176)
30. *Èinicleit* #178
31. *Eireastadh* #180
32. *Garrabost* #190
33. *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198
34. *Gèiseadar* #203
35. *Giosladh* #206
36. *An Gnìp* #216
37. *Gràsabhig* #218
38. *Ìslibhig* #228
39. *Làmadal* #233
40. *Loch Croistean* #240
41. *Mangarstadh* #245
42. *Mealbost* #250
43. *Miabhag* #251
44. *Mialastadh* #252
45. *Morsgail* #257
46. *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260
47. *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269
48. *Rèimeir* #278
49. *An Riobh* #280
50. *Sgianailt* #293
51. *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318
52. *Tamnabhagh* #319
53. *Teallasbhagh* #322
54. *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323
55. *Thèicleitir* #326
56. *Torraigh* #338
57. *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341
58. *Tuimsgearraidh* #342
59. *Tùthair* #344
60. *Na h-Ùigean* #345
61. *Ungaiseadar* #346



15. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Bheàrnaraigh

Settlement Names in Beàrnaraigh

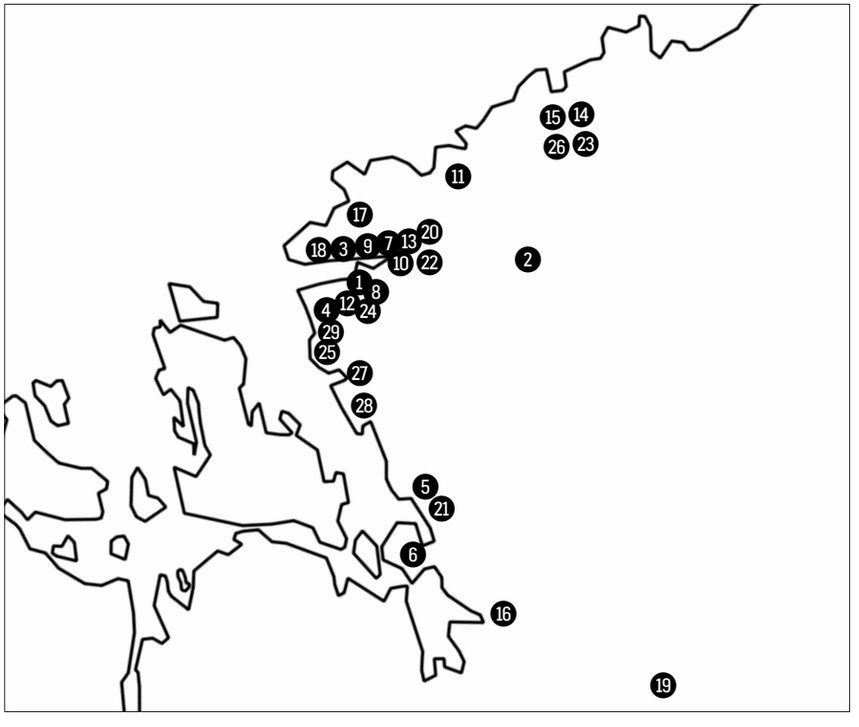
1. *Àird Drobhanis* #10
2. *Barra Glom* #48
3. *Beàrnaraigh* #51
4. *Beirgheasaigh* #58
5. *Bhalasaigh* #62
6. *Bòstadh* #71
7. *Briacleit* #78
8. *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96
9. *Ceann a' Bhàigh* #103
10. *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116
11. *Ceartaigh* #121
12. *Circeabost* #125
13. *Cleite Thòg* #129
14. *Cnoc an Ruagain* #138
15. *Crothair* #157
16. *Crùlabhig* #159
17. *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169
18. *Eòiriseadar* #181
19. *Grèineabost* #219
20. *Grìomarstadh* #223
21. *Iarsadar* #225
22. *Lìnseadar* #236
23. *Lunndal* #243
24. *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268
25. *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270
26. *Sgapraid* #289
27. *Sgealasgro* #291
28. *An Sròm* #306
29. *Tàcleit* #317
30. *Tanganis* #321
31. *Tiodaborgh* #329
32. *Tòpsann* #335
33. *Tòranis* #336
34. *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340



16. Ainmean Tuineachaidh An Taoibh Siar

Settlement Names in An Taobh Siar

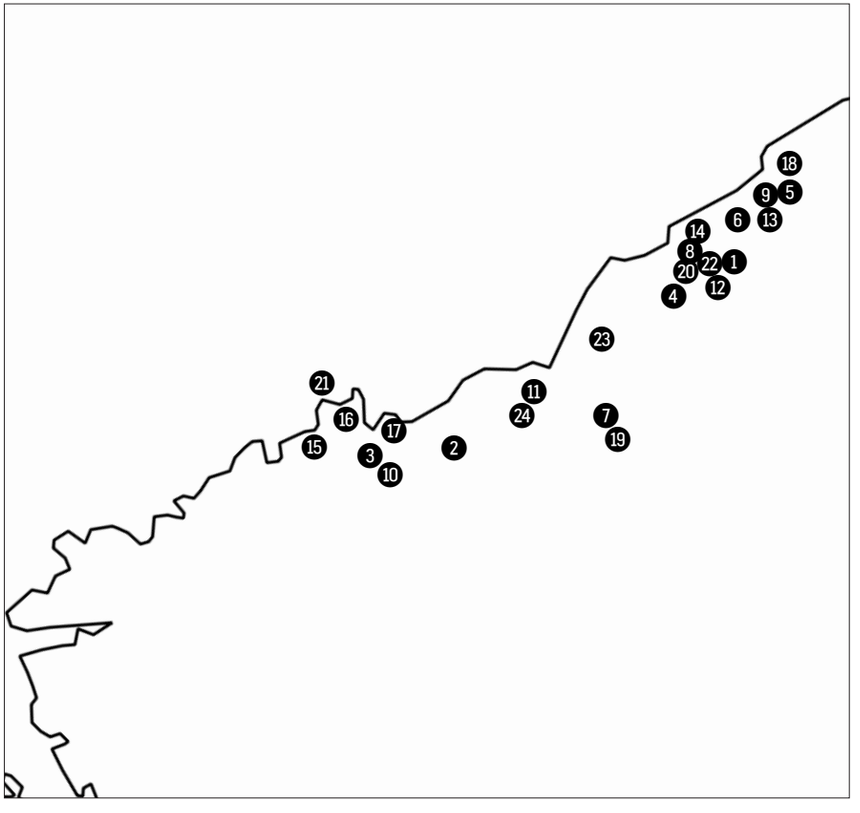
1. *Baile an Teampaill* #30
2. *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56
3. *Borghaston* #69
4. *Bòstadh* #72
5. *Britheascleit* #79
6. *Callanis* #94
7. *Càrlabhagh* #98
8. *Cirbhig* #124
9. *An Cnoc* #134
10. *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147
11. *Na Dailean* #167
12. *An Dùn* #170
13. *An Fheòirlig* #184
14. *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193
15. *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196
16. *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197
17. *Na Geàrrannan* #202
18. *Laidhmiseadar* #232
19. *Loch Gainmhich* #241
20. *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258
21. *A' Phàirc* #263
22. *A' Phàirc* #264
23. *A' Phàirc* #265
24. *Rothasgair* #282
25. *Sanndaig* #286
26. *Siabost* #295
27. *Siadar* #297
28. *Tolstadh* #331
29. *Totarol* #339



17. Ainmean Tuineachaidh Sgìre a' Chladaich

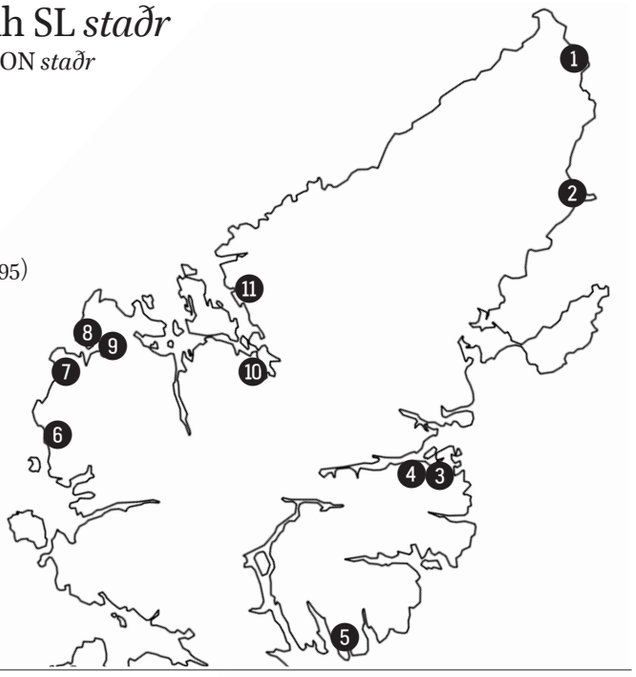
Settlement Names in Sgìre a' Chladaich

1. *Àirigh an Tuim* #15
2. *Àrnal* #20
3. *Baile an Loch* #29
4. *Baile an Truiseil* #31
5. *Am Baile Àrd* #32
6. *Baile Geàrr* #33
7. *Barbhas* #47
8. *Beagnaigearraidh* #49
9. *Borgh* #68
10. *Bradhagair* #74
11. *Brù* #82
12. *Clèid* #126
13. *Na Còig Peighinnean* #149
14. *Cuidhbheatotar* #160
15. *Fibhig* #185
16. *Làbost* #229
17. *Manaiseadar* #244
18. *Mealbost* #249
19. *A' Phàirc* #262
20. *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287
21. *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292
22. *Siadar* #296
23. *Tangaidh* #320
24. *Tom Shiadair* #334



18. Sgaoileadh SL *staðr*

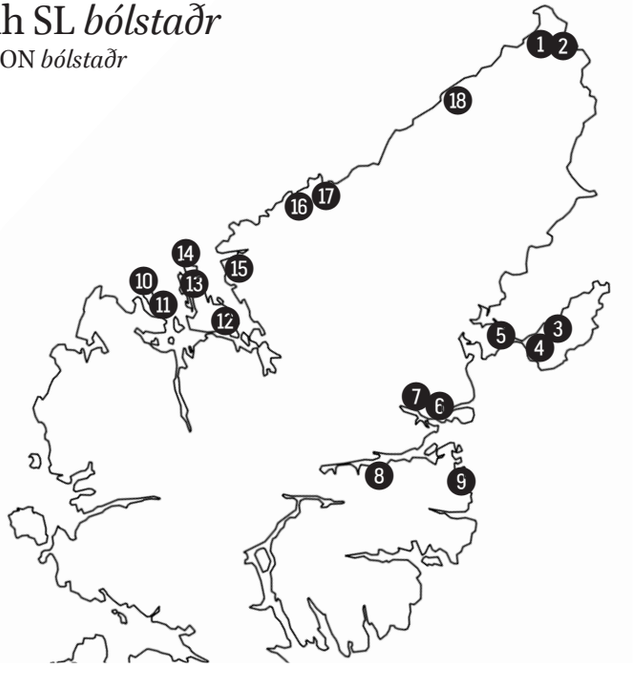
The Distribution of ON *staðr*



1. *?Sgiogarstaidh* #294
2. *Tolstadh* #332
3. *Torfhstaidh* #337
4. *?Cabharstaidh* #90
5. **T(h)iongarstadh* (#95)
6. *Mialastadh* #252
7. *Mangarstadh* #245
8. *Crabhlastadh* #151
9. *?Eireastadh* #180
10. *Grìomarstadh* #223
11. *Tolstadh* #331

19. Sgaoileadh SL *bólstaðr*

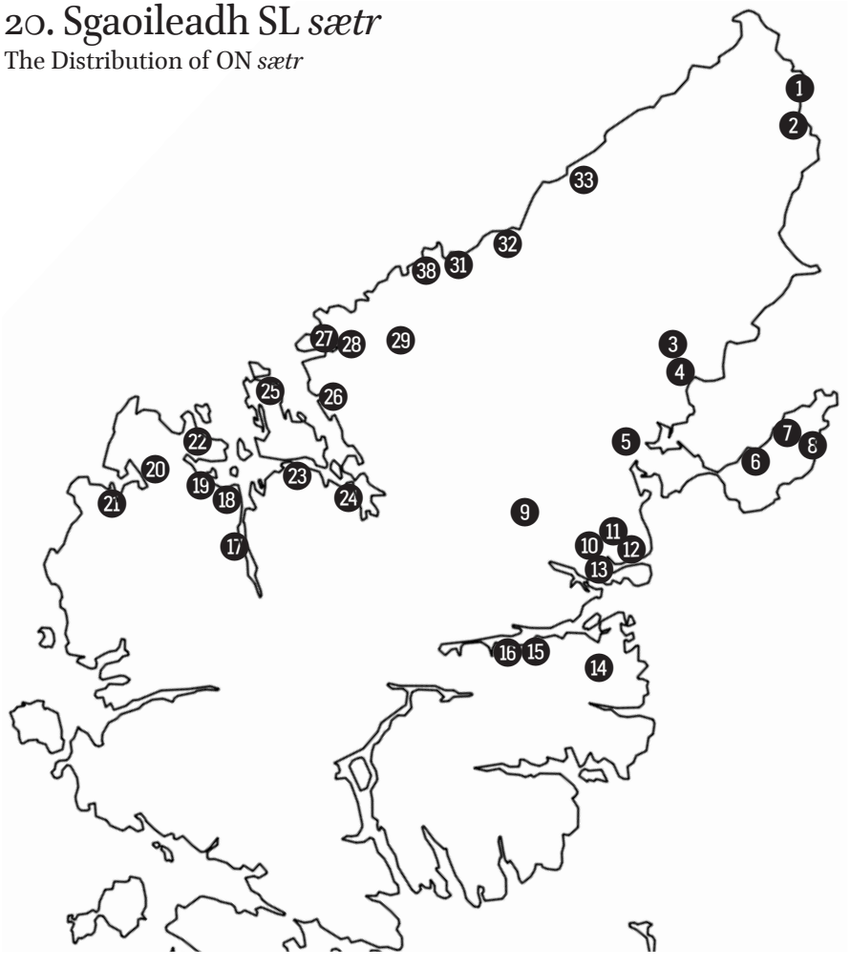
The Distribution of ON *bólstaðr*



1. *Suaineabost* #311
2. *Tàbost* #315
3. *Garrabost* #189
4. *Bòstadh* #73
5. *Mealbost* #248
6. *Crosabost* #156
7. *Lùrbost* #239
8. *Tàbost* #316
9. *Calbost* #93
10. *Garrabost* #190
11. *Mealbost* #250
12. *Circeabost* #125
13. *Bòstadh* #71
14. *Grèineabost* #219
15. *Bòstadh* #72
16. *Siabost* #295
17. *Làbost* #229
18. *Mealbost* #249

20. Sgaoileadh SL *sætr*

The Distribution of ON *sætr*



1. *Caithiseadar* #92
2. *Cuidhiseadar* #162
3. *Bàraiseadar* #46
4. **Thàiseadar* (#205)
5. *Giùrsadar* #207
6. *Giùrsadar* #208
7. *Siadar* #298/ *Siùiliseadar* #301
8. *Seiseadar* #288
9. **Siadar* (#242)
10. *Thamarsadar* #325
11. *Glogaiseadar* #215
12. *Gruimseadar* #224
13. *Thàiseadar* #324
14. *Theòrsadar* #327
15. *Cearsadar* #120
16. *Borraiseadar* #70
17. *Ungaiseadar* #346
18. *Gèiseadar* #203
19. *Càiriseadar* #91
20. **Canaiseadar* (#323)
21. **Boiseadar* (#341)
22. **Eòrsadar* (#141)
23. *Iarsadar* #225
24. *Lìnseadar* #236
25. *Eòiriseadar* #181
26. *Siadar* #297
27. *Laidhmiseadar* #232
28. **Theòraiseadar* (#147)
29. **Thòrsadar* (#56)
30. **Cuidhseadar* (#292)
31. *Manaiseadar* #244
32. **Siadar* (#334)
33. *Siadar* #296

Symbols and Abbreviations

§	Section
#	before a name's number in the lists of settlement names
☞	Index
»	see, see also
*	unattested
~	alternating with
<	derives from
>	leads to
→	leads to (omitting one or more stages)
←	derives from (omitting one or more stages)
+	and; and (in the same case)
×	and (with onset of the genitive case); between dates: not earlier than and not later than
ˣ	in unstressed position
ˣ	broad, in a broad environment
ʼ	slender, in a slender environment
º	neutral, in a neutral environment
±	unless affected by euphony
∅	zero
∅̲	zero due to apocope
⁀	stressed epenthesis
⁀	zero due to syncope
≈	symbol indicating a change in the quotation, usually due to current orthographic conventions
‖	symbol used between bilingual documentary forms
.	a forced line break in words or names being cited, or Web addresses, normally written as one
/_	showing position, e.g. /*b*_ = after *b* ; /_- = in initial position
A	aspiration
acc.	accusative: the accusative case
AD	= Lat. *anno Domini* 'in the year of the Lord'
adj.	adjective
AFB	*Am Faclair Beag* – see Bibliography
AI	Annals of Inisfallen
App.	Appendix
approx.	approximately

Samhlaidhean is Giorrachaidhean

§	Earrann
#	ro àireimh ainme ann an liostaichean nan ainmean tuineachaidh
☜	Clàr-amais
»	faic, faic cuideachd
*	gun teist
~	a' dèanamh iomlaid air
<	a thàrmaicheas ann an
>	a thèid na
→	a thèid na (agus ìre no dhà air am fàgail às)
←	a tharmaicheas ann an (agus ìre no dhà air am fàgail às)
+	agus; agus (san aon tuiseal)
×	agus (le toiseach an tuiseil ghinidich); eadar cinn-latha: gun a bhith nas tràithe na agus gun a bhith nas anmoiche na
ˣ	ann an suidheachadh neo-bheumte
ˣ	leathann, ann an àrainn leathainn
ʼ	caol, ann an àrainn chaoil
º	neo-fheartail, ann an àrainn neo-fheartail
±	mana h-atharraichear le binneas
∅	neoni
∅̲	neoni a chionn teasgaidh dheiridh
⁀	còmhnadh beumte
⁀	neoni a chionn teasgaidh mheadhain
≈	samhla a dh'innseas gun deach an t-iomradh atharrachadh, mar as trice a rèir bun-tomhas ceart-sgrìobhaidh an latha an-diugh
‖	samhla a chleachdar eadar cruthan sgrìobhainne dà-chànanach
.	briseadh loidhne co-èignichte ann am facail no ainmean a tha gan ainmeachadh, no seòlaidhean Lìn, as àbhaist an sgrìobhadh mar-aon
/_	a' sealltainn àite, m.e. /*b*_ = an dèidh *b* ; /_- = aig toiseach facail
⅂a	agus air adhart
⅂c	= Laid. *et cetera* 'agus an còrr', .i. 'agus mar sin adhart'
.i.	eadhon
A	analachadh
AD	= Laid. *anno Domini* 'ann am bliadhna an Tighearna'
AFB	*Am Faclair Beag* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
AI	Annalaidhean Innis Fhaithlinn
ainmn.	ainmneach: an tuiseal ainmneach

AU	Annals of Ulster
ḃ ḋ ḟ ġ ṁ ṡ	symbols used in this book in order to represent certain lenited consonants in Early Gaelic
BAC	Sgìre a' Bhac
Bm.	Bokmål
BRN	Beàrnaraigh
c.	(before a numeral) = Lat. *circa* 'around, about'; century
C, Ç	(voiced) consonant, voiceless consonant
Ȼ	compensatory lengthening
CB	Carl Borgstrøm
CDL	Ceann a Deas nan Loch
CE	The Common Era
cf.	= Lat. *confer* 'compare'
CG	*Carmina Gadelica* – see Bibliography
Chap(p).	Chapter(s)
CLA	Sgìre a' Chladaich
CMR	Charles M. Robertson – see Bibliography
comp.	comparative (form of adjective)
CSc.	Common Scandinavian
CSSR	*Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome* – see Bibliography
CTL	Ceann a Tuath nan Loch
d.	died
D	diphthong
Dan.	Danish
dat.	dative: the dative case
dial.	dialectal
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish Language* – see Bibliography
Dut.	Dutch
DW	Doreen Waugh – see Bibliography
ECC	*Eachdraidh le Càirdeas is Cridhe* – see Bibliography
Eng.	English
e.g.	= Lat. *exempli gratia* 'for example'
EG	Early Gaelic
EScots	Early Scots
et al.	= Lat. *et alia* 'and others'
etc.	= Lat. *et cetera* 'and the remainder', i.e. 'and so on'
f.	feminine: the feminine gender in grammar
^{f}	leniting initial *f*

ainm.	ainmear
Àir./àir.	Àireamh/àireamh
Alb.	An Albais
AlbT	An Albais Thràth
ALSO	Ainm-Leabhar na Suirbhidh Òrdanais
AU	Annalaidhean Uladh
ḃ ḋ ḟ ġ ṁ ṡ	samhlaidhean a chleachdar san leabhar seo gus connragan sèimhichte àraidh sa Ghàidhlig Thràth a riochdachadh
b.	boireann: a' ghnè bhoireann ann an gràmar
BAC	Sgìre a' Bhac
BCN	Brath Clèithe Nàiseanta
bh.	bhàsaich
Bm.	Bokmål
bn, bnn	bun-nota, bun-notaichean
Brl.	A' Bheurla
BRN	Beàrnaraigh
buadh.	buadhair
bun.	bunasach: (1) am prìomh chruth, (2) an tuiseal bunasach (.i. na tuisealan ainmneach is cuspaireach le chèile)
c.	(ro àireimh) = Laid. *circa* 'mu, timcheall air'
C, Ç	connrag (ghuthach), connrag neo-ghuthach
Ȼ	fadachadh cuidhteachaidh
Caib(b).	Caibideil(ean)
CB	Carl Borgstrøm
CDL	Ceann a Deas nan Loch
CG	*Carmina Gadelica* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
cl.	claon (gun a bhith san tuiseal ainmneach)
CLA	Sgìre a' Chladaich
clm	cilemeatair(ean)
CMR	Charles M. Robertson – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
cms.	coimeasach (ceum coimeasach a' bhuadhair)
coim.	coimeas
Cr.	A' Chruithnis
CSSR	*Calendar of Scottish Supplications to Rome* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
CTL	Ceann a Tuath nan Loch
cusp.	cuspaireach: an tuiseal cuspaireach
D	dà-fhoghar
d./dd.	duilleag(an)

fl.	= Lat. *floruit* '[the time] when someone flourished'
Fr.	French
Far.	Faroese
ff.	and following
fn, fnn	footnote, footnotes
ft	foot/feet
FV	front vowel
Germ.	German
gen.	genitive: the genitive case
GP	*Gamle Personnavne* – see Bibliography
h-	followed by aspiration of a vowel
HD	Henry Dieckhoff – see Bibliography
Heb.	Hebrew
HP	Hermann Pálsson
Ice.	Icelandic
i.e.	= Lat. *id est* 'that is'
ibid.	= Lat. *ibidem* 'in the same source'
idem	Lat. 'the same'
IDU	Iain Donnchadh Urchadan
IE	Indo-European
in	inch(es)
Ir.	Irish (Gaelic)
km	kilometre(s)
l./ll.	line/lines
L	followed by lenition
Lat.	Latin
leg.	= Lat. *lege* 'read [as follows]'
len.	lenited
lit.	literally
Lnb.	Landnámabók, lit. '(the) book of land settlements [in Iceland]' – see Bibliography
m	metre(s)
m	nasal assimilation: *n* > *m*/_ *b f m p*.
m.	masculine: the masculine gender in grammar
MEng.	Middle English
MG	Middle Gaelic
MM	Murchadh Stal MacDhòmhnaill
MNorn	Middle Norn

Dan.	An Danmharcais
DIL	*Dictionary of the Irish Language* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
dual.	dualchainnteach
Duit.	An Duitis
DW	Doreen Waugh – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
Eabh.	An Eabhrais
earr.-roisg	earrann(an)-roisg
Eàrr.	Eàrr-sgrìobhadh
ECC	*Eachdraidh le Càirdeas is Cridhe* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
et al.	= Laid. *et alia* 'agus feadhainn eile'
f.	fireann: a' ghnè fhireann ann an gràmar
f	a' sèimheachadh *f* thoisich
F, F̌, F̄, F̄̌	fuaimreag, fuaimreag ghoirid/fhada/shrònach fhada
fl.	= Laid. *floruit* '[an t-àm a] bu bheò duine'
Fr.	An Fhraingis
Fàr.	An Fhàrothais
foills.	foillseachadh
FT	fuaimreag thoisich
gairm.	gairmeach: an tuiseal gairmeach
Gearm.	A' Ghearmailtis
GA	Gàidhlig na h-Albann
GE	Gàidhlig na h-Èireann
gin.	ginideach: an tuiseal ginideach
GM	Gàidhlig Mhanainn
gn.	gnìomhair
GP	*Gamle Personnavne* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
GT	A' Ghàidhlig Thràth
gu lit.	gu litireil
gun bhl.	gun bhliadhna
h-	air a leantainn le analachadh ro fhuaimreig
HD	Henry Dieckhoff – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
HP	Hermann Pálsson
ibid.	= Laid. *ibidem* 'anns an aon tobar'
idem	Laid. 'an t-aon rud'
IDU	Iain Donnchadh Urchadan
IE	An Ind-Eòrpais
iol.	iolra: an uimhir iolra ann an gràmar
l.	linn

MNorw.	Middle Norwegian
MO	Magne Oftedal
Mod. Ice.	Modern Icelandic
MSc.	Middle Scandinavian
MScots	Middle Scots
MWNorn	Middle West Norn
Mx	Manx (Gaelic)
n.d.	no date
NE	*Norske Elvenavne* – see Bibliography
NG	*Norske Gaardnavne* – see Bibliography
NGR	National Grid Reference
NLS	National Library of Scotland
nMO	notes by Magne Oftedal
Nn.	Nynorsk, the form of Norwegian that 'has its strongholds in western and midland Norway' (Haugen 1984, §2.1)
No.	Number
nom.	nominative: the nominative case
Norw.	Norwegian
nRW	notes by Roy Wentworth
NSA	*New Statistical Account* – see Bibliography
nt.	neuter: the neuter gender in grammar
obl.	oblique (not in the nominative case)
OBret.	Old Breton
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* – see Bibliography
OEng.	Old English
OESc.	Old East Scandinavian
OFr.	Old French
OG	Old Gaelic
OIce.	Old Icelandic
ON	Old Norse = Old West Scandinavian
ONorw.	Old Norwegian
OPR	Old Parish Registers – see Bibliography
OPS	*Origines Parochiales Scotiae* – see Bibliography
OS	Ordnance Survey (previously, Board of Ordnance)
OSNB	Ordnance Survey Name Book
OWN	Old West Norse
OWNorn	Old West Norn
OWSc.	Old West Scandinavian

Laid.	An Laideann
LB	An Lochlannais Bhitheanta
LC	An Linn Chumanta
Leabh.	Leabhar/Leabhraichean
LNA	Leabharlann Nàiseanta na h-Alba
Lnb.	Landnámabók, gu lit. 'leabhar tuineachaidhean na tìre [ann an Innis Tìle]' – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
m	meatair(ean)
^{m}	co-choslachadh srònach: *n* > *m*/_*b f m p*.
MAlb.	A' Mheadhan-Albais
MBrl.	A' Mheadhan-Bheurla
m.e.	mar eisimpleir
MG	A' Mheadhan-Ghàidhlig
ML	A' Mheadhan-Lochlannais
MM	Murchadh Stal MacDhòmhnaill
MNirr.	A' Mheadhan-Nirribhis
MNòrn	A' Mheadhan-Nòrn
MNòrnI	A' Mheadhan-Nòrn an Iar
MO	Magne Oftedal
n.	neodrach: a' ghnè neodrach ann an gràmar
NE	*Norske Elvenavne* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
NG	*Norske Gaardnavne* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
Nirr.	An Nirribhis
nMO	notaichean le Magne Oftedal
Nn.	An Nynorsk, an dreach Nirribhis a tha a chuid dhaingnichean ann an ceann an iar agus ann am meadhan Nirribhidh (Haugen 1984, §2.1)
Nòrn	An Nòrn
nRW	notaichean le Roy Wentworth
NSA	*New Statistical Account* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
Nua-Thìl.	An Nua-Thìlis
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
òir.	òirleach/òirlich
OPR	Old Parish Registers – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
OPS	*Origines Parochiales Scotiae* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
pace	Laid., .i. 'le spèis do, ged nach tèidear le'
PN	clàradh le Suirbhidh Ainmean-Àite na h-Albann, Tasglann Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba, Oilthigh Dhùn Èideann

p./pp.	page(s)
pace	Lat., i.e. 'with due respect to, though disagreeing with'
para.	paragraph(s)
Pict.	Pictish
pl./plur.	plural: the plural number in grammar
PN	a Scottish Place-Name Survey recording, School of Scottish Studies Archive, University of Edinburgh
PNIM	*Place Names of the Isle of Man* – see Bibliography
pop.	population
PRC	A' Phàirc
PSc.	Proto-Scandinavian
Pt(s)	Part(s)
pub.	published
q.v.	= Lat. *quod vide* 'which see'
rad.	radical: (1) primary form, (2) radical case (i.e. including nominative and accusative cases)
RC	Richard Cox
RBH	An Rubha
sb.	substantive (noun)
ScG	Scottish Gaelic
sg./sing.	singular: the singular number in grammar
SGDS	*Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* – see Bibliography
sic	= Lat. *sic erat scriptum* 'that was how it was written'
sk.	= Norw. *skrevet* 'written'
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage – see Bibliography
SSPN	*Saints in Scottish Place-Names* – see Bibliography
STN	Steòrnabhagh
subst.	substantive (noun)
s.v./s.vv.	= Lat. *sub verbo*/*sub verbis* '[see] under the word(s)'
Swed.	Swedish
TLS	Taobh Loch Shìophort
TSR	An Taobh Siar
V, V̌, V̄, Ṽ	vowel, long vowel, short vowel, long nasal vowel
v./vb	verb
viz	= Lat. *videlicet* 'namely'
voc.	vocative: the vocative case
Vol./Vols	Volume(s)

PNIM	*Place Names of the Isle of Man* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
PRC	A' Phàirc
Pt/Ptn	Pàirt/Pàirtean
q.v.	= Laid. *quod vide*, .i. 'thoir sùil air'
RC	Richard Cox
RBH	An Rubha
s	air a leantainn le sèimheachadh
s./ss.	sreath/sreathan
SBreat.	An t-Sean Bhreatannais
SBrl.	An t-Sean Bheurla
sèimh.	sèimhichte
SFr.	An t-Seann Fhrangais
SG	An t-Sean Ghàidhlig
sg./sing.	singilte: an uimhir shingilte ann an gràmar
SGDS	*Survey of the Gaelic Dialects of Scotland* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
sic	= Laid. *sic erat scriptum* ''s ann mar sin a chaidh a sgrìobhadh'
sk.	= Nirr. *skrevet* 'air a sgrìobhadh'
SL	An t-Seann Lochlannais
SLE	An t-Seann Lochlannais an Ear
SLI	An t-Seann Lochlannais an Iar
SNH	Scottish Natural Heritage – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
SNòrnI	An t-Seann Nòrn an Iar
SNirr.	An t-Seann Nirribhis
SO	An t-Suirbhidh Òrdanais (roimhe, Bòrd an Òrdanais)
SSPN	*Saints in Scottish Place-Names* – faic Clàr nan Leabhraichean
STìl.	An t-Seann Tìlis
STN	Steòrnabhagh
Suain.	An t-Suainis
s.v./s.vv.	= Laid. *sub verbo*/*sub verbis* '[faic] fon fhacal/fo na facail'
tabh.	tabhartach: an tuiseal tabhartach
Tìl.	An Tìlis
TLS	Taobh Loch Shìophort
tr.	troigh(ean)
TSR	An Taobh Siar
tuis.	tuiseal
UL	An Ùr-Lochlannais

Foreword

The following is an analysis of the settlement names of the Isle of Lewis in the Western Isles of Scotland. Although most of the names in the collection have English forms today – at least on the map – the emphasis is on their Gaelic forms (the majority of which were in existence long before they were anglicised) and particularly their linguistic history, how they came down to us from Old Gaelic or from Old Norse and sometimes from Scots or English.

Volume I provides an introduction to the collection, outlining the context of the names and the research methodology used, and an account of the structure of the names, of some of the morphological and phonetic phenomena found in them, of the phonological development of Old Norse to Gaelic, of the range of elements in the onomasticon and of chronology. Volume II consists of separate articles: on 346 names in the main collection, on a further 12 in Appendix I and on the name *Leòdhas* (Eng. *Lewis*) in Appendix II.

When I began this project in 2018, I set out to produce a Gaelic book. But it was obvious that not everyone who might want to read it would be able to read Gaelic, hence this bilingual book. I might have left Magne Oftedal's short articles on individual names in the English in which they were written but felt it was appropriate to provide them in Gaelic as well so that it would not be necessary to depend on English if reading the Gaelic version of the book. Translating them was also of benefit to me while I was trying to create a style and register that suited my subject. I hope the terminology I use in Gaelic is not too obscure or clumsy.

Many people have helped me over the years with pronunciations of placenames in Lewis, between 1982 when I undertook fieldwork in An Taobh Siar (Eng. *The West Side*) for my undergraduate dissertation and January 2018, when I most recently visited the island, and several phone calls or emails since. It was a great honour to learn from them – *gam chur ri uair a' bhaile, | leis a' ghliocas sin | nach robh an eisimeil leabhraichean, | leis an àbhachdas, leis a' ghearradh-cainnt | a bha a' leum à cridhe a' chinnidh …* ('keeping me to the village time | with that wisdom | that flourished without books, | with the fun, the cleverness-with-words | that leapt from the heart of the race …')[1] – my thanks to them all.

My thanks also to the many others who helped while I was involved in researching this subject. First of all, I must acknowledge the enormous debt I owe to three people in particular: Professor Colm Ó Baoill, especially on the

1. From the poem 'Cotrìona Mhòr', by Ruaraidh MacThòmais (Eng. Derick Thomson, 1921–2012) (≈MacAmhlaigh 1976, 166–67).

Facal-toisich

Tha na leanas na sgrùdadh air ainmean tuineachaidh Leòdhais ann an Eileanan Siar na h-Albann. Ged a tha cruthan Beurla air a' mhòr-chuid de na h-ainmean an-diugh – air a' mhapa co-dhiù – 's ann a tha an cuideam air cruthan Gàidhlig nan ainmean (a bha a mhòr-chuid am bith fada mus deach Beurla a chur orra) gu h-àraidh air eachdraidh chànanaich nan ainmean, mar a thàinig iad thugainn às an t-Sean Ghàidhlig no an Lochlannais, air uairean às an Albais no a' Bheurla.

Tha Leabhar I na ro-ràdh dhan cho-chruinneachadh, a' mìneachadh co-theags nan ainmean agus modhan-obrach an rannsachaidh, agus a' toirt cunntas air co-chur nan ainmean, air cuid de na feartan cruith-eòlach agus fuaim-eòlach a gheibhear annta, air an leasachadh bhon Lochlannais chun na Gàidhlig, air raon nan eileamaidean san ainm-bhriathradair agus air ùineadaireachd. Ann an Leabhar II, gheibhear uilt fa leth: air 346 de dh'ainmean sa phrìomh cho-chruinneachadh, 12 ann an Eàrr-sgrìobhadh I agus air an ainm *Leòdhas* (Brl. *Lewis*) ann an Eàrr-sgrìobhadh II.

Nuair a thòisich mi air a' phròiseact seo ann an 2018, chuir mi romham gur h-e leabhar Gàidhlig a bha gu bhith ann. Ach bha e follaiseach nach biodh a' Ghàidhlig aig a h-uile duine lem bu mhiann an leabhar a leughadh, às a sin dh'èirich an leabhar dà-chànanach seo. Dh'fhaodainn a bhith air uilt ghoirid Mhagne Oftedal air ainmean fa leth fhàgail sa Bheurla san deach an sgrìobhadh ach bha mi den bheachd gum biodh e iomchaidh nan robh iad sa Ghàidhlig cuideachd gus nach fheumte a bhith an eisimeil na Beurla nan robhas a' leughadh eagran Gàidhlig an leabhair. Bha e math dhomh fhèin mar an ceudna a bhith gan eadar-theangachadh agus mi a' cruthachadh sa Ghàidhlig stoidhle is reim a thigeadh ris a' chuspair agam. Tha mi an dòchas nach bi am briathrachas Gàidhlig a chleachdas mi ro dhoilleir no clobhdach.

Tha iomadach duine air mo chuideachadh thar nam bliadhnaichean le fuaimneachadh ainmean-àite ann an Leòdhas, eadar 1982 nuair a rinn mi obair-raoin air An Taobh Siar air sgàth an tràchdais fho-cheuma agam agus am Faoilleach 2018, nuair a thadhail mi mu dheireadh air an eilean, agus corra uair air a' fòn no ann am post-dealain bhon uair sin. Bha e na urram mòr dhomh a bhith ag ionnsachadh bhuapa – *gam chur ri uair a' bhaile, | leis a' ghliocas sin | nach robh an eisimeil leabhraichean, | leis an àbhachdas, leis a' ghearradh-cainnt | a bha a' leum à cridhe a' chinnidh …*[1] – mo thaing dhaibh uile.

Mo thaing cuideachd dhan mhòran eile a chuidich mi fhad 's a bha mi a' rannsachadh a' chuspair seo. Thar uile, feumaidh mi a' mhòr-chomain fo bheil mi aig triùir gu h-àraidh aithneachadh: an t-Oll. Colm Ó Baoill, gu sònraichte bho

1. Às an dàn 'Cotrìona Mhòr', le Ruaraidh MacThòmais (Brl. Derick Thomson, 1921–2012) (≈MacAmhlaigh 1976, 167).

history of the Gaelic language; Professor Tom Schmidt, especially on Old Norse place-names; and Dr Jacob King, especially on onomastics and Gaelic place-names – they read drafts of most of the articles on individual place-names and raised numerous points with kindness and patience.

I am indebted to others who assisted me in a variety of ways, in particular Rachel Barrowman, Meg Bateman, Joni Bhochanan, Harald Bjorvand, Abigail Burnyeat, Thomas Owen Clancy, Linda Colquhoun, Anne Frater, Iain Greumach, Lily Khan, Jim Kirby, Arne Kruse, Bill Lawson, Emily Lethbridge, Gabhan Mac a' Phearsain, Iain Mac an Tàilleir, Cathlin Macaulay, Derrick McClure, Murchadh Stal MacDhòmhnaill, Anne Macleod Hill, Murchadh M. MacLeòid, Alan Macquarrie, Greg MacThòmais, Gilbert Márkus, Ruairidh Màrtainn, Mairead Mhàrtainn, Donna Mhoireasdan, Alice Meaden, Anna E. NicCoinnich, Màiri NicGumaraid, Seònaid NicLeòid, Anna NicSuain, Caoimhín Ó Donnaíle, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, Lorna Pike, Hilary Robertson, Alexandra Sanmark, Peigi Ann Scott, Louise Speller, Maighread Stiùbhart, Rolf Theil, Iain D. Urchadan and Paula Williams.

Special thanks to Eli, Magne Oftedal's widow (who died on 5 July 2019), and to their daughter Siri for permission to republish Magne's articles on individual names.

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thaobh eachdraidh cànan na Gàidhlig; an t-Oll. Tom Schmidt, gu sònraichte bho thaobh ainmean-àite Lochlannais; agus an Dr Jacob King, gu sònraichte bho thaobh ainmeachais agus ainmean-àite Gàidhlig – leugh iad dreachan den mhòr-chuid de na h-uilt air ainmean-àite fa leth is thog iad iomadh puing le coibhneas is foighidinn.

Tha mi fo chomain feadhna eile a chuidich mi ann an caochladh dhòighean, gu h-àraidh Rachel Barrowman, Meg Bateman, Joni Bhochanan, Harald Bjorvand, Abigail Burnyeat, Thomas Owen Clancy, Linda Colquhoun, Anne Frater, Iain Greumach, Lily Khan, Jim Kirby, Arne Kruse, Bill Lawson, Emily Lethbridge, Gabhan Mac a' Phearsain, Iain Mac an Tàilleir, Cathlin Macaulay, Derrick McClure, Murchadh Stal MacDhòmhnaill, Anne Macleod Hill, Murchadh M. MacLeòid, Alan Macquarrie, Greg MacThòmais, Gilbert Márkus, Ruairidh Màrtainn, Mairead Mhàrtainn, Donna Mhoireasdan, Alice Meaden, Anna E. NicCoinnich, Màiri NicGumaraid, Seònaid NicLeòid, Anna NicSuain, Caoimhín Ó Donnaíle, Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, Lorna Pike, Hilary Robertson, Alexandra Sanmark, Peigi Ann Scott, Louise Speller, Maighread Stiùbhart, Rolf Theil, Iain D. Urchadan agus Paula Williams.

Taing àraidh do dh'Eli, banntrach Mhagne Oftedal (a chaochail 5 Iuchar 2019), agus do Shiri an nighean aca, a thug cead dhomh na h-uilt aig Magne air ainmean fa leth ath-fhoillseachadh.

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Sabhal Mòr Ostaig,
Oilthigh na Gàidhealtachd is nan Eilean

1 Introduction

§1 §1 Aim

This is an attempt at a linguistic analysis of settlement place-names in the Isle of Lewis. Its focus is on the history of the Gaelic names, showing how they have come down to us from Old Gaelic, Old Norse and occasionally from Scots or English.

§2 §2 Context

Lewis (ScG *Leòdhas* (App. II)) is the largest and most northerly island in the Western Isles, the most westerly series of islands off mainland Scotland. In this instance, *island* has the sense 'promontory',[1] with Lewis at the northern and Harris (ScG *Na Hearadh* (#254)) at the southern end of the same insular land mass.

Lewis is relatively flat the further north one travels away from the hills of Harris, but rocky and mountainous the further south one travels towards them. Most of the island's settlement is situated along the coast as islanders of old were to a large extent dependent upon the sea – to a lesser extent upon the machair in the north and upon the shallow, meagre soil elsewhere – for their livelihood. In the centre of the island, there is wet, loch-strewn moorland.

Lewis was settled at least 6,000 years ago, as the many standing stones and stone circles erected by Stone Age peoples attest. We have no direct evidence which language or languages were spoken by those living on the island before the advent of the Norse sometime before the end of the 8th century CE, but a variety of Pictish may have been spoken at that period, as the Picts were present from Flanders Moss (west of Stirling) northwards. It is not certain whether Gaelic was spoken in Lewis before the Norse arrived but the evidence available from place-names suggests that it may have been (Cox 2007d). It is not certain when Old Norse or its equivalent was last spoken on the island: although the Hebrides, i.e. all the islands on the west of Scotland, had come under the rule of the kingdom of Scotland at the Treaty of Perth in 1266, the language probably survived until some time during the 14th century.

Gaelic was the language of the majority of Lewis people until recently, with increasing contact with the mainland, pressure from both national and local administrations and visionless educational policies continually undermining it.[2]

1. Cf. *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Eng. *The Black Isle*), a large promontory in Easter Ross.

2. In Lewis, 9,217 out of a population of 18,890 could speak Gaelic in 2011, i.e. 49%.

1 Ro-ràdh

§1 §1 Amas

Is e oidhirp a tha seo air sgrùdadh cànanach air ainmean-àite tuineachaidh ann an Leòdhas. Tha a chuideam air eachdraidh nan ainmean Gàidhlig, a' sealltainn mar a thàinig iad thugainn às an t-Sean Ghàidhlig, às an t-Seann Lochlannais agus corra uair às an Albais no a' Bheurla.

§2 §2 Co-theags

Is e Leòdhas (Brl. *Lewis* (App. II)) an t-eilean as motha agus an t-eilean as fhaide a tuath sna h-Eileanan Siar, an sreath de dh'eileanan nas fhaide an iar air tìr-mòr na h-Albann. Tha *eilean* san t-seagh seo a' ciallachadh 'rubha'[1] agus Leòdhas aig ceann a tuath agus Na Hearadh (Brl. *Harris* (#254)) aig ceann a deas an aon chnaip eileanaich.

Tha Leòdhas cuibheasach rèidh mar as fhaide a tuath a thèidear bho bheanntan na Hearadh, agus creagach cnocach mar as fhaide a deas a thèidear dhan ionnsaigh. 'S ann air an oirthir a gheibhear a' chuid as motha den tuineachadh san eilean agus eileanaich bho shean an urra gu ìre mhòir ris a' mhuir – agus gu ìre bhig ris na bha ann de mhachair sa cheann a tuath agus de dh'ùir thana luim an àitichean eile – airson am beòshlaint. Am meadhan an eilein, tha mòinteach fhliuch làn lochan beaga.

Chaidh Leòdhas a thuineachadh bho chionn 6,000 bliadhna aig a' char as lugha, agus an t-iomadh gallan agus tursa nam fianais air obraichean muinntir Linn na Cloiche. Chan eil fianais dhìreach againn air cànan no cànain nan daoine a bha a' fuireach air an eilean mus do ràinig na Lochlannaich uaireigin ro dheireadh na h-8mh linne LC, ach is dòcha gun robh nàdar de Chruithnis ga bruidhinn agus na Cruithnich an làthair bhon Mhòine Fhlànrasaich (an iar air Sruighlea) gu tuath san àm sin. Chan eil cinnt an robh a' Ghàidhlig ga bruidhinn ann an Leòdhas mus do ràinig na Lochlannaich ach cuiridh na tha ann de dh'fhianais à ainmean-àite air shùilibh gur dòcha gun robh (Cox 2007d). Chan eil cinnt cuine mu dheireadh a bhruidhinnte an Lochlannais no a seise air an eilean: ged a bha Innse Gall, .i. na h-eileanan uile air taobh an iar na h-Albann, air a dhol fo riaghailt rìoghachd na h-Albann aig Cunnradh Pheairt ann an 1266, is math dh'fhaodte gun do mhair an cànan gus uaireigin sa 14mh linn.

B' i a' Ghàidhlig cànan na mòr-chuid de mhuinntir Leòdhais gus bho chionn ghoirid, agus coluadar nas motha ri tìr-mòr, brùthadh bho rianachdan nàiseanta agus ionadail agus poileasaidhean foghlaim gun lèirsinn ga sìor lagachadh.[2]

1. Coim. *An t-Eilean Dubh* (Brl. *The Black Isle*), rubha mòr ann an Ros an Ear.

2. An Leòdhas, bhruidhneadh 9,217 a-mach à sluagh de 18,890 a' Ghàidhlig an 2011, .i. 49%.

§3

§3 The administration and organisation of Lewis

Lewis is part of Comhairle nan Eilean Siar ('the Western Isles council'), which is based in *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Eng. *Stornoway*) and one of several local administrative councils in Scotland. *Steòrnabhagh* (population about 6,953) is the principal settlement in Lewis (pop. 19,658) and the largest settlement in the Western Isles (pop. 27,684).[3]

Lewis is divided into four civil parishes (ScG *sgìre* f., pl. *sgìreachdan*): *Sgìre Bharbhais* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə ˈvaɾ̪ˌvaʃ] (Eng. *The Parish of Barvas*, pop. 3,244), *Sgìre Ùig* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲ ˈuːɡʲ] (Eng. *The Parish of Uig*, pop. 1,595), *Sgìre Steòrnabhaigh* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaj] (Eng. *The Parish of Stornoway*, pop. 13,009)[4] and *Sgìre nan Loch* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə nə ˈl̪ɔx] (Eng. *The Parish of Lochs*, pop. 1,810). *Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə ˌkʰl̪ɑːɾi ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj] (Eng. *The Carloway Registry*) for births, deaths and marriages (including from *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 in the south to *Siabost a Tuath* (#295) in the north) was established in 1859, at a time when its southern half lay in *Sgìre Ùig* and its northern half in *Sgìre nan Loch*. However, in 1891 *Sgìre Bharbhais* was extended from the north and *Sgìre Ùig* from the south, so doing away with the detached portion of *Sgìre nan Loch*.[5]

Additionally, Lewis is divided into several local areas. For the purposes of this volume, the Gaelic names of the following areas (from the north, sunwise) are written in small capitals:

§3 (i) Nis

Nis [n̪ĩʃ] is the name of the area at the northern end of the island,[6] from *Eòrrabidh* #182 southwards to the southern boundary of *Gabhsann fo Dheas* (#188). Anglicised as *Ness*, ScG *Nis* is a loan-name from ON **Nes*, the nominative/accusative of ON *nes* nt. 'promontory, headland', an element that occurs frequently as the generic of Old Norse loan-names in Lewis, e.g. *Aiginis* #4, *Ailltinis* #5, *Àranis* #19, *Brèinis* #77, *Buthanis* #89, *Callanis* #94, *Càrnis* #99, **Drobhanis* #10, *Silltinis* #299–#300, *Stèinis* #308 and *Tanganis* #321.

3. Figures from the 2011 Census (<https://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/strategy-performance-and-research/outer-hebrides-factfile/population/>).

4. This parish appears to have once been called ScG **Sgìre na h-Aoidhe*, cf. Eng. (1630) *paorish of Haye*; cf. ScG *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75.

5. The detached portion of *Sgìre nan Loch* ran from the southern boundary of *Cirbhig* #124 to the northern boundary of *Siabost a Tuath* (#295); *Sgìre Ùig* and *Sgìre Bharbhais* now meet between *Na Geàrrannan* #202 and *Daile Mòr* (#167).

6. 1549 *Niss*; 1573 *Noÿs*; 1583, 1595 *Noys*; 1600+ *Ness*; 1600+a *Ness*, *neise*.

§3

§3 Rianachd agus eagrachadh Leòdhais

Tha Leòdhas na phàirt de Chomhairle nan Eilean Siar, a tha air a suidheachadh ann an *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Brl. *Stornoway*) agus air tè de chorra chomhairle rianachd ionadail ann an Albainn. 'S e *Steòrnabhagh* (àireamh sluaigh mu 6,953) am prìomh thuineachadh ann an Leòdhas (àir. 19,658) agus an tuineachadh as motha anns na h-Eileanan Siar (àir. 27,684).[3]

Tha Leòdhas air a roinn na cheithir sgìreachdan catharra: *Sgìre Bharbhais* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə ˈvaɾ̪ˌvaʃ] (Brl. *The Parish of Barvas*, àir. 3,244), *Sgìre Ùig* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲ ˈuːɡʲ] (Brl. *The Parish of Uig*, àir. 1,595), *Sgìre Steòrnabhaigh* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaj] (Brl. *The Parish of Stornoway*, àir. 13,009)[4] agus *Sgìre nan Loch* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə nə ˈl̪ɔx] (Brl. *The Parish of Lochs*, àir. 1,810). Chaidh *Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲə ˌkʰl̪ɑːɾi ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj] (Brl. *The Carloway Registry*) airson bhreithean, bhàs is phòsaidhean (a' toirt a-steach bho *Gheàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 san àird a deas a *Shiabost a Tuath* (#295) san àird a tuath) a stèidheachadh ann an 1859 nuair a bha a dàrna leth ann an *Sgìre Ùig* is a leth eile ann an *Sgìre nan Loch*. Gidheadh, ann an 1891 chaidh *Sgìre Bharbhais* a shìneadh bhon àird a tuath agus *Sgìre Ùig* bhon àird a deas, a chuir às dhan roinn dhealaichte aig *Sgìre nan Loch*.[5]

A thuilleadh air a seo, thèid Leòdhas a roinn ann an corra cheàrnaidh ionadail. Air sgàth an leabhair seo, thèid ainmean Gàidhlig nan ceàrnaidhean a leanas (bho thuath, deiseil) a sgrìobhadh ann am mòr-litrichean beaga:

§3 (i) Nis

'S e Nis [n̪ĩʃ] an t-ainm a th' air a' cheàrnaidh ann an ceann a tuath an eilein,[6] à *Eòrrabidh* #182 suas gu ruige crìoch a deas *Ghabhsann fo Dheas* (#188). Tha GA *Nis*, ris an canar *Ness* sa Bheurla, na ainm-iasaid à SL **Nes*, an tuiseal ainmneach/cuspaireach aig SL *nes* n. 'rubha, àird', eileamaid a nochdas gu tric na sheòrsaichear ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ann an Leòdhas, m.e. *Aiginis* #4, *Ailltinis* #5, *Àranis* #19, *Brèinis* #77, *Buthanis* #89, *Callanis* #94, *Càrnis* #99, **Drobhanis* #10, *Silltinis* #299–#300, *Stèinis* #308 agus *Tanganis* #321.

3. Figearan às a' Chunntas-sluaigh 2011 (<https://www.cne-siar.gov.uk/strategy-performance-and-research/outer-hebrides-factfile/population/>).

4. Is coltach gur h-e GA **Sgìre na h-Aoidhe* a bh' air an sgìre seo uair, coim. Brl. (1630) *paorish of Haye*; coim. GA *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75.

5. Bha an roinn dhealaichte aig *Sgìre nan Loch* bho chrìch a deas *Chirbhig* #124 gu crìch a tuath *Shiaboist a Tuath* (#295); coinnichidh *Sgìre Ùig* agus *Sgìre Bharbhais* eadar *Na Geàrrannan* #202 agus *Daile Mòr* (#167) a-nis.

6. 1549 *Niss*; 1573 *Noÿs*; 1583, 1595 *Noys*; 1600+ *Ness*; 1600+a *Ness*, *neise*.

§3 (ii) Sgìre a' Bhac

Sgìre a' Bhac [ˌsʂkʲiːɾʲ ə ˈvaʰk] (with ScG *sgìre* f. in the sense 'area, locality' and with genitive of ScG *Am Bac*) is the name of the area south of Nis §3 (i) but north of Steòrnabhagh §3 (iii), on the east of the island. *Am Bac* #23 is the name of a township, anglicised as *Back*.

§3 (iii) Steòrnabhagh

Steòrnabhagh [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] is the name of an area including the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (anglicised as *Stornoway*), south of Sgìre a' Bhac and extending to An Rubha §3 (iv) in the east.

§3 (iv) An Rubha

An Rubha [ə ˈɾu-u] or [ə ˈɾu-ə]), anglicised as *Point* or *The Eye Peninsula*,[7] is the name of the large promontory east of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *rubha* m. (formerly spelt *rudha*) 'point, promontory', perhaps from EG *ruḋa* m., a word of uncertain meaning but common in place-names and identified with ScG *rubha* (*DIL*, s.v.), although Borgstrøm (1940, 223) and Oftedal (1956, 79) derive it from ON *hrúga* f. or *hrúfa* f., both meaning 'heap, lump; manure pile'. While Oftedal (ibid., 40, 68) states that long vowels can be shortened before hiatus in Lewis Gaelic – hence ScG (Lewis generally) [ˈɾu-u], [ˈɾu-ə] (ibid., 79: /ʀu-ə/) – Borgstrøm records the pronunciation [ʀuː-əɣ] in *Beàrnaraigh* #51. ScG *rubha* most probably derives from EG *ruḋa*, while ScG (CB) [ʀuː-əɣ] may have a different origin,[8] perhaps ON *hrúga*.

The name of the promontory may once have been ScG **An Àird* 'the headland or promontory';[9] cf. the township name *An Àird* #6, at the tip of the promontory.

§3 (v) Ceann a Tuath nan Loch

Ceann a Tuath nan Loch [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈt̪ʰuə nə ˈl̪ɔx] 'the northern end of the lochs' (with ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' (#102) + the adverb ScG *a tuath* used adjectivally in the sense 'northern' and the genitive plural Gaelic article + genitive plural of ScG *loch* m. 'loch, lake' (#29)) is anglicised as *North Lochs* and is the name of the northern part of *Sgìre nan Loch*, centred around the sea lochs *Loch Liùrboist* (#239) and *Loch Èireasort* (#180).

7. For ScG **Rubha na h-Aoidhe* 'the promontory of the isthmus', cf. ScG *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75.

8. Cf. *An Rògh*, in Nis (#175, fn 385).

9. 1775 *Aird or Point*; 1776 *The Aird or Point*.

§3 (ii) Sgìre a' Bhac

'S e Sgìre a' Bhac [ˌsʂkʲiːɾʲ ə ˈvaʰk] (le GA *sgìre* b. sa bhrìgh 'ceàrnaidh' agus leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig GA *Am Bac*) an t-ainm a th' air a' cheàrnaidh deas air Nis §3 (i) ach tuath air Steòrnabhagh §3 (iii), air taobh an ear an eilein. Tha *Am Bac* #23 na ainm air baile fearainn ris an canar *Back* sa Bheurla.

§3 (iii) Steòrnabhagh

'S e Steòrnabhagh [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] an t-ainm a th' air ceàrnaidh a ghabhas a-steach am baile *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (ris an canar *Stornoway* sa Bheurla), deas air Sgìre a' Bhac agus a-null chun An Rubha §3 (iv) san àird an ear.

§3 (iv) An Rubha

'S e An Rubha [ə ˈɾu-u] no [ə ˈɾu-ə], ris an canar *Point* no *The Eye Peninsula*[7] sa Bheurla, an t-ainm air an àird mhòir an ear air a' bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *rubha* f. (na bu tràithe air a litreachadh *rudha*) 'rinn, sròn talmhainn', 's dòcha à GT *ruḋa* f., facal as neo-chinnteach brìgh ach bitheanta ann an ainmean-àite agus air a shònrachadh ri GA *rubha* (*DIL*, s.v.), ged a thàrmaicheas Borgstrøm (1940, 223) agus Oftedal (1956, 79) e à SL *hrúga* b. no *hrúfa* b., an dà chuid a' ciallachadh 'meall, cnap; sitig'. Fhad 's a chanas Oftedal (ibid., 40, 68) gum faod fuaimreagan fada giorrachadh ro bheàrnas ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais – às a sin GA (Leòdhas) [ˈɾu-u], [ˈɾu-ə] (ibid., 79: /ʀu-ə/) – clàraichidh Borgstrøm am fuaimneachadh [ʀuː-əɣ] ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51. Is iongantach mana h-ann à GT *ruḋa* a thig GA *rubha*, ged a dh'fhaodas atharrachadh bunachais a bhith aig GA (CB) [ʀuː-əɣ],[8] is dòcha SL *hrúga*.

Is dòcha gur h-e GA **An Àird* an t-ainm a bh' air an rubha uair;[9] coim. ainm a' bhaile fearainn *An Àird* #6, aig gob an rubha.

§3 (v) Ceann a Tuath nan Loch

'S e Ceann a Tuath nan Loch [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈt̪ʰuə nə ˈl̪ɔx] (le GA *ceann* f. (#102) + a' cho-ghnìomhair GA *a tuath* air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'san àird a tuath' agus tuiseal ginideach iolra an uilt Ghàidhlig + an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig GA *loch* f. (#29)), ris an canar *North Lochs* sa Bheurla, an t-ainm a th' air earrainn a tuath *Sgìre nan Loch*, agus a mheadhan mu na lochan mara *Loch Liùrboist* (#239) agus *Loch Èireasort* (#180).

7. Airson GA **Rubha na h-Aoidhe*, coim. GA *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75.

8. Coim. *An Rògh*, ann an Nis (#175, bn 385).

9. 1775 *Aird or Point*; 1776 *The Aird or Point*.

§3 (vi) Ceann a Deas nan Loch

Ceann a Deas nan Loch [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈʇʲɛs̪ nə ˈl̪ɔx] ‘the southern end of the lochs’ (with ScG *ceann* m. ‘head, end’ + the adverb ScG *a deas* used adjectivally in the sense ‘southern’ and the genitive plural Gaelic article + genitive plural of ScG *loch* m. ‘loch, lake’), anglicised as *South Lochs*, is the name of the area south of *Loch Èireasort* (#180) and north of A’ Phàirc §3 (vii).

§3 (vii) A’ Phàirc

A’ Phàirc (1) [ə ˈfaːɾʲiʊ̯ʲ], (2) [ə ˈfaːɻʲkʲ], gen. Na Pàirce (1) [nə ˈpʰaːɾʲiʊ̯ʲ], (2) [nə ˈpʰaːɻʲkʲ(ə)]. 1775 *The Forrest*; 1776 *The Forest*; 1845 *Park or the Forest* (*of Lewis*).

A’ Phàirc, anglicised as *Park*, is the name of a large area in the south-east of Lewis, in *Sgìre nan Loch*. The northern part of this area, usually called Ceann a Deas nan Loch §3 (vi), is mostly divided into crofting townships. The southern part of the area was traditionally a deer forest until it was made into a sheep farm in the 1830s (Lawson 2011, 133, 180–84), before being returned to deer forest in the 1880s. While a farm, the settlements here were cleared; today it is a hunting estate, based at *Ìsginn* #227. In this volume, A’ Phàirc is used for the area of the hunting estate alone.

ScG *pàirc* is a loan-word from Scots *park*, *pairk*, although Oftedal (1956, 57, 153) suggests pronunciation (1)[10] probably originates in MEng. *parrok* ‘field’.[11] As regards the meaning of the element ScG *pàirc*, its older sense is probably relevant here, i.e. ‘deer forest, hunting land’;[12] contrast ScG *A’ Phàirc* #262 ff., where the element’s sense is ‘field’.

§3 (viii) Taobh Loch Shìophort

Taobh Loch Shìophort [ˌt̪ʰɯˑv ˌl̪ɔx ˈhiːˌfɔd̪] (with ScG *taobh* m. ‘side’ (EG *taeb́*) and the name *Loch Shìophort* ‘the loch of **Sìophort* (#113)’ in genitive position as specific) is the name of the area north and west of *Loch Shìophort*.

10. (MO) [pɑːðigʲ] (ibid.).

11. ‘Also in modern central and southern Scots’ (≈*DSL*, s.v. *parrok*, *parok*).

12. ‘[I]n names dating from the middle ages, it always refers to land emparked or enclosed for hunting. In modern times it is a standard Scots and Scottish Standard English word for a field’ (≈Taylor 2012, 464); ‘Park, in the acceptation of the English law, is a large extent of ground inclosed and privileged for wild beasts of the chase, by royal grant, or by prescription. In Scotland, *park* has no such signification, the synonymous term being *forest*, whereby is meant a large tract of inclosed ground where deer are kept’ (Bell 1839, 702, cited in *DSL*, s.v. *park*). Jacob King (personal communication) suggests Timothy Pont's *yle`na Park* (Pont 17, c.1583–1596: <https://maps.nls.uk/rec/277>), i.e. ScG *Eilean na Pàirce* ‘the island of the park’, on Loch Lomond, may be the earliest example of the loan-word *pàirc* in Scottish Gaelic.

§3 (vi) Ceann a Deas nan Loch

’S e Ceann a Deas nan Loch [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈʇʲɛs̪ nə ˈl̪ɔx] (le GA *ceann* f. + a’ cho-ghnìomhair GA *a deas* air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh ‘san àird a deas’ agus tuiseal ginideach iolra an uilt Ghàidhlig + an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig GA *loch* f.), ris an canar *South Lochs* sa Bheurla, an t-ainm a th’ air a’ cheàrnaidh deas air *Loch Èireasort* (#180) agus tuath air A’ Phàirc §3 (vii).

§3 (vii) A’ Phàirc

A’ Phàirc (1) [ə ˈfaːɾʲiʊ̯ʲ], (2) [ə ˈfaːɻʲkʲ], gin. Na Pàirce (1) [nə ˈpʰaːɾʲiʊ̯ʲ], (2) [nə ˈpʰaːɻʲkʲ(ə)]. 1775 *The Forrest*; 1776 *The Forest*; 1845 *Park or the Forest* (*of Lewis*).

’S i A’ Phàirc, ris an canar *Park* sa Bheurla, an t-ainm a th’ air ceàrnaidh mhòir an ceann an ear-dheas Leòdhais, ann an *Sgìre nan Loch*. Tha ceann a tuath na ceàrnaidh seo, ris an canar mar as trice Ceann a Deas nan Loch §3 (vi), air a roinn airson na mòr-chuid na bhailtean fearainn. Bha ceann a deas na ceàrnaidh gu dualchasach na fhrìth fhiadh gus an deach tuathanas chaorach a dhèanamh dhith sna 1830an (Lawson 2011, 133, 180–84), mus do rinneadh frìth dhith a-rithist sna 1880an. Ri linn e a bhith na thuathanas, chaidh na tuineachaidhean an seo fhàsachadh; tha e an-diugh na oighreachd seilge, air a bonntachadh ann an *Ìsginn* #227. San leabhar seo, cleachdar A’ Phàirc airson ceàrnaidh na h-oighreachd seilge a-mhàin.

Tha GA *pàirc* na fhacal-iasaid à Alb. *park*, *pairk*, ged a chuireas Oftedal (1956, 57, 153) air shùilibh gur math dh’fhaodte gun tàrmaich fuaimneachadh (1)[10] ann am MBrl. *parrok* ‘achadh’.[11] A thaobh ciall na h-eileamaid GA *pàirc*, is math dh’fhaodte gur h-i a’ bhrìgh as sine a fhreagras san t-seagh seo, .i. ‘frìth fhiadh, talamh seilge’;[12] iomsgaraich GA *A’ Phàirc* #262 ɔa, far an e ‘achadh’ as brìgh dhan eileamaid.

§3 (viii) Taobh Loch Shìophort

’S e Taobh Loch Shìophort [ˌt̪ʰɯˑv ˌl̪ɔx ˈhiːˌfɔd̪] (le GA *taobh* f. (GT *taeb́*) agus an t-ainm *Loch Shìophort* (#113) ann an suidheachadh ginideach na shònraichear) an t-ainm air a’ cheàrnaidh tuath air agus an iar air *Loch Shìophort*.

10. (MO) [pɑːðigʲ] (ibid.).

11. ‘Also in modern central and southern Scots’ (≈*DSL*, s.v. *parrok*, *parok*).

12. ‘[I]n names dating from the middle ages, it always refers to land emparked or enclosed for hunting. In modern times it is a standard Scots and Scottish Standard English word for a field’ (≈Taylor 2012, 464); ‘Park, in the acceptation of the English law, is a large extent of ground inclosed and privileged for wild beasts of the chase, by royal grant, or by prescription. In Scotland, *park* has no such signification, the synonymous term being *forest*, whereby is meant a large tract of inclosed ground where deer are kept’ (Bell 1839, 702, air a thogail ann an *DSL*, s.v. *park*). Cuiridh Jacob King air shùilibh (conaltradh pearsanta) gur dòcha gur h-e *yle`na Park* aig Timothy Pont (Pont 17, c.1583–1596: <https://maps.nls.uk/rec/277>), .i. GA *Eilean na Pàirce*, ann an Loch Laomainn, an eisimpleir as tràithe den fhacal-iasaid *pàirc* ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann.

§3 §3 (ix) Ùig

Ùig [ˌuːg̊ʲ] is the name of the area from *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112) in the south to Beàrnaraigh §3 (x) in the north, centred on *Camas Ùig* 'the bay of *Ùig*'. ScG *Ùig*, anglicised as *Uig*, is an Old Norse loan-name meaning '(the) bay' (#12).

§3 (x) Beàrnaraigh

Beàrnaraigh [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj], an Old Norse loan-name (#51), is the name of an island in the north of *Sgìre Ùig*; as an areal name, Beàrnaraigh includes the island and part of the mainland opposite.

§3 (xi) An Taobh Siar

An Taobh Siar [ə ˌn̪̊ˠʰɯːv ˈʃiəɾ], [ə ˌn̪̊ˠʰɯˑ ˈʃiəɾ] (with the masculine Gaelic article + ScG *taobh* m. 'side' (§3 (viii)) + the adverb ScG (*a-*)*siar* used adjectivally in the sense 'western' (#268)) is the Gaelic name of the northern part of *Sgìre Ùig*, from the southern boundary of *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 to the northern boundary of *Siabost a Tuath* (#295).

§3 (xii) Sgìre a' Chladaich

Sgìre a' Chladaich [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲ ə ˈxl̪̊ad̪̊iç] (with ScG *sgìre* f. in the sense 'area, locality' and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of ScG *cladach* m. 'shore(line)' (EG idem)) is an old parish name and now refers to the southern part of *Sgìre Bharbhais*, from the southern boundary of *Bradhagair a Deas* #74 to the northern boundary of *Mealbost* #249 and the Nis boundary §3 (i).[13]

§4 §4 Magne Oftedal and the village names of Lewis[14]

In April 2009, a booklet entitled *The Village Names of Lewis* was published by The Islands Book Trust, described as 'A new edition of the classic work on the island's Old Norse place-name heritage by Magne Oftedal', but consisting of, with the addition of a few modern-day photographs, a facsimile copy of Oftedal's scholarly article 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides', which had been published in 1954 in the Norwegian journal *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* XVII, 363–409. As explained in its Foreword, the booklet's publication was intended to alleviate the relative inaccessibility of Oftedal's

13. 1600+, 1630 *Claddigh*; 1775, 1776 *Clatach*.

14. A version of this section appears in *Proceedings of the Eighth Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica* (Cox 2007e).

§3 §3 (ix) Ùig

'S e Ùig [ˌuːg̊ʲ] an t-ainm a th' air a' cheàrnaidh bho *Loch Reusort* (#112) san àird a deas gu Beàrnaraigh §3 (x) san àird a tuath, agus am bàgh *Camas Ùig* na meadhan. Tha GA *Ùig*, ris an canar *Uig* sa Bheurla, na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a' ciallachadh '(am) bàgh' (#12).

§3 (x) Beàrnaraigh

'S e *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj], ainm-iasaid Lochlannais (#51), an t-ainm a th' air eilean ann an ceann a tuath *Sgìre Ùig*; na ainm sgìreil, gabhaidh Beàrnaraigh a-steach an t-eilean agus cuibhreann de thìr-mòr Leòdhais fa chomhair.

§3 (xi) An Taobh Siar

'S e GA An Taobh Siar [ə ˌn̪̊ˠʰɯːv ˈʃiəɾ], [ə ˌn̪̊ˠʰɯˑ ˈʃiəɾ] (leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *taobh* f. (§3 (viii)) + a' cho-ghnìomhair GA (*a-*)*siar* air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'san àird an iar' (#268)) an t-ainm a th' air ceann a tuath *Sgìre Ùig*, bho chrìch a deas *Gheàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 gu crìch a tuath *Shiaboist a Tuath* (#295).

§3 (xii) Sgìre a' Chladaich

'S e ainm seann sgìre a th' ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich [ˌsˠkʲiːɾʲ ə ˈxl̪̊ad̪̊iç] (le GA *sgìre* b. sa bhrìgh 'ceàrnaidh' agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an tuiseal ghinideach aig GA *cladach* f. (GT idem)), a bheanas an-diugh ri ceann a deas *Sgìre Bharbhais*, bho chrìch a deas *Bhradhagair a Deas* #74 gu ruige crìoch a tuath *Mhealboist* #249 agus crìoch Nis §3 (i).[13]

§4 §4 Magne Oftedal agus ainmean nam bailtean ann an Leòdhas[14]

Sa Ghiblean 2009, chaidh leabhran air a bheil *The Village Names of Lewis* fhoillseachadh le Urras Leabhraichean nan Eilean, a bha, a rèir a thuairisgeil, na dheasachadh ùr de shàr obair Mhagne Oftedal air dualchas nan ainmean-àite Lochlannais ann an Leòdhas, ach a bha, a-mach à corra dhealbh nuadh-aimsireil, na fhìor mhac-samhail air alt sgoilearail Oftedal 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides', a chaidh fhoillsicheadh ann an 1954 san iris Nirribheach *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* XVII, 363–409. Mar a mhìnicheadh ann am Facal-toisich an leabhrain, bha e fo rùn dhan fhoillseachadh do-ruigsinneachd

13. 1600+, 1630 *Claddigh*; 1775, 1776 *Clatach*.

14. Nochdaidh eagran den earrainn a leanas ann am *Proceedings of the Eighth Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica* (Cox 2007e).

§4 original article. The aim of the present work is to open up the subject further, given the additional research and scholarship of the last 65 years.

Although Oftedal returned to Lewis in 1961 and 1963,[15] it was during his stay in the village of *Liùrbost* #239 in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, between September and December of 1950 and between April and August of 1951, that he collected the data for his 1954 article. At the time, he was on research leave for a PhD he was undertaking at the University of Oslo, the results of which were published in his book *The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis* (Oftedal 1956). He held the Chair of Celtic Languages at the University of Oslo from 1957 until his death in 1985.[16]

I visited Oftedal the year before he died and had the opportunity to converse with him weekly and learnt a great deal from our talks and discussions. I had been in contact with him by post before going to Norway, and after my return to Scotland, and it was a great shock when I learnt of his death: I had lost a mentor as well as an intellectual colleague.

Magne Oftedal was one of a series of Norwegian scholars undertaking research during the 20th century on the history of the Gaelic language and on the Gaelic dialects of Ireland and Scotland, a trend which had originated in a renewed interest in Norwegian identity born of the declaration of Norway's independence in 1905. Among these were Carl Marstrander (1883–1965; on the history of the Norwegian language in Ireland), Alf Sommerfelt (1892–1965; for example on Norse place-names in St Kilda and Canna) and Carl Borgstrøm (1909–1986; on Scottish Gaelic dialects, for example in Barra, the island *Beàrnaraigh* #51 and the Isle of Skye) (Rekdal 1991).

As a linguist whose interests lay in the history of language, Oftedal kept a weather eye out for any evidence that would illucidate the historical relationship between Old Norse and Scottish Gaelic, and this was the *raison d'être* for his work on place-names.

When I introduced myself to Magne Oftedal, he was wearing a bright, jazzy, short-sleeved shirt, smoking rapidly, and kept on sweeping back his hair with his hand. This was in the autumn of 1984 and I had come to Oslo as a PhD

15. Oftedal visited *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), *Pabail Ìorach* (#261), *Liùrbost* and *Grabhair* #217 in 1961 and *Siadar Uarach* (#296), *Bradhagair* #74 and *Mangarstadh* #245 in 1963, on behalf of the Linguistic Survey of Gaelic Dialects (see *SGDS*).

16. Magne Oftedal (1921–1985): for a biography, see <https://nbl.snl.no/Magne_Oftedal>.

choimeasach an uilt thùsail aig Oftedal fhaothachadh. 'S e amas na saothrach seo an cuspair fhosgladh a-mach fhathast an dèidh na rinneadh de thuilleadh rannsachaidh is sgoilearachd fad nan 65 bliadhna mu dheireadh. §4

Ged a thill Oftedal a Leòdhas ann an 1961 is 1963,[15] 's ann fhad 's a bha e a' fuireach ann an *Liùrbost* #239 ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, eadar an t-Sultain 's an Dùbhlachd 1950 is eadar an Giblean 's an Lùnastal 1951, a chruinnich e am fiosrachadh airson an uilt 1954 aige. Aig an àm, bha e air fòrladh rannsachaidh airson PhD a bha e a' dèanamh ann an Oilthigh Oslo, a chaidh a thoraidhean fhoillseachadh na leabhar *The Gaelic of Leurbost, Isle of Lewis* (Oftedal 1956). Bha Cathair nan Cànan Ceilteach ann an Oilthigh Oslo aige bho 1957 gu bhàs ann an 1985.[16]

Rinn mi tadhal air Oftedal sa bhliadhna mus do chaochail e agus bha cothrom agam coluadar a chumail ris gach seachdain agus dh'ionnsaich mi mòran bho na còmhraidhean is bho na deasbadan againn. Bha mi an conaltradh ris leis a' phost mus deach mi a Nirribhidh, agus an dèidh dhomh tilleadh a dh'Albainn, agus bha e na mhòr-chlisgeadh dhomh nuair a ràinig sanas a bhàis mi: bha mi air comhairliche agus co-obraiche inntinne a chall.

Bha Magne Oftedal air fear de shreath de sgoilearan Nirribheach a' dèanamh rannsachadh san 20mh linn air eachdraidh cànan na Gàidhlig agus air dualchainntean Gàidhlig na h-Èireann agus na h-Albann, buailteachas a bha air tàrmachadh ann an ùidh ath-bheothaichte ann an dearbh-aithne nan Nirribheach a dh'èirich an dèidh do Nirribhidh neo-eisimeileachd a ghairm ann an 1905. Nam measg bha Carl Marstrander (1883–1965; air eachdraidh cànan na Nirribhidh ann an Èirinn), Alf Sommerfelt (1892–1965; m.e. air ainmean-àite Lochlannais ann an Hiort agus Canaigh) agus Carl Borgstrøm (1909–1986; air dualchainntean Gàidhlig na h-Albann, m.e. ann am Barraigh, san eilean *Beàrnaraigh* #51 agus san Eilean Sgitheanach) (Rekdal 1991).

Mar chànanaiche aig an robh ùidh ann an eachdraidh a' chànain, chumadh Oftedal sùil fhurachail ri rud sam bith a chuireadh solas air an dàimh eachdraidheil eadar an Lochlannais agus Gàidhlig na h-Albann, agus b' e seo adhbhar bith na h-obrach aige air ainmean-àite.

Nuair a chuir mi mi fhìn an aithne Mhagne Oftedal, bha lèine shorcha lainnireach gheàrr-mhuinichilleach air, bha e a' tarraing air toitean gu luath agus bha e a' sìor sguabadh fhalt air ais le làimh. Bha seo as t-fhomhar ann an 1984 agus bha mi air tighinn a dh'Oslo nam oileanach PhD gus a bhith ag ionnsachadh fo Oftedal

15. Thadhail Oftedal air *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), *Pabail Ìorach* (#261), *Liùrbost* agus *Grabhair* #217 ann an 1961 agus *Siadar Uarach* (#296), *Bradhagair* #74 agus *Mangarstadh* #245 ann an 1963, às leth Shuirbhidh Chànanach na h-Albann (faic *SGDS*).

16. Magne Oftedal (1921–1985): airson eachdraidh a bheatha, faic <https://nbl.snl.no/Magne_Oftedal>.

§4 student to study under Oftedal for two and a half months.[17] I would have been on my best behaviour, of course, and I recall going up to him, extending my hand and saying in English, 'How do you do, Professor?' Oftedal was more interested in knowing whether or not I had any Gaelic and asked me directly, 'Can you speak Gaelic?' So I spoke in Gaelic about doing research on Lewis, while he listened intently to ascertain whether I would cut the mustard.

It seems to me that this episode highlights two things. On the one hand, it demonstrates his exacting standards and, on the other, it demonstrates his intense interest in his discipline, to the extent that he was more focussed on his work and less aware of formalities. In spite of a certain shyness and reserve in his character, his enthusiasm for his work came through in his letters and in our meetings.

The late Derick Thomson (then Professor of Celtic at the University of Glasgow) had written to Oftedal about me earlier in 1984 and subsequently Oftedal and I corresponded by letter between August of that year until April 1985, shortly before he died. Although these letters were quite formal – at first, he would address me as 'Dear Mr Cox' and later on as 'My Dear Cox', although later still, after my stay in Oslo, as 'Dear Richard' – we were able to conduct a lively discussion on the development of Old Norse to Gaelic based on my fieldwork and the place-name material I was sending him. Oftedal would write that he looked forward to the next batch of place-names and that it was a real pleasure to work with the material. Once my visit to Oslo began, we were able to go over old and new material, and his interest in the subject was quite obvious.

Towards the end of my stay in Oslo, Magne and his wife Eli invited me to their home for dinner. Later that evening, he enthusiastically played me a tape of the four *l* phonemes he had recorded in Lewis: on his fieldwork visit to the Hebrides in 1961, he had recorded four distinct *l* phonemes from 82 year-old Dòmhnall Moireasdan (Donald Morrison) from *Brèinis* #77 in Ùig. Today, there are only three *l* phonemes in the dialect (as far as I know): palatal unlenited /ʟ'/ ([ʎ̟]) as in *maille* 'delay', lenited /l'/ ([l]) as in *baile* 'village' and non-palatal unlenited /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) as in *balla* 'wall'. Oftedal, however, was able to record a distinction between a non-palatal unlenited /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) in *balla* and a non-palatal lenited /l/ ([ɬ]) in *balach* 'boy', which has /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) today.[18]

17. Richard A. V. Cox, 'Place-names of the Carloway Registry, Isle of Lewis', doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1987, the greater part of which was published as *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their structure and significance* (2002).

18. There were four *l* phonemes in the language, before non-palatal unlenited /ʟ/ [ɬ̟] and non-palatal lenited /l/ [ɬ] fell together (Cox 2017, 34–35, fn 78).

fad dà mhìosa gu leth.[17] Bhithinn air a bhith tuilleadh is modhail, gu dearbh, is §4 tha cuimhne agam a bhith a' dol suas thuige, a' sìneadh mo làmh agus ag ràdh, 'How do you do, Professor?' Bha barrachd ùidh aig Oftedal fios a bhith aige an robh no nach robh a' Ghàidhlig agam, agus dh'fhaighnich e sa bhad, 'Can you speak Gaelic?' Mar sin, bhruidhinn mi sa Ghàidhlig mu bhith a' dèanamh rannsachadh ann an Leòdhas, fhad 's a dh'èist e gu dian a dh'fhaicinn an dèanainn an gnothach.

Saoileam gun soilleirich an tachartas seo dà rud. Air an dàrna làimh, dearbhaidh e na slatan-tòmhais teanna a bh' aige agus, air an làimh eile, dearbhaidh e a dhian-ùidh na chuspair, chun na h-ìre 's gun toireadh e barrachd umhail dhan obair na bheireadh e dhan bheusachd. A dh'aindeoin fiamh a dhiùide agus stuamachd na nàdar, bha a dhealas dha obair soilleir sna litrichean aige agus nar coinneamhan.

Bha Ruaraidh MacThòmais nach maireann (Ollamh na Ceiltis ann an Oilthigh Ghlaschu aig an àm) air sgrìobhadh gu Oftedal mum dheidhinn na bu tràithe ann an 1984 is an dèidh sin bhiodh Oftedal agus mi fhìn a' co-sgrìobhadh leis a' phost eadar Lùnastal na bliadhna sin chun a' Ghiblin 1985, goirid mus do chaochail e. Ged a bha na litrichean seo caran foirmeil – an tùs, bheireadh e 'Dear Mr Cox' orm agus na b' fhaide den bhliadhna 'My Dear Cox', ach na b' fhaide a-rithist, an dèidh na cuairte agam a dh'Oslo, 'Dear Richard' – chaidh againn air deasbad èasgaidh a chumail eadarainn air fàs na Lochlannais chun na Gàidhlig stèidhichte air an obair-raoin agam fhìn agus air na bha mi a' cur thuige de dh'fhiosrachadh air ainmean-àite. Sgrìobhadh Oftedal gun robh fadachd air an t-ath dhòrlach ainmean-àite fhaighinn agus gum b' fhìor thoigh leis a bhith ag obair orra. Aon uair 's gun deach mi a thadhal air a dh'Oslo, bha cothrom againn a dhol thairis air seann stuth agus air stuth ùr, agus bha a ùidh sa chuspair gu math follaiseach.

Aig deireadh m' ùine ann an Oslo, thug Magne 's a' bhean aige Eli cuireadh dhomh a dhol gu mo dhìnneir. Na b' fhaide den fheasgar sin, 's ann le làn-thoil-eachas a chluich e teip air an robh na ceithir fuinneaman *l* a chlàraich e ann an Leòdhas: air a' chuairt-raoin a rinn e ann an 1961, bha e air ceithir fuinneaman *l* eadar-dhealaichte a chlàradh aig Dòmhnall Moireasdan, à *Brèinis* #77 ann an Ùig, a bha 82 bliadhna a dh'aois aig an àm. An-diugh, chan eil ann ach trì fuinneaman *l* san dualchainnt (cho fad 's as aithne dhomh): /ʟ'/ ([ʎ̟]) chaol neo-shèimhichte mar a tha ann am *maille*, /l'/ ([l]) chaol shèimhichte mar a tha ann am *baile* agus /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) leathann neo-shèimhichte mar a tha ann am *balla*. Chaidh aig Oftedal, ge-tà, air dealachadh a chlàradh eadar /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) leathann neo-shèimhichte ann am *balla* agus /l/ ([ɬ]) leathann shèimhichte ann am *balach*, aig a bheil /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) an-diugh.[18]

17. Richard A. V. Cox, 'Place-names of the Carloway Registry, Isle of Lewis', tràchdas ollamhachd, Oilthigh Ghlaschu, 1987, a chaidh a mhòr-chuid dheth fhoillseachadh na *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their structure and significance* (2002).

18. Bha ceithir fuinneaman *l* sa chànan, mus deach /ʟ/ ([ɬ̟]) leathann neo-shèimhichte agus /l/ ([ɬ]) leathann shèimhichte còmhladh (Cox 2017, 34–35, bn 78).

§4 Oftedal's publications include articles on Norwegian, Welsh and especially Scottish Gaelic linguistics. As a linguist, he was essentially a phonologist and perhaps he was most at home as an historical phonologist. As a Celticist, his work in Lewis drew links between Old Gaelic and Modern Scottish Gaelic and, in particular, the Gaelic dialect of *Liùrbost* (Oftedal 1956); his fieldwork on place-names allowed him to focus on Norse-Gaelic linguistic contact. He also made contributions to the Linguistic Survey of Scotland: for Shandwick in Easter Ross and for Golspie and Embo in East Sutherland, which he visited in 1958; and for part of Lewis, for which he carried out fieldwork in 1961 and 1963.[19]

He had also carried out fieldwork on place-names in Benbecula and South Uist during a stay there in 1957. At the time, Oftedal was concerned about the possible effects on the local Gaelic dialects of the new guided-missile range on South Uist and the maintenance camp that had been constructed on Benbecula (Oftedal 1962a, 167). According to the 2011 Census, 65% of the population in South Uist and 53% in Benbecula are Gaelic speaking. This does not indicate, however, how much Gaelic is used – which will be less than these figures suggest – nor how many people know or remember place-names. Nor do they take into account the fall in population since Oftedal was there: in the 10 years between 1991 and 2001, the Western Isles as a whole lost 11% of its population and 20% of its Gaelic speakers; between 2001 and 2011, in spite of a 5% increase in population, the Western Isles lost 9% of its Gaelic speakers.[20] Oftedal was right to be concerned, although perhaps for different reasons, and oral material is disappearing fast.

Most of Oftedal's work in Scotland, however, was centred upon Lewis, in particular on *Liùrbost*. In terms of completeness, his study of the dialect remains the definitive account of a Scottish Gaelic dialect to date; as Jan Erik Rekdal (1991, 94) notes in an article on Norwegian linguists in the field of Celtic Studies, Oftedal was able to reap what his predecessors (such as Alf Sommerfelt and especially Carl Borgstrøm) had sown and at the same time improve the crop.

Oftedal took fieldwork very seriously. Indeed, he was generally reluctant to venture even a suggestion, let alone a conclusion, without reference to the modern spoken form of a word or name. At a later date, Oftedal wrote an article on approaches to and the pitfalls of fieldwork, entitled 'Some sources of error in linguistic fieldwork', in the volume *Celtic Studies: Essays in memory of Angus Matheson* (1968), and his earlier

19. See fn 15, above.

20. I.e. those able to speak Gaelic. All figures have been rounded.

§4 Am measg foillseachaidhean Oftedal, tha uilt air cànanachas na Nirribhis, na Cuimris agus gu h-àraidh na Gàidhlig. Mar chànanaiche, b' e fuinn-eòlaiche a bh' ann aig bun agus is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann mar fhuinn-eòlaiche eachdraidheil a bu mhotha a bha e air a dhòigh. Mar eòlaiche Ceiltis, dhèanadh an obair aige ann an Leòdhas ceanglaichean eadar an t-Sean Ghàidhlig agus Nua-Ghàidhlig na h-Albann, gu h-àraidh dualchainnt Ghàidhlig *Liùrboist* (Oftedal 1956); bheireadh an obair-raoin aige air ainmean-àite cothrom dha cuideam a chur air a' choluadar chànanach eadar an Lochlannais agus a' Ghàidhlig. Chuir e ri Suirbhidh Chànanach na h-Albann mar an ceudna: airson Sheannduaig ann an Ros an Ear agus Ghoillspidh is Eurabol ann an Cataibh an Ear air na thadhail e ann an 1958; agus airson pàirt de Leòdhas ann an 1961 agus 1963.[19]

Rinn e obair-raoin air ainmean-àite am Beinn na Fadhla agus an Uibhist a Deas mar an ceudna is e air chuairt an sin ann an 1957. Aig an àm, bha Oftedal iomagaineach mun bhuaidh a dh'fhaodadh a bhith aig raon ùr nan rocaidean-stiùirichte ann an Uibhist a Deas agus aig a' champa frithealaidh a chaidh a thogail am Beinn na Fadhla air na dualchainntean Gàidhlig ionadail (Oftedal 1962a, 167). A rèir Cunntas-sluaigh 2011, tha a' Ghàidhlig aig 65% de shluagh Uibhist a Deas is 53% de shluagh Bheinn na Fadhla. Chan innis seo, ge-tà, dè na thèid a chleachdadh de Ghàidhlig, a bhios nas lugha na chuireas na figearan seo air shùilibh; cha mhotha a dh'innseas iad cò mheud duine a dh'aithnicheas no a chuimhnicheas air ainmean-àite. Cha mhotha a bheir iad san àireimh an tuiteam ann am meud an t-sluaigh bho bha Oftedal ann: eadar 1991–2001, chaill na h-Eileanan Siar 11% den t-sluagh aca is 20% den t-sluagh aig an robh a' Ghàidhlig; eadar 2001–2011, a dh'aindeoin meudachadh sluaigh de 5%, chaill na h-Eileanan Siar 9% den t-sluagh aig an robh a' Ghàidhlig.[20] Bha còir aig Oftedal a bhith iomagaineach, ged nach b' ann air na h-aon adhbharan, is dòcha, is tha fiosrachadh beòil na dheann-sìoladh às.

B' ann ann an Leòdhas, ge-tà, a bha a' mhòr-chuid de dh'obair Oftedal stèidhichte, gu h-àraidh ann an *Liùrbost*. A thaobh coileantachd, 's e an cunntas a rinn e air an dualchainnt brod nan sgrùdaidhean air dualchainntean Gàidhlig ann an Albainn; mar a chanas Jan Erik Rekdal (1991, 94) na alt air cànanaichean Nirribheach ann an raon an Eòlais Cheiltis, chaidh aig Oftedal air na bha a ro-theachdaichean (a leithid Alf Sommerfelt agus gu h-àraidh Charl Borgstrøm) air a chur a bhuain, fhad 's a thug e fhèin am bàrr am feabhas.

Bha Oftedal dùrachdach mu obair-raoin. Gu dearbha, bha e ain-deònach san fharsaingeachd a bhith a' meantraigeadh fiù 's moladh, gun ghuth air co-dhùnadh, gun sùil a thoirt air an nuadh-riochd beòil aig facal no ainm. Na b' anmoiche na bheatha, sgrìobh Oftedal alt air an robh 'Some sources of error in linguistic fieldwork', san leabhar *Celtic Studies: Essays in memory of Angus Matheson* (1968),

19. Faic bn 15, shuas.

20. .i. An fheadhainn aig an robh a' Ghàidhlig. Na figearan uile air an dèanamh slàn.

§4 observations about some of his informants from *Liùrbost* would raise a smile with anyone who has attempted fieldwork. Of his main informant from *Liùrbost*, he says that 'his only drawback [was] a slightly nasal twang and a certain restraint of lip movements which sometimes impeded visual observation of his articulation' (Oftedal 1956, 16–17).

Of course, there are many people in Lewis who share this nasal twang, but Oftedal's comment is instructive as it also sheds light on his own approach to his discipline. (At the other end of the spectrum, I have come across an example of fieldwork where the informant would be asked by the researcher to read out place-names from lists – a methodology which can give rise to spelling pronunciations.)

In spite of a good ear, however, and a keen analytical mind for his subject, Oftedal was no stranger to the occasional mishearing: in an article in the periodical *Lochlann*, he relates how he had mistakenly heard Hebridean English [ja:ɳin] instead of [ja:nin] (i.e. 'yarning, telling stories' instead of 'yawning') as an explanation of the word *meuranaich*[21] 'yawning' which then appeared in his dialectal study in the sense 'to yarn, to tell yarns' (Oftedal 1969, 271–72).

Apart from his study of *Liùrbost* Gaelic, Oftedal's 1954 article on the village names of Lewis is probably his most widely known publication. Although the article has often received acclaim, he himself recognised that there were gaps to be filled, not least because about a quarter of the Norse loan-names are not provided with pronunciations, but mainly because he appreciated that there was still a considerable amount to learn about the historical development of sounds from Old Norse to Gaelic.

But there are other articles which, from the point of view of his discussion of phonology and the development of Old Norse to Gaelic, deserve similar attention. For example 'Ardroil' – this is the English form of a Gaelic village name in Ùig, viz *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172 – which he uses as a spring-board for discussion (Oftedal 1972); 'Norse *Steinn* in Hebridean Place-names', in the journal *Fróðskaparrit* (Oftedal 1964); and '*Barp* and *hvarf*', in *Scottish Gaelic Studies* (Oftedal 1962b).

In his last letter to me, of 29 April 1985, Oftedal told me that he was working on his 1957 Uist material: 'I have only a little over 300 names,' he wrote, 'and the Norse-influenced ones are harder to etymologise than the Lewis names, but there is enough to fill a small volume, I think' – but this project remained unfinished.[22]

21. Elsewhere *mèananaich*.

22. In Oftedal 1962a, 169, he gives the figure of 'about 500'.

air mar a làimhsichear obair-raoin agus na cunnartan na lùib, agus bheireadh a bheachdan a bu tràithe air cuid den luchd-fiosrachaidh aige à *Liùrbost* fiamh a ghàire air duine sam bith a tha air obair-raoin fheuchainn. Mun phrìomh fear-fiosrachaidh aige à *Liùrbost*, canaidh e gur h-iad na h-aon laigsean a bh' aige srann car srònach agus cuingealachadh àraidh ann an gluasad a bhilean a chumadh duine air uairean bho bhith a' faicinn a altachadh (Oftedal 1956, 16–17). §4

Gu deimhinn, tha an t-aon srann srònach aig mòran dhaoine ann an Leòdhas, ach tha beachd Oftedal oideachail seach gun seall e cuideachd ciamar a bhiodh e fhèin a' dèiligeadh ris a' chuspair aige. (Aig ceann eile na slaite, tha mi air tachairt ri eisimpleir de dh'obair-raoin far an deigheadh iarraidh air an neach-fiosrachaidh ainmean-àite a leughadh os àrd bho liostaichean – dòigh obrach a dh'fhaodas fuaimneachadh litreachaidh adhbharachadh.)

A dh'aindeoin deagh chluaise, ge-tà, agus inntinn gheur rannsachail airson a' chuspair aige, cha bu choigreach e air uairean do mhì-chluinntinn: ann an alt anns an iris *Lochlann*, innsidh e mar a chuala e Beurla Innse Gall ['ja:ɳin] an àite ['ja:nin] (.i. 'yarning, telling stories' an àite 'yawning') mar mhìneachadh air an fhacal *meuranaich*,[21] a nochd an uair sin na leabhar air an dualchainnt sa bhrìgh 'to yarn, to tell yarns' (Oftedal 1969, 271–72).

A-mach air an sgrùdadh aige air Gàidhlig *Liùrboist*, 's e an t-alt air ainmean nam bailtean ann an Leòdhas ann an 1954 am foillseachadh aig Oftedal as motha a dh'aithnichear. Ged as tric a chaidh a mholadh, bha e fhèin a' tuigsinn gun robh beàrnan rin lìonadh ann, gu h-àraidh a chionn 's gu bheil mu chairteal de na h-ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais gun fhuaimneachaidhean, ach sa mhòr-chuid a chionn 's gun robh fhios aige gun robh mòran ri ionnsachadh fhathast mu fhàs eachdraidheil nam fuaimean bhon Lochlannais chun na Gàidhlig.

Ach tha uilt eile ann a tha, bho thaobh a' mheòrachaidh a rinn Oftedal air fuinn-eòlas agus air fàs na Lochlannais chun na Gàidhlig, airidh air an dearbh aithneachadh. Mar eisimpleir 'Ardroil' – 's e seo an riochd Beurla a th' aig ainm Gàidhlig air baile ann an Ùig, .i. *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172 – a chleachdas e mar chloich leuma gus deasbad a thogail (Oftedal 1972); 'Norse *Steinn* in Hebridean Place-names', san iris *Fróðskaparrit* (Oftedal 1964); agus '*Barp* and *hvarf*', ann an *Scottish Gaelic Studies* (Oftedal 1962b).

Na litir mu dheireadh thugam air 29 Giblean 1985, dh'innis Oftedal dhomh gun robh e ag obair air an stuth Uibhisteach aige à 1957, nach robh aige ach beagan a bharrachd air 300 ainm, agus gun robh an fheadhainn air an robh buaidh na Lochlannais na bu dorra fhreumhachadh na an fheadhainn ann an Leòdhas, ach gun robh gu leòr ann, na bheachd-san, gus leabhar beag a lìonadh – ach cha deach am pròiseact seo a choileanadh.[22]

21. An àitichean eile *mèananaich*.

22. Ann an Oftedal 1962a, 169, canaidh e mu 500.

§4 Oftedal noted on more than one occasion the pioneering work of Gaelic scholars such as W. J. Watson and George Henderson who attempted to work out lists of correspondences between Old Norse and Gaelic. Although reference to Modern Icelandic forms is sometimes an impediment in their work, Oftedal points out that the main shortcoming is in their use of traditional Gaelic orthography rather than phonetic script (e.g. Oftedal 1954, 366–67).

Oftedal was able to provide this and thereby established a much more scientific basis for the study of Old Norse in Gaelic. Upon this basis, we have a wider and deeper knowledge of the historical phonology involved, and both Oftedal's work and, indeed, what has been built upon it since, are worthy of celebration. It would be difficult to overemphasise the contribution he made in this area: following upon others, Oftedal continued the process of opening up the linguistic record of Norse-Gaelic contact, providing it with the necessary academic foundation and placing it on a par with the historical and archaeological records.

Building on Magne Oftedal's work, the aim of the present volume, as noted above, is to open up the subject further, given the additional research and scholarship of the last 65 years. It is hoped this book will maintain or provide a link – particularly for people from the island, both Gaelic and English speakers, young and old – to the legacy of Lewis place-names, especially at a time when many of them are falling out of use.

§5 §5 Other published work

Commentary of any depth on Lewis place-names first appears at the beginning of the 20th century. Interest in place-names arose at the time as a result of an appetite for antiquity, hence the focus in early publications was almost entirely on the influence of the Vikings.

In his *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (1904, 263–72), William J. Watson gives an account of a selection of Lewis place-names that derive from Old Norse, organised according to element; the Preface acknowledges Kenneth Mackenzie from *Siadar* #296, Nis, whose own paper on the topic, 'Lewis Place-Names', had appeared the previous year. George Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland* (1910), refers to place-names from Lewis, although the remit of his book is wider. William C. MacKenzie has a longer list of place-names in *The Western Isles: Their history, traditions and place-names* (1931, 251–342), as does Donald MacIver in his *Place-Names of Lewis and Harris* (1934).

§4 Thug Oftedal iomradh barrachd air aon uair air an t-saothair thionnsgalaich aig sgoilearan Gàidhlig a leithid William J. Watson agus George Henderson a dh'fheuch liostaichean a chur ri chèile de cho-fhreagraidhean eadar an Lochlannais agus a' Ghàidhlig. Ged a bhios tarraing air riochdan Nua-Thìlis na bacadh air uairean san obair aca, cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh gur h-i a' phrìomh easbhaidh aca an dòigh air an cleachd iad ceart-sgrìobhadh dualchasach na Gàidhlig seach sgriobt fhuaim-eòlach (m.e. Oftedal 1954, 366–67).

B' urrainn do dh'Oftedal seo a sholaradh agus air an dòigh sin chaidh bunait na bu shaidheansaile a stèidheachadh airson a bhith a' sgrùdadh na Lochlannais anns a' Ghàidhlig. Air a' bhunait seo, tha eòlas nas fharsainge agus nas doimhne againn air an fhuinn-eòlas eachdraidheil a tha an sàs ann, agus tha an dà chuid saothair Oftedal agus, gu dearbha, na chaidh a thogail oirre bhon uair sin airidh air comharradh. Bhiodh e duilich cus cuideim a chur air na chuir e ris an raon a tha seo: a' leantainn air càch, chùm Oftedal ris a' phròsas san deigheadh cunntas cànanach a' choluadair Lochlannais-Ghàidhlig fhosgladh a-mach, a' toirt dha a' bhunait acadaimigich a bha a dhìth air agus ga chur air an aon ìre ris an fhianais eachdraidheil agus arc-eòlaich.

A' togail air obair Mhagne Oftedal, 's e amas na saothrach seo, mar a thuirteadh shuas, an cuspair seo fhosgladh a-mach an dèidh na rinneadh de thuilleadh rannsachaidh is sgoilearachd sna trì fichead bliadhna 's a còig mu dheireadh. Thathas an dòchas gum faigh daoine, gu h-àraidh muinntir an eilein – luchd na Gàidhlig is luchd na Beurla, sean is òg – tlachd às an leabhar seo agus fiosrachadh a chumas no a chruthaicheas ceangal ri dìleib ainmean-àite Leòdhais, gu h-àraidh ann an àm a bhios mòran dhiubh a' tuiteam bhàrr bilean an t-sluaigh.

§5 §5 Obair fhoillsichte eile

Thòisich meòrachadh air ainmean-àite Leòdhais ann an doimhneachd sam bith mu thoiseach na 20mh linne. Nochd ùidh ann an ainmean-àite aig an àm mar thoradh air càil do dh'àrsaidheachd, às a sin cha mhòr nach laigh an cuideam ann am foillseachaidhean tràtha air fad air buaidh nan Ùiginneach.

Na *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (1904, 263–72), bheir William J. Watson cunntas air taghadh de dh'ainmean ann an Leòdhas a thàrmaicheas anns an Lochlannais, air an eagrachadh a rèir eileamaid; san Fhacal-toisich, aithnichidh e Kenneth Mackenzie à *Siadar* #296, Nis, a bha am pàipear aige fhèin air a' chuspair, 'Lewis Place-Names', air tighinn a-mach a' bhliadhna roimhe. Nì George Henderson, *The Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland* (1910), tarraing air ainmean-àite à Leòdhas, ged a tha rùn an leabhair aige mòran nas fharsainge. Tha liosta nas fhaide de dh'ainmean aig William C. MacKenzie anns *The Western Isles: Their history, traditions and place-names* (1931, 251–342) agus aig Donald MacIver na *Place-Names of Lewis and Harris* (1934).

§5 Some of these early authors had a particular knack of resolving the etymology of names under their consideration, although at times only on a superficial level. Scholars of their day were restricted by the lack of phonetics – the system by which the sounds of a language can be written down accurately; however, it is evident that particularly Watson and Henderson had a good understanding of language development in principle and often of individual developments in practice. In general, however, all were limited by the fact that they frequently used Icelandic rather than Old Norse as a starting point. At times, MacIver also appears to bend his Gaelic forms to suit his Old Norse forms.

After the Second World War, apart from those such as Carl Borgstrøm, Hermann Pálsson, Iain Mac an Tàilleir (Iain Taylor), Ian Fraser and William F. H. Nicolaisen whose work on place-names from Lewis was more incidental, Dòmhnall MacAmhlaigh (Donald Macaulay) gives a general account of place-names from his own island (*Beàrnaraigh* #51) by classifying the elements of names according to sense – and with more emphasis on the Gaelic names – in 'Studying the Place Names of Bernera' (1972), although it lacks the support of phonetic evidence; Murchadh M. MacDhòmhnaill looks at the etymology of names in his 'Ainmean-Àite Sgìr' a' Bhac, Eilean Leòdhais' ('the place-names of *Sgìre a' Bhac*, Isle of Lewis', 1997), with its strengths in local knowledge and pronunciation rather than historical phonology; while Sofia Evemalm researches peoples' names within place-names in her *Theory and Practice in the Coining and Transmission of Place-Names: A study of the Norse and Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of Lewis* (2017), but without a phonological basis.

Most of the work on the subject since then, however, has been undertaken by Magne Oftedal and Richard Cox (the present author). Oftedal's insight into difficult questions of historical phonology in Norse-Gaelic linguistic contact comes to the fore in articles such as '*Barp* and *hvarf*' (1962b), 'Norse *Steinn* in Hebridean Place-names' (1964), 'Ardroil' (1972; #172) and 'Truiseil' (1979; #31). As the title suggests, his article 'Scandinavian Place-names in Celtic Territory: An attempt at a linguistic classification' (1980) is a attempt at classifying and elucidating the structure of names, both Gaelic and Norse, although it is a mainly syntactical analysis and lacks an onomastic perspective. But 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides' (1954) is the survey that best guides the reader through the phonological processes involved in the development of Old Norse to Gaelic.

Cox follows Oftedal with articles on individual phonological issues, e.g. 'The Origin and Relative Chronology of *Shader*-names in the Hebrides' (1990b), 'Descendants of *Bólstaðr*? A re-examination of *bost* & co.' (1994), 'The Development of Old Norse *-rð*(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic' (2007b) and 'The

§5 Bha liut àraidh aig cuid de na h-ùghdaran tràtha seo air freumhachd nan ainmean fon phrosbaig aca fhuasgladh, ged nach robh sin ach air an uachdar air uairean. Bha sgoilearan an latha air an cuingealachadh seach nach robh fuaim-eòlas ann – an riaghailt air an gabh fuaimean cànain sgrìobhadh gu cruinn; gidheadh, tha e follaiseach gun robh deagh thuigse, gu h-àraidh aig Watson is Henderson, air leasachadh cànain ann am prionnsapal agus gu tric air leasachaidhean fa leth ann an seagh. San fharsaingeachd, ge-tà, bha iad uile ri bacan gu tric is iad a' cleachdadh na Tìlis seach na Lochlannais mar àite-tòiseachaidh. Air uairean, is coltach cuideachd gum biodh MacIver a' lùbadh cruth nan ainmean Gàidhlig aige gu 'm freagradh iad ris na cruthan Lochlannais aige.

An dèidh an Dàrna Cogaidh, a bharrachd air an fheadhainn a leithid Charl Borgstrøm, Hermann Pálsson, Iain Mhic an Tàilleir (Iain Taylor), Iain Fhriseil (Ian Fraser) agus William F. H. Nicolaisen nach do rinn obair air ainmean-àite à Leòdhas ach gu ìre, bheir Dòmhnall MacAmhlaigh (Donald Macaulay) cunntas bitheanta air ainmean-àite san eilean aige fhèin (*Beàrnaraigh* #51) le bhith a' rangachadh eileamaidean nan ainmean a rèir brìghe – agus le barrachd cuideim air na h-ainmean Gàidhlig – ann an 'Studying the Place Names of Bernera' (1972), ged a tha taic bho fhianais fhuaim-eòlaich dha dhìth; bheir Murchadh M. MacDhòmhnaill sùil air freumhachd nan ainmean na 'Ainmean-Àite Sgìr' a' Bhac, Eilean Leòdhais' (1997), le a neartan ann an eòlas ionadail agus fuaimneachadh seach ann am fuinn-eòlas eachdraidheil; fhad 's a bhios Sofia Evemalm a' rannsachadh ainmean dhaoine am broinn nan ainmean-àite na *Theory and Practice in the Coining and Transmission of Place-Names: A study of the Norse and Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of Lewis* (2017), ach gun bhunait fhuinn-eòlach.

'S iad Magne Oftedal agus Richard Cox (an t-ùghdar sa), ge-tà, a rinn a' chuid a bu mhotha de na chaidh a dhèanamh air a' chuspair bhuaithe sin. Chithear lèirsinn Oftedal a' tighinn am bàrr a thaobh cheistean doirbhe ann am fuinn-eòlas eachdraidheil a' choluadair cànain eadar an Lochlannais agus a' Ghàidhlig ann an uilt mar '*Barp* and *hvarf*' (1962b), 'Norse *Steinn* in Hebridean Place-names' (1964), 'Ardroil' (1972; #172) agus 'Truiseil' (1979; #31). Mar a chuireas an tiotal air shùilibh, tha an t-alt aige 'Scandinavian Place-names in Celtic Territory: An attempt at a linguistic classification' (1980) na oidhirp air co-chur nan ainmean, an dà chuid Gàidhlig agus Lochlannais, a rangachadh agus a shoilleireachadh, ged as e sgrùdadh co-rèir sa mhòr-chuid a th' ann dheth agus tha sealladh ainmeachais dha dhìth. Ach 's e 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides' (1954) an t-suirbhidh as fheàrr a threòraicheas an leughadair tro na pròsasan fuinn-eòlach a bhios an lùib an leasachaidh bhon Lochlannais chun na Gàidhlig.

Leanaidh Cox Oftedal le uilt air gnothaichean fuinn-eòlach fa leth, m.e. 'The Origin and Relative Chronology of *Shader*-names in the Hebrides' (1990b), 'Descendants of *Bólstaðr*? A re-examination of *bost* & co.' (1994), 'The Development

§5 Development of Old Norse *-fn* in (Scottish) Gaelic' (2008a), and on usage, syntax and development in 'Place-nomenclature in the Context of the Bilingual Community of Lewis: Status, origin and interaction' (1990a), 'The Norse Element in Scottish Place-names: Syntax as a chronological marker' (2007c) and 'Towards a Taxonomy of Contact Onomastics: Norse place-names in Scottish Gaelic' (2009a). The Gaelic element of his survey *Place-names of the Carloway Registry, Isle of Lewis* (1987) was published as *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their structure and significance* (2002a).

§6 §6 Language periods

§6 (i) Gaelic

The history of the Gaelic language is divided into several periods (see Ó Baoill 2010):

Primitive Gaelic,[23] c.400–c.700: a period defined by ogam inscriptions (Cox 2017, 2–3), most of them in Ireland.

Old Gaelic, c.700–c.900: a period defined especially by the explanatory glosses in manuscripts and written in a Latin alphabet developed by the clergy of the early Christian Church; this is the period in which the features lenition, apocope and syncope appear in the language.

Middle Gaelic, c.900–c.1200: a period defined by the large growth in written literature and considerable changes in the language; in Scotland, it saw the development of the feature eclipsis, innovation in the form of loan-words from Old Norse and the development of the feature pre-aspiration in dialects in central and western Scotland.

(The term *Early Gaelic* means the Gaelic language before c.1200.)

Early Modern Gaelic, c.1200–c.1600: a period defined by new rules for writing the language – rules that were adhered to closely especially among poets and the ruling class of Gaels – and a considerable shift in the morphology of the verb.

Modern Gaelic, c.1600 onwards: a period defined by a loosening and finally freeing of the strict rules in writing that distinguished the Early Gaelic period; which saw the translation of the Bible into Gaelic and the development, as a result, of a Gaelic readership and of writing that,

23. The terms Primitive Irish, Old Irish, Middle Irish, Early Irish and Early Modern Irish have often been used in the past.

of Old Norse *-rð*(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic' (2007b) agus 'The Development of Old Norse *-fn* in (Scottish) Gaelic' (2008a), agus air cleachdadh, co-rèir is fàs ann am 'Place-nomenclature in the Context of the Bilingual Community of Lewis: Status, origin and interaction' (1990a), 'The Norse Element in Scottish Place-names: Syntax as a chronological marker' (2007c) agus 'Towards a Taxonomy of Contact Onomastics: Norse place-names in Scottish Gaelic' (2009a). Chaidh an eileamaid Ghàidhlig na shuirbhidh *Place-names of the Carloway Registry, Isle of Lewis* (1987) fhoillseachadh mar *The Gaelic Place-names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: Their structure and significance* (2002a). §5

§6 Linntean cànain §6

§6 (i) A' Ghàidhlig

Thèid eachdraidh cànan na Gàidhlig a roinn ann an corra linn (faic Ó Baoill 2010):

An Ur-Ghàidhlig,[23] c.400–c.700: linn air a sònrachadh le in-sgrìobhainnean oghaim (Cox 2017, 2–3), a' chuid as motha dhiubh ann an Èirinn.

An t-Sean Ghàidhlig, c.700–c.900: linn air a sònrachadh gu h-àraidh le sanasan mìneachaidh ann an làmh-sgrìobhainnean agus a chaidh an sgrìobhadh ann an aibidil Laidinn air a cruthachadh leis a' chlèir san Eaglais Chrìosdaidh thràth; 's e seo an linn sam bi na feartan sèimheachadh, teasgadh deiridh agus teasgadh meadhain a' nochdadh sa chànan.

A' Mheadhan-Ghàidhlig, c.900–c.1200: linn air a sònrachadh le fàs mòr ann an litreachas sgrìobhte agus atharrachaidhean mòra sa chànan; ann an Albainn, chunnacas leasachaidhean anns an fheart dùbhradh, nuadhas le facail-iasaid às an Lochlannais agus fàs an fheirt ro-analachadh anns na dualchainntean ann am meadhan agus air taobh an iar na h-Albann.

(Tha am briathar *A' Ghàidhlig Thràth* a' ciallachadh cànan na Gàidhlig ro c.1200.)

An Nua-Ghàidhlig Thràth, c.1200–c.1600: linn air a sònrachadh le riaghailtean ùra airson a bhith a' sgrìobhadh a' chànain, riaghailtean a ghlèidhte gu teann gu h-àraidh am measg bhàrd agus urracha mòra nan Gàidheal, agus le mòr-leasachadh ann an cruith-eòlas a' ghnìomhair.

An Nua-Ghàidhlig, c.1600 air adhart: linn a chì lasachadh agus mu dheireadh fuasgladh sna riaghailtean teanna sgrìobhaidh air an tèid linn na Gàidhlig Tràth a shònrachadh; a chunnaic tionndadh a' Bhìobaill dhan Ghàidhlig agus am fàs, mar thoradh air a sin, ann an leughadaireachd Ghàidhlig agus

23. Sa Bheurla, chleachdte na briathran Primitive Irish, Old Irish, Middle Irish, Early Irish agus Early Modern Irish gu tric, seach Primitive Gaelic ˥c.

§6 more and more, employed the vernacular or ordinary Gaelic language.

§6 (ii) Norwegian

The history of the language of Norway is divided into several periods (Haugen 1976, 32–43, 89–94; 1984, 20–28):

Proto-Scandinavian, until c.550: a period for which there are only a few runic inscriptions consisting of a word or two.

Common Scandinavian,[24] c.550–c.1050: a period defined by runic inscriptions and for the latter part of which (c.800–c.1050) the term *Older Old Norse*[25] is sometimes used, i.e. the language of the Viking Age, a period which came to an end with the arrival of Christianity.

Old Norse,[26] c.1050–c.1350: a period which starts with the first manuscript documents and which can be divided into *Old East Scandinavian* and *Old West Scandinavian*. For the sake of simplicity, the term *Old Norse* (or *Norse*) is used for Old West Scandinavian in this work, except where a distinction between these two branches needs to be made.

From Old East Scandinavian developed modern *Danish* and *Swedish*; from Old West Scandinavian developed *Old Icelandic*, *Old Norwegian*, *Old Faroese* and, one might add, *Old Norn*, i.e. the language spoken in the Northern Isles (Shetland and Orkney).

For geographical reasons, the term Old West Norn is used in this work for the Old Norn spoken in Gaelic Scotland, i.e. where Gaelic is still or was once spoken in Scotland.

Middle Scandinavian, c.1350–c.1550: a period from which *Middle Norwegian* etc. derives, and, one might add, *Middle Norn*. There is no direct evidence that *West Norn* survived as late as this. *Norn* itself did not survive beyond c.1700 (Barnes 1991, 449–56).

The course of the history of the written language in Norway was driven for the most part by Danish, as the country was under the control of Denmark from 1397 to 1814; thereafter, Norway entered a dynastic union with Sweden until becoming independent in 1905. The result of this was that there are two written traditions in the country today: *Bokmål* ('book-language', earlier

24. In Norwegian, *urnordisk*.

25. In Norwegian, *eldre norrønt*.

26. In Norwegian, *norrønt*.

ann an sgrìobhaidhean a chleachd, barrachd is barrachd, cànan na tuatha. §6

§6 (ii) An Nirribhis

Thèid eachdraidh cànan na Nirribhidh a roinn ann an caochladh linntean (Haugen 1976, 32–43, 89–94; 1984, 20–28):

An Ur-Lochlannais, gu c.550: linn dha nach eil ach corra in-sgrìobhainn rùnach anns nach eil ach facal no dhà.

An Lochlannais Bhitheanta,[24] c.550–c.1050: linn air a sònrachadh le in-sgrìobhainnean rùnach agus a chanar ris an dàrna cuibhreann aice (c.800–c.1050) air uairean *An t-Seann Lochlannais as Sine*,[25] .i. cànan Linn nan Ùiginneach, linn a thàinig gu crìch le teachd na Crìosdaidheachd.

An t-Seann Lochlannais,[26] c.1050–c.1350: linn a thig a-steach leis na ciad làmh-sgrìobhainnean agus a ghabhas roinn eadar *an t-Seann Lochlannais an Ear* agus *an t-Seann Lochlannais an Iar*. Air sgàth sìmplidheachd, cleachdar *an t-Seann Lochlannais* (no *an Lochlannais*) ris an t-Seann Lochlannais an Iar san leabhar seo, ach nuair a dh'fheumar sgaradh a dhèanamh eadar an dà mheur seo.

Às an t-Seann Lochlannais an Ear, dh'fhàs *Danmharcais* agus *Suainis* an latha an-diugh; às an t-Seann Lochlannais an Iar, dh'fhàs *an t-Seann Tìlis*, *an t-Seann Nirribhis*, *an t-Seann Fhàrothais* agus, faodar a ràdh, *an t-Seann Nòrn*, .i. an cànan a bhruidhinnte sna h-Eileanan a Tuath (Sealtainn agus Arcaibh).

Air adhbharan cruinn-eòlach, cleachdar am briathar *an t-Seann Nòrn an Iar* san t-saothair seo ris an t-Seann Nòrn a chleachdte air a' Ghàidhealtachd, .i. far am bruidhinnear fhathast air neo am bruidhinnte uair a' Ghàidhlig ann an Albainn.

A' Mheadhan-Lochlannais, c.1350–c.1550: linn às an èirich *a' Mheadhan-Nirribhis* ↄc agus, faodar a ràdh, *a' Mheadhan-Nòrn*. Chan eil fianais dhìreach ann gun do mhair *an Nòrn an Iar* cho fada ri seo. Cha do mhair *an Nòrn* fhèin seachad air c.1700 (Barnes 1991, 449–56).

Bha buaidh mhòr aig an Danmharcais air eachdraidh a' chànain sgrìobhte ann an Nirribhidh agus an dùthaich bho smachd na Danmhairc bho 1397 gu 1814; an dèidh sin, chaidh Nirribhidh na h-aonadh rìgh-shliochd leis an t-Suain gu 'n do dh'fhàs i neo-eisimeileach ann an 1905. B' i a' bhuil air seo gu bheil dà dhualchas cànain sgrìobhte san dùthaich an-diugh: *Bokmål* ('leabhar-chainnt',

24. Ann an Nirribhis, *urnordisk*.

25. Ann an Nirribhis, *eldre norrønt*.

26. Ann an Nirribhis, *norrønt*.

§6 called *Riksmål* 'language of the land or realm'), a legacy of those centuries during which Norway was under the control of Denmark, and *Nynorsk* ('new Norwegian', earlier called *Landsmål* 'language of the nation'), a written tradition that developed from the middle of the 19th century and that was based upon the dialects of western and central Norway, those least affected by Danish.

It is worth noting that, although Modern Icelandic is conservative in nature, it is not the same as Old Icelandic or Old Norse and that, when reading the work of earlier commentators such William J. Watson (for example 1904) and George Henderson (for example 1910), it is important to bear in mind that some of their derivations are based on Icelandic or Old Icelandic rather than Old Norse.

For the sake of consistency, Gaelic, Old Norse etc. forms cited by commentators below are usually corrected where appropriate and where possible §16.

§6 (iii) Scots

The history of the Scots language is divided into several periods (Corbett, McClure and Stuart-Smith 2003, 4–15):

> *Pre-literary Scots*, before 1375: a period whose origin lies in the language spoken by the Anglian invaders of Bernicia, the kingdom which by c.700 had expanded to include the Lothians.
>
> *Early Scots*, c.1375–c.1450: a period which begins with John Barbour's narrative poem 'Brus'.
>
> *Middle Scots*, c.1450–c.1700: a period which sees further differentiation from its sister language in the north of England.
>
> *Modern Scots*, c.1700 onwards: a period in which English becomes the official language throughout the country as a result of the Union in 1707. However, while the upper classes developed a more refined pronunciation of Scots, broader accents survive in rural communities and amongst the urban working class.

§7 ### §7 Place-names

A place-name is a proper noun formed for the most part from a compound of two or more elements, for instance article, noun, adjective or preposition, e.g. ScG *An Cnoc Àrd* 'the high hill' (article + noun + adjective) #140 or *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* 'between two fords' (preposition + adjective + noun) #172.

ris an cante na bu tràithe *Riksmål* 'cainnt na dùthcha no na rìoghachd'), a tha na dìleib bho na ceudan de bhliadhnaichean san robh an Nirribhidh fo smachd na Danmhairc, agus *Nynorsk* ('Nirribhis ùr', ris an cante na bu tràithe *Landsmål* 'cainnt na dùthcha no an nàisein'), dualchas sgrìobhte a dh'fhàs bho dheireadh na 19mh linne agus a chaidh a stèidheachadh air na dualchainntean ann an ceann an iar agus ann am meadhan na Nirribhidh, an fheadhainn a bu lugha a bha air a dhol fo bhuaidh na Danmharcais. §6

'S fhiach a mhothachadh, ged a tha an Nua-Thìlis gu math glèidhteach na nàdar, nach ionann i agus an t-Seann Tìlis no an t-Seann Lochlannais agus, nuair a leughar an obair aig luchd-beachda na bu tràithe a leithid William J. Watson (m.e. 1904) agus George Henderson (m.e. 1910), gu bheil e cudromach a chumail air inntinn gun tèid cuid de na bunachasan aca a stèidheachadh air an Tìlis no an t-Seann Tìlis seach air an t-Seann Lochlannais.

Air sgàth cunbhalachd, thèid riochdan Gàidhlig, Lochlannais 7c aig luchd-beachda shìos a cheartachadh mar as trice far an iomchaidh agus ma ghabhas dèanamh §16.

§6 (iii) An Albais

Thèid eachdraidh cànan na h-Albais (a' Bheurla Ghallta) a roinn ann an corra linn (Corbett, McClure agus Stuart-Smith 2003, 4–15):

> *An Albais Ro-litreachail*, ro 1375: linn a bha a tùs sa chànan a bhruidhinnte le luchd-brisidh Anglach ann am Bernicia, an rìoghachd a bha air a meudachadh ro c.700 gus Lodainn a ghabhail a-steach.
>
> *An Albais Thràth*, c.1375–c.1450: linn a dh'èireas le 'Brus', an duan sgeòil aig John Barbour.
>
> *A' Mheadhan-Albais*, c.1450–c.1700: linn sam faicear tuilleadh dealachaidh san Albais ri a cànan-dàimhe (a' Bheurla) ann an ceann a tuath Shasainn.
>
> *An Nuadh-Albais*, c.1700 air adhart: linn san tèid a' Bheurla (seach an Nuadh-Albais) na cànan oifigeil air feadh na dùthcha mar thoradh air an Aonadh ann an 1707. Gidheadh, fhad 's a thug mathan na dùthcha orra blas Albais na b' fhinealta, mairidh blasan nas treasa am measg choimhearsnachdan air an dùthaich agus am measg nam mithean sna bailtean-mòra.

§7 Ainmean-àite §7

Tha ainm-àite na ainmear sònraichte air a dhèanamh mar as trice à fillteach de dhà no barrachd eileamaidean, mar a tha alt, ainmear, buadhair no roimhear, m.e. GA *An Cnoc Àrd* (alt + ainmear + buadhair) #140 no *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* (roimhear + buadhair + ainmear) #172.

§7 From the point of view of onomastics or the study of names, the generic element is the heart of the name, usually a noun (along with any definite article) that gives a basic description of the feature it denotes, e.g. ScG ***An Cnoc*** 'the hill' #133 (where the generic is co-terminus with the name itself), ***Geàrraidh*** *na h-Aibhne* 'the enclosure of the river' #197, ***Na*** *Còig* ***Peighinnean*** 'the five pennylands' #148, ***Baile*** *Ailein* 'Ailean's farm' #28 and ***Crò*** *Mòr* 'greater **Crò*' #154 (while **Crò* is an Old Norse loan-name, it still functions as a generic).

A specific element may occur along with the generic, an adjective or noun that provides information about the nature of the generic: *An Cnoc* ***Àrd*** 'the high hill', *Crò* ***Mòr*** 'greater **Crò*', *Na* ***Còig*** *Peighinnean* 'the five pennylands'; about its location in relation to another feature: *Geàrraidh* ***na h-Aibhne*** 'the enclosure of the river'; or to whom it belongs: *Baile* ***Ailein*** '*Ailean*'s farm'.

Occasionally, a modifying element is used to qualify the generic and specific as a unit, e.g. *Creag Dhubh* ***Mhurchaidh*** 'the black rock of *Murchadh*'. This modifier frequently has a contrastive function, e.g. *Loch Lacsabhat* ***Àrd*** 'the upper *Loch Lacsabhat*' ~ *Loch Lacsabhat* ***Ìosal*** 'the lower *Loch Lacsabhat*' (§8, fn 28), although this function is also found in specifics, e.g. *Siabost* ***a Deas*** 'the southern (i.e. further south) *Siabost*' ~ *Siabost* ***a Tuath*** 'the northern (i.e. further north) *Siabost*' #295.[27]

§8 §8 Loans

A distinction is made between the terms Old Norse loan-word in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. an Old Norse word that has been borrowed into Scottish Gaelic, and Old Norse loan-name in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. an Old Norse place-name created by Old Norse speakers that has been borrowed – as a place-name – into Scottish Gaelic.

For example, the two Scottish Gaelic words *sgarbh* 'cormorant' and *sgeir* '(marine) rock' were borrowed from ON *skarf* acc. m. 'cormorant' and ON *sker* nt. '(marine) rock', respectively; they are Old Norse loan-words in Scottish Gaelic and, in addition to being used in the everyday Scottish Gaelic language, are found in several Scottish Gaelic place-names created by Scottish Gaelic speakers, for example *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* 'the skerry of the cormorants', e.g. at NGR NB405573 (see Guide (5.), p. 439).

While ScG *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* is a Scottish Gaelic place-name created through the medium of Scottish Gaelic by Scottish Gaelic speakers, this is not the case with the place-name ScG *Sgairbhsgeir* [ˈs̪kəɾʲ͡əvəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (e.g. NB447599), a name borrowed into Scottish Gaelic from ON **Skarfasker* '(the)

27. For a description of the structure of Gaelic place-names from the point of view of syntax and onomastics, see §26 and §28. Regarding the types of structure in which Old Norse loan-names are found in Gaelic place-names, see §29.

§7 Bho thaobh ainmeachais no ainm-eòlais, aig cridhe an ainme gheibhear an seòrsaichear no eileamaid sheòrsachaidh a bhios na ainmear mar as trice (cho math ri alt deimhinnte sam bith) a bheir cunntas bunaiteach air an fheart ris am bean e, m.e. GA ***An Cnoc*** #133 (far a bheil an seòrsaichear co-shìnte ris an ainm fhèin), ***Geàrraidh*** *na h-Aibhne* #197, ***Na*** *Còig* ***Peighinnean*** #148, ***Baile*** *Ailein* #28 agus ***Crò*** *Mòr* #154 (ged a tha **Crò* na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais, tha dreuchd sheòrsachaidh aige fhathast).

Faodaidh sònraichear no eileamaid shònrachaidh nochdadh còmhla ris an t-seòrsaichear, .i. buadhair no ainmear a dh'innseas mu nàdar an t-seòrsaicheir: *An Cnoc* ***Àrd***, *Crò* ***Mòr***, *Na* ***Còig*** *Peighinnean*; mun àite aige an coimeas ri feart eile: *Geàrraidh* ***na h-Aibhne*** (.i. 'an geàrraidh ri taobh na h-aibhne'); no cò dha a bhuineas e: *Baile* ***Ailein.***

Air uairean, cuirear leasaichear no eileamaid leasachaidh ris an t-seòrsaichear agus sònraichear mar aonad, m.e. *Creag Dhubh* ***Mhurchaidh***. Gu tric, 's e dreuchd iomsgaraidh a bhios aig an leasaichear seo, m.e. *Loch Lacsabhat* ***Àrd*** (.i. *Loch Lacsabhat* as fhaide shuas) ~ *Loch Lacsabhat* ***Ìosal*** (.i. *Loch Lacsabhat* as fhaide shìos) (§8, bn 28), ged a gheibhear an dreuchd seo aig an t-sònraichear mar an ceudna, m.e. *Siabost* ***a Deas*** (.i. *Siabost* as fhaide a deas) ~ *Siabost* ***a Tuath*** (.i. *Siabost* as fhaide a tuath) #295.[27]

§8 §8 Iasadan

Nithear sgaradh eadar na briatharan facal-iasaid Seann Lochlannais ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, .i. facal Lochlannais a thàinig a-steach air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig, agus ainm-iasaid Seann Lochlannais, .i. ainm Lochlannais a chaidh a chruthachadh le luchd-bruidhinn na Lochlannais a thàinig a-steach air iasad – na ainm-àite – dhan Ghàidhlig.

Mar eisimpleir, 's ann à SL *skarf* cusp. f. agus *sker* n., fa leth, a tha an dà fhacal Ghàidhlig *sgarbh* 'seòrsa eòin-mhara' agus *sgeir* 'creag (mhara)'; 's e facail-iasaid Lochlannais a tha annta anns a' Ghàidhlig agus, a thuilleadh air a bhith gan cleachdadh sa chainnt làitheil, gheibhear lorg orra ann an caochladh ainm-àite, mar eisimpleir *Sgeir nan Sgarbh*, m.e. aig BCN NB405573 (faic Stiùireadh (5.), d. 440).

Fhad 's a tha GA *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* na ainm-àite Gàidhlig a chaidh a chruthachadh tro mheadhan na Gàidhlig le luchd-bruidhinn na Gàidhlig, chan ionann sin agus an t-ainm-àite GA *Sgairbhisgeir* [ˈs̪kəɾʲ͡əvəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (m.e. NB447597), ainm-àite a thàinig a-steach air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig à SL **Skarfasker* 'sgeir nan sgarbh' agus a chaidh fhuaimneachadh atharrachadh mean air mhean (mar a chaidh

27. Airson cunntais air co-chur nan ainmean-àite Gàidhlig bho thaobh co-rèir agus ainmeachais, faic §26 agus §28. Bho thaobh nan seòrsaichean co-chuir san lorgar ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ann an ainmean-àite Gàidhlig, faic §29.

§8 skerry of the cormorants' and whose pronunciation has been adapted (as has the pronunciation of Old Norse loan-words in Scottish Gaelic) to the sound system of the Scottish Gaelic language by Scottish Gaelic speakers (cf. Oftedal 1976, 127).

Having been borrowed into Scottish Gaelic, an Old Norse loan-name can be used as any other nominal element in the Scottish Gaelic language, as seen for example with the Old Norse loan-name *Lacsabhat*,[28] from which the Scottish Gaelic place-name *Loch Lacsabhat* 'the loch of *Lacsabhat*' was formed, from which in turn the Scottish Gaelic place-names *Loch Lacsabhat Àrd* 'the upper *Loch Lacsabhat*' and *Loch Lacsabhat Ìosal* 'the lower *Loch Lacsabhat*' were formed. (For the range of Scottish Gaelic place-name structures in which Old Norse loan-names may feature, see Cox 2001, 48–51.)

In summary, the words *sgarbh* and *sgeir* were borrowed into Gaelic from Old Norse *skarf* and *sker*. The place-name *Lacsabhat* was created in Old Norse by Old Norse speakers but borrowed as a place-name into Gaelic by Gaelic speakers and is now part of the local Gaelic onomasticon; the place-name *Loch Lacsabhat* is a Gaelic creation that happens to have an Old Norse loan-name as its specific element. A description 'the Old Norse loan-name ScG *Lacsabhat*' acknowledges both the historical linguistic origin and the synchronic linguistic identity of the place-name *Lacsabhat*.

The above is also true for loans from Scots or English.

§9 §9 Phonological adaptation

Loan-names from one language to another language are adapted phonologically in a number of ways (Cox 2009a, 19–23):

§9 (i) Loan-names

Loan-names involve morphemic importation, with more or less phonemic substitution, e.g. ScG *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̥ɔɾ͡ʃə̯ˌʃkʲaɣ] < ON **Bergsgjá* '(the) cove of the promontory', with genitive singular of ON *berg* nt. and ON *gjá* f. 'ravine, cove': ON *rg* yields an epenthetic vowel in Gaelic, before loss of the fricative (cf. ScG *Borghaston* < ON **Borg-stafn* #69); the medial cluster is palatalised throughout; ON *á* is shortened in a weakly stressed environment and the open final syllable is closed by a consonant, cf. ScG *gàrradh* (#182).

§9 (ii) Loan-shifts

Loan-shifts involve complete morphemic substitution, e.g. ScG *Gaoth-Bheinn* (Eng. *Goatfell*, Arran's highest mountain NR991415) ← CSc. **Gait-fjall* '(the)

28. A loan-name from ON **Lax-vatn* '(the) salmon-loch', with the stem form of the noun ON *lax* m. 'salmon' and ON *vatn* nt. 'loch'; cf. *Lacasaigh* #230 and *Lacasdal* #231.

fuaimneachadh fhacal-iasaid Lochlannais sa Ghàidhlig) am beul nan Gàidheal gu riaghailt fuaimean na Gàidhlig (coim. Oftedal 1976, 127). §8

An dèidh tighinn air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig, gabhaidh ainm Lochlannais cleachdadh mar eileamaid ainmearach sam bith eile sa chànan, mar a chithear mar eisimpleir anns an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais *Lacsabhat*,[28] às na chruthaicheadh an t-ainm-àite Gàidhlig *Loch Lacsabhat*, às na chruthaicheadh nan car fhèin na h-ainmean-àite Gàidhlig *Loch Lacsabhat Àrd* agus *Loch Lacsabhat Ìosal*. (Airson raon nan co-churan ainme Gàidhlig anns am faod ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais nochdadh, faic Cox 2001, 48–51.)

Gu h-aithghearr, chaidh na facail *sgarbh* agus *sgeir* air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig às an t-Seann Lochlannais *skarf* agus *sker*. Chaidh an t-ainm-àite *Lacsabhat* a chruthachadh anns an t-Seann Lochlannais le luchd-bruidhinn na Lochlannais ach a thoirt air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig le luchd-bruidhinn na Gàidhlig agus tha e a-nise na phàirt de dh'ainm-bhriathradair Gàidhlig na sgìre; tha an t-ainm-àite *Loch Lacsabhat* na chruthachadh Gàidhlig aig a bheil sònraichear a tha, mar a thachras, na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais. Aithnichidh an tuairisgeul 'an t-ainm-iasaid Lochlannais ScG *Lacsabhat*' an dà chuid tùs cànanach eachdraidheil agus dearbh-aithne chànanach san àm seo an ainm-àite *Lacsabhat*.

Tha na tha shuas fìor mar an ceudna airson iasadan às an Albais no às a' Bheurla.

§9 §9 Freagrachadh fuinn-eòlach

Thèid ainmean-iasaid às an dàrna cànan a fhreagrachadh gu fuinn-eòlach dhan chànan eile air diofar dhòighean (Cox 2009a, 19–23):

§9 (i) Ainmean-iasaid

Ann an ainmean-iasaid, gheibhear in-aiseag cruitheamach, le ionadachadh fuinneamach airson na mòr-chuid, m.e. GA *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̥ɔɾ͡ʃə̯ˌʃkʲaɣ] < SL **Bergsgjá* 'geodha an rubha', leis an tuiseal ghinideach shingilte aig SL *berg* n. agus SL *gjá* b. 'geodha, bàgh': adhbharaichidh SL *rg* fuaimreag còmhnaidh sa Ghàidhlig, mus caillear an suathach (coim. GA *Borghaston* < SL **Borg-stafn* #69); thèid an còmhlan meadhain a chàireanachadh gu tur; thèid SL *á* a ghiorrachadh ann an àrainn air nach eil ach lag-bheum agus dùinear an lide dheiridh fhosgailte le connraig, coim. GA *gàrradh* (#182).

§9 (ii) Iasadan iomlaide

Le iasadan iomlaide, gheibhear ionadachadh cruitheamach air fad, m.e. GA *Gaoth-Bheinn* (ainm na beinne as àirde ann an Arainn NR991415) ← LB **Gait-fjall*

28. Ainm-iasaid à SL **Lax-vatn* '(am) bradan-loch', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *lax* f. 'bradan', agus SL *vatn* n. 'loch'; coim. *Lacasaigh* #230 agus *Lacasdal* #231.

§9 goat-mountain': here, ScG *Gaoth-Bheinn* 'wind-mountain' displaces the Norse form entirely.[29]

§9 (iii) Loan-blends

Loan-blends involve, in part, morphemic importation and, in part, morphemic substitution, i.e. they are a mix of type (1), loan-names, and type (2), loan-shifts, e.g. ScG **Sìophort* (#113) ← ON **Síð-fjǫrð* acc. '(the) hillside-fjord', where (lenited) ScG *phort* 'harbour; landing place' replaces ON *fjǫrðr* m. 'fjord' (Cox 2007b, 74–88). A further example is probably found in ScG *Leum Langa* [ˌʃʃẽːm ˈl̪ãŋgə], a name that occurs twice in the north of Lewis (NB560549,[30] NB561572) of a narrow rock or point jutting into the sea; cf. Ice. *hlein* f. 'rock projecting like a pier into the sea', which is common in western Iceland (Cleasby, s.v.), and ON *hlein* f. 'slope', e.g. *Lein* in Sør-Trøndelag, Norway (*NG* XIV, 118): ScG *Leum Langa* (with the use of the Gaelic word *leum* m./f. 'jump' suggesting that stories were told about them, cf. Maclean 2017) ← ON **Hleinin Langa* 'the long rock', with ON *hlein* + the feminine suffixed article + the feminine weak form of the adjective ON *langr* 'long' (Cox 2007c, 17–19).[31]

§10 §10 Transference and meaning

If the way in which a place is used changes, an opportunity arises for the meaning of the name of that place to change accordingly and, depending on the new meaning, to transfer from one location to another.

Any place-name can undergo transference. For example, the Norse loan-name ScG *Cirbhig* #124 has become the name of a village, as well as of a township, but it was once the name of a bay, at least in its Norse form: in addition to altering its phonological form, the place-name has altered its onomastic form and, in the process, has been transferred from a feature in the sea to a feature on land (Cox 2002a, 45–46).

This emphasises how place-names operate at different levels of meaning: lexical meaning, i.e. the meaning of a name according to the dictionary, and onomastic meaning, i.e. the meaning of a name as a name; the phenomenon is also true of people's names. From a semantic point of view, loan-names are borrowed on an onomastic rather than lexical level, regardless of the

29. *Gaoth-Bheinn* is one of two Gaelic names for this mountain; the other is *Gaoitbheinn* (Cox 2009b), which belongs to loan-blends §9 (iii).

30. (nMO) [ˈl̪eːm ˈɬɑŋgə]. Cf. *Leum Langa* in *Eòrrabidh* #182, located at NB50846571 in *ECC*, 25.

31. Cf. ScG *Sgeire Langa* *[ˌsʂkʲeɾʲə ˈl̪ãŋgə] < ON **Skerit Langa* 'the long skerry' NB143363, with ON *sker* nt. §8, in Beàrnaraigh (≈Macaulay 1972, 331).

'(a') ghobhar-bheinn': ann an seo, cuiridh GA *Gaoth-Bheinn* 'osag-bheinn' an cruth Lochlannais às àite gu buileach.[29] §9

§9 (iii) Iasadan measgaichte

Le iasadan measgaichte, gheibhear in-aiseag cruitheamach ann an cuid, agus ionadachadh cruitheamach ann an cuid, .i. tha iad nan cothlamadh de sheòrsa (1), ainmean-iasaid, agus de sheòrsa (2), iasadan iomlaide, m.e. GA **Siophort* (#113) ← SL **Síð-fjǫrð* cusp. '(an) leathad-loch', far an toirear GA *phort* (air a shèimheachadh) 'cala; laimrig' a-steach an àite SL *fjǫrðr* f. 'loch mara' (Cox 2007b, 74–88). Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e eisimpleir eile a th' ann an GA *Leum Langa* [ˌʃʃẽːm ˈl̪ãŋgə], ainm a nochdas ann an dà àite an ceann a tuath Leòdhais (NB560549,[30] NB561572) air carragh no rubha caol a stobas dhan mhuir; coim. Tìl. *hlein* b. 'creag a shìneas mar chidhe dhan mhuir', a tha bitheanta ann an Innis Tìle an iar (Cleasby, s.v.), agus SL *hlein* b. 'leathad', m.e. *Lein* ann an Sør-Trøndelag, Nirribhidh (*NG* XIV, 118): GA *Leum Langa* (agus cleachdadh an fhacail Ghàidhlig *leum* f./b. a' cur air shùilibh gun innste sgeulachdan mun deidhinn, coim. Maclean 2017) ← SL **Hleinin Langa* 'a' chreag fhada', le SL *hlein* + an alt iar-leasaichte bhoireann + cruth boireann lag a' bhuadhair SL *langr* 'fada' (Cox 2007c, 17–19).[31]

§10 Aiseag agus ciall §10

Ma thèid an dòigh air a bheil àite ga chleachdadh atharrachadh, èiridh cothrom ciall an ainme air an àite sin atharrachadh dha rèir, agus, ri linn na cèille ùire, an t-ainm-àite fhèin aiseag bhon dàrna h-àite chun an àite eile.

Gabhaidh aiseag tachairt do dh'ainm-àite sam bith. Mar eisimpleir, tha an t-ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA *Cirbhig* #124 air a dhol na ainm baile, cho math ri ainm baile fearainn, ach bha e uair na ainm bàigh, co-dhiù na chruth Lochlannais: a thuilleadh air a chruth fuinn-eòlach atharrachadh, tha an t-ainm-àite air a chruth ainmeachais atharrachadh agus, ri linn sin, air aiseag bho fheart sa mhuir gu feart air tìr (Cox 2002a, 45–46).

'S ann a chuireas seo an ìre mar a dh'obraicheas ainmean-àite aig atharrachadh ìrean cèille: ciall fhaclaireach, .i. ciall an ainme a rèir an fhaclair, agus ciall ainmeachais, .i. ciall an ainme mar ainm; tha an t-aon rud fìor a thaobh ainmean dhaoine. Bho thaobh ciallachais, thèid ainmean-iasaid air iasad air ìre ainmeachais, chan ann air ìre fhaclairich, ge be dè cho trìd-shoilleir 's a tha an ciall fhaclaireach

29. Tha *Gaoth-Bheinn* air fear de dhà ainm Ghàidhlig air a' bheinn seo; *Gaoitbheinn* am fear eile (Cox 2009b), a bhuineas do dh'iasadan measgaichte §9 (iii).

30. (nMO) [ˈl̪eːm ˈɬɑŋgə]. Coim. *Leum Langa* ann an *Eòrrabidh* #182, air a chur aig NB50846571 ann an *ECC*, 25.

31. Coim. GA *Sgeire Langa* *[ˌsʂkʲeɾʲə ˈl̪ãŋgə] < SL **Skerit Langa* 'an sgeir fhada' NB143363, le SL *sker* n. §8, ann am Beàrnaraigh (≈Macaulay 1972, 331).

§10 accessibility of their lexical meaning (*pace* Fraser 1984, 38), and it is supposed that most borrowed names initially inherit their onomastic meanings from their source language. Once borrowed, however, the onomastic meaning of loan-names is open to change, but this is dependent upon the dynamics within the new (here Gaelic) nomenclature.

The lexical meaning of settlement names discussed below, then, is not necessarily the same as their onomastic meaning. Consequently, onomastic meaning rarely helps in establishing the lexical meaning of a name; for a solution to a name's lexical meaning, one is usually dependent on the topography within or around a location and/or on our knowledge of the development of sounds in the language or languages involved.

§11 §11 Etymology

As the lexical and onomastic meanings of a name are not necessarily the same, it is not always obvious to which topographical feature a Norse name originally applied. Identifying the target of loan-names in ON *vágr* f. 'bay' is comparatively easy, e.g. ON **Karlavág* acc. '*Karli*'s bay' (> ScG *Càrlabhagh* #98) may have denoted *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* 'the loch of *Càrlabhagh*' (but see #98, fn 226); on the other hand, determining the precise location of the farm cited in ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. '(the) loch-farm' (> ScG *Siabost* #295) is not possible from the place-name itself, although it would most probably have been situated around or beside *Loch a' Bhaile* 'the loch of the village'. The exact feature a Norse name denoted may not be immediately obvious, e.g. ScG *Peighinn Thinndealan* 'the pennyland of *Tinndealan*' #270 is the name of a village cleared in the 19th century, but it seems likely that the Norse loan-name it contains had nothing directly to do with settlement but denoted the promontory below the site of the former village: ON **Tind-land* appears to have had the sense '(the) shore of the pointed promontory', which in turn was borrowed into Gaelic, and whose onomastic meaning was then transferred to the area of the promontory, and which could then be used as a specific of place in naming other features in the area, viz *Sgeir*—, *Beinn*— and *Peighinn Thinndealan* 'the skerry—, the mountain— and the pennyland of **Tinndealan*'.

In spite of the steer sometimes obtainable from the topography, however, the etymological principles based on linguistic equivalences observable between Old Norse and Scottish Gaelic – according to their own developmental rules – are the main guide in establishing the origin and meaning of Old Norse loan-names: if the origin of a name cannot be supported in this way, it is simply guesswork. As Sommerfelt says (≈1962, 75), 'when two languages confront each other as Old Norse and Middle Irish did, the passage of elements from

(*pace* Fraser 1984, 38), agus thathas a' gabhail ris gun sealbhaich a' chuid as motha de dh'ainmean-iasaid an cuid ciall ainmeachais sa chiad àite bhon chànan thùsail aca. Aon uair is gun tèid ainm air iasad, ge-tà, tha ciall ainmeachais nan ainmean-iasaid ion-mhùthaidh, ach bidh seo an crochadh air modhan obrach sa chòmhlan-ainme ùir (an seo am fear Gàidhlig). §10

Chan fheum ciall fhaclaireach nan ainmean tuineachaidh a tha fo dheasbad shìos, a-rèist, a bhith co-ionann ri an ciall ainmeachais. A chionn sin, chan ann tric a chuidicheas a' chiall ainmeachais aig ainm ann a bhith a' stèidheachadh na cèille faclairich aige; ann a bhith a' lorg fuasgladh dhan chèill fhaclairich aig ainm, thathas an urra mar as trice ri cruth na tìre ann an no mun cuairt air àite agus/no air ar n-eòlas air leasachadh nam fuaimean sa chànan no sna cànanan anns a' chùis.

§11 Freumhachd §11

A chionn 's nach fheum a' chiall fhaclaireach agus a' chiall ainmeachais aig ainm a bhith co-ionann, chan eil e an-còmhnaidh follaiseach cò am feart tìre ris an do bhuin ainm Lochlannais bho thùs. Is cuibheasach furasta a' chuimse aig ainmean-iasaid ann an SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' a shònrachadh, m.e. is dòcha gum beanadh SL **Karlavág* cusp. (> GA *Càrlabhagh* #98) ri *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (ach faic #98, bn 226); air an làimh eile, bhiodh e do-dhèanta an dearbh àite an seasadh an tuathanas a tha ga ainmeachadh anns an ainm baile SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. '(an) loch-bhaile' (> GA *Siabost* #295) a shònrachadh leis an ainm-àite fhèin, ged as math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann mun cuairt air no ri taobh *Loch a' Bhaile* a bha e. Is dòcha nach fhollaiseach cò an dearbh feart tìre ris am beanadh ainm Lochlannais, m.e. 's e ainm baile a chaidh fhuadach san 19mh linn a th' ann an GA *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, ach is coltach nach eil gnothach aig an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a tha na bhroinn ri tuineachadh ach gum beanadh e ris an rubha a tha fo làraich an t-sean bhaile: 's coltach gum b' e 'cladach a' ghuib bhioraich' a bu bhrìgh do SL **Tind-land*, a chaidh an uair sin air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig, agus a chaidh a chiall ainmeachais an uair sin aiseag gu àrainn an rubha, agus a dh'fhaodte an uair sin a bhith na shònraichear àite ann a bhith ag ainmeachadh fheart eile san àrainn, .i. *Sgeir*—, *Beinn*— agus *Peighinn Thinndealan*. §11

A dh'aindeoin an iùil a gheibhear aig amannan bho chruth na tìre, ge-tà, 's iad na prionnsabalan freumhachd air am bonntachadh air co-ionannachdan cànanach a chithear eadar an Lochlannais agus a' Ghàidhlig – a rèir an riaghailtean leasachaidh fhèin – a stiùireas aig deireadh gnothaich ann a bhith a' stèidheachadh tùs agus brìgh nan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais: mana h-urrainnear bunachas ainme a dhaingneachadh le eisimpleirean co-ionann air an dòigh seo, chan eil ann ach tuairmeas. Mar a chanas Sommerfelt, nuair a thig dà chànan mu choinneimh a chèile mar a thàinig an t-Seann Lochlannais agus a' Mheadhan-Ghàidhlig, cha

§11 one phonemic system to the other does not take place in a haphazard way, but follows definite rules of adaptation ... These rules are determined by the phonetic and phonemic elements of the two languages and apply to the different parts of the system, vowels, consonants, prosodics etc.' One might add that Old Norse loans underwent 'great alterations both at the time of their adoption by the Gaels and during the ensuing centuries, and, although these changes on the whole show a certain amount of regularity, the researcher too often finds him- or herself in one of two impasses: either no Old Norse equivalent can be found or the modern Gaelic form corresponds equally well with two or more possible Old Norse forms' (≈Oftedal 1954, 364). As the onomastic meaning of place-names can change; as not every word ever used in a particular language has been recorded for us; and as the pronunciation of a place-name may also have changed due to folk etymology §37, there will always be an element of uncertainty in the attempt to etymologise Old Norse loan-names. Yet, one can be reasonably confident of most of our etymologies where they are guided by rules of historical phonology and supported, where possible, by topographical evidence.

§12 §12 Settlement names

The term SETTLEMENT implies that people currently or previously cultivated the land and/or stayed on it; the term SETTLEMENT NAME indicates such a place, whether or not the lexical sense of the name indicates settlement, e.g. ScG (community) *Borgh* < ON **Borg* '(the) stronghold' #68, but (grazing > community) *An t-Achadh Mòr* 'the large field' #2 and (topographical feature > community) *An Cnoc* 'the hill' #133. Names operate on an onomastic level in terms of meaning, not on a lexical level §10.

Within this book, settlement names do not necessarily refer to discrete villages; several of them refer to an area or part of a village. Bill Lawson's books (2008; 2011) helped in expanding Oftedal's list of village names, as did a search through the first Board of Ordnance (now the Ordnance Survey) six-inch maps; English forms cited are mostly from lists prepared by Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (2007, 2019). Nevertheless, the list below will inevitably be incomplete as settlement patterns on the island have continually changed and will continue to do so. Indeed, some names will have been lost, e.g. *Penhelchen* (Lawson 2008, 221), with ScG *peighinn* f. 'pennyland' (#269) as generic but with an obscure specific; see App. I, #355.

§11 thachair siubhal nan eileamaidean às an dàrna siostam fhuinn-eòlach dhan fhear eile air thuairmeas ach le bhith a' leantainn riaghailtean deimhinnte freagrachaidh ... agus thèid na riaghailtean seo a rùnachadh le eileamaidean fuaim- agus fuinn-eòlaich an dà chànain agus a cheangal ri earrannan eadar-dhealaichte an t-siostaim, fuaimreagan, connragan, rannaigheachd ↄc (Sommerfelt 1962, 75). Dh'fhaodte a chur ris gun do thachair atharrachaidhean mòra do dh'iasadan Lochlannais an dà chuid nuair a chaidh an uchd-mhacachadh leis na Gàidheil agus am feadh nan linntean na dhèidh, agus, ged a nochdas na h-atharrachaidhean seo mar as trice tomhas de riaghailteachd, gheibh an rannsaiche e fhèin no i fhèin gu ro-thric ann an tè de dhà staing: aon chuid chan eil lorg air seise Lochlannais no co-fhreagraidh an nua-chruth Gàidhlig a cheart cho math ri dhà no barrachd de chruthan comasach san Lochlannais (Oftedal 1954, 364). Seach gun gabh ciall ainmeachais ainmean-àite atharrachadh; seach nach deach a h-uile facal a-riamh a chaidh a chleachdadh ann an cànan àraidh a chlàradh dhuinn; agus seach gur dòcha gu bheil fuaimneachadh ainm-àite air atharrachadh cuideachd a chionn dinnsheanchais §37, bidh ìre de neo-chinnt a-chaoidh san oidhirp a bhith a' freumhachadh ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais. Gidheadh, faodar a bhith reusanta earbsach às a' mhòr-chuid de na freumhachdan againn cho fad 's gun stiùirear iad le riaghailtean fuinn-eòlach eachdraidheil le taic, ma ghabhas, bho fhianais cruth na tìre.

§12 Ainmean tuineachaidh

Bidh am briathar TUINEACHADH a' cur air shùilibh gum bi no gum bitheadh daoine ag àiteach na talmhainn agus/no a' fuireach ann an àite; beanaidh am briathar AINM TUINEACHAIDH ri a leithid de dh'àite, cò dhiubh a bheil no nach eil brìgh fhaclaireach an ainme a' beantainn ri tuineachadh, m.e. GA (coimhearsnachd) *Borgh* < SL **Borg* '(an) daingneach' #68, ach (ionaltradh > coimhearsnachd) *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2 agus (feart tìre > coimhearsnachd) *An Cnoc* #133. Obraichidh ainmean-àite aig ìre ainmeachais a thaobh na thathas a' ciallachadh, chan ann aig ìre fhaclairich §10.

Chan fheum ainmean tuineachaidh san leabhar seo beantainn ri bailtean fa leth; beanaidh caochladh dhiubh ri ceàrnaidh no cuibhreann de bhaile. Chuidich leabhraichean Bhill Lawson (2008; 2011) ann a bhith a' meudachadh na liosta de dh'ainmean baile ann an alt Oftedal, cho math ri sgrìob tro na ciad mhapaichean sia-òirleach aig Bòrd an Òrdanais (an-diugh an t-Suirbhidh Òrdanais); thig cruthan Beurla airson na mòr-chuid à liostaichean air an deasachadh le Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (2007, 2019). An dèidh sin, chan eil dòigh air am bi an liosta shìos coileanta seach gu bheil dreach an tuineachaidh air an eilean air a bhith ag atharrachadh gun sgur agus gum bi fhathast. Gu dearbha, bidh cuid a dh'ainmean air a dhol air chall, m.e. *Penhelchen* (Lawson 2008, 221), le GA *peighinn* b. (#269) na sheòrsaichear ach le sònraichear doilleir; faic Eàrr. I, #355.

§13 Transcriptions

The pronunciations of place-names in this book are given phonetically, in transcriptions that are more or less narrow.

Phonetics is a system for describing sounds in the speech of an individual or in a dialect or language, e.g. *baile* [ˈb̥alə] 'village, town', *balla* [ˈb̥ɑɫ̪ə] 'wall', showing that the *a* sounds and *l* sounds are different in each word.

Occasionally, the phonemic difference between sounds is mentioned. Phonemics is a system for describing a dialect or language according to the types of sounds that make a difference in meaning in that dialect or language, e.g. *baile* /bɑlʲə/ ~ *balla* /bɑɪə/, where the description of these two words has been reduced in such a way that only the distinctive meaning is expressed. In this case, it is the type of *l* sound that causes the difference in meaning between these words. The first vowel is either (front) [a] or (back) [ɑ] depending on the type of consonant beside it and there is no need to depict the difference between them in a phonemic transcription; both are written /ɑ/ here. The words *baile* and *balla* remain distinct, however, because the sounds /lʲ/ (a lenited palatal lateral) and /ɪ/ (an unlenited velarised lateral) are phonemically distinct: using one or the other conveys a difference in meaning. Phonemic transcriptions are plainer than phonetic transcriptions and operate on a conceptual level.

The main transcriptions below are the writer's own and are the result of interactions with many people from Lewis over many years (Foreword). For the most part, they are basically the same as Oftedal's, recorded in the 1950s and 1960s §4, which emphasises the authoritative nature of the tradition. Other transcriptions are sometimes given, e.g. from the work of Carl Borgstrøm, from the *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* IV (edited by Heinrich Wagner and Colm Ó Baoill (*LASID*)) and from 'Ainmean-Àite Sgìr' a' Bhac, Eilean Leòdhais' ('place-names of *Sgìre a' Bhac*, Isle of Lewis') (1997), by Murchadh M. MacDhòmhnaill (Murchadh Stal); these are usually reproduced as they appear in their sources; if not, the symbol ≈ is placed before them.

While Magne Oftedal uses phonetic transcriptions in his work on place-names,[32] he usually uses a broad transcription in his published work but a narrow one in his own notes. As a result, stress, aspiration, devoicing and dentalisation are not usually shown in his published work, as they are to be understood in a broad transcription, e.g. ScG *Tàbost* (MO) [tɑːbɔst] rather than (RC) [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315.

Unfortunately, researchers do not always employ the same symbols: the International Phonetic Alphabet system has developed and altered over

32. Something he advises in Oftedal 1972, 114; see also Oftedal 1968, 111–12.

§13 Tras-sgrìobhaidhean

Bheirear fuaimneachadh nan ainmean-àite san leabhar seo air chruth fuaim-eòlach, ann an tras-sgrìobhaidhean a tha an ìre math cumhang.

Tha fuaim-eòlas na riaghailt air tuairisgeul a thoirt air fuaimean ann an cainnt aon duine no dualchainnt no cànan, m.e. *baile* [ˈb̥alə], *balla* [ˈb̥ɑɫ̪ə], a' sealltainn gu bheil na fuaimean *a* agus na fuaimean *l* eadar-dhealaichte anns gach facal.

Air uairean, ainmichear an dealachadh fuinn-eòlach eadar fuaimean. Tha fuinn-eòlas na riaghailt airson tuairisgeul a thoirt air dualchainnt no cànan a rèir nan seòrsaichean fuaime a nì atharrachadh brìghe san dualchainnt no sa chànan sin, m.e. *baile* /bɑlʲə/ ~ *balla* /bɑɪə/, agus tuairisgeul an dà fhacail seo air a lùghdachadh air a leithid a dhòigh 's nach fhaicear ach far an tèid atharrachadh brìghe a chur an cèill. Anns an t-seagh seo, 's e an seòrsa *l* a bhios ag adhbharachadh eadar-dhealachadh ann am brìghean nam facal seo. Bidh a' chiad fhuaimreag na [a] (thoisich) no [ɑ] (chùil) a rèir nàdar na connraige ri a taobh agus chan fheumar an diofar eatarra a nochdadh ann an tras-sgrìobhadh fuinn-eòlach; sgrìobhar na dhà /ɑ/ an seo. Tha na facail *baile* agus *balla* fhathast eadar-dhealaichte, ge-tà, a chionn 's gu bheil na fuaimean /lʲ/ (taobhach sèimhichte càireanach) agus /ɪ/ (taobhach neo-shèimhichte sgannaichte) eadar-dhealaichte gu fuinn-eòlach: cuirear brìgh eadar-dhealaichte an cèill ma thèid an dàrna fear a chleachdadh seach am fear eile. Tha tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuinn-eòlach nas luime na tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach agus obraichidh iad aig ìre bun-bheachda.

Is ann leis an sgrìobhadair fhèin a tha na prìomh thras-sgrìobhaidhean shìos agus iad nan toradh air conaltradh ri iomadach Leòdhasach thar iomadach bliadhna (Facal-toisich). Airson na mòr-chuid, is ionann iad aig bun agus feadhainn Oftedal a chaidh a chlàradh sna 1950an is na 1960an §4, rud a chuireas ri nàdar ùghdarrasail an dualchais. Cleachdar tras-sgrìobhaidhean eile air uairean, m.e. à saothair Charl Borgstrøm, às an *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects* IV (air a dheasachadh le Heinrich Wagner agus Colm Ó Baoill (*LASID*)) agus à 'Ainmean-Àite Sgìr' a' Bhac, Eilean Leòdhais' (1997), le Murchadh M. MacDhòmhnaill (Murchadh Stal); mar as trice thèid iad seo ath-riochdachadh mar a nochdas iad sna tobraichean aca; mana tèid, cuirear an samhla ≈ air thoiseach orra.

Fhad 's a chleachdas Magne Oftedal tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach na obair air ainmean-àite,[32] mar as trice cleachdaidh e tras-sgrìobhadh leathann na shaothair fhoillsichte ach fear cumhang sna notaichean aige fhèin. 'S i a bhuil nach nochd beum, analachadh, dì-ghuthachadh no deudachd aige mar as trice na shaothair fhoillsichte, agus iad rin tuigsinn ann an tras-sgrìobhadh leathann, m.e. GA *Tàbost* (MO) [tɑːbɔst] seach (RC) [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315.

Gu mì-fhortanach, cha chleachd luchd-rannsachaidh an-còmhnaidh na h-aon samhlaidhean: tha riaghailt na h-Aibidil Fuaim-eòlaich Eadar-nàiseanta

32. Rudeigin a mholas e ann an Oftedal 1972, 114; faic cuideachd Oftedal 1968, 111–12.

§13 the years; in addition, some publications use phonetic transcriptions, others phonemic. A comparison of the symbols used by Oftedal with those of the current International Phonetic Alphabet can be found in §20.

Note that devoicing at the end of words before a pause in speech (e.g. at the end of a sentence) is common in Lewis Gaelic, e.g. *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, where [ə ˌvuələ ˈmʊ̃j] is often heard rather than [ə ˌvuələ ˈmʊ̃j], but this devoicing is not marked below.

Note also that alternation between final lenited non-palatal [ɾ] and final lenited palatal [ɾʲ] is fairly common in Lewis Gaelic, especially in names in *Siadar* or final *-s(e)adar*, i.e. [ɾʲ] is frequently heard instead of [ɾ], even in the radical case. However, for the sake of consistency, *Siadar* or *-s(e)adar* (with [ɾ]) is used below in the radical case and *Shiadair* or *-s(e)adair* (with [ɾʲ]) in the genitive case. In Lewis, [ɾʲ] is usually an interdental fricative, viz [ð] or palatalised [ðʲ].

§14 §14 Translations

Place-names are translated according to their lexical meaning below, except where the context demands it. For example, Oftedal's translation 'rock-island' (1954, 387) for CSc. **Bergsøy* (#58) is rendered '(the) island of the rock' in order better to illustrate the basic structure of the name, where *bergs* is the genitive of ON *berg* nt. Note that round brackets are used around the first article in the English translation. This is to show, although the article does not actually occur in the Norse form, that the onomastic meaning of the name is definite; the Gaelic version ('eilean na creige') is definite as it stands. Round brackets are sometimes also used to identify or suggest an onomastic unit, e.g. *Rubha an Tangadh* 'the promontory (of the promontory)' (#320).

§15 §15 Documentary sources

Because of transcription or typesetting errors and/or because the language by which names were transmitted was seemingly not usually Gaelic, what documentary sources there are for Lewis settlement names are generally not very useful.

Several oddities appear on maps before Joan Blaeu's (1654) that have not been identified (Fig. 1). The forms 1. *Durna*, 2. *L Erwyn* etc. and 3. *Euerne* etc. are obscure but may not be located in Lewis at all. While 4. *L. Nofallo*, 5. *L. Nealg* and 6. *L Vnsalsago* appear to be in Lewis, they are also obscure. Form 7. *Bailnesailg* may represent ScG **Baile na Seilge* 'the farm or village of the hunt' (cf. *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108), 8. *Nary* may represent ScG **An Àirigh* 'the sheiling'

air fàs agus air atharrachadh thar nam bliadhnaichean; a thuilleadh, cleachdaidh cuid de dh'fhoillseachaidhean tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach, cuid eile tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuinn-eòlach. Gheibhear coimeas eadar na samhlaidhean a chleachdas Oftedal is an fheadhainn aig Aibidil Fhuaim-eòlaich Eadar-nàiseanta an latha an-diugh ann an §20. §13

Mothaich gu bheil dì-ghuthachadh aig deireadh facail ro stad labhairte (m.e. aig deireadh rosgrainn) bitheanta ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais, m.e. *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, far an cluinnear [ə ˌvuələ ˈmʊ̃j] gu tric seach [ə ˌvuələ ˈmʊ̃j], ach cha tèid an dì-ghuthachadh seo a chomharradh shìos.

Mothaich cuideachd gu bheil iomlaid eadar [ɾ] dheiridh shèimhichte neo-chàireanach agus [ɾʲ] dheiridh shèimhichte chàireanach caran bitheanta ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais, gu h-àraidh le ainmean ann an *Siadar* no *-s(e)adar* deiridh, .i. cluinnear [ɾʲ] gu tric an àite [ɾ], fiù 's san tuiseal bhunasach. Ach, air sgàth cunbhalachd, thèid *Siadar* no *-s(e)adar* (le [ɾ]) a chleachdadh shìos san tuiseal bhunasach agus *Shiadair* no *-s(e)adair* (le [ɾʲ]) san tuiseal ghinideach. Ann an Leòdhas, is àbhaist do [ɾʲ] a bhith na suathach eadar-dheudach, .i. [ð], no [ðʲ] chàireanaichte.

§14 §14 Eadar-theangachaidhean

Thèid ainmean-àite eadar-theangachadh a rèir an cèille faclairich shìos, ach nuair a dh'ìarras an co-theags. Mar eisimpleir, thèid an t-eadar-theangachadh 'creag-eilean' aig Oftedal (1954, 387: 'rock-island') airson LB **Bergsøy* (#58) a thionndadh na 'eilean na creige' gus am feàrr a thaisbeanar bun-structar an ainme, far an e *bergs* an tuiseal ginideach aig SL *berg* n. Mothaich gun cleachdar camagan cruinne timcheall air a' chiad alt san tionndadh Bheurla – '(the) island of the rock' – gus a shealltainn, ged nach tèid an t-alt a chleachdadh sa chruth Lochlannais, gu bheil ciall ainmeachais an ainme deimhinnte; tha an t-eagran Gàidhlig deimhinnte mar a tha. Air uairean, cleachdar camagan gus aonad ainmeachais a nochdadh no a chur air shùilibh, m.e. *Rubha an Tangadh* 'rubha (an rubha)' (#320).

§15 §15 Tobraichean sgrìobhainne

A chionn mhearachdan tras-sgrìobhaidh no clò-chumaidh agus/no a chionn 's as coltach nach b' i a' Ghàidhlig mar bu trice an cànan leis an deach ainmean a chraobh-sgaoileadh, chan eil na th' ann de thobraichean sgrìobhainne airson ainmean tuineachaidh Leòdhais ro-fheumail san fharsaingeachd.

Nochdaidh corra annas air mapaichean ron fhear aig Joan Blaeu (1654) nach deach an sònrachadh (Fig. 1). Tha na cruthan 1. *Durna*, 2. *L Erwyn* ⁊c agus 3. *Euerne* ⁊c doilleir, ged as dòcha nach ann ann an Leòdhas a tha iad idir. Ged as coltach gur h-ann ann an Leòdhas a tha na cruthan 4. *L. Nofallo*, 5. *L. Nealg* agus 6. *L Vnsalsago*, tha iad doilleir cuideachd. Tha coltas aig 7. *Bailnesailg* ri GA **Baile na Seilge* (coim. *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108), 8. *Nary* ri GA **An Àirigh* (coim.

§15 (cf. *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13) and 9. *Baillyn traide* etc. may represent ScG **Baile an*— 'the farm or village of the—', though the rest of the name is obscure.

Names of uncertain origin on early maps Fig. 1

	1573	1583	1595	1607	1610	1635	1636
1.	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*
2.		*L Erwyn*	*L. Euerne*		*L. Erwin*	*L. Erwin*	
3.			*Euerne*		*Evern*	*Evern*	*Everne*
4.			*L. Nofallo*		*L Nofallo*	*L. Nofallo*	*L. Nofallo*
5.			*L. Nealg*			*Loch Nealg*	*L. Nealg*
6.		*L Vnsalsago*					
7.			*Bailnesailg*	*Dailnesailg*	*Bailnesailg*	*Bailnesailg*	*Bailnesailg*
8.			*Nary*	*Nary*	*Nary*	*Nary*	*Nary*
9.			*Baillyntraide*	*BTrarde*	*Bailmtraid*	*Bailmtraid*	*Baillyntraide*
10.	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*
11.		*Grand Mekill, Petit Mekill*					

It is assumed below that 10. *Radamach* is an attempt at ScG *Càrlabhagh* #98; on the other hand, it looks like the Gaelic phrase *an rathad a-mach* 'the road out', as in 'the road out to the moor'.

The forms 11. *Grand Mekill* and *Petit Mekill* represent the names of the islands *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* and *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* 'greater and lesser *Beàrnaraigh*' #51, respectively, and are confused forms that suggest that at least some of the names on the map were transmitted to the mapmaker (Frenchman Nicolas de Nicolay) by a Scot or at any rate by someone who spoke Scots, hence *mekill* (Scots *mikil* 'large') and Fr. *grand* 'large' and *petit* 'small'.

Joan Blaeu's map (1654), whose place-names were surveyed by Timothy Pont between c.1583–c.1614, is the most important early source for settlement names in Lewis, although it is spoilt somewhat by the fact that some names have been misplaced; there are also transcription or typesetting errors, e.g. *Duyrboft* (for ScG *Liùrbost* #239) and *Kadlowa oc*[*rach*] (for **Càrlabhagh Uachdrach*, i.e. *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258). Some questions cannot be resolved. For example, in An Rubha the village names *Garrabost* #189, *Suardal* #313, *Pabail* #261, *Seiseadar* #288 and *Siùiliseadar* #301 are all represented on the map (although not quite in the right order), but there is also the form (1654) *Sherboft* (beside *Garrabost*) that might be connected with *Bòstadh* #73 (in *Suardal*), although the latter has not been located precisely. In Nis, *Gabhsann*

Àirigh a' Bhruthaich #13) agus 9. *Baillyn traide* 7c ri GA **Baile an*—, ged a tha an còrr den ainm doilleir. §15

Ainmean a tha an tùs neo-chinnteach air mapaichean tràtha Fig. 1

	1573	1583	1595	1607	1610	1635	1636
1.	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*	*Durna*
2.		*L Erwyn*	*L. Euerne*		*L. Erwin*	*L. Erwin*	
3.			*Euerne*		*Evern*	*Evern*	*Everne*
4.			*L. Nofallo*		*L Nofallo*	*L. Nofallo*	*L. Nofallo*
5.			*L. Nealg*			*Loch Nealg*	*L. Nealg*
6.		*L Vnsalsago*					
7.			*Bailnesailg*	*Dailnesailg*	*Bailnesailg*	*Bailnesailg*	*Bailnesailg*
8.			*Nary*	*Nary*	*Nary*	*Nary*	*Nary*
9.			*Baillyntraide*	*BTrarde*	*Bailmtraid*	*Bailmtraid*	*Baillyntraide*
10.	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*	*Radamach*
11.		*Grand Mekill, Petit Mekill*					

Thathas an dùil shìos gur h-e oidhirp air GA *Càrlabhagh* #98 a th' ann an 10. *Radamach*; air an làimh eile, tha coltas na h-abairte Gàidhlig *an rathad a-mach* air, mar a tha ann an 'an rathad a-mach chun na mòintich'.

Riochdaichidh na cruthan 11. *Grand Mekill* agus *Petit Mekill* ainmean nan eilean *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* agus *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, fa leth; 's e ablach de chruthan a th' annta a chuireas air shùilibh gun deach fiosrachadh mu co-dhiù cuid de dh'ainmean a' mhapa a chraobh-sgaoileadh chun an neach-mapa (am Frangach Nicolas de Nicolay) le Albannach no co-dhiù le cuideigin aig an robh an Albais, às a sin *mekill* (Alb. *mikil* 'mòr') agus Fr. *grand* 'mòr' agus *petit* 'beag'.

Is e mapa Joan Blaeu (1654), a chaidh a ainmean-àite a rannsachadh le Timothy Pont c.1583–c.1614, an tobar tràth as cudromaiche airson ainmean tuineachaidh ann an Leòdhas, ged a tha e air a mhilleadh beagan seach gun deach cuid de dh'ainmean a chur às an àite; tha mearachdan tras-sgrìobhaidh no clò-chumaidh ann cuideachd, m.e. *Duyrboft* (airson GA *Liùrbost* #239) agus *Kadlowa oc*[*rach*] (airson **Càrlabhagh Uachdrach*, .i. *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258). Tha a cheistean ann nach gabh fuasgladh. Mar eisimpleir, anns An Rubha tha na bailtean *Garrabost* #189, *Suardal* #313, *Pabail* #261, *Seiseadar* #288 agus *Siùiliseadar* #301 uile air an riochdachadh air a' mhapa, ged nach ann gu buileach san òrdugh cheart, ach tha an cruth (1654) *Sherboft* ann cuideachd (ri taobh *Gharraboist*) a dh'fhaodadh a bhith ceangailte ri *Bòstadh* #73 (ann an *Suardal*), ged nach d' fhuaradh lorg air dearbh àite an ainme mu dheireadh. Ann an Nis, is coltach gu bheil *Gabhsann*

§15 #188 is apparently represented by (1654) *Gaeft*, and, while *Suaineabost* #311 is represented by (1654) *Suneboft*, there is also *Swenigarrth*. With names such as these, something seems to have gone wrong on the way from informant to map. Sometimes, however, it seems possible to shed light on the obscure. For example, (1654) *Ard Chombrick* appears beside the township *Eòrrabidh* #182 and the name probably denotes the promontory (ScG *àird* f.) where ScG *Cnoc a' Bheannaich* 'the hill of the blessing' is located, beside ScG *Allt na Comraich* 'the stream of the sanctuary', which runs southwards from *Teampall Mo-Luaidh* 'Mo-luaidh's church' NB519651 – dating from the 13th century. The name would have been *Àird na Comraich* in Modern Gaelic, with genitive of the noun ScG *comraich* f. 'protection, sanctuary (especially a church)' (EG *commairc*(*h*)*e*).

The element *illé* appears seven times on Blaeu's map of Lewis, viz (1654) *Knock* besides *Knockillé* (#134); *Dall*, *Dallenillé* (#167); *Paruas*, *Paruas illé* (#47); *Shader*, *Shader illé* (#296); *Borg*, *Borg illé* (#68); *Gaeft*, *Gaeft illé* (#188); and *Pabble*, *Pabble illé* (#261). This element is probably from EG *i-lle*, *illé*, cf. Ir. *tar i leith!* 'come here!' (Ó Dónaill, s.v. *i*), but in the sense 'over here', with stress on the second syllable and short *e* (cf. Ir. *i leith*), although the vowel could also be long (*DIL*, s.v. *ille*). Cf. how ScG *siar* 'westwards' is used in the sense 'on the west side' (with loss of movement) in ScG *An Taobh Siar* §3 (xi) and *Na h-Eileanan Siar* (Eng. *The Western Isles*).

The six-inch-to-a-mile Board of Ordnance map (1843–82) is the best map generally:[33] it gives detailed topographical information, although it is no longer up to date; it shows many place-names and an effort has usually been made to use a Gaelic orthography – names on later maps are more anglicised.[34] However, one has to be on one's guard with lengthmarks: they are not used consistently on long vowels as one would expect but are often used to indicate stress rather than length, e.g. (1843–82) *Crobéag* rather than ScG *Crò Beag* [ˌkʰɾɔ· ˈb̥eǧ] #152, *Eriesólt* rather than ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erʲə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, fn 399) and *Tigh Thàngaidh* rather than ScG *Taigh Thangaidh* [ˌt̪ʰəj ˈhãŋǧi] (#320). As these examples show, the use of grave (`) and acute (′) lengthmarks (Cox 2017, 14–16 + fn 36) is inconsistent in this regard.

Because of the paucity of available authoratitive written Gaelic forms, current forms of names on road signs are also included below, although they themselves are not always free from errors of form, e.g. *Siabost bho Dheas* rather than *Siabost a Deas* (#295), and spelling, e.g. *Barabhas* rather than *Barbhas* #47.

33. <https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=10&lat=58.1824&lon=-6.5699&layers=5&b=1>.

34. For current Ordnance Survey policy on Gaelic names, see <https://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/governance/policies/gaelic-names>.

#188 air a riochdachadh le (1654) *Gaeft*, agus, ged a tha *Suaineabost* #311 air a riochdachadh le (1654) *Suneboft*, tha *Swenigarrth* ann cuideachd. Le ainmean mar seo, is coltach gun deach rudeigin ceàrr air an t-slighe eadar an neach-fiosrachaidh agus am mapa. Air uairean, ge-tà, is coltach gun gabh soilleireachadh dèanamh den doilleireachadh. Mar eisimpleir, nochdaidh (1654) *Ard Chombrick* ri taobh a' bhaile fearainn *Eòrrabidh* #182 agus is math dh'fhaodte gum bean an t-ainm ris an rubha (GA *àird* b.) far a bheil GA *Cnoc a' Bheannaich*, ri taobh GA *Allt na Comraich*, a ruitheas a-nuas bho *Theampall Mo-Luaidh* NB519651 – eaglais às an 13s linn. 'S e *Àird na Comraich* a bhiodh anns an ainm san Nua-Ghàidhlig, .i. le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *comraich* b. 'dìon, àite dìona (gu h-àraidh eaglais)' (GT *commairc*(*h*)*e*). §15

Nochdaidh an eileamaid *illé* seachd uairean ann an Leòdhas air mapa Bhlaeu, .i. (1654) *Knock* ri taobh *Knockillé* (#134); *Dall*, *Dallenillé* (#167); *Paruas*, *Paruas illé* (#47); *Shader*, *Shader illé* (#296); *Borg*, *Borg illé* (#68); *Gaeft*, *Gaeft illé* (#188); agus *Pabble*, *Pabble illé* (#261). Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à GT *i-lle*, *illé* a tha an eileamaid seo, coim. GE *tar i leith!* 'thig an seo!' (Ó Dónaill, s.v. *i*), ach sa bhrìgh 'a-bhos', le beum air an dàrna lide is le *e* ghoirid (coim. GE *i leith*), ged a b' urrainn dhan fhuaimreig a bhith fada cuideachd (*DIL*, s.v. *ille*). Coim. mar a thèid GA *siar* a chleachdadh sa bhrìgh 'air an taobh an iar' (leis a' ghluasad air chall) ann an GA *An Taobh Siar* §3 (xi) agus *Na h-Eileanan Siar*.

'S e am mapa sia-òirleach-am-mìle aig Bòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82) am mapa as fheàrr am bitheantas:[33] bheir e fiosrachadh mionaideach air cruth na tìre, ged nach eil e suas ris an latha tuilleadh; tha mòran ainmean-àite air agus, mar as trice, chaidh oidhirp a dhèanamh air ceart-sgrìobhadh Gàidhlig a chleachdadh – tha barrachd coltais Bheurla air cruth nan ainmean air mapaichean nas ùire.[34] Gidheadh, feumar a bhith air fhaicill a thaobh stràcan: cha tèid an cleachdadh gu cunbhalach air fuaimreagan fada far am bite a' sùileachadh: gu tric thèid an cleachdadh gus beum seach faid a nochdadh, m.e. (1843–82) *Crobéag* seach GA *Crò Beag* [ˌkʰɾɔ· ˈb̥eǧ] #152, *Eriesólt* seach GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erʲə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, bn 399) agus *Tigh Thàngaidh* seach GA *Taigh Thangaidh* [ˌt̪ʰəj ˈhãŋǧi] (#320). Mar a sheallas na h-eisimpleirean seo, thathas neo-chunbhalach cuideachd a thaobh a bhith a' cleachdadh nan stràcan malla (`) is geura (′) (Cox 2017, 14–16 + bn 36) sa chùis seo.

A chionn a' ghainneid de chruthan Gàidhlig sgrìobhte ùghdarrasail a tha rim faighinn, thèid cruthan an latha an-diugh de dh'ainmean air soighnichean rathaid ainmeachadh shìos mar an ceudna, ged nach eil iad fhèin an-còmhnaidh saor is mearachdan crutha, m.e. *Siabost bho Dheas* seach *Siabost a Deas* (#295), agus litreachaidh, m.e. *Barabhas* seach *Barbhas* #47.

33. <https://maps.nls.uk/geo/explore/#zoom=10&lat=58.1824&lon=-6.5699&layers=5&b=1>.

34. Airson poileasaidh na Suirbhidh Òrdanais air ainmean Gàidhlig an-diugh, faic <https://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/governance/policies/gaelic-names>.

§15 It should be noted that the form and/or spelling of modern place-names in Norway may have changed since they were cited by the editors of *Norske Gaardnavne* ('Norwegian farm names') (19 vols, 1897–1936).

The English forms of names used by Magne Oftedal in his articles on Lewis settlement names were taken from Sheets 8, 13, and 14 of the one-inch Ordnance Survey map (1947–48) (Oftedal 1954, 368).

No access was gained to A. Duncan's unpublished manuscript, 'Norse Place-Names, chiefly from Lewis and Harris, obtained from the year 1930 and onwards', which is said to have contained phonetic transcriptions of names; it is apparently now lost.

§16 §16 Spelling

Gaelic head-names are spelt with an eye to etymology but also according to modern orthographic standards,[35] including the use of grave accents on long monophthongs (e.g. *Brèinis* #77, *Eòrrabidh* #182, *Èsginn* #227, *Tàbost* #315, *Tùthair* #344) and on the diphthongs *èa*, *ìo* (e.g. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *Lìonal* #237), but not on the diphthong *ia* (e.g. *Cliasgro* #131, *Griais* #220, *Miabhag* #251, *Siabost* #295), and not writing stressed epenthetic (svarabhakti) vowels (§42; e.g. *Barbhas* #47, *A' Bheirgh* #57, *Borgh* #68, *Calbost* #93, *An Ceannmhor* #119, *Cirbhig* #124, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Mealbost* #248, *Tamnabhagh* #319, *Tolstadh* #331, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342).

However, there are several exceptions in Old Norse loan-names: where weak stress survives upon the final element, the spelling rule 'slender to slender and broad to broad' (Cox 2017, 22–23, §21) is sometimes broken in order to reveal the etymology, as long as the proper pronunciation is reflected, e.g. ScG *Sanndabhig* [ˈsˠãũˠn̪ˠd̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] (rather than **Sanndabhaig*) from ON **Sand-vík* #285; ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋɣ̊əˌniʃ] (rather than **Tanganais*) from ON **Tanganes* #321 (cf. ScG *Stròmacleit* *[ˈsˠt̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] from ON **Straum*(*a*)*klett* acc. (#306), with a phonemically broad ScG [k] (/k/) but a phonemically slender ScG [l] (/lʲ/)); and *sd* rather than *st* is written in ScG *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌsˠt̪əɬ̪] from ON **Lax-dal* acc. #231 in order to preserve the identity of the generic. In addition, initial *th* rather than *h* is used in Old Norse loan-names with radical initial ScG [h], whatever their Old Norse origin, e.g. ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] from ON **Há-sætr* #324; ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌsˠad̪ˠəɾ] from ON **Hamarssætr* #325;

35. E.g. Cox 2017, 1–40; for a short history of the recent modernisation of Gaelic orthography, especially 3–5. For the document *Gaelic Orthographic Conventions* 2009, see (ScG) <https://www.sqa.org.uk/files_ccc/SQA-Gaelic_Orthographic_Conventions-G-e.pdf>, (Eng.) <https://www.sqa.org.uk/files_ccc/SQA-Gaelic_Orthographic_Conventions-En-e.pdf>.

Bu chòir a mhothachadh gur dòcha gu bheil cruth agus/no modh-litreachaidh nan nuadh-ainmean-àite ann an Nirribhidh air atharrachadh bho chaidh iomradh a dhèanamh orra le fir-deasachaidh *Norske Gaardnavne* ('ainmean tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh') (19 leabh., 1897–1936). §15

Chaidh cruthan nan ainmean Beurla a chleachdas Magne Oftedal na uilt air ainmean tuineachaidh Leòdhais a thoirt bhàrr Dhuilleagan 8, 13, agus 14 aig mapa aon-òirleach na Suirbhidh Òrdanais (1947–48) (Oftedal 1954, 368).

Cha d' fhuaras cothrom air an làmh-sgrìobhainn gun fhoillseachadh aig A. Duncan, 'Norse Place-Names, chiefly from Lewis and Harris, obtained from the year 1930 and onwards', san robh a rèir aithris tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach de dh'ainmean; a rèir choltais, tha i a-nis air chall.

§16 Litreachadh §16

Thèid ceann-ainmean Gàidhlig a litreachadh le sùil ri freumhachd ach cuideachd a rèir slatan-tomhais ceart-sgrìobhaidh an latha an-diugh,[35] a' gabhail a-steach stràcan malla air aon-fhogharan fada (m.e. *Brèinis* #77, *Eòrrabidh* #182, *Èsginn* #227, *Tàbost* #315, *Tùthair* #344) agus air na dà-fhogharan *èa*, *ìo* (m.e. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *Lìonal* #237), ach chan ann air an dà-fhoghar *ia* (m.e. *Cliasgro* #131, *Griais* #220, *Miabhag* #251, *Siabost* #295), agus gun a bhith a' sgrìobhadh fhuaimreagan còmhnaidh beumte (§42; m.e. *Barbhas* #47, *A' Bheirgh* #57, *Borgh* #68, *Calbost* #93, *An Ceannmhor* #119, *Cirbhig* #124, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Mealbost* #248, *Tamnabhagh* #319, *Tolstadh* #331, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342).

Gidheadh, gheibhear caochladh mhura-bhith ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais: far am mair lag-bheum air an eileamaid mu dheireadh, thèid an riaghailt litreachaidh 'caol ri caol is leathann ri leathann' (Cox 2017, 22–23, §21) a bhriseadh air uairean gus freumhachd nan ainmean a nochdadh, cho fad 's gun tèid am fuaimneachadh iomchaidh a shealltainn, m.e. GA *Sanndabhig* [ˈsˠãũˠn̪ˠd̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] (seach **Sanndabhaig*) à SL **Sand-vík* #285; GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋɣ̊əˌniʃ] (seach **Tanganais*) à SL **Tanganes* #321 (coim. GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈsˠt̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] à SL **Straum*(*a*)*klett* cusp. (#306), le GA [k] a tha leathann gu fuinn-eòlach (/k/) ach GA [l] a tha caol gu fuinn-eòlach (/lʲ/)); agus sgrìobhar *sd* seach *st* ann an GA *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌsˠt̪əɬ̪] à SL **Lax-dal* cusp. #231 gus dearbh-aithne an t-seòrsaicheir a ghleidheadh. A thuilleadh, sgrìobhar *th* thoisich seach *h* ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais le GA [h] thoisich bhunasaich, ge be dè an tùs Lochlannais, m.e. GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] à SL **Há-sætr* #324; GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌsˠad̪ˠəɾ] à SL **Hamarssætr*

35. M.e. Cox 2017, 1–40; airson geàrr-eachdraidh air ùrachadh ceart-sgrìobhadh na Gàidhlig a-chianaibh, gu h-àraidh 3–5. Airson na sgrìobhainne *Gnàthachas Litreachaidh na Gàidhlig* 2009, faic (GA) <https://www.sqa.org.uk/files_ccc/SQA-Gaelic_Orthographic_Conventions-G-e.pdf>, (Brl.) <https://www.sqa.org.uk/files_ccc/SQA-Gaelic_Orthographic_Conventions-En-e.pdf>.

§16 ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰʧʲəɾ] from ON **Heið-klettar* pl. #326; ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌt̪s̪a̪d̪̊əɾ] from ON **Þjór-sætr* #327; and ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪̃kɾo] from ON **Hvammsgróf* #328.[36]

Old Norse names are spelt according to current orthographic standards, those used for example in *Norrøn ordbok* (2015); accordingly, when Oftedal (1980, 187) writes ON **Sand-uík* and **Sauðafiall* for example, they are changed below to **Sand-vík* and **Sauðafjall*. ON *ey* f. 'island', however, is a notable exception: Oftedal usually writes *øy*,[37] but it is proposed below that the first part of the diphthong must have been lower for slenderisation to be absent today from names such as ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̪e͡ɾʲe-əˌs̪̃aj] (with broad [s̪̃]), hence a derivation from CSc. **Bergsøy* with CSc. **øy*, rather than ON **Bergsøy* or **Bergsey* (#58).

In Old Norse reconstructions, the hyphen (-) indicates when the stem form of an element is being used, contrast ON **Kyravík* '(the) calm bay' (with the feminine weak form of the adjective ON *kyrr* 'calm' + the noun ON *vík* f. 'small bay') with ON **Kyr-vík* '(the) calm-bay' (with the stem form of the adjective).[38] For the same reason, the form ON **Kráar-kró* (Oftedal 1954, 380) is silently changed to **Kráarkró*, where initial *kráar* is genitive of the noun ON *krǫ́* (*krá*) f. (#157, fn 327).

The spelling of the majority of the current English versions of Gaelic settlement names in Lewis follows lists compiled by Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (2007, 2019).

In words or names being cited, hyphens are only used at line breaks if they would occur elsewhere in the text, e.g. **Kyr-* at the end of a line and *vík* at the beginning of the next indicates the spelling **Kyr-vík*. Line breaks that occur in words or names being cited that do not contain hyphens under normal circumstances are marked by a middle dot (·), e.g. **Kráar·* at the end of a line and *kró* at the beginning of the next indicates the spelling **Kráarkró*.[39]

36. Except in the established forms ScG *Na Hearadh* and *Hiort* (#315).

37. Also ON *øyrr* for *eyrr* (#180, fn 399).

38. I.e. ON *kyrr*, (stem form) **kyr-*, rather than the attested form, ON *kyrr*, (stem form) *kyrr-*. ON **Kyrr-vík* would yield ScG **Cirrbhig* *[ˈkʲʰiɾ̪ʲˌviɣ̊ʲ], while ON **Kyr-vík* would yield ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾʲ̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ], which is what is heard (#124).

39. #157 + fn 327.

#325; GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰʧʲəɾ] à SL **Heið-klettar* iol. #326; GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌt̪s̪a̪d̪̊əɾ] à SL **Þjór-sætr* #327; agus GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪̃kɾo] à SL **Hvammsgróf* #328.[36] §16

Thèid ainmean Lochlannais a litreachadh a rèir slatan-tomhais ceart-sgrìobhaidh an latha, an fheadhainn air an cleachdadh mar eisimpleir ann an *Norrøn ordbok* (2015); mar sin dheth, nuair a sgrìobhas Oftedal (1980, 187) SL **Sand-uík* agus **Sauðafiall* mar eisimpleir, thèid an atharrachadh shìos gu **Sand-vík* agus **Sauðafjall*. 'S e mura-bhith chomharraichte a th' ann an SL *ey* b. 'eilean', ge-tà: sgrìobhaidh Oftedal *øy* mar as trice,[37] ach cuirear air shùilibh shìos gum feumadh ciad leth an dà-fhoghair a bhith na b' ìsle gus nach biodh caolachadh ann an ainmean mar GA *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̪e͡ɾʲe-əˌs̪̃aj] (le [s̪̃] leathainn) an-diugh, às a sin bunachas à LB **Bergsøy* le LB **øy*, seach SL **Bergsøy* no **Bergsey* (#58).

Ann an ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais, cleachdar an tàthan (-) gus a chomharradh nuair as e bun-riochd eileamaid a tha ga chleachdadh, m.e. iomsgaraich SL **Kyravík* '(am) bàgh ciùin', le cruth lag boireann a' bhuadhair SL *kyrr* 'ciùin' + an ainmear SL *vík* b. 'bàgh beag', bho SL **Kyr-vík* '(an) ciùin-bhàgh', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair.[38] Air an aon adhbhar, thèid an cruth SL **Kráar-kró* (Oftedal 1954, 380) atharrachadh gun bhrath gu **Kráarkró*, far an e *kráar* toisich tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *krǫ́* (*krá*) b. (#157, bn 327).

Leanaidh litreachadh na mòr-chuid de dh'eagrain Bheurla an latha aig ainmean tuineachaidh Gàidhlig ann an Leòdhas na liostaichean air an cur ri chèile le Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (2007, 2019).

Ann am facail no ainmean a tha gan ainmeachadh, cha chleachdar tàthain aig brisidhean loidhne ach nan nochdadh iad ann an àitichean eile san teags, m.e. sònraichidh **Kyr-* aig deireadh loidhne agus *vík* aig toiseach na h-ath-tè an litreachadh **Kyr-vík*. Thèid brisidhean loidhne a thachras ann am facail no ainmean a tha gan ainmeachadh anns nach fhaighear tàthain mar as àbhaist a chomharrachadh le puing mheadhain (·), m.e. sònraichidh **Kráar·* aig deireadh loidhne agus *kró* aig toiseach na h-ath-tè an litreachadh **Kráarkró*.[39]

36. Ach sna cruthan stèidhichte GA *Na Hearadh* agus *Hiort* (#315).

37. SL *øyrr* airson *eyrr* mar an ceudna (#180, bn 399).

38. .i. SL *kyrr*, (bun-riochd) **kyr-*, seach an cruth dha bheil teist, SL *kyrr*, (bun-riochd) *kyrr-*. Bheireadh SL **Kyrr-vík* GA **Cirrbhig* *[ˈkʲʰiɾ̪ʲˌviɣ̊ʲ], fhad 's a bheireadh SL **Kyr-vík* GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾʲ̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ], an dearbh rud a chluinnear (#124).

39. #157 + bn 327.

§17 §17 Phonetic symbols: consonants Fig. 2

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
Plosive	p	b			t̪	d̪			ʈ	ɖ			k	g		ʔ
Nasal		m				n̪		n		ɳ		ɲ		ŋ		
Trill								r								
Tap/flap								ɾ		ɽ						
Fricative	ɸ	β	f	v	θ	s̪	ð	s ʃ†	z	ʂ	ç	ʝ	x	ɣ	h	
Approximant				ʋ								j				
Lateral								l		ɭ		ʎ				

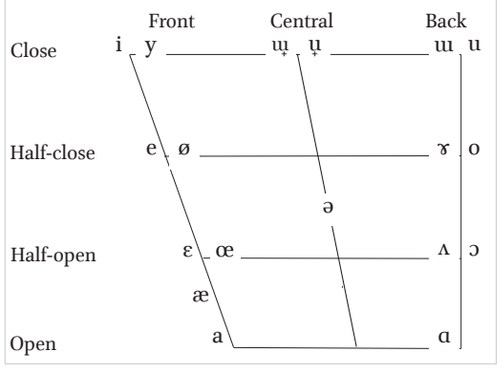
[ʍ]/[w] = Voiceless/Voiced labial-velar approximant †[ʃ] is post-alveolar.

§18 §18 Modes of articulation and consonantal diacritics Fig. 3

Plosive	Pathway is closed before releasing air.
Nasal	Air released through the nose.
Trill	Two or three taps on the ridge of the mouth.
Tap/flap	A single tap on the ridge of the mouth.
Fricative	Air vibrating through very narrow pathway.
Approximant	Noiseless release of air by narrow pathway.
Lateral	Air released through both sides of tongue.

ʰ	kʰ pʰ tʰ	Post-aspiration
ʰ	ʰk ʰp ʰt	Pre-aspiration
ʲ	tʲ dʲ kʲ gʲ	Palatalisation
ˠ	ðˠ	Velarisation
~	ɬ̴ ɲ̴ ɾ̴	Velarisation
̥	b̥ d̥ g̊	Voiceless
̪	t̪ d̪ s̪ ʎ̪	Dental
̺	t̺ d̺ s̺ l̺	Alveolar

§19 §19 Phonetic symbols: vowels and diacritics Fig. 4



ˈ	ˈb̪ũn ˌn̪ skɔl	Full stress
ˌ	ˈb̪ũn ˌn̪ skɔl	Half-stress
ː	aː	Long
ˑ	aˑ	Half-long
~	ã	Nasalisation
̯	i̯ u̯	Non-syllabic
̟	ɯ̟ ʉ̟	Advanced

§17 §17 Samhlaidhean fuaim-eòlach: connragan Fig. 2

	Dà-bhileach		Bil-dheudach		Deudach		Bràigheach		Cùl-lùbach		Càireanach		Sgannach		Glotach	
Stadach	p	b			t̪	d̪			ʈ	ɖ			k	g		ʔ
Srònach		m				n̪		n		ɳ		ɲ		ŋ		
Trìlean								r								
Gnog								ɾ		ɽ						
Suathach	ɸ	β	f	v	θ	s̪	ð	s ʃ†	z	ʂ	ç	ʝ	x	ɣ	h	
Dlùthach				ʋ								j				
Taobhach								l		ɭ		ʎ				

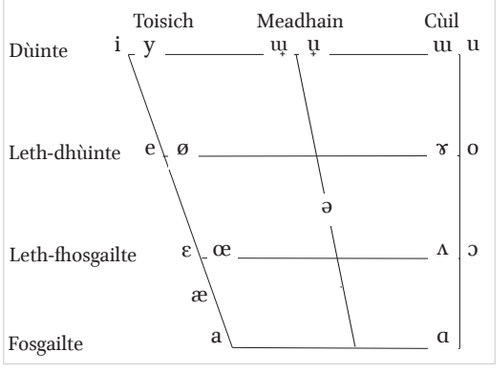
[ʍ]/[w] = Dlùthach bileach-sgannach neo-ghuthach/guthach †Tha [ʃ] iar-bhràigheach.

§18 §18 Modhan altachaidh agus comharraidhean sgaraidh connragach Fig. 3

Stadach	Slighe a' bheòil dùinte mus teich an anail.
Srònach	Thig an anail a-mach às an t-sròin.
Trìlean	A dhà no a trì bhreaban air bràigh a' bheòil.
Gnog	An t-aon bhreab air bràigh a' bheòil.
Suathach	An anail air chrith is slighe a' bheòil ro chaol.
Dlùthach	An anail gun fhuaim is slighe a' bheòil caol.
Taobhach	An anail a-mach bho gach taobh den teanga.

ʰ	kʰ pʰ tʰ	Iar-analachadh
ʰ	ʰk ʰp ʰt	Ro-analachadh
ʲ	tʲ dʲ kʲ gʲ	Càireanachadh
ˠ	ðˠ	Sgannachadh
~	ɬ̴ ɲ̴ ɾ̴	Sgannachadh
̥	b̥ d̥ g̊	Neo-ghuthach
̪	t̪ d̪ s̪ ʎ̪	Deudach
̺	t̺ d̺ s̺ l̺	Bràigheach

§19 §19 Samhlaidhean fuaim-eòlach: fuaimreagan is comharraidhean sgaraidh Fig. 4



ˈ	ˈb̪ũn ˌn̪ skɔl	Làn-bheum
ˌ	ˈb̪ũn ˌn̪ skɔl	Leth-bheum
ː	aː	Fada
ˑ	aˑ	Leth-fhada
~	ã	Srònachadh
̯	i̯ u̯	Neo-lideach
̟	ɯ̟ ʉ̟	Adhartachadh

§20 Additional Symbols

Over time, Magne Oftedal changed many of the symbols he used in his phonetic transcriptions. At the beginning of the 1950s, he kept close to those recommended by the International Phonetic Association; a change in his usage developed, however, especially towards the system he employed in his PhD thesis.[1]

The following table compares symbols used in this book (Column A) with examples of the additional symbols Oftedal employs in his own transcriptions (Column B).

Additional symbols Fig. 5

	A	B		
Dentals (◌̪)	[d̪] [t̪] [s̪] [ɬ̪] [l̪̊] [n̪̊] [ɲ̪]	[d] [t] [s] [ɬ][ʟ] [l̥][ʟ′] [n̥][ɴ] [ŋ̊][ɴ′]		(unmarked)
Fricatives	[j̞]	[ǰ]		(˅)
Liquids	[l̪̊] [l] [ɬ̪] [ɾ] [ɾʲ] [ʁ]	[l̥][ʟ′] [l] [ɬ][ʟ] [ɻ̊] [r][ɻ] [ɣ̊][ɾ′][r′][ð] [ʁ]	a. b.	
Nasals	[n] [n̪̊] [ɲ̪]	[n] [n̥][ɴ] [ŋ̊][ɴ′]		
Aspiration (ʰ)	[pʰ]; [ʰp] [kʰ]; [ʰk] [tʰ]; [ʰt]	[ph][pʿ]; [hp][ʾp] [kh][kʿ]; [hk][ʾk] [th][tʿ]; [ht][ʾt]		(h)(ʿ/ʾ)
Velarisation (~)	[ɬ̪] [n̪̊] [ɾ]; [ɾ̪]	[ʟ] [ɴ] [ʁ]		(capital letters)

1. The symbol chart of the International Phonetic Association was revised in 1951; Oftedal's *The Gaelic of Leurbost* was published in 1956.

§20 Tuilleadh shamhlaidhean

Ri ùine, dh'atharraich Magne Oftedal mòran de na samhlaidhean a chleachdadh e na thras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach. Aig toiseach nan 1950an, bhiodh e a' cumail na bu dlùithe ris an fheadhainn a bha gam moladh leis a' Chomann Fhuaim-eòlach Eadar-nàiseanta; chithear leasachadh anns na chleachdadh e, getà, gu h-àraidh a dh'ionnsaigh na riaghailte a chleachd e na thràchdas PhD.[1]

Nithear coimeas anns a' chlàr shìos eadar samhlaidhean a chleachdar san leabhar seo (Colbh A) agus eisimpleirean den tuilleadh shamhlaidhean a chleachdas Oftedal gu tric na thras-sgrìobhaidhean fhèin (Colbh B).

Tuilleadh shamhlaidhean Fig. 5

	A	B		
Deudaich (◌̪)	[d̪] [t̪] [s̪] [ɬ̪] [l̪̊] [n̪̊] [ɲ̪]	[d] [t] [s] [ɬ][ʟ] [l̥][ʟ′] [n̥][ɴ] [ŋ̊][ɴ′]		(gun an comharradh)
Suathaich	[j̞]	[ǰ]		(˅)
Sruthaich	[l̪̊] [l] [ɬ̪] [ɾ] [ɾʲ] [ʁ]	[l̥][ʟ′] [l] [ɬ][ʟ] [ɻ̊] [r][ɻ] [ɣ̊][ɾ′][r′][ð] [ʁ]	a. b.	
Srònaich	[n] [n̪̊] [ɲ̪]	[n] [n̥][ɴ] [ŋ̊][ɴ′]		
Analachadh (ʰ)	[pʰ]; [ʰp] [kʰ]; [ʰk] [tʰ]; [ʰt]	[ph][pʿ]; [hp][ʾp] [kh][kʿ]; [hk][ʾk] [th][tʿ]; [ht][ʾt]		(h)(ʿ/ʾ)
Sgannachadh (~)	[ɬ̪] [n̪̊] [ɾ]; [ɾ̪]	[ʟ] [ɴ] [ʁ]		(mòr-litrichean)

1. Chaidh càirt shamhlaidhean a' Chomainn Fhuaim-eòlaich Eadar-nàiseanta ath-dhèanamh ann an 1951; chaidh *The Gaelic of Leurbost* le Oftedal fhoillseachadh ann an 1956.

§20

Palatalisation (ʲ)	[dʲ] [tʲ] [gʲ] [kʲ] [ʎ̪] [ɲ̪] [ɾʲ] [ʃ]	[d̥][d′] [t̥][t′] [ɟ][g′] [c][k′] [l̥] [ʟ′] [n̥][ɴ′] [r̥][ɾ′][r′][ð] [s′]		(ˌ)(′)
Devoicing (˳)	[b̥] [d̥] [g̊] [ɬ̪] [ɲ̥] [ɣ̥]	[b̥] [d̥] [g̥] [ɬ̥] [ɴ̥′] [ɣ̥] [ʟ̥] [ɴ̥] [m̥]	c.	(ˌ) (ˌ)
Voicing		[d̠] [g̠]		(̠)
Fronting		[ʟ<]	d.	(<)
Backing		[l>]		(>)
Retroflex consonants (ˬ)	[ɖ] [ʈ] [ʂ] [ɳ] [ɭ]	[ḍ] [ṭ] [ṣ] [ṇ] [ḷ]		(.)
Eclipsis	[n̪ᵈ̪]	[ɴ̓]		(’)
Certain vowels	[a] [ɑ] [u] [ə]	[a][ɑ] [ɑ] [u][ʊ][ɷ] [ə][ɤ]		
Raising (ˍ)	[ɔ̯]	[ɔˆ]		(ˆ)
Lowering (ˎ)	[e̞]	[eˇ]		(ˇ)
Fronting (ˏ)	[u̟]	[u̇][u<]		(˙)(<)
Backing (ˍ)	[ə̠]	[ə>]		(>)

a. [ʟ̥] = [ɬ], .i. a velarised alevolar (sometimes perhaps retroflex) lateral.

b. [ṛ] = [r] non-trilled, i.e. [ɾ].

c. [ɣ̥] = [ɣ̥̥], i.e. a velar fricative with devoicing at the end of the segment.

d. [ʟ<] = a velarised interdental lateral.

§20

Càireanachadh (ʲ)	[dʲ] [tʲ] [gʲ] [kʲ] [ʎ̪] [ɲ̪] [ɾʲ] [ʃ]	[d̥][d′] [t̥][t′] [ɟ][g′] [c][k′] [l̥] [ʟ′] [n̥][ɴ′] [r̥][ɾ′][r′][ð] [s′]		(ˌ)(′)
Dì-ghuthachadh (˳)	[b̥] [d̥] [g̊] [ɬ̪] [ɲ̥] [ɣ̥]	[b̥] [d̥] [g̥] [ɬ̥] [ɴ̥′] [ɣ̥] [ʟ̥] [ɴ̥] [m̥]	c.	(ˌ) (ˌ)
Guthachadh		[d̠] [g̠]		(̠)
Adhartachadh		[ʟ<]	d.	(<)
Cùlachadh		[l>]		(>)
Cùl-lùbaich (ˬ)	[ɖ] [ʈ] [ʂ] [ɳ] [ɭ]	[ḍ] [ṭ] [ṣ] [ṇ] [ḷ]		(.)
Dùbhradh	[n̪ᵈ̪]	[ɴ̓]		(’)
Fuaimreagan àraidh	[a] [ɑ] [u] [ə]	[a][ɑ] [ɑ] [u][ʊ][ɷ] [ə][ɤ]		
Àrdachadh (ˍ)	[ɔ̯]	[ɔˆ]		(ˆ)
Ìsleachadh (ˎ)	[e̞]	[eˇ]		(ˇ)
Adhartachadh (ˏ)	[u̟]	[u̇][u<]		(˙)(<)
Cùlachadh (ˍ)	[ə̠]	[ə>]		(>)

a. [ʟ̥] = [ɬ], .i. taobhach bràigheach sgannaichte (uaireannan cùl-lùbach, ’s dòcha).

b. [ṛ] = [r] gun trìleanaich, .i. [ɾ].

c. [ɣ̥] = [ɣ̥̥], .i. suathach sgannach air a dhì-ghuthachadh aig deireadh na h-earrainn.

d. [ʟ<] = taobhach eadar-dheudach sgannaichte.

§21 §21 Stress

Oftedal does not always mark stress, as primary stress normally falls on the initial syllable of a word in Gaelic (though see Vowel epenthesis §23, below): ScG *Crothairgearraidh* (nMO) [krɔ-əð̥ɡ′ɑʀi], (RC) [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾ̥ʲˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; or else he only marks full stress: ScG *Crò Leatha* (nMO) [kʿrɔ ˈla-a], (RC) [ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈla-a] #153.

§22 §22 Hiatus

Lewis Gaelic hiatus is marked by a hyphen, i.e. with level or rising tone on syllable 1, falling tone on syllable 2, without a pause in speech or glottal stop between the two syllables, e.g. ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79.[2]

§23 §23 Vowel epenthesis

In unstressed syllables in Gaelic, an epenthetic vowel occasionally appears between consonants where there was none originally, e.g. ScG *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪kɾo], > [ˈkʰlias̪kəˌɾo] (< ON **Kleifsgróf*) #131, something that happens spontaneously in order to facilitiate pronunciation for some reason.

At the end of stressed syllables, between *l*, *n*, *m* or *r* and certain consonants (Cox 2017, 16–18), epenthesis occurs where the stress on the first syllable is repeated on the second syllable – occasionally, the stress on the second syllable is greater – with rising tone. Oftedal uses a grave accent (`) to indicate this epenthesis: (Oftedal 1954, 378) SL *Cirbhig* [k′iðìviɡ′],[3] while a superscript arch (͡) is used in this book, i.e. [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124.

2. Hiatus is represented in Gaelic orthography by lenited consonants, whose usual values are disregarded, e.g. *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *mh*, *th* (Cox 2017, 19).

3. Contrast the earlier description (nMO) [ciˈðiviɟ].

§21 Beum §21

Cha chomharraich Oftedal beum an-còmhnaidh, agus am prìomh bheum mar as àbhaist air ciad lide an fhacail sa Ghàidhlig (ach faic Còmhnadh fuaimreige §23, shìos): GA *Crothairgearraidh* (nMO) [krɔ-əð̥ɡ′ɑʀi], (RC) [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾ̥ʲˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; air neo cha chomharraich e ach làn-bheum: GA *Crò Leatha* (nMO) [kʿrɔ ˈla-a], (RC) [ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈla-a] #153.

§22 Beàrnas §22

Comharraichidh an tàthan beàrnas ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais, .i. fonn rèidh no èirigh air lide 1, fonn tuiteim air lide 2, gun stad labhairte no stad glotach eadar an dà lide, m.e. GA *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79.[2]

§23 Còmhnadh fuaimreige §23

Ann an lidean neo-bheumte sa Ghàidhlig, nochdaidh fuaimreag còmhnaidh air uairean eadar connragan far nach robh gin ann bho thùs, m.e. GA *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪kɾo], > [ˈkʰlias̪kəˌɾo] (< SL **Kleifsgróf*) #131, rudeigin a bhios ag èirigh bhuaithe fhèin gus am fuaimneachadh fhasachadh air adhbhar air choreigin.

Aig deireadh lidean beumte, eadar *l*, *m*, *n* no *r* agus connragan àraidh (Cox 2017, 16–18), gheibhear còmhnadh far an tèid am beum a th' air a' chiad lide ath-aithris air an dàrna lide – corra uair, bidh am beum air an dàrna lide fiù 's nas treasa – le fonn èirigh. Cleachdaidh Oftedal stràc mall (`) gus an còmhnadh seo a chomharradh: (Oftedal 1954, 378) GA *Cirbhig* [k′iðìviɡ′],[3] fhad 's a chleachdar stuagh os-sgrìobhte (͡) san leabhar seo, .i. [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124.

2. Riochdaichear beàrnas ann an ceart-sgrìobhadh na Gàidhlig le connragan sèimhichte, a thèid an luachan àbhaisteach a chur an dàrna taobh, m.e. *bh*, *dh*, *gh*, *mh*, *th* (Cox 2017, 19).

3. Iomsgaraich an tuairisgeul a bu tràithe (nMO) [ciˈðiviɟ].

3 Orthographic Symbols

§24 §24 Orthographic symbols in Gaelic

Traditionally, 18 symbols (*a b c d e f g h i l m n o p r s t u*) are used.[1] In addition to being the symbol for initial [h] in several loans,[2] *h* is used to indicate initial mutation, i.e. aspiration ([h]) before vowels, e.g. in ScG *Baile na* ***h****-Iolaire* [ˌb̥alə nə ˈhjuɬ̪əɾʲə] #37, or lenition §32, where *h* after a consonant indicates that the value of the consonant has changed, e.g. (gen.) ***Bh****aile na h-Iolaire* [ˌvalə nə ˈhjuɬ̪əɾʲə].

In Early Gaelic, before the system of representing lenition by *h* was completely settled, a *punctum delens* was often used above certain letters, usage which began with EG *f* [f] > (lenited) *ḟ*, which was silent (cf. ScG *An* ***Fh****eòirlig* [ə ˈn̪ɔːɫi̯ɣ̊ʲ], but (gen.) *Na* ***F****eòirlig* [nə ˈfjɔːɫi̯ɣ̊ʲ] #184). In addition to the lenited symbols *ph th ch*, then, *ḃ ḋ ḟ ġ ṁ ṡ* are used in this book, where relevant.

Note that vowels or series of vowels in Gaelic may represent either the value of the vowels themselves and/or the quality of the consonants beside them §38, e.g. *Siadar* [ˈʃiad̪ə̆ɾ], with *ia* indicating [C′iaC˟], but *-seadar*, with *ea* indicating [C′aC˟], where *e* is simply a qualitative marker #296.

§25 §25 Orthographic symbols in Old Norse

Fig. 6

a		[ɑ]
	á	[ɑː], > OWN *ǫ* [ɔː] c. 1200
	au	CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) *au*, *ǫu* and ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) *au* [ɔu]
b		[b̥][3]
d		[d̥][3, 4]
ð		[ð]

1. In Lewis Gaelic dialects, these symbols have to represent a phonemic system in which there are 8 monophthongs, 10 diphthongs and 30 consonants (Oftedal 1980, 171).

2. E.g. GA *Hiort* from ON *Hirtir* plur. §16 + fn 36.

3. The Old Norse consonants *b*, *d*, *g* were probably devoiced [b̥, d̥, ɡ̊], as they are in Icelandic, Faroese and Danish and in some dialects in south-west Norway.

4. ON *d*, *t*, *n*, *l*, *s* are here described as apico-alveolar [d̺, t̺, n̺, l̺, s̺], which are common in Norwegian dialects outwith areas that have developed retroflex consonants (as in Norw. *bort* [buʈ] 'away') (Rolf Theil, personal communication), although Haugen (1976, 154, 156) describes apico-dental [d̪, t̪, n̪, l̪, s̪] for Proto- and Common Scandinavian.

3 Samhlaidhean Ceart-sgrìobhaidh

§24 §24 Samhlaidhean ceart-sgrìobhaidh sa Ghàidhlig

Thèid 18 samhlaidhean (*a b c d e f g h i l m n o p r s t u*) a chleachdadh gu dualchasach.[1] A thuilleadh air a bhith na samhla de [h] thoisich ann an corra iasadan,[2] thèid *h* a chleachdadh gus mùthadh toisich a shònrachadh, .i. analachadh ([h]) ro fhuaimreagan, m.e. ann an GA *Baile na* ***h****-Iolaire* [ˌb̥alə nə ˈhjuɬ̪əɾʲə] #37, no sèimheachadh §32 far an sònraich *h* an dèidh connraige gu bheil luach na connraige air atharrachadh, m.e. (gin.) ***Bh****aile na h-Iolaire* [ˌvalə nə ˈhjuɬ̪əɾʲə].

Anns a' Ghàidhlig Thràth, mus deach an riaghailt a bhith a' riochdachadh sèimheachadh le *h* a shocrachadh gu buileach, chleachdte *punctum delens* gu tric bhos cionn litrichean àraidh, cleachdadh a thòisich le GT *f* [f] > (air a sèimheachadh) *ḟ*, a bha sàmhach (coim. GA *An* ***Fh****eòirlig* [ə ˈn̪ɔːɫi̯ɣ̊ʲ], ach (gin.) *Na* ***F****eòirlig* [nə ˈfjɔːɫi̯ɣ̊ʲ] #184). Anns an leabhar seo, a-rèist, a thuilleadh air na samhlaidhean sèimhichte *ph th ch*, cleachdar *ḃ ḋ ḟ ġ ṁ ṡ*, mar as iomchaidh.

Mothaich gum faod fuaimreagan no sreathan de dh'fhuaimreagan sa Ghàidhlig a bhith a' riochdachadh aon chuid luach nam fuaimreagan fhèin agus/no feart nan connragan timcheall orra §38, m.e. *Siadar* [ˈʃiad̪ə̆ɾ], le *ia* a' sònrachadh [C′iaC˟], ach *-seadar*, le *ea* a' sònrachadh [C′aC˟], far nach eil ann an *e* ach comharra feirt #296.

§25 §25 Samhlaidhean ceart-sgrìobhaidh san Lochlannais

Fig. 6

a		[ɑ]
	á	[ɑː], > SLI *ǫ* [ɔː] c. 1200
	au	LB (c. 550–c. 1050) *au*, *ǫu* agus SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) *au* [ɔu]
b		[b̥][3]
d		[d̥][3, 4]
ð		[ð]

1. Ann an dualchainntean Gàidhlig Leòdhais, feumaidh na samhlaidhean seo riaghailt fuinn-eòlach a riochdachadh sa bheil 8 aon-fhogharan, 10 dà-fhogharan agus 30 connragan (Oftedal 1980, 171).

2. M.e. GA *Hiort* à SL *Hirtir* iol. §16 + bn 36.

3. Is math dh'fhaodte gun robh SL *b*, *d*, *g* nam [b̥, d̥, ɡ̊] dhì-ghuthaichte, mar a tha san Tìlis, san Fhàrothais, san Danmhaircis is an cuid de dhualchainntean an ceann an iar-dheas Nirribhidh.

4. Tha SL *d*, *t*, *n*, *l*, *s* air am mìneachadh an seo nam bàrr-bhràighich [d̺, t̺, n̺, l̺, s̺], a tha bitheanta ann an dualchainntean Nirribhis taobh a-muigh cheàrnaidhean san do dh'fhàs connragan cùl-lùbach (mar a tha ann an Nirr. *bort* [buʈ] 'air falbh') (Rolf Theil, conaltradh pearsanta), ged a mhìnicheas Haugen (1976, 154, 156) bàrr-dheudaich [d̪, t̪, n̪, l̪, s̪] airson na h-Ur-Lochlannais agus na Lochlannais Bitheanta.

e		[e]
	é	[eː]
	ei	CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) *ai* [ai] > *ęi* [æi] > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) *ei* [ɛi]
	ey	CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) *øy* [œy] > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) *øy* [øy] or *ey* [ɛy]
ę		[ɛ]
f		*f-* [f], *ff* [ff] *f*/_Ç̊: [f] *-f*(-) [v]
	fn	[ṽn̪]
g		*g-* [g̊][3] *g-* /_FV or *j* > [g̊ʲ] after 1250 *-g*(-) [ɣ] *-g* /_*s*, *t*: [x]
	gg	*-gg-* [gg]; *-gg* [gː]
h		*h-* CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) [ç]′/[x]ˣ > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) [h]
	hj	*hj-* [ç] > [hj], [j̊] > MNorw (c. 1350–c. 1550) [j]
	hl	*hl-* CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) [xl̪] > [l̥] > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) [l̥] > ONorw. [l̪] 11th c.
	hn	*hn-* CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) [xn̪] > [n̥] > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) [n̥] > ONorw. [n̪] 11th c.
	hr	*hr-* CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) [xr] > [r̥] > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) [r̥] > ONorw. [r] 11th c.
	hv	CSc. (c. 550–c. 1050) [xw] > [ʍ] > ON (c. 1050–c. 1350) [kʰw] (> [kʰʊ] after 1200) or, in south-east Norway, [w] (later [gw] > [gʊ])
i		[i]
	í	[iː]
j		[j̊]
k		*k-* [kʰ][5]; /_FV or *j*: [kʲʰ] after 1250 *-ki*/*j-* > [ʰkʲ] before 1100
	kk	*-kk-* [ʰkk]; *-kk* [ʰkː]

5. ON *k*, *p*, *t* were undoubtedly aspirated [kʰ, pʰ, t̥ʰ] etc. as in Icelandic, Faroese and several Norwegian dialects.

e		[e]
	é	[eː]
	ei	LB (c. 550–c. 1050) *ai* [ai] > *ęi* [æi] > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) *ei* [ɛi]
	ey	LB (c. 550–c. 1050) *øy* [œy] > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) *øy* [øy] no *ey* [ɛy]
ę		[ɛ]
f		*f-* [f], *ff* [ff] *f* /_Ç̊: [f] *-f*(-) [v]
	fn	[ṽn̪]
g		*g-* [g̊][3] *g-* /_FT no *j* > [g̊ʲ] an dèidh 1250 *-g*(-) [ɣ] *-g* /_*s*, *t*: [x]
	gg	*-gg-* [gg]; *-gg* [gː]
h		*h-* LB (c. 550–c. 1050) [ç]′/[x]ˣ > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) [h]
	hj	*hj-* [ç] > [hj], [j̊] > MNirr (c. 1350–c. 1550) [j]
	hl	*hl-* LB (c. 550–c. 1050) [xl̪] > [l̥] > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) [l̥] > SNirr. [l̪] 11mh l.
	hn	*hn-* LB (c. 550–c. 1050) [xn̪] > [n̥] > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) [n̥] > SNirr. [n̪] 11mh l.
	hr	*hr-* LB (c. 550–c. 1050) [xr] > [r̥] > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) [r̥] > SNirr. [r] 11mh l.
	hv	LB (c. 550–c. 1050) [xw] > [ʍ] > SL (c. 1050–c. 1350) [kʰw] (> [kʰʊ] an dèidh 1200) no, ann an ceann an ear-dheas Nirribhidh, [w] (nas anmoiche [gw] > [gʊ])
i		[i]
	í	[iː]
j		[j̊]
k		*k-* [kʰ][5]; /_FT no *j*: [kʲʰ] an dèidh 1250 *-ki*/*j-* > [ʰkʲ] ro 1100
	kk	*-kk-* [ʰkk]; *-kk* [ʰkː]

5. Chan eil teagamh nach robh SL *k*, *p*, *t* analaichte [kʰ, pʰ, t̥ʰ] ꞀC mar a tha anns an Tìlis, an Fhàrothais agus ann an corra dhualchainnt Nirribhis.

§25

	kv	[kʰw] (> [kʰʊ] after 1200)
l		*l*- [l̪][4]; + beside *d n l r*; + after an unstressed vowel *l* /Ç̥_(Ç̥): [l̥] elsewhere [ɬ̪]
	ll	*-ll*- [l̪l̪]; *-ll* [l̪ː]
m		[m]
n		[n̪][4] [n̥] /Ç̥_(Ç̥): *vatn*, *vatns* (> *vaz* (*vats*) 1200+)
	ng	[ŋg]
	nk	[ŋk]
	nn	*-nn*- [n̪n̪]; *-nn* [n̪ː]
o		[o]
	ó	[oː]
p		[pʰ][5]
	pp	*-pp*- [ʰpp]; *-pp* [ʰpː]
	ps	[ɸs̪], but see §70 (iv)
	pt	[ɸt̪]
r		[r] *r* /Ç̥_: [r̥]
	rr	*-rr*- [rr]; *-rr* [rː]
ʀ		CSc. (c.550–c.1050) *ʀ* was an apico-palatal sibilant, like [z̪], which fell together with ON (c.1050–c.1350) *r*
s		[s̪][4]
	ss	*-ss*- [s̪s̪]; *-ss* [s̪ː]
	sv	[s̪w] (> [s̪ʊ] after 1200)
t		[t̪ʰ][4, 5]
	tt	*-tt*- [ʰt̪t̪]; *-tt* [ʰt̪ː]
þ		[θ]
u		[u]
	ú	[uː]
v		CSc. (c.550–c.1050) [w] > ON (c.1050–c.1350) [ʊ] (after 1200)

§25

	kv	[kʰw] (> [kʰʊ] an dèidh 1200)
l		*l*- [l̪][4]; + ri taobh *d n l r*; + an dèidh fuaimreige neo-bheumte *l* /Ç̥_(Ç̥): [l̥] an àite sam bith eile [ɬ̪]
	ll	*-ll*- [l̪l̪]; *-ll* [l̪ː]
m		[m]
n		[n̪][4] [n̥] /Ç̥_(Ç̥): *vatn*, *vatns* (> *vaz* (*vats*) 1200+)
	ng	[ŋg]
	nk	[ŋk]
	nn	*-nn*- [n̪n̪]; *-nn* [n̪ː]
o		[o]
	ó	[oː]
p		[ʰp][5]
	pp	*-pp*- [ʰpp]; *-pp* [ʰpː]
	ps	[ɸs̪], ach faic §70 (iv)
	pt	[ɸt̪]
r		[r] *r* /Ç̥_: [r̥]
	rr	*-rr*- [rr]; *-rr* [rː]
ʀ		Bha LB (c.550–c.1050) *ʀ* na siabach bàrr-chàireanach, coltach ri [z̪], a chaidh còmhla ri SL (c.1050–c.1350) *r*
s		[s̪][4]
	ss	*-ss*- [s̪s̪]; *-ss* [s̪ː]
	sv	[s̪w] (> [s̪ʊ] an dèidh 1200)
t		[t̪ʰ][4, 5]
	tt	*-tt*- [ʰt̪t̪]; *-tt* [ʰt̪ː]
þ		[θ]
u		[u]
	ú	[uː]
v		LB (c.550–c.1050) [w] > SL (c.1050–c.1350) [ʊ] (an dèidh 1200)

§25

x		= *ks* [kʂ]
y		[y]
	ý	[yː]
z		= *ts* [t̪ʂ]
æ Æ		[ɛː]
ø		[ø]
	ǿ	= *œ* [øː]
	øy	see *ey*
ǿy		see *ey*
œ Œ		= *ǿ* [øː]
ǫ		[ɔ]
	ǫ́	see *á*

NB As late as the second half of the 12th century, Old Norse also had nasalised vowels, although nasalisation was not shown formally in writing (Iversen 1973, 10; Gordon 1981, 267).

§25

x		= *ks* [kʂ]
y		[y]
	ý	[yː]
z		= *ts* [t̪ʂ]
æ Æ		[ɛː]
ø		[ø]
	ǿ	= *œ* [øː]
	øy	faic *ey*
ǿy		faic *ey*
œ Œ		= *ǿ* [øː]
ǫ		[ɔ]
	ǫ́	faic *á*

NB Cho anmoch ri dàrna leth na 12ra linne, bha fuaimreagan srònaichte san t-Seann Lochlannais mar an ceudna, ged nach deigheadh srònachadh a shealltainn gu foirmeil ann an sgrìobhadh (Iversen 1973, 10; Gordon 1981, 267).

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§26 The syntax of the Gaelic place-names

This section deals with the SYNTAX of the Gaelic settlement names, i.e. the structure of names according to how the elements in them work together on a grammatical level.

There are 346 settlement names in the collection (excluding those in App. I). In order to be able to compare the structures found in place-names in Lewis in general, Cox's (2002a, 15–30) classification is used below.[1] Names are divided into four classes: SIMPLE NAMES §26 (i), COMPLEX NAMES §26 (ii), COMPLEX NAMES WITH PERSONAL NAMES §26 (iii) and PREPOSITIONAL NAMES §26 (iv).[2]

§26 (i) Gaelic simple names

This is the most straightforward and commonest class (234/346 = 67.63% of all the names), in which several structures occur based upon the simple syntactic unit (for key, see fn 2)

(@ +) (a +) n (+ a)

where 'n' can be an appellative or a loan-name.

The commonest structure is 'N', i.e. consisting of an Old Norse loan-name, e.g. *Adabroc* #3 (S1b below), with 167 examples out of 234, i.e. 71.37% of simple names. This is followed by 'a + n', e.g. *An Àird* #6 (S1a(ii)), with 25 examples, i.e. 10.68% of simple names, then by '@ + n + a', e.g. *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2 (S2a(ii)), with 26 examples, i.e. 11.11%.

The structure '@ + a + n' is older as a type than the structure '@ + n + a' and only survives to a limited extent in the modern language, including examples with numerals (Cox 2017, 147–48, §121). But the older structure was evidently still in general use after the Norse settled in Lewis, cf. ScG *An Dubh-Sgeir* 'the black skerry' with the older structure on the one hand and ScG *An Sgeir Dhubh* 'the black skerry' with the newer structure on the other, both names containing the Old Norse loan-word ScG *sgeir* f. 'skerry' §8. However, the structure '@ + a + n' only occurs in the collection with cardinal numerals (S4a(ii), S5a).

Syntax: Gaelic simple names — Fig. 7

Class	Structure	No.	Examples
S1a(i)	n	5	*Clèid*, *Clèidir*, *Col*, *Sgapraid* and (based on an Old Norse loan-word) *Tangaidh*

1. Examples from Cox 2002a are given in square brackets where none occur here.

2. Key: @ = article, n = noun, N = Old Norse loan-name, a = adjective, pn = personal name, p = preposition, + = in the same case, × = the onset of genitive case.

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§26 Co-rèir nan ainmean-àite Gàidhlig

Dèiligidh an earrann seo ri CO-RÈIR nan ainmean tuineachaidh Gàidhlig, .i. co-chur nan ainmean a rèir mar a bhios na h-eileamaidean annta ag obair còmhladh aig ìre gràmair.

Tha 346 de dh'ainmean tuineachaidh sa cho-chruinneachadh (às aonais na feadhna ann an Eàrr. I). Gus coimeas a cheadachadh ri co-chuir ainmean-àite ann an Leòdhas san fharsaingeachd, cleachdar rangachadh Chox (2002a, 15–30) shìos.[1] Thèid ainmean a roinn nan ceithir rangannan: AINMEAN SÌMPLIDH §26 (i), AINMEAN CASTA §26 (ii), AINMEAN CASTA LE AINMEAN PEARSANTA §26 (iii) agus AINMEAN ROIMHEARAIL §26 (iv).[2]

§26 (i) Ainmean sìmplidh Gàidhlig

'S e seo an rang as bitheanta (234/346 = 67.63% de na h-ainmean uile-gu-lèir) agus as sìmplidhe, san tèid corra cho-chur a stèidheachadh air an aonad co-rèir shìmplidh (airson na h-iuchrach, faic bn 2)

(@ +) (b +) a (+ b)

far am faod 'a' a bhith na ainmear bitheanta no na ainm-iasaid.

'S e an co-chur as bitheanta 'L', .i. na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais, m.e. *Adabroc* #3 (S1b shìos), le 167 de dh'eisimpleirean a-mach à 234, .i. 71.37% de dh'ainmean sìmplidh. Leanar seo le '@ + a', m.e. *An Àird* #6 (S1a(ii)), le 25 eisimpleirean, .i. 10.68% de dh'ainmean sìmplidh, an uair sin le '@ + a + b', m.e. *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2 (S2a(ii)), le 26 eisimpleirean, .i. 11.11%.

Tha an co-chur '@ + b + a' nas sine mar sheòrsa na an co-chur '@ + a + b' agus cha mhair e ach gu ìre san nua-chànan, a' gabhail a-steach eisimpleirean le àireamhan (Cox 2017, 147–48, §121). Ach is follaiseach gun robh an co-chur as sine fhathast ga chleachdadh am bitheantas an dèidh dha na Lochlannaich tuineachadh ann an Leòdhas, coim. GA *An Dubh-Sgeir* leis a' cho-chur as sine air an dàrna làimh agus GA *An Sgeir Dhubh* leis a' cho-chur as ùire air an làimh eile, agus am facal-iasaid Lochlannais GA *sgeir* b. air a chleachdadh anns an dà ainm §8. Gidheadh, chan fhaighear an co-chur '@ + b + a' sa chruinneachadh ach le àireamhan àrdail (S4a(ii), S5a).

Co-chur: ainmean sìmplidh Gàidhlig — Fig. 7

Rang	Co-chur	Àir.	Eisimpleirean
S1a(i)	a	5	*Clèid*, *Clèidir*, *Col*, *Sgapraid* agus (stèidhichte air facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Tangaidh*

1. Cuirear eisimpleirean à Cox 2002a ann an camagan ceàrnach far nach eil gin an seo.

2. Iuchair: @ = alt, a = ainmear, L = ainm-iasaid Lochlannais, b = buadhair, ap = ainm pearsanta, r = roimhear, + = san aon tuiseal, × = toiseach an tuiseil ghinidich.

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S1a(ii)	@ + n	25	(7 entirely Gaelic) *An Àird, A' Cheannmhor, An Ceannmhor, An Cnoc* ×2, *An Dùn, An Grianan*; (9 with an Old Norse loan-word) *Am Bac, A' Bheirgh, An Cleit, A' Chlibh, Na Dailean, Na Geàrrannan, An Riobh, An Sròm, Na h-Ùigean*; (9 with an English loan-word) *Na Fleisearan, An Fheòirlig, An Glìb, An Gnìp, A' Phàirc* ×4, *Am Poileagan*
S1b	N	167	*Adabroc, Aiginis, Ailltinis, Àranis, Àrnal, Àsmaigearraidh, Bàraiseadar, Barbhas, Barra Glom, Beagnaigearraidh, Beanasbac, Beàrnaraigh, Beirgheasaigh, Beirghro, Bhàcasaigh, Bhalamus, Bhalasaigh, Bhaltos* ×2, *Bhataisgeir, Bhinndeam, Borgh, Borghaston, Borraiseadar, Bòstadh* ×3, *Bradhagair, Brèibhig, Brèinis, Briacleit, Britheascleit, Brocair, Brolum, Brù, Bruinigil, Buthanis, Cabharstaidh, Càiriseadar, Caithiseadar, Calbost, Callanis, Capadal, Càrlabhagh, Càrnis, Càros, Cealagbhol, Cearsadar, Ceartaigh, Ceòs, Cirbhig, Circeabost, Cleitir, Cliasgro, Crabhlastadh, Cros, Crosabost, Crothair, Crothairgearraidh, Crùlabhig, Cuidhbheatotar, Cuidhir, Cuidhiseadar, Cùileatotar, Cùiriseal, Dail, Dìobadal, Èinicleit* ×2, *Eireastadh, Eòiriseadar, Eòrrabidh, Eòrradal, Fìbhig, Fileascleitir, Gabhsann, Garrabost* ×2, *Gèiseadar, Giosladh, Giùrsadar* ×2, *Glogaiseadar, Grabhair, Gràsabhig, Grèineabost, Griais, Griogasbol, Grìomarstadh, Gruimseadar, Iarsadar, Ìsginn, Ìslibhig, Làbost, Lacasaigh, Lacasdal, Laidhmiseadar, Làmadal, Leumrabhagh, Lìnseadar, Lìonal, Liùrbost, Lunndal, Manaiseadar, Mangarstadh, Marabhig, Mealbost* ×3, *Miabhag, Mialastadh, Morsgail, Orasaigh, Pabail, Rathanis, Rèimeir, Rias, Rònaigh, Rothasgair, Sanndabhig, Sanndaig, Seiseadar, Sgealadal, Sgealasgro, Sgianailt, Sgiogarstaidh, Siabost, Siadar* ×3, *Silltinis* ×2, *Siùiliseadar, Smuaisibhig, Sòbhal, Sròmas, Stèinis, Steòrnabhagh, Stìomrabhagh, Suaineabost, Suardal* ×2, *Sùlaisgeir, Tàbost* ×2, *Tàcleit, Tamnabhagh, Tanganis, Teallasbhagh, Thàiseadar, Thamarsadar, Thèicleitir, Theòrsadar, Thòmasgro, Tiodaborgh, Tolm, Tolstadh* ×2, *Tòpsann, Tòranis, Torfhstaidh, Torraigh, Totarol, Tuimsgearraidh, Tunga, Tùthair, Ungaiseadar*
S2a(i)	n + a	2	(1 entirely Gaelic) *Iomair Sligeach*; (1 with an Old Norse loan-word) *Geàrraidh Ghuirm*
S2a(ii)	@ + n + a	26	(16 entirely Gaelic) *An t-Achadh Mòr, An Àird Bheag, An Àirigh Dhriseach, Am Baile Àrd, Am Baile Ùr* ×5, *An Ceann Beag, An Cnoc Àrd, An Cnoc Mòr, Na h-Eileanan Flannach, Na h-Eileanan Mòra, An Gleann Dubh, An Gleann Ùr* and (2 with an adverb used adjectively) *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh, An Ceann Shìos*; (5 with an Old Norse

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S1a(ii)	@ + a	25	(7 gu tur Gàidhlig) *An Àird, A' Cheannmhor, An Ceannmhor, An Cnoc* ×2, *An Dùn, An Grianan*; (9 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Am Bac, A' Bheirgh, An Cleit, A' Chlibh, Na Dailean, Na Geàrrannan, An Riobh, An Sròm, Na h-Ùigean*; (9 le facal-iasaid Beurla) *Na Fleisearan, An Fheòirlig, An Glìb, An Gnìp, A' Phàirc* ×4, *Am Poileagan*
S1b	L	167	*Adabroc, Aiginis, Ailltinis, Àranis, Àrnal, Àsmaigearraidh, Bàraiseadar, Barbhas, Barra Glom, Beagnaigearraidh, Beanasbac, Beàrnaraigh, Beirgheasaigh, Beirghro, Bhàcasaigh, Bhalamus, Bhalasaigh, Bhaltos* ×2, *Bhataisgeir, Bhinndeam, Borgh, Borghaston, Borraiseadar, Bòstadh* ×3, *Bradhagair, Brèibhig, Brèinis, Briacleit, Britheascleit, Brocair, Brolum, Brù, Bruinigil, Buthanis, Cabharstaidh, Càiriseadar, Caithiseadar, Calbost, Callanis, Capadal, Càrlabhagh, Càrnis, Càros, Cealagbhol, Cearsadar, Ceartaigh, Ceòs, Cirbhig, Circeabost, Cleitir, Cliasgro, Crabhlastadh, Cros, Crosabost, Crothair, Crothairgearraidh, Crùlabhig, Cuidhbheatotar, Cuidhir, Cuidhiseadar, Cùileatotar, Cùiriseal, Dail, Dìobadal, Èinicleit* ×2, *Eireastadh, Eòiriseadar, Eòrrabidh, Eòrradal, Fìbhig, Fileascleitir, Gabhsann, Garrabost* ×2, *Gèiseadar, Giosladh, Giùrsadar* ×2, *Glogaiseadar, Grabhair, Gràsabhig, Grèineabost, Griais, Griogasbol, Grìomarstadh, Gruimseadar, Iarsadar, Ìsginn, Ìslibhig, Làbost, Lacasaigh, Lacasdal, Laidhmiseadar, Làmadal, Leumrabhagh, Lìnseadar, Lìonal, Liùrbost, Lunndal, Manaiseadar, Mangarstadh, Marabhig, Mealbost* ×3, *Miabhag, Mialastadh, Morsgail, Orasaigh, Pabail, Rathanis, Rèimeir, Rias, Rònaigh, Rothasgair, Sanndabhig, Sanndaig, Seiseadar, Sgealadal, Sgealasgro, Sgianailt, Sgiogarstaidh, Siabost, Siadar* ×3, *Silltinis* ×2, *Siùiliseadar, Smuaisibhig, Sòbhal, Sròmas, Stèinis, Steòrnabhagh, Stìomrabhagh, Suaineabost, Suardal* ×2, *Sùlaisgeir, Tàbost* ×2, *Tàcleit, Tamnabhagh, Tanganis, Teallasbhagh, Thàiseadar, Thamarsadar, Thèicleitir, Theòrsadar, Thòmasgro, Tiodaborgh, Tolm, Tolstadh* ×2, *Tòpsann, Tòranis, Torfhstaidh, Torraigh, Totarol, Tuimsgearraidh, Tunga, Tùthair, Ungaiseadar*
S2a(i)	a + b	2	(1 gu tur Gàidhlig) *Iomair Sligeach*; (1 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Geàrraidh Ghuirm*
S2a(ii)	@ + a + b	26	(16 gu tur Gàidhlig) *An t-Achadh Mòr, An Àird Bheag, An Àirigh Dhriseach, Am Baile Àrd, Am Baile Ùr* ×5, *An Ceann Beag, An Cnoc Àrd, An Cnoc Mòr, Na h-Eileanan Flannach, Na h-Eileanan Mòra, An Gleann Dubh, An Gleann Ùr* agus (2 le co-ghnìomhair na bhuadhair) *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh, An Ceann Shìos*; (5 le facal-iasaid

	(@ + n + a)		loan-word) *An Geàrraidh Buidhe*, *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh*, *An Geàrraidh Mòr*, *Am Margadh Ùr*, *Am Poll Dubh*; (3 with an English loan-word and adverb used adjectivally) *A' Pheighinn a-Siar*, *An t-Sràid a Tuath*, *An t-Sràid an Ear*
S2b	N + a	5	*Geardha Bheag*, *Bhuidhea Mhòr*, *Crò Beag*, *Crò Mòr* and *Pabaigh Mhòr* – though this figure would increase were forms with an adverb used adjectivally added, e.g. *Siabost a Deas*, *Siabost a Tuath* etc.
S3(i)	n + a + a	0	[*Creag Ìosal Mhòr*]
S3(ii)	@ + n + a + a	0	[*A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr*]
S4a(i)	a + n	0	[*Glas Allt*]
S4a(ii)	@ + a + n	3	(with an English loan-word) *Na Còig Peighinnean* ×2, *Na Seachd Peighinnean*
S4b	@ + n + n	0	[*An Cùl Phort*]
S4c	@ + a + N	0	[*Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal*]
S5a	@ + a + n + a	1	(with an English loan-word) *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug*
S5b	@ + n + n + a	0	[*An Fheur Loch Bheag*]
	Total	234	

§26 (ii) Gaelic complex names

Of names in the collection, 99 (28.61%) are complex names, i.e. names made up of two (or more) simple units, with each unit governing the following unit in the genitive, although only the final unit usually shows genitive inflection, e.g. *Ceann* (radical) *Loch* (genitive position, without inflection) *Shealg* (genitive plural) #108, which has the structure 'n × n × n' (C2(i)).

The commonest structure is 'n × N' (C1(ix)), e.g. *Àird Dhail* #9, with 45 examples, i.e. 45.45% of complex names, followed by 'n × @ + n' (C1(v)), e.g. *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, with 40 examples, i.e. 40.40%. Clearly, only a few of the structures available in this class are used in the collection.

Syntax: Gaelic complex names Fig. 8

C1(i)	n × n	6	(4) *Ceann Chrìonaig*, *Gleann Cloidh*, *Lite Sithinn*, *Loch Gainmhich*; (2 with an Old Norse loan-name) *Bàgh Ciaraich*, *Mol Truisg*
C1(ii)	@ + n × n	1	*A' Bhuaile Chrèadha*
C1(iii)	n + a × n	0	[*Beinn Leathainn Bheannain*]
C1(iv)	N × @ + n	0	[*Seiligeadh an t-Sreap*]

	(@ + a + b)		Lochlannais) *An Geàrraidh Buidhe*, *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh*, *An Geàrraidh Mòr*, *Am Margadh Ùr*, *Am Poll Dubh*; (3 le facal-iasaid Beurla agus co-ghnìomhair na bhuadhair) *A' Pheighinn a-Siar*, *An t-Sràid a Tuath*, *An t-Sràid an Ear*
S2b	L + b	5	*Geardha Bheag*, *Bhuidhea Mhòr*, *Crò Beag*, *Crò Mòr* agus *Pabaigh Mhòr* – ged a dh'àrdaicheadh am figear seo nan cuirte cruthan aig a bheil co-ghnìomhair na bhuadhair ris, m.e. *Siabost a Deas*, *Siabost a Tuath* ⁊c
S3(i)	a + b + b	0	[*Creag Ìosal Mhòr*]
S3(ii)	@ + a + b + b	0	[*A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr*]
S4a(i)	b + a	0	[*Glas Allt*]
S4a(ii)	@ + b + a	3	(le facal-iasaid Beurla) *Na Còig Peighinnean* ×2, *Na Seachd Peighinnean*
S4b	@ + a + a	0	[*An Cùl Phort*]
S4c	@ + b + L	0	[*Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal*]
S5a	@ + b + a + b	1	(le facal-iasaid Beurla) *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug*
S5b	@ + a + a + b	0	[*An Fheur Loch Bheag*]
	Iomlan	234	

§26 (ii) Ainmean casta Gàidhlig

Tha 99 (28.61%) de na h-ainmean sa cho-chruinneachadh seo nan ainmean casta no toinnte, .i. ainmean air an dèanamh à dà (no barrachd) aonad shìmplidh, leis gach aonad a' comharradh an aonaid às a dhèidh san tuiseal ghinideach, ged nach nochd ach an t-aonad mu dheireadh mùthadh ginideach mar as trice, m.e. *Ceann* (tuiseal bunasach) *Loch* (suidheachadh ginideach, gun mhùthadh) *Shealg* (tuiseal ginideach iolra) #108, aig a bheil an co-chur 'a × a × a' (C2(i)).

'S e an co-chur 'a × L' (C1(ix)), m.e. *Àird Dhail* #9, an co-chur as bitheanta, le 45 eisimpleirean, .i. 45.45% de dh'ainmean casta, air a leantainn le 'a × @ + a' (C1(v)), m.e. *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, le 40 eisimpleir, .i. 40.40%. Tha e follaiseach nach cleachdar sa chruinneachadh ach beagan de na seòrsaichean co-chuir a gheibhear san rang seo.

Co-chur: ainmean casta Gàidhlig Fig. 8

C1(i)	a × a	6	(4) *Ceann Chrìonaig*, *Gleann Cloidh*, *Lite Sithinn*, *Loch Gainmhich*; (2 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Bàgh Ciaraich*, *Mol Truisg*
C1(ii)	@ + a × a	1	*A' Bhuaile Chrèadha*
C1(iii)	a + b × a	0	[*Beinn Leathainn Bheannain*]
C1(iv)	L × @ + a	0	[*Seiligeadh an t-Sreap*]

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C1(v)	n × @ + n	40	(21 all Gaelic) *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich*, *Àirigh an Tuim*, *Àth an Linne*, *Baile a' Ghobhainn*, *Baile a' Ghreusaich*, *Baile an Loch*, *Baile na h-Iolaire*, *Beinn a' Bhuna*, *Buaile nan Clach*, *Caolas an Eilein*, *Ceann na Caradh*, *Ceann na Còinnich*, *Ceann nam Buailtean*, *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain*, *Cnoc a' Chàrnain*, *Cnoc an Ruagain*, *Cnoc an t-Solais*, *Cnoc nan Gobhar*, *Eilean nan Luchraban*, *Raon na Crèadha*, *Tom an Fhuadain*; (7 with a Latin loan-name) *Àirigh na Bèist*, *Baile an Teampaill*, *Baile na Cille*, *Beinn na Saighde*, *Port nan Giùran*, *Rubha an Tiumpain*, *Tràigh an Teampaill*; (9 with an Old Norse loan-name) *Àird an t-Sròim*, *Baile an Truiseil*, *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe*, *Ceann a' Bhàigh* ×2, *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh*, *Druim a' Ghàrraidh*, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird*, *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne*; (3 with an English loan-name) *Achadh a' Phlastair*, *Beinn na Dròbh*, *Pàirc a' Mhaineir*
C1(vi)	n + a × @ + n	0	[*Cnoc Fad' an Eich*]
C1(vii)	a + n × @ + n	0	[*Breun-Loch na Beinne*]
C1(viii)	N × N	0	[*Tealabhal Tholstaidh*]
C1(ix)	n × N	45	(30) *Àird Dhail*, *Àird Drobhanis*, *Àird Thunga*, *Àird Ùig*, *Baile Ghriais*, *Beinn Chasgro*, *Beinn Thòrsadair*, *Bun Chorcabhig*, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh*, *Ceann Chùisil*, *Ceann Reusort*, *Ceann Shìophort*, *Ceann Tarbhaigh*, *Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh*, *Cnoc Eòrsadair*, *Cnoc Shanndabhig*, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair*, *Crò Leatha*, *Dùn Èistean*, *Eilean Iuthort*, *Geàrraidh Sgoir*, *Gleann Ghrabhair*, *Gleann Tholstaidh*, *Loch Croistean*, *Loch Shiadair*, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*, *Rubha Robhanis*, *Tom Shiadair*, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* and (where the loan-name is treated as an adjective) *Baile Glom*; (3 with a Latin loan-name) *Port Mholair*, *Port Nis* agus *Teampall Chanaiseadair*; (8 with an Old Norse loan-name) *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh*, *Cleite Thòg*, *Geàrraidh Raisteal*, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh*, *Gil Thàiseadair*, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh*, *Mol Shanndabhig*, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* and (1 where the article arises for morphophonemic reasons) *Mol na Hearadh*; and (2 with an English loan-name) *Pàirc Gharraboist* and *Peighinn Thinndealan*
C1(x)	n + a × N	0	[*Àird Mhòr Bhradhagair*]
C1(xi)	n × n + a	0	[*Cnoc Chlacha Mòra*]
C1(xii)	n + a × n + a	0	[*Cnoc Chlacha Mòra*]
C1(xiii)	@ + n × n + a	0	[*A' Bhuail' Fhalach Àrd*]
C1(xiv)	n × @ + n + a	2	(1 with a Latin loan-word) *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha*; (1 with an Old Norse loan-word) *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire*

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C1(v)	a × @ + a	40	(21 gu tur Gàidhlig) *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich*, *Àirigh an Tuim*, *Àth an Linne*, *Baile a' Ghobhainn*, *Baile a' Ghreusaich*, *Baile an Loch*, *Baile na h-Iolaire*, *Beinn a' Bhuna*, *Buaile na Cloich*, *Caolas an Eilein*, *Ceann na Caradh*, *Ceann na Còinnich*, *Ceann nam Buailtean*, *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain*, *Cnoc a' Chàrnain*, *Cnoc an Ruagain*, *Cnoc an t-Solais*, *Cnoc nan Gobhar*, *Eilean nan Luchraban*, *Raon na Crèadha*, *Tom an Fhuadain*; (7 le facal-iasaid Laidinn) *Àirigh na Bèist*, *Baile an Teampaill*, *Baile na Cille*, *Beinn na Saighde*, *Port nan Giùran*, *Rubha an Tiumpain*, *Tràigh an Teampaill*; (9 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Àird an t-Sròim*, *Baile an Truiseil*, *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe*, *Ceann a' Bhàigh* ×2, *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh*, *Druim a' Ghàrraidh*, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird*, *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne*; (3 le facal-iasaid Beurla) *Achadh a' Phlastair*, *Beinn na Dròbh*, *Pàirc a' Mhaineir*
C1(vi)	a + b × @ + a	0	[*Cnoc Fad' an Eich*]
C1(vii)	b + a × @ + a	0	[*Breun-Loch na Beinne*]
C1(viii)	L × L	0	[*Tealabhal Tholstaidh*]
C1(ix)	a × L	45	(30) *Àird Dhail*, *Àird Drobhanis*, *Àird Thunga*, *Àird Ùig*, *Baile Ghriais*, *Beinn Chasgro*, *Beinn Thòrsadair*, *Bun Chorcabhig*, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh*, *Ceann Chùisil*, *Ceann Reusort*, *Ceann Shìophort*, *Ceann Tarbhaigh*, *Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh*, *Cnoc Eòrsadair*, *Cnoc Shanndabhig*, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair*, *Crò Leatha*, *Dùn Èistean*, *Eilean Iuthort*, *Geàrraidh Sgoir*, *Gleann Ghrabhair*, *Gleann Tholstaidh*, *Loch Croistean*, *Loch Shiadair*, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*, *Rubha Robhanis*, *Tom Shiadair*, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* agus (far an dèiligear ris an ainm-iasaid mar bhuadhair) *Baile Glom*; (3 le facal-iasaid Laidinn) *Port Mholair*, *Port Nis* agus *Teampall Chanaiseadair*; (8 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh*, *Cleite Thòg*, *Geàrraidh Raisteal*, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh*, *Gil Thàiseadair*, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh*, *Mol Shanndabhig*, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* agus (1 far na dh'èirich an t-alt Gàidhlig air adhbharan cruith-fhuinn-eòlach) *Mol na Hearadh*; agus (2 le facal-iasaid Beurla) *Pàirc Gharraboist* agus *Peighinn Thinndealan*
C1(x)	a + b × L	0	[*Àird Mhòr Bhradhagair*]
C1(xi)	a × a + b	0	[*Cnoc Chlacha Mòra*]
C1(xii)	a + b × a + b	0	[*Loch Beag Thoma Dubh*]
C1(xiii)	@ + a × a + b	0	[*A' Bhuail' Fhalach Àrd*]
C1(xiv)	a × @ + a + b	2	(1 le facal-iasaid Laidinn) *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha*; (1 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire*

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C1(xv)	n + a × @ + n + a	0	[*Bealach Caol a' Bhalla Ghuirm*]
C1(xvi)	n × N + a	0	[*Loch Bhuaileabhal Bheag*]
C1(xvii)	n + b × N + a	0	[*Loch Ruadh Èisteal Bheag*]
C1(xviii)	n × @ + a + n	1	(with a Latin loan-word) *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle*
C1(xix)	n × @ + n × n	1	*Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*
C1(xx)	n × @ + a + n + a	0	[*Àirigh an Fhionn-Allt Bhig*]
C2(i)	n × n × n	2	(1) *Ceann Loch Shealg*; (1 with an Old Norse loan-name) *Ceann Loch Ròg*
C2(ii)	n + a × n × n	0	[*Loch Beag Gil Speireig*]
C2(iii)	n × @ + n × n	0	[*Àirighean a' Bhoth Chlach*]
C2(iv)	n × n × @ + n	0	[*Àirigh Beinneachan nan Sgalag*]
C2(v)	n + a × n × @ + n	0	[*Buaile Bheag Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne*]
C2(vi)	n + a + a × n × @ +n	0	[*Beinn Leathainn Mhòr Amar na h-Èit*]
C2(vii)	n × @+ n × @ + n	0	[*Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine*]
C2(viii)	a + n × n × @ + n	0	[*Dubh-Sgeir Àird a' Ghobhann*]
C2(ix)	n × n + a × @ + n	0	[*Allt Loch Dubh na Glaic*]
C2(x)	n × n × N	0	[*Cùl Chùl Chràgam*]
C2(xi)	n + a × n × N	0	[*Clach Mhòr Àirigh Mhùscleit*]
C2(xii)	n + a + a × n × N	0	[*Loch Beag Dubh Ceann Thallabhat*]
C2(xiii)	n × @ + n × N	0	[*Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh*]
C2(xiv)	n × n × n + a	0	[*Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga*]
C2(xv)	n × n × @ + n + a	0	[*Allt Òs na Creige Ruaidhe*]
C2(xvi)	n + a × n × @ + n + a	0	[*Loch Àrd Àirigh a' Ghille Ruaidh*]
C2(xvii)	n × n × N + a	0	[*Tursachan Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag*]
C2(xviii)	n × n × @ + a + n	0	[*Cnoc Buaile an Dà Rùisg*]
C3(i)	n × n × n × n	0	[*Fuaran Àirigh Chùil Làimhe*]
C3(ii)	n × @ + n × @ + n × n	0	[*Loch nam Breac a' Bhoth Chlach*]
C3(iii)	n × n × n × @ + n	0	[*Allt Gleann Bot an Aighe*]
C3(iv)	n + a × n × n × @ + n	0	[*Loch Dubh Druim Àirigh nan Sìthean*]
C3(v)	n × @ + n × n × @ + n	0	[*Loch nan Eilean Gheàrraidh a' Bhàird*]
C3(vi)	n × n × n × N	0	[*Allt Ceann Àird Lacsabhat*]
C3(vii)	n × @ + n × n × N	0	[*Cnoc an Òis Loch Fàsgro*]
	Total	99	

§26 (iii) Gaelic complex names with personal names

There are only a handful of names in the collection that contain personal names (12/346 = 3.47%): nine with single-element personal names, e.g. *Baile Ailein* #28, two with an adjective (or noun in the genitive used adjectivally) as part of the

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C1(xv)	a + b × @ + a + b	0	[*Bealach Caol a' Bhalla Ghuirm*]
C1(xvi)	a × L + b	0	[*Loch Bhuaileabhal Bheag*]
C1(xvii)	a + b × L + b	0	[*Loch Ruadh Èisteal Bheag*]
C1(xviii)	a × @ + b + a	1	(le facal-iasaid Laidinn) *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle*
C1(xix)	a × alt + a × a	1	*Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*
C1(xx)	a × @ + b + a + b	0	[*Àirigh an Fhionn-Allt Bhig*]
C2(i)	a × a × a	2	(1) *Ceann Loch Shealg*; (1 le facal-iasaid Lochlannais) *Ceann Loch Ròg*
C2(ii)	a + b × a × a	0	[*Loch Beag Gil Speireig*]
C2(iii)	a × @ + a × a	0	[*Àirighean a' Bhoth Chlach*]
C2(iv)	a × a × @ + a	0	[*Àirigh Beinneachan nan Sgalag*]
C2(v)	a + b × a × @ + a	0	[*Buaile Bheag Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne*]
C2(vi)	a + b + b × a × @ + a	0	[*Beinn Leathainn Mhòr Amar na h-Èit*]
C2(vii)	a × @+ a × @ + a	0	[*Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine*]
C2(viii)	b + a × a × @ + a	0	[*Dubh-Sgeir Àird a' Ghobhann*]
C2(ix)	a × a + b × @ + a	0	[*Allt Loch Dubh na Glaic*]
C2(x)	a × a × L	0	[*Cùl Chùl Chràgam*]
C2(xi)	a + b × a × L	0	[*Clach Mhòr Àirigh Mhùscleit*]
C2(xii)	a + b + b × a × L	0	[*Loch Beag Dubh Ceann Thallabhat*]
C2(xiii)	a × @ + a × L	0	[*Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh*]
C2(xiv)	a × a × a + b	0	[*Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga*]
C2(xv)	a × a × @ + a + b	0	[*Allt Òs na Creige Ruaidhe*]
C2(xvi)	a + b × a × @ + a + b	0	[*Loch Àrd Àirigh a' Ghille Ruaidh*]
C2(xvii)	a × a × L + b	0	[*Tursachan Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag*]
C2(xviii)	a × a × @ + b + a	0	[*Cnoc Buaile an Dà Rùisg*]
C3(i)	a × a × a × a	0	[*Fuaran Àirigh Chùil Làimhe*]
C3(ii)	a × @ + a × @ + a × a	0	[*Loch nam Breac a' Bhoth Chlach*]
C3(iii)	a × a × a × @ + a	0	[*Allt Gleann Bot an Aighe*]
C3(iv)	a + b × a × a × @ + a	0	[*Loch Dubh Druim Àirigh nan Sìthean*]
C3(v)	a × @ + a × a × @ + a	0	[*Loch nan Eilean Gheàrraidh a' Bhàird*]
C3(vi)	a × a × a × L	0	[*Allt Ceann Àird Lacsabhat*]
C3(vii)	a × @ + a × a × L	0	[*Cnoc an Òis Loch Fàsgro*]
	Iomlan	99	

§26 (iii) Ainmean casta Gàidhlig le ainmean pearsanta

Chan eil ann ach dòrlach de na h-ainmean Gàidhlig anns a' cho-chruinneachadh sa bheil ainmean pearsanta (12/346 = 3.47%): a naoi le ainmean pearsanta aon-eileamaideach, m.e. *Baile Ailein* #28, a dhà le buadhair (no ainmear san

§26 personal name, e.g. *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16, and one containing a surname (possibly a patronymic), *Gil MhicPhàic* #204.

Syntax: Gaelic complex names with personal names — Fig. 9

n × pn	9	(with a personal name consisting of a single name or nickname) *Baile Ailein, Baile Geàrr, Baile Neacail, Baile Phàil, Bruach Màiri, Cnoc Ìomhair, Cnoc Màiri, Leathad Oilibheir, Peighinn Dhòmhnaill*
	2	(with a single-element personal name + adjective or genitive noun used adjectivally) *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim, Eilean Chaluim Chille*
(n × pn)	1	(with a personal name consisting of ScG *mac* m. 'son' + a name in the genitive) *Gil MhicPhàic*
Total	12	

§26 (iv) Gaelic prepositional names
There are only two names in this class, amounting to 0.58% of the names in the collection.

Syntax: Gaelic prepositional names — Fig. 10

p + a + n	1	*Eadar Dhà Fhadhail*
n + p + n	1	*Cùl ri Grèin*
Total	2	

Grand total	346	

§27 §27 The syntax of Old Norse reconstructions
Several structures can be identified in Old Norse reconstructions of loan-names in the collection,[3] as exemplified below, although this is not always certain.

Old Norse reconstructions are classified below as SIMPLE NAMES, COMPLEX NAMES and PREPOSITIONAL NAMES.

§27 (i) Old Norse simple names

§27 (i) (a) With 'noun'
There are several examples of names consisting of noun only, e.g. (possibly in the nominative case) ON **Borg* ScG *Borgh* #68; ON **Brú* ScG *Brù* #82; ON **Kró* ScG **Crò* (#152); ON **Sætr* ScG *Siadar* #296; ON **Skor* ScG **Sgor* (#201); ON **Stǫð*

3. Including examples cited that are not settlement names.

§26 tuiseal ghinideach na bhuadhair) mar phàirt den ainm phearsanta, m.e. *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16, agus aonan na ainm sloinnidh (is dòcha na ainm sinnsir), *Gil MhicPhàic* #204.

Co-chur: ainmean casta Gàidhlig le ainmean pearsanta — Fig. 9

a × ap	9	(le ainm pearsanta no far-ainm aon-eileamaideach) *Baile Ailein, Baile Geàrr, Baile Neacail, Baile Phàil, Bruach Màiri, Cnoc Ìomhair, Cnoc Màiri, Leathad Oilibheir, Peighinn Dhòmhnaill*
	2	(le ainm pearsanta aon-eileamaideach + buadhair no ainmear ginideach na bhuadhair) *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim, Eilean Chaluim Chille*
(a × ap)	1	(le ainm pearsanta ann am *mac* f. + ainm san tuiseal ghinideach) *Gil MhicPhàic*
Iomlan	12	

§26 (iv) Ainmean roimhearail Gàidhlig
Chan eil ann ach dà ainm san rang seo, 0.58% de na h-ainmean Gàidhlig sa cho-chruinneachadh.

Co-chur: ainmean roimhearail Gàidhlig — Fig. 10

r + b + a	1	*Eadar Dhà Fhadhail*
a + r + a	1	*Cùl ri Grèin*
Iomlan	2	

Suim iomlan	346	

§27 §27 Co-rèir nan ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais
Is urrainnear corra cho-chur ann an ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais de dh'ainmeaniasaid anns a' cho-chruinneachadh[3] a shònrachadh, mar a thèid eisimpleachadh shìos, ged nach eil seo an-còmhnaidh cinnteach.

Thèid ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais a rangachadh shìos nan AINMEAN SÌMPLIDH, AINMEAN CASTA agus AINMEAN ROIMHEARAIL.

§27 (i) Ainmean sìmplidh Lochlannais

§27 (i) (a) Le 'ainmear'
Tha caochladh eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean anns nach eil ach ainmear, m.e. (is dòcha san tuiseal ainmneach) SL **Borg* GA *Borgh* #68; SL **Brú* GA *Brù* #82; SL **Kró* GA **Crò* (#152); SL **Sætr* GA *Siadar* #296; SL **Skor* GA **Sgor* (#201); SL **Stǫð* GA

3. A' gabhail san àireimh eisimpleirean air an dèanar iomradh nach eil nan ainmean tuineachaidh.

§27 ScG *Stoth* (#90); ON **Vík* ScG *Ùig* (#12); and perhaps ON **Kjóss* ScG *Ceòs* #123 and ON **Kross* ScG *Cros* #155, if the Norse forms were not originally accusative **Kjós* and **Kros*, respectively; (in the accusative case) ON **Bólstað* ScG *Bòstadh* #72; ON **Hamar* ScG **Thamar* (#325); OWNorn **Núp* ScG *Nùb* (#216); (in the dative case) ON **Króki* ScG *Cròig* (#47); ON **Dali* ScG *Dail* #166; (in an oblique case) ON **Tunga* ScG *Tunga* #343; ON **Hreysa* ScG *Rias* #279; (plural) ON **Brekkur* ScG *Breacair* (#80); ON **Brokkur* ScG *Brocair* #80; ON **Grafir* ScG *Grabhair* #217; ON **Hólar* ScG *Tòlair* (#101); ON **Klettar* ScG *Cleitir* #130; ON **Króar* ScG *Crothair* #157; ON **Kvíar* ScG *Cuidhir* #161; ON **Malir* ScG **Molair* (#273); ON **Tindar* ScG *Tinndir* (#270); ON **Þúfur* (or **Þúfar*) ScG *Tùthair* #344. ON *Hirtir* ScG *Hiort* may be included here §31 (iii). It is impossible to say whether the singular ON **Herað* or plural ON **Heruð* lies behind ScG *Na Hearadh* (#254).

§27 (i) (b) With 'noun + definite article'

There are no certain examples in this collection of names with the structure 'noun + definite (suffixed) article', but cf. ScG *Stiogha Bhorghnaidh* (§27 (iii), fn 4); outwith Lewis, cf. ON **Vǫtnin* ScG *Bhatan* (#63, fn 131) (Skye) and the loan-word MNorw. **krāken* ScG *cràigean* (#281, fn 647). Cf. §27 (i) (e), below.

§27 (i) (c) With feminine derivatives

River names are often created using weak feminine nouns formed from nouns, adjectives or verbs, e.g. ON **Gerða* (< ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosure') ScG **Geardha* (#191); ON **Grýta* (< ON *grjót* nt. collective noun 'stones') ScG **Grìoda* (#261, fn 601); ON **Hauka* (< ON *haukr* m. 'hawk') ScG **Thòg* (#129); ON **Kvísla* (< ON *kvísl* f. 'fork in a river') ScG **Cùiseal* (#106). Cf. the same structure in the specifics in the reconstructions ON **Brynugil* (< **Bryna* < ON *bryna* vb 'to rush') ScG *Bruinigil* #84, ON **Gróðuóss* (< **Gróða* < ON *gróða* vb 'to cause to grow') ScG *Griais* #220, and ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. (< **Jǫrða* < ON *jǫrð* f. 'earth') ScG *Eòrradal* #183.

§27 (i) (d) With 'adjective + noun'

Among examples of names with 'adjective + noun', with stress on the first element, there are: (with the stem form of the adjective) ON **Breið-klett* acc. ScG *Briacleit* #78; ON **Breið-nes* ScG *Brèinis* #77; ON **Breið-vatn* ScG **Brèibhat* (#76, fn 171); ON **Breið-vík* ScG *Brèibhig* #76; ON **Grøn-holm* acc. ScG *Grèineam* (#219); ON **Kyr-vík* ScG *Cirbhig* #124; ON **Mæ-vǫk* ScG *Miabhag* #251; CSc. **Víð-øy* ScG **Bhuidhea* (#67); ON **Yzt-fjall* ScG *Uiseal* (#203); (with the weak form of the adjective) CSc. **Diupadal* acc. ScG *Dìobadal* #168; ON **Grønabólstað* acc. ScG *Grèineabost* #219; ON **Grønafjall* ScG *Grèineabhal* (#219); ON **Grunnavatn* ScG **Grunnabhat* (#182); ON **Há-bólstað* acc. ScG *Tàbost* #315; ON **Há-sætr* ScG *Thàiseadar* #324; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. ScG *Làbost* #229;

Stoth (#90); SL **Vík* GA *Ùig* (#12); agus 's dòcha SL **Kjóss* GA *Ceòs* #123 agus SL **Kross* GA *Cros* #155, mana robh iad bho thùs nan cruthan cuspaireach, .i. **Kjós* agus SL **Kros*, fa leth; (san tuiseal chuspaireach) SL **Bólstað* GA *Bòstadh* #72; SL **Hamar* GA **Thamar* (#325); SNòrnI **Núp* GA *Nùb* (#216); (san tuiseal thabhartach) SL **Króki* GA *Cròig* (#47); SL **Dali* GA *Dail* #166; (ann an tuiseal claon) SL **Tunga* GA *Tunga* #343; SL **Hreysa* GA *Rias* #279; (iolra) SL **Brekkur* GA *Breacair* (#80); SL **Brokkur* GA *Brocair* #80; SL **Grafir* GA *Grabhair* #217; SL **Hólar* GA *Tòlair* (#101); SL **Klettar* GA *Cleitir* #130; SL **Króar* GA *Crothair* #157; SL **Kvíar* GA *Cuidhir* #161; SL **Malir* GA **Molair* (#273); SL **Tindar* GA *Tinndir* (#270); SL **Þúfur* (no **Þúfar*) GA *Tùthair* #344. Faodar SL *Hirtir* GA *Hiort* a chur ris an àireimh seo §31 (iii). Chan urrainnear innse an e an cruth singilte SL **Herað* no an cruth iolra SL **Heruð* a tha air cùl GA *Na Hearadh* (#254). §27

§27 (i) (b) Le 'ainmear + alt deimhinnte'

Chan eil eisimpleirean cinnteach sa chruinneachadh seo de dh'ainmearan a tha an co-chur na 'ainmear + alt deimhinnte (iar-leasaichte)', ach coim. GA *Stiogha Bhorghnaidh* (§27 (iii), bn 4); air taobh a-muigh Leòdhais, coim. SL **Vǫtnin* GA *Bhatan* (#63, bn 131) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) agus am facal-iasaid MNirr. **krāken* GA *cràigean* (#281, bn 647). Coim. §27 (i) (e), shìos.

§27 (i) (c) Le bunadairean boireann

Thèid ainmean aibhne a chruthachadh gu tric le bhith a' dèanamh ainmearan laga boireann à ainmearan, buadhairean no gnìomhairean, m.e. SL **Gerða* (< SL *gerði* n. 'leas') GA **Geardha* (#191); SL **Grýta* (< SL *grjót* n. ainm. trusaidh 'clachan') GA **Grìoda* (#261, bn 601); SL **Hauka* (< SL *haukr* f. 'seabhag') GA **Thòg* (#129); SL **Kvísla* (< SL *kvísl* b. 'gobhal ann an abhainn') GA **Cùiseal* (#106). Coim. an t-aon cho-chur sna sònraichearan anns na h-ath-dhèanamhan SL **Brynugil* (< **Bryna* < SL *bryna* gn. 'dian-ruith') GA *Bruinigil* #84, SL **Gróðuóss* (< **Gróða* < SL *gróða* gn. 'cuir ri fàs') GA *Griais* #220, agus SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. (< **Jǫrða* < SL *jǫrð* b. 'talamh') GA *Eòrradal* #183.

§27 (i) (d) Le 'buadhair + ainmear'

Am measg eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean le 'buadhair + ainmear', agus beum air a' chiad eileamaid, tha (le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair) SL **Breið-klett* cusp. GA *Briacleit* #78; SL **Breið-nes* GA *Brèinis*; #77 SL **Breið-vatn* GA **Brèibhat* (#76, bn 171); SL **Breið-vík* GA *Brèibhig* #76; SL **Grøn-holm* cusp. GA *Grèineam* (#219); SL **Kyr-vík* GA *Cirbhig* #124; SL **Mæ-vǫk* GA *Miabhag* #251; LB **Víð-øy* GA **Bhuidhea* (#67); SL **Yzt-fjall* GA *Uiseal* (#203); (le cruth lag a' bhuadhair) LB **Diupadal* cusp. GA *Dìobadal* #168; SL **Grønabólstað* cusp. GA *Grèineabost* #219; SL **Grønafjall* GA *Grèineabhal* (#219); SL **Grunnavatn* GA **Grunnabhat* (#182); SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. GA *Tàbost* #315; SL **Há-sætr* GA *Thàiseadar* #324; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. GA *Làbost*

§27 ON **Langavatn* ScG *Langabhat* (#63); ON **Rauðaskarð* acc. ScG *Rothasgair* #282; ON **Streymanes* acc. ScG *Srèiminis* (#203, fn 452); cf. ON **Djúp-vík* ScG **Diùbaig* (#168) and ON **Flat-sætr* ScG *Flaiseadar* (#203) (Skye), and CSc. **Flat-øy* ScG *Plada* (#47 (ii)) (Lismore).

§27 (i) (e) With 'noun (+ definite article) + adjective'

There are several examples of names with 'noun + adjective', with stress on the second element: ON **Bergit Lága* ScG *Beirgh Làgha* (#58); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* ScG **Bhatan Dìob* (#63); ON **Vatnit Kyrra* ScG *Bhata Ciorra* (#124); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* GA **Bhata Leòs* (#63); and, outwith Lewis, ON **Keldan Kalda* ScG **Cealta Calta* (#93, fn 207) (St Kilda).

§27 (ii) Old Norse complex names

§27 (ii) (a) With 'noun (as an adjectival element) + noun'

Among examples of names with 'noun + noun', with stress on the first element, there are: (with the stem form of the adjectival element) ON **Kví-vík* ScG *Cuidhbhig* (#160); ON **Lund-dal* acc. ScG *Lunndal* #243; ON **Mark-hól* acc. ScG **Marcol* (#125, fn 278); ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. ScG *Mealbost* #248; ON **Sand-vík* ScG *Sanndaig* #286 and, with an epenthetic vowel in Gaelic, *Sanndabhig* #285; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. ScG *Siabost* #295; ON **Þjór-sætr* ScG *Theòrsadar* #327; (with genitive singular of the adjectival element) CSc. **Bjarnarøy* ScG *Beàrnaraigh* #51; ON **Brynugil* ScG *Bruinigil* #84; ON **Eyrará* ScG **Èirearaigh* (#180, fn 399); ON **Gilsá* ScG *Giosladh* #206; CSc. **Hafnarøy* ScG *Tamhnaraigh* (#319); ON **Hjallsvág* acc. ScG *Teallasbhagh* #322; CSc. **Hjallsøy* ScG *Ceallasaigh* (#51, #322); ON **Hvammsbrokka* ScG **Uamasbroc* (#311 (i)); ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. ScG *Eòrradal* #183; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. ScG *Circeabost* #125; ON **Klifsgróf* GA *Cliosgro* (#59); ON **Króargerði* ScG *Crothairgearraidh* #158; ON **Toptarhól* acc. ScG *Totarol* #339; ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. ScG **Tiongarstadh* (#95); ON **Ærklett* ScG **Èireacleit* (#296); in some names, one can be fairly certain of the genitive of the specific, as in ON **Kallaðarnes* ScG *Callanis* #94 and ON **Malarnes* ScG *Malanis* (#62), even though ON *-r* does not survive in Gaelic in these instances; (with genitive plural of the adjectival element) ON **Papanes* ScG **Pabanis* (#340); ON **Búðanes* ScG *Buthanis* #89; ON **Garðabólstað* acc. ScG *Garrabost* #189; ON **Sauðafjall* ScG *Sodhabhal* (#303); ON **Þjórasætr* ScG **Theòraiseadar* (#147); ON **Koppadal* acc. ScG *Capadal* #97; ON **Maravík* ScG *Marabhig* #246.

§27 (ii) (b) With 'noun (+ definite article) + noun (as an adjectival element)'

The structure 'noun (+ definite article) + noun', with stress on the second element, occurs in ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* ScG *Èire Solt* (#180, fn 399); ON **Kvín Ranga* ScG *Cuidh Raing* (#162, fn 342); and ON **Hamarinn Sýna* ScG *Amar Sìne* (#293,

#229; SL **Langavatn* GA *Langabhat* (#63); SL **Rauðaskarð* cusp. GA *Rothasgair* #282; SL **Streymanes* cusp. GA *Srèiminis* (#203, bn 452); coim. SL **Djúp-vík* GA **Diùbaig* (#168) agus SL **Flat-sætr* GA *Flaiseadar* (#203) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), agus LB **Flat-øy* GA *Plada* (#47 (ii)) (Lios Mòr). §27

§27 (i) (e) Le 'ainmear (+ alt deimhinnte) + buadhair'

Tha corra eisimpleir ann de dh'ainmean le 'ainmear + buadhair', agus beum air an dàrna h-eileamaid: SL **Bergit Lága* GA *Beirgh Làgha* (#58); LB **Vatnit Diupa* GA **Bhatan Dìob* (#63); SL **Vatnit Kyrra* GA *Bhata Ciorra* (#124); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* GA **Bhata Leòs* (#63); agus, air taobh a-muigh Leòdhais, SL **Keldan Kalda* GA **Cealta Calta* (#93, bn 207) (Hiort).

§27 (ii) Ainmean casta Lochlannais

§27 (ii) (a) Le 'ainmear (na eileamaid bhuadhairich) + ainmear'

Am measg eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean le 'ainmear + ainmear', agus beum air a' chiad eileamaid, tha: (le bun-riochd na h-eileamaid buadhairich) SL **Kví-vík* GA *Cuidhbhig* (#160); SL **Lund-dal* cusp. GA *Lunndal* #243; SL **Mark-hól* cusp. GA **Marcol* (#125, bn 278); SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. GA *Mealbost* #248; SL **Sand-vík* GA *Sanndaig* #286 agus, le fuaimreig còmhnaidh sa Ghàidhlig, *Sanndabhig* #285; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. GA *Siabost* #295; SL **Þjór-sætr* GA *Theòrsadar* #327; (le tuiseal ginideach singilte na h-eileamaid buadhairich) LB **Bjarnarøy* GA *Beàrnaraigh* #51; SL **Brynugil* GA *Bruinigil* #84; SL **Eyrará* GA **Èirearaigh* (#180, bn 399); SL **Gilsá* GA *Giosladh* #206; LB **Hafnarøy* GA *Tamhnaraigh* (#319); SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. GA *Teallasbhagh* #322; LB **Hjallsøy* GA *Ceallasaigh* (#51, #322); SL **Hvammsbrokka* GA **Uamasbroc* (#311 (i)); SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. GA *Eòrradal* #183; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. GA *Circeabost* #125; SL **Klifsgróf* GA *Cliosgro* (#59); SL **Króargerði* GA *Crothairgearraidh* #158; SL **Toptarhól* cusp. GA *Totarol* #339; SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. GA **Tiongarstadh* (#95); SL **Ærklett* GA **Èireacleit* (#296); ann an cuid de dh'ainmean, faodar a bhith cuibheasach cinnteach à tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir, mar a tha ann an SL **Kallaðarnes* GA *Callanis* #94 agus SL **Malarnes* GA *Malanis* (#62), ged nach mair an *-r* sa Ghàidhlig sna h-ainmean seo; (le tuiseal ginideach iolra na h-eileamaid buadhairich) SL **Papanes* GA **Pabanis* (#340); SL **Búðanes* GA *Buthanis* #89; SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. GA *Garrabost* #189; SL **Sauðafjall* GA *Sodhabhal* (#303); SL **Þjórasætr* GA **Theòraiseadar* (#147); SL **Koppadal* cusp. GA *Capadal* #97; SL **Maravík* GA *Marabhig* #246.

§27 (ii) (b) Le 'ainmear (+ alt deimhinnte) + ainmear (na eileamaid bhuadhairich)'

Nochdaidh an co-chur 'ainmear (+ alt deimhinnte) + ainmear', agus beum air an dàrna h-eileamaid, ann an SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* GA *Èire Solt* (#180, bn 399); SL **Kvín Ranga* GA *Cuidh Raing* (#162, bn 342); agus SL **Hamarinn Sýna* GA *Amar Sìne* (#293, #315 (i)). A' leantainn eisimpleirean ann an àitichean eile, faodar a bhith

§27 #315 (i)). Given examples elsewhere, one may be fairly certain that the article was used with these Old Norse names in Lewis, although no direct evidence of the article survives in the Gaelic forms themselves.

§27 (ii) (c) Old Norse three-element names

It is not only difficult to identify Old Norse loan-names that originally had three or more elements, it is difficult to etymologise them. The following may provide examples: (with adjective + noun (as specific) + noun (as generic)) **Grásund-vík* ScG *Gràsabhig* #218; (with noun + noun (as specific) + noun (as generic)) ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. ScG *Bradhagair* #74; ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. ScG *Britheascleit* #79; ON **Kú-risfjall* ScG *Cùiriseal* #164; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* #160; ON **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. ScG **Tamnasdal* (#319); ON **Hamnarvágsfjall* ScG *Tamnaiseal* (#319); ON **Kleifsholm-krek* ScG *Cliasamcreag* (#131); ON **Kró-holm-vík* ScG *Crùlabhig* #159; ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* ScG *Cùileatotar* #163; ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. ScG *Leumrabhagh* #235; ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. ScG *Marcasdal* (#125, fn 278); ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* ScG *Siùiliseadar* #301; ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* #294; ON **Stím-árvág* acc. ScG *Stìomrabhagh* #310; and perhaps ON **Lax-árdal* acc. > ON **Lax-dal* ScG *Lacasdal* #231.

§27 (iii) Old Norse prepositional names

Several prepositional names are found, in which the generic is linked to a feature in its area by a preposition: (with the preposition ON *á* 'at, by') ON **Borgin á Glumm* ScG *Barra Glom* #48;[4] (with the preposition ON *milli* 'with') ON **Garð*(*r*)*inn milli Vatna* (acc.) ScG *Gormille Bhat* and, with the generic understood, ON **Milli Garða* ScG *Mille Gàrraidh*; ON **Milli Hauga* ScG **Mille Thò*; ON **Milli Hóla* ScG **Mille Thòla*; ON **Milli Vatna* ScG **Mille Bhat* (#172); and (with the preposition ON *fyrir ofan* 'above') in the late form OWNorn **Ofansátr* (ON **Fyrir Ofan Sætr*) ScG *Amhastar* (#296, fn 700).

§28 §28 The onomastic structure of the Gaelic names

Onomastic structure refers to the structure of names according to the function of the separate parts of a name, i.e. the structure of names according to how they work as names (§7; Cox 2002a, 31–42).

4. Cf. ScG *Stiogha Bhorghnaidh* [ʃtʲiɣə ˈvɔr̃ɣ(ə)ni] NB186424, in *Laidhmiseadar* #232; a Gaelic name with an Old Norse loan-name as specific, perhaps from ON **Borginni*, dative of ON *borg* f. 'fort' (#68) + the suffixed article, a form which may have once been part of a prepositional name, e.g. ON **Stigrinn at Borginni* 'the path to the fort', with ON *stigr* m. '(steep) path' (#80, fn 180) + the suffixed article and the preposition ON *at*. In this instance, ON **Borgin* (nom.) would refer to a fort on the cliff – ScG *Creagan Bheinn Bhorghaston* – or to the fort (ScG *An Dùnan* 'the fort') from which the township *Borghaston* #69 gets its name (Cox 1987 II, 221).

an ìre mhath cinnteach gun robh an t-alt ga chleachdadh anns na h-ainmean Lochlannais seo ann an Leòdhas, ged nach mair fianais den alt sna cruthan Gàidhlig fhèin. §27

§27 (ii) (c) Ainmean trì-eileamaideach Lochlannais

Chan e a-mhàin gu bheil ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais san robh trì no barrachd eileamaidean bho thùs duilich a shònrachadh, 's ann a tha iad duilich a fhreumhachadh. Is dòcha gu bheil na leanas nan eisimpleirean: (le buadhair + ainmear (nan sònraichear) + ainmear (na sheòrsaichear)) SL **Grá-sund-vík* GA *Gràsabhig* #218; (le ainmear + ainmear (nan sònraichear) + ainmear (na sheòrsaichear)) SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. GA *Bradhagair* #74; SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. GA *Britheascleit* #79; SL **Kú-risfjall* GA *Cùiriseal* #164; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* GA *Cuidhbheatotar* #160; SL **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. GA **Tamnasdal* (#319); SL **Hamnarvágsfjall* GA *Tamnaiseal* (#319); SL **Kleifsholm-krek* GA *Cliasamcreag* (#131); SL **Kró-holm-vík* GA *Crùlabhig* #159; SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* GA *Cùileatotar* #163; SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. GA *Leumrabhagh* #235; SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. GA *Marcasdal* (#125, bn 278); SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* GA *Siùiliseadar* #301; SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. GA *Sgiogarstaidh* #294; SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. GA *Stìomrabhagh* #310; agus is dòcha SL **Lax-árdal* cusp. > SL **Lax-dal* GA *Lacasdal* #231.

§27 (iii) Ainmean roimhearail Lochlannais

Gheibhear corra ainm roimhearail, far an tèid an seòrsaichear a cheangal ri feart na àrainn le roimhear: (leis an roimhear SL *á* 'aig, ri') SL **Borgin á Glumm* GA *Barra Glom* #48;[4] (leis an roimhear SL *milli* 'eadar') SL **Garð*(*r*)*inn milli Vatna* (cusp.) GA *Gormille Bhat* agus, leis an t-seòrsaichear air a thuigsinn, SL **Milli Garða* GA *Mille Gàrraidh*; SL **Milli Hauga* GA **Mille Thò*; SL **Milli Hóla* GA **Mille Thòla*; SL **Milli Vatna* GA **Mille Bhat* (#172); agus (leis an roimhear SL *fyrir ofan* 'bhos cionn') sa chruth anmoch SNòrnI **Ofansátr* (SL **Fyrir Ofan Sætr*) GA *Amhastar* (#296, bn 700).

§28 §28 Co-chur ainmeachais nan ainmean Gàidhlig

Tha co-chur ainmeachais a' ciallachadh co-chur nan ainmean a rèir dreuchd nan cuibhreannan fa leth ann an ainm, .i. co-chur nan ainmean a rèir mar a bhios iad ag obair mar ainmean (§7; Cox 2002a, 31–42).

4. Coim. GA *Stiogha Bhorghnaidh* [ʃtʲiɣə ˈvɔr̃ɣ(ə)ni] NB186424, ann an *Laidhmiseadar* #232; ainm Gàidhlig le ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na shònraichear, is dòcha à SL **Borginni*, an tuiseal tabhartach aig SL *borg* f. 'dùn' (#68) + an alt iar-leasaichte, cruth a bha, is math dh'fhaodte, uair na phàirt de dh'ainm roimhearail, m.e. SL **Stigrinn at Borginni* 'an cas-cheum chun an dùin', le SL *stigr* f. 'stiogha' (#80, bn 180) + an alt iar-leasaichte agus an roimhear SL *at*. San t-seagh seo, bheanadh SL **Borgin* (ainmn.) ri dùn sa chreig – GA *Creagan Bheinn Bhorghaston* – air neo ris an dùn (GA *An Dùnan*) às am faigh am baile fearainn *Borghaston* #69 a ainm (Cox 1987 II, 221).

§28 Names can be divided into three classes: NAMES WITHOUT A SPECIFIC §28 (i), NAMES WITH A SPECIFIC §28 (ii) and PHRASAL NAMES §28 (iii). Names without a specific are commonest, with 197 examples, i.e. 56.94%; there are 147 names with a specific, i.e. 42.48%; there are only 2 phrasal names, i.e. 0.58%.

§28 (i) Gaelic names without a specific

Names without a specific are essentially single-element names, without any additional descriptive element. Several classes are found:

Gaelic names without a specific — Fig. 11

(a) Old Norse loan-names	167	*Adabroc, Aiginis, Ailltinis, Àranis, Àrnal, Àsmaigearraidh, Bàraiseadar, Barbhas, Barra Glom, Beagnaigearraidh, Beanasbac, Beàrnaraigh, Beirgheasaigh, Beirghro, Bhàcasaigh, Bhalamus, Bhalasaigh, Bhaltos* ×2, *Bhataisgeir, Bhinndeam, Borgh, Borghaston, Borraiseadar, Bòstadh* ×3, *Bradhagair, Brèibhig, Brèinis, Briacleit, Britheascleit, Brocair, Brolum, Brù, Bruinigil, Buthanis, Cabharstaidh, Càiriseadar, Caithiseadar, Calbost, Callanis, Capadal, Càrlabhagh, Càrnis, Càros, Cealagbhol, Cearsadar, Ceartaigh, Ceòs, Cirbhig, Circeabost, Cleitir, Cliasgro, Crabhlastadh, Cros, Crosabost, Crothair, Crothairgearraidh, Crùlabhig, Cuidhbheatotar, Cuidhir, Cuidhiseadar, Cùileatotar, Cùiriseal, Dail, Dìobadal, Èinicleit* ×2, *Eireastadh, Eòiriseadar, Eòrrabidh, Eòrradal, Fìbhig, Fileascleitir, Gabhsann, Garrabost,* ×2, *Gèiseadar, Giosladh, Giùrsadar* ×2, *Glogaiseadar, Grabhair, Gràsabhig, Grèineabost, Griais, Griogasbol, Grìomarstadh, Gruimseadar, Iarsadar, Ìsginn, Ìslibhig, Làbost, Lacasaigh, Lacasdal, Laidhmiseadar, Làmadal, Leumrabhagh, Lìnseadar, Lìonal, Liùrbost, Lunndal, Manaiseadar, Mangarstadh, Marabhig, Mealbost* ×3, *Miabhag, Mialastadh, Morsgail, Orasaigh, Pabail, Rathanis, Rèimeir, Rias, Rònaigh, Rothasgair, Sanndabhig, Sanndaig, Seiseadar, Sgealadal, Sgealasgro, Sgianailt, Sgiogarstaidh, Siabost, Siadar* ×3, *Silltinis* ×2, *Siùiliseadar, Smuaisibhig, Sòbhal, Sròmas, Stèinis, Steòrnabhagh, Stìomrabhagh, Suaineabost, Suardal* ×2, *Sùlaisgeir, Tàbost* ×2, *Tàcleit, Tamnabhagh, Tanganis, Teallasbhagh, Thàiseadar, Thamarsadar, Thèicleitir, Theòrsadar, Thomasgro, Tiodaborgh, Tolm, Tolstadh* ×2, *Tòpsann, Tòranis, Torfhstaidh, Torraigh, Totarol, Tuimsgearraidh, Tunga, Tùthair, Ungaiseadar*
(b) Non-generic names	5	*Clèid, Clèidir, Col, Sgapraid, Tangaidh*
(c) Generic names	25	*An Àird, Am Bac, A' Bheirgh, A' Cheannmhor, An Ceannmhor, An Cleit, A' Chlibh, An Cnoc* ×2, *Na Dailean, An Dùn, An Fheòirlig, Na Fleisearan, Na Geàrrannan, An Glìb, An Gnìp, An Grianan, A' Phàirc* ×4, *Am Poileagan, An Riobh, An Sròm, Na h-Ùigean*
Total	197	

Faodar ainmean a roinn nan trì rangannan: AINMEAN GUN SÒNRAICHEAR §28 (i), AINMEAN LE SÒNRAICHEAR §28 (ii) is AINMEAN ABAIRTEACH §28 (iii). Is iad ainmean gun sònraichear as bitheanta, le 197 a dh'eisimpleirean, .i. 56.94%; tha 147 de dh'ainmean le sònraichear ann, .i. 42.48%; chan eil ann ach 2 ainm abairteach, .i. 0.58%. §28

§28 (i) Ainmean Gàidhlig gun sònraichear

Tha ainmean gun sònraichear nan ainmean aon-eileamaideach aig bun, gun eileamaid thuairisgeulach eile ann. Gheibhear corra fho-rangannan:

Ainmean Gàidhlig gun sònraichear — Fig. 11

(a) Ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais	167	*Adabroc, Aiginis, Ailltinis, Àranis, Àrnal, Àsmaigearraidh, Bàraiseadar, Barbhas, Barra Glom, Beagnaigearraidh, Beanasbac, Beàrnaraigh, Beirgheasaigh, Beirghro, Bhàcasaigh, Bhalamus, Bhalasaigh, Bhaltos* ×2, *Bhataisgeir, Bhinndeam, Borgh, Borghaston, Borraiseadar, Bòstadh* ×3, *Bradhagair, Brèibhig, Brèinis, Briacleit, Britheascleit, Brocair, Brolum, Brù, Bruinigil, Buthanis, Cabharstaidh, Càiriseadar, Caithiseadar, Calbost, Callanis, Capadal, Càrlabhagh, Càrnis, Càros, Cealagbhol, Cearsadar, Ceartaigh, Ceòs, Cirbhig, Circeabost, Cleitir, Cliasgro, Crabhlastadh, Cros, Crosabost, Crothair, Crothairgearraidh, Crùlabhig, Cuidhbheatotar, Cuidhir, Cuidhiseadar, Cùileatotar, Cùiriseal, Dail, Dìobadal, Èinicleit* ×2, *Eireastadh, Eòiriseadar, Eòrrabidh, Eòrradal, Fìbhig, Fileascleitir, Gabhsann, Garrabost* ×2, *Gèiseadar, Giosladh, Giùrsadar* ×2, *Glogaiseadar, Grabhair, Gràsabhig, Grèineabost, Griais, Griogasbol, Grìomarstadh, Gruimseadar, Iarsadar, Ìsginn, Ìslibhig, Làbost, Lacasaigh, Lacasdal, Laidhmiseadar, Làmadal, Leumrabhagh, Lìnseadar, Lìonal, Liùrbost, Lunndal, Manaiseadar, Mangarstadh, Marabhig, Mealbost* ×3, *Miabhag, Mialastadh, Morsgail, Orasaigh, Pabail, Rathanis, Rèimeir, Rias, Rònaigh, Rothasgair, Sanndabhig, Sanndaig, Seiseadar, Sgealadal, Sgealasgro, Sgianailt, Sgiogarstaidh, Siabost, Siadar* ×3, *Silltinis* ×2, *Siùiliseadar, Smuaisibhig, Sòbhal, Sròmas, Stèinis, Steòrnabhagh, Stìomrabhagh, Suaineabost, Suardal* ×2, *Sùlaisgeir, Tàbost* ×2, *Tàcleit, Tamnabhagh, Tanganis, Teallasbhagh, Thàiseadar, Thamarsadar, Thèicleitir, Theòrsadar, Thòmasgro, Tiodaborgh, Tolm, Tolstadh* ×2, *Tòpsann, Tòranis, Torfhstaidh, Torraigh, Totarol, Tuimsgearraidh, Tunga, Tùthair, Ungaiseadar*
(b) Ainmean neo-sheòrsachaidh	5	*Clèid, Clèidir, Col, Sgapraid, Tangaidh*
(c) Ainmean seòrsachaidh	25	*An Àird, Am Bac, A' Bheirgh, A' Cheannmhor, An Ceannmhor, An Cleit, A' Chlibh, An Cnoc* ×2, *Na Dailean, An Dùn, An Fheòirlig, Na Fleisearan, Na Geàrrannan, An Glìb, An Gnìp, An Grianan, A' Phàirc* ×4, *Am Poileagan, An Riobh, An Sròm, Na h-Ùigean*
Iomlan	197	

§28 §28 (ii) Gaelic names with a specific

Names with a specific are names that have a generic (or other noun that stands in its stead, e.g. a loan-name) and specific, i.e. a descriptive element or elements, which may have a contrastive sense, e.g. *Crò **Beag** ~ Crò **Mòr*** 'little (lesser) ~ large (greater) **Crò*' #152, although this is not taken into account below. Brackets indicate that the generic or specific is or was an onomastic unit, i.e. that it has or had onomastic value in its own right. Several classes are found:

Gaelic names with a specific — Fig. 12

generic + specific	64	(28 simple names) S2a(i) *Iomair Sligeach, Geàrraidh Ghuirm*; S2a(ii) *An t-Achadh Mòr, An Àird Bheag, An Àirigh Dhriseach, Am Baile Àrd, Am Baile Ùr* ×5, *An Ceann Beag, An Cnoc Àrd, An Cnoc Mòr, Na h-Eileanan Flannach, Na h-Eileanan Mòra, An Geàrraidh Buidhe, An Geàrraidh Cruaidh, An Geàrraidh Mòr, An Gleann Dubh, An Gleann Ùr, Am Margadh Ùr, Am Poll Dubh*; *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh, An Ceann Shìos, A' Pheighinn a-Siar, An t-Sràid a Tuath, An t-Sràid an Ear*; (23 complex names) C1(i) *Gleann Cloidh, Loch Gainmhich, Mol Truisg*; C1(ii) *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha*; C1(v) *Achadh a' Phlastair, Àirigh na Bèist, Baile a' Ghobhainn, Baile a' Ghreusaich, Baile na h-Iolaire, Beinn na Dròbh, Beinn na Saighde, Ceann na Còinnich, Cnoc a' Bhleoghain, Cnoc an Ruagain, Cnoc an t-Solais, Cnoc nan Gobhar, Eilean nan Luchraban, Geàrraidh a' Bhàird, Port nan Giùran, Raon na Crèadha, Tom an Fhuadain*; C1(xiv) *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha*; C1(xviii) *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle*; (12 complex names with personal names) *Baile Ailein, Baile Geàrr, Baile Neacail, Baile Phàil, Bruach Màiri, Cnoc Ìomhair, Cnoc Màiri, Leathad Oilibheir, Peighinn Dhòmhnaill*; *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim, Eilean Chaluim Chille*; *Gil MhicPhàic*; (1 prepositional name) *Cùl ri Grèin*
(generic) + specific	5	*Bhuidhea Mhòr, Crò Beag, Crò Mòr, Geardha Bheag, Pabaigh Mhòr*
specific + generic	4	*Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug, Na Còig Peighinnean* ×2, *Na Seachd Peighinnean*
generic + (specific)	74	(49 with evidence) C1(v) *Rubha an Tiumpain*; C1(ix) *Àird Dhail, Àird Drobhanis, Àird Thunga, Àird Ùig, Bàgh Reumsabhaigh, Baile Ghriais, Baile Glom, Beinn Chasgro, Beinn Thòrsadair, Bun Chorcabhig, Caolas Bheàrnaraigh, Ceann Chùisil, Ceann Reusort, Ceann Shìophort, Ceann Tarbhaigh, Ceann Thùlabhig, Ceann Ùrnabhaigh, Cleite Thòg, Cnoc Eòrsadair, Cnoc Shanndabhig, Cnoc Theòraiseadair, Crò Leatha, Dùn Èistean, Eilean Iuthort, Geàrraidh Raisteal, Geàrraidh Rìosaigh, Geàrraidh Sgoir, Gil Thàiseadair, Gleann Ghrabhair, Gleann Tholstaidh, Loch Croistean,*

§28 §28 (ii) Ainmean Gàidhlig le sònraichear

Tha ainmean le sònraichear nan ainmean le seòrsaichear (no ainmear eile a sheasas na àite, m.e. ainm-iasaid) agus sònraichear, .i. eileamaid no eileamaidean tuairsgeulach, aig am faod brìgh iomsgaraidh a bhith, m.e. *Crò **Beag** ~ Crò **Mòr*** #152, ged nach gabhar sin san àireimh shìos. Tha camagan a' sònrachadh gu bheil no gun robh an seòraichear no sònraichear na aonad ainmeachais, .i. gu bheil no gun robh luach ainme aige air a cheann fhèin. Gheibhear corra fho-rang:

Ainmean Gàidhlig le sònraichear — Fig. 12

seòrsaichear + sònraichear	64	(28 ainmean sìmplidh) S2a(i) *Iomair Sligeach, Geàrraidh Ghuirm*; S2a(ii) *An t-Achadh Mòr, An Àird Bheag, An Àirigh Dhriseach, Am Baile Àrd, Am Baile Ùr* ×5, *An Ceann Beag, An Cnoc Àrd, An Cnoc Mòr, Na h-Eileanan Flannach, Na h-Eileanan Mòra, An Geàrraidh Buidhe, An Geàrraidh Cruaidh, An Geàrraidh Mòr, An Gleann Dubh, An Gleann Ùr, Am Margadh Ùr, Am Poll Dubh*; *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh, An Ceann Shìos, A' Pheighinn a-Siar, An t-Sràid a Tuath, An t-Sràid an Ear*; (23 ainmean casta) C1(i) *Gleann Cloidh, Loch Gainmhich, Mol Truisg*; C1(ii) *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha*; C1(v) *Achadh a' Phlastair, Àirigh na Bèist, Baile a' Ghobhainn, Baile a' Ghreusaich, Baile na h-Iolaire, Beinn na Dròbh, Beinn na Saighde, Ceann na Còinnich, Cnoc a' Bhleoghain, Cnoc an Ruagain, Cnoc an t-Solais, Cnoc nan Gobhar, Eilean nan Luchraban, Geàrraidh a' Bhàird, Port nan Giùran, Raon na Crèadha, Tom an Fhuadain*; C1(xiv) *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha*; C1(xviii) *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle*; (12 ainm casta le ainmean pearsanta) *Baile Ailein, Baile Geàrr, Baile Neacail, Baile Phàil, Bruach Màiri, Cnoc Ìomhair, Cnoc Màiri, Leathad Oilibheir, Peighinn Dhòmhnaill*; *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim, Eilean Chaluim Chille*; *Gil MhicPhàic*; (1 ainm roimhearail) *Cùl ri Grèin*
(seòrsaichear) + sònraichear	5	*Bhuidhea Mhòr, Crò Beag, Crò Mòr, Geardha Bheag, Pabaigh Mhòr*
sònraichear + seòrsaichear	4	*Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug, Na Còig Peighinnean* ×2, *Na Seachd Peighinnean*
seòrsaichear + (sònraichear)	74	(49 le teist) C1(v) *Rubha an Tiumpain*; C1(ix) *Àird Dhail, Àird Drobhanis, Àird Thunga, Àird Ùig, Bàgh Reumsabhaigh, Baile Ghriais, Baile Glom, Beinn Chasgro, Beinn Thòrsadair, Bun Chorcabhig, Caolas Bheàrnaraigh, Ceann Chùisil, Ceann Reusort, Ceann Shìophort, Ceann Tarbhaigh, Ceann Thùlabhig, Ceann Ùrnabhaigh, Cleite Thòg, Cnoc Eòrsadair, Cnoc Shanndabhig, Cnoc Theòraiseadair, Crò Leatha, Dùn Èistean, Eilean Iuthort, Geàrraidh Raisteal, Geàrraidh Rìosaigh, Geàrraidh Sgoir, Gil Thàiseadair, Gleann Ghrabhair, Gleann Tholstaidh, Loch Croistean,*

§28

generic + (specific)		*Loch Shiadair, Mol Chadhaigearraidh, Mol na Hearadh, Mol Shanndabhig, Mullach Chàrlabhaigh, Pàirc Gharraboist, Peighinn Thinndealan, Port Mholair, Port Nis, Rubha Robhanis, Sgeir Chuidhseadair, Teampall Chanaiseadair, Tom Shiadair, Tràigh Bhoiseadair*; C1(xiv) *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire*; C2(i) *Ceann Loch Ròg, Ceann Loch Shealg*; (25 without evidence) C1(i) *Bàgh Ciaraich, Ceann Chrìonaig*; C1(v) *Àird an t-Sròim, Àirigh a' Bhruthaich, Àirigh an Tuim, Àth an Linne, Baile an Loch, Baile an Teampaill, Baile an Truiseil, Baile na Cille, Beinn a' Bhuna, Bràigh na h-Aoidhe, Buaile na Cloich, Caolas an Eilein, Ceann a' Bhàigh* ×2, *Ceann na Caradh, Ceann nam Buailtean, Cnoc a' Chàrnain, Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh, Druim a' Ghàrraidh, Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne, Pàirc a' Mhaineir, Tràigh an Teampaill*; C1(xix) *Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*
Total	147	

§28 (iii) Gaelic phrasal names
There are only two phrasal names: the prepositional name *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, and *Lite Sithinn* #238, a name that has likely arisen through folk etymology.

§29

§29 The function of Old Norse loan-names in Gaelic place-names
Old Norse loan-names occur within Gaelic place-names in the collection with a limited range of functions. They are used (1) (in simple names) as generics, e.g. *Adabroc* #3 (Class S1b, above) and as generics followed by a specific – here restricted to adjectives – e.g. *Geardha Bheag* #191 (S2b), and (2) (in complex names) as specifics following a generic, e.g. *Àird Dhail* #9 (C1(ix)).

For further analysis of the structures of Gaelic place-names in which Old Norse loan-names may occur, see Cox 2001, 48–52; 2009a, 24–26.

§30

§30 Onomastic structure in Old Norse reconstructions
There are examples of Old Norse reconstructions that incorporate

§30 (i) A lone generic
I.e. with no specific, e.g. ON **Borg* ScG *Borgh* #68; for further examples, see §27 (i) (a)–§27 (i) (c);

§30 (ii) Specific + generic
The commonest structure, e.g. ON **Breið-klett* acc. ScG *Briacleit* #78 §27 (i) (d), ON **Kví-vík* ScG *Cuidhbhig* (#160) §27 (ii) (a) and ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. ScG *Britheascleit* #79 §27 (ii) (c);

§30 (iii) Generic + specific
E.g. ON **Bergit Lága* ScG *Beirgh Làgha* (#58) §27 (i) (e), ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* ScG *Èire*

§28

seòrsaichear + (sònraichear)		*Loch Shiadair, Mol Chadhaigearraidh, Mol na Hearadh, Mol Shanndabhig, Mullach Chàrlabhaigh, Pàirc Gharraboist, Peighinn Thinndealan, Port Mholair, Port Nis, Rubha Robhanis, Sgeir Chuidhseadair, Teampall Chanaiseadair, Tom Shiadair, Tràigh Bhoiseadair*; C1(xiv) *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire*; C2(i) *Ceann Loch Ròg, Ceann Loch Shealg*; (25 gun teist) C1(i) *Bàgh Ciaraich, Ceann Chrìonaig*; C1(v) *Àird an t-Sròim, Àirigh a' Bhruthaich, Àirigh an Tuim, Àth an Linne, Baile an Loch, Baile an Teampaill, Baile an Truiseil, Baile na Cille, Beinn a' Bhuna, Bràigh na h-Aoidhe, Buaile na Cloich, Caolas an Eilein, Ceann a' Bhàigh* ×2, *Ceann na Caradh, Ceann nam Buailtean, Cnoc a' Chàrnain, Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh, Druim a' Ghàrraidh, Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne, Pàirc a' Mhaineir, Tràigh an Teampaill*; C1(xix) *Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*
Iomlan	147	

§28 (iii) Ainmean abairteach Gàidhlig
Chan eil ann ach dà ainm abairteach: an t-ainm roimhearail *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, agus *Lite Sithinn* #238, ainm as coltach a dh'èirich à dinnsheanchas.

§29

§29 Dreuchd nan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ann an ainmean-àite Gàidhlig
Nochdaidh ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais am broinn ainmean-àite Gàidhlig anns a' chruinneachadh le raon cumhang de dhreuchdan. Thèid an cleachdadh (1) (ann an ainmean sìmplidh) nan seòrsaichearan, m.e. *Adabroc* #3 (Rang S1b, shuas) agus nan seòrsaichearan air an leantainn le sònraichear – air a chuingealachadh an seo gu buadhairean – m.e. *Geardha Bheag* #191 (S2b), agus (2) (ann an ainmean casta) nan sònraichearan a' leantainn seòrsaichear, m.e. *Àird Dhail* #9 (C1(ix)).

Airson tuilleadh sgrùdaidh air na co-chuir ann an ainmean-àite Gàidhlig sam faod ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais nochdadh, faic Cox 2001, 48–52; 2009a, 24–26.

§30

§30 Co-chur ainmeachais ann an ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais
Tha eisimpleirean de dh'ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais sa bheil

§30 (i) Seòrsaichear a-mhàin
.i. Aig nach eil sònraichear, m.e. SL **Borg* GA *Borgh* #68; airson tuilleadh eisimpleirean, faic §27 (i) (a)–§27 (i) (c);

§30 (ii) Sònraichear + seòrsaichear
An co-chur as bitheanta, m.e. SL **Breið-klett* cusp. GA *Briacleit* #78 §27 (i) (d), SL **Kví-vík* GA *Cuidhbhig* (#160) §27 (ii) (a) agus SL **Breið-ás-klett* acc. ScG *Britheascleit* #79 §27 (ii) (c);

§30 (iii) Seòrsaichear + sònraichear
M.e. SL **Bergit Lága* GA *Beirgh Làgha* (#58) §27 (i) (e), SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* GA *Èire*

§30 *Solt* (#180, fn 399) §27 (ii) (b) and ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* (acc.) ScG *Gormille Bhat* (#172) §27 (iii).

§30 (iv) Phrasal names

Examples of names under §27 (iii) that do not have a generic may be classed as phrasal names, e.g. ON **Milli Vatna* ScG **Mille Bhat* (#172).

§30 (v) Onomastic units

Onomastic units within Old Norse reconstructions cannot be identified with any certainty. There may have been a church in *Beàrnaraigh* #51 called ON **Kirkja* '(the) church' whose name was used as the specific in the name ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. (> ScG *Circeabost* #125) or a fort in the township *Borghaston* called ON **Borg* whose name was used as the specific in the name ON **Borg-stafn* (> ScG *Borghaston* #69), but there is no way of confirming this. It is worth noting that a township in An Rubha is known as both *Siadar* #298 and *Siùiliseadar* #301 in Gaelic. On the one hand, the generic in both ON **Sætr* and ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* may have denoted the same feature; on the other hand, given that the connection between independent *Siadar* and dependent *-seadar* in the place-names of the island would always have been apparent to its inhabitants, perhaps *Siadar* simply arose with local people as a nickname, as a short form of *Siùiliseadar*,[5] but note that *Siadar* and *Siùiliseadar* were let as separate entities in 1726. It seems very likely, however, that ON **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. (> ScG **Tamnasdal*) and ON **Hamnarvágsfjall* (> ScG *Tamnaiseal*) were created using ON **Hamnarvág* acc. (> ScG *Tamnabhagh* #319) as specific.

5. MacIver (1934, 83) is of the opinion that *Siùiliseadar* is the older name for the township.

Solt (#180, bn 399) §27 (ii) (b) agus SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* (cusp.) GA *Gormille Bhat* (#172) §27 (iii). §30

§30 (iv) Ainmean abairteach

Faodar eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean fo §27 (iii) aig nach eil seòrsaichear a rangachadh nan ainmean abairteach, m.e. SL **Milli Vatna* GA **Mille Bhat* (#172).

§30 (v) Aonadan ainmeachais

Chan urrainnear aonadan ainmeachais am broinn ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais a shònrachadh le cinnt sam bith. Is dòcha gun robh eaglais ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51 air an robh SL **Kirkja* '(an) eaglais' mar ainm a chaidh a chleachdadh na shònraichear san ainm SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. (> GA *Circeabost* #125) no dùn air an robh SL **Borg* a chaidh a chleachdadh na shònraichear san ainm SL **Borg-stafn* (> GA *Borghaston* #69), ach cha ghabh a leithid dearbhadh. 'S fhiach a mhothachadh gun canar an dà chuid *Siadar* #298 agus *Siùiliseadar* #301 sa Ghàidhlig ri baile anns An Rubha. Air an dàrna làimh, is dòcha gum beanadh an seòrsaichear an dà chuid ann an SL **Sætr* agus ann an SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* ris an aon fheart; air an làimh eile, seach gun robh an ceangal eadar *Siadar* neo-eisimeileach agus *-seadar* eisimeileach ann an ainmean-àite an eilein a-riamh follaiseach dha mhuinntir, is dòcha nach do dh'èirich an t-ainm Gàidhlig *Siadar* ach mar fhar-ainm ann am beul nan daoine, mar ghiorrachadh air *Siùiliseadar*,[5] ach mothaichear gun robh *Siadar* agus *Siùiliseadar* air mhàl nan àitichean fa leth ann an 1726. Is ro-choltach, ge-tà, gun deach SL **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. (> GA **Tamnasdal*) agus SL **Hamnarvágsfjall* (> GA *Tamnaiseal*) a chruthachadh a' cleachdadh SL **Hamnarvág* cusp. (> GA *Tamnabhagh* #319) na shònraichear.

5. Tha MacIver (1934, 83) den bheachd gur h-e *Siùiliseadar* an t-ainm as sine air a' bhaile fearainn.

§31

§31 Classes of noun and adjective

There were several classes of noun both in Old Gaelic and in Old Norse[1] that are identified by the original final vowel and/or consonant of the noun's stem.[2] Nouns change their form according to the class to which they belong; for example, ScG *cathair* f. 'chair', (genitive) *cathrach*, is a guttural stem.[3]

Conservatism is found, e.g. in ScG *Ceann na Caradh* #109 as opposed to **Ceann na Caraidh*, as the name would be in the dialect today. On the other hand, innovation is found in ScG *Baile a' Ghobhainn* as opposed to **Baile a' Ghobhann* #26. Regarding *dùine* as a genitive form of ScG *dùn*, see *An Dùn* #170.

§31 (i) Inflection in Gaelic elements

In principle, place-name elements of Gaelic origin in the collection are inflected traditionally according to case. Occasionally, the current weakening of the case system is apparent, e.g. (rad.) *An Achadh Mòr* [ə ˌn̪axə ˈmoːɾ] as opposed to (traditional rad.) *An t-Achadh Mòr* [ə ˌn̪ʲtʰaxə ˈmoːɾ] #2, although this may be linked to dative usage (cf. (dat.) *An Achadh Mhòr* [ə ˌn̪axə ˈvoːɾ]).

Whole names, however, cannot always be said to be inflected according to case as they once were, e.g. ScG (rad.) *An Ceann Beag* #104, (gen.) *A' Chinn Bhig*, (dat.) *A' Cheann Bheag* would be expected traditionally, but (gen.) *A' Cheann Bheag* would be common today.

1. A feature that originated in their shared Indo-European heritage.

2. In Old Gaelic, the following stems were found: 1. Vocalic stems: *o*-stems, *io*-stems, *ā*-stems, *iā*-stems, *ī*-stems, *i*-stems and *u*-stems, and 2. Consonantal stems: guttural stems, dental stems, nasal stems, *r*-stems agus *s*-stems; traces of some of these stems can be found in the classes of nouns in Modern Gaelic (Cox 2017, 93–113 + fn 19). The adjective also had stem forms in Old Gaelic, although they did not quite correspond with those of the noun. (See, for example, Thurneysen 1975, 176–218.)

In Old Norse, the individual declensions are named after the nature of the stem in Common Germanic, e.g. Norw. *fjord* m. 'sea loch', a *u*-stem noun, is from ON *fjǫrðr* f. < Common Germanic **ferþuz* (i.e. **ferþ-u-z*: root-stem-ending); the following stems were found: (1) vocalic stems (the strong declensions – nouns that belong to strong declensions are called STRONG NOUNS): *a*-stems (and *ja*-, *wa*-, *ija*-stems), *ō*-stems (and *jō*-, *wō*-, *ijō*-stems), *i*-stems and *u*-stems, and (2) consonantal stems (the weak declensions – nouns that belong to weak declensions are called WEAK NOUNS), e.g. *n*-stems (e.g. *an*-, *jan*-, *wan*-; *ōn*-, *jōn*-, *wōn*-stems), *īn*-stems, *nd*-stems and *r*-stems. Adjectives were strong or weak according to their syntax. (See, for example, Iversen 1973, 44–74.)

3. This is not always discernible in the modern form, e.g. ScG *each* m. < OG *ech o*-stem < Proto-Celtic **ekᵘos* (i.e. **ekᵘ-o-s*: root-stem-ending); cf. Lat. *equus* < Proto-Latin **ekwos*.

§31

§31 Rangannan an ainmeir agus a' bhuadhair

Bha corra rang aig an ainmear an dà chuid san t-Sean Ghàidhlig agus san t-Seann Lochlannais[1] a thèid a shònrachadh le fuaimreig agus/no connraig dheiridh thùsail bun an ainmeir.[2] Bidh ainmearan ag atharrachadh an riochda a rèir an rang dham buin iad; mar eisimpleir, tha GA *cathair* b., (ginideach) *cathrach*, na bhun sgòrnach.[3]

Gheibhear glèidhteachas, m.e. ann an GA *Ceann na Caradh* #109 seach **Ceann na Caraidh*, mar a bhitheadh anns an dualchainnt an-diugh. Air an làimh eile, tha lorg air nuadhas ann an GA *Baile a' Ghobhainn* seach **Baile a' Ghobhann* #26. A thaobh *dùine* a bhith na chruth ginideach aig an ainmear GA *dùn*, faic *An Dùn* #170.

§31 (i) Mùthadh ann an eileamaidean Gàidhlig

Thèid eileamaidean nan ainmean-àite sa chruinneachadh aig a bheil tùs Gàidhlig a mhùthadh a rèir tuiseil gu dualchasach ann am prionnsabal. Corra uair, mothaichear mar a tha riaghailt nan tuisealan a' lagachadh gu ìre an-diugh, m.e. (bun.) *An Achadh Mòr* [ə ˌn̪axə ˈmoːɾ] seach (bun. dualchasach) *An t-Achadh Mòr* [ə ˌn̪ʲtʰaxə ˈmoːɾ] #2, ged a dh'fhaodte gu bheil gnothach aig seo ri cleachdadh tabhartach (coim. (tabh.) *An Achadh Mhòr* [ə ˌn̪axə ˈvoːɾ]).

Gidheadh, chan urrainnear a ràdh gun tèid ainmean slàna an-còmhnaidh a mhùthadh a rèir tuiseil mar bu dual dhaibh, m.e. shùilichte GA (bun.) *An Ceann Beag* #104, (gin.) *A' Chinn Bhig*, (tabh.) *A' Cheann Bheag* gu dualchasach, ach bhiodh (gin.) *A' Cheann Bheag* bitheanta an-diugh.

1. Feart a thàrmaich sa cho-dhualchas Ind-Eòrpach aca.

2. San t-Sean Ghàidhlig, gheibhte 1. Bunan fuaimreagach: bunan-*o*, bunan-*io*, bunan-*ā*, bunan-*iā*, bunan-*ī*, bunan-*i* agus bunan-*u*, agus 2. Bunan connragach: bunan sgòrnach, bunan deudach, bunan srònach, bunan-*r* agus bunan-*s*; chithear lorg air cuid de na bunan seo ann an rangannan an ainmeir san Nua-Ghàidhlig (Cox 2017, 93–113 + bn 19). Bha cruthan buin aig a' bhuadhair san t-Sean Ghàidhlig mar an ceudna, ach cha b' ionann gu buileach iad agus feadhainn an ainmeir. (Faic, mar eisimpleir, Thurneysen 1975, 176–218.)

San Lochlannais, thèid na claonaidhean fa leth ainmeachadh an dèidh nàdar a' bhuin anns a' Ghearmanais Bhitheanta, m.e. 's ann a tha Nirr. *fjord* f. 'loch mara', ainmear buin-*u*, à SL *fjǫrðr* f. < a' Ghearmanais Bhitheanta **ferþuz* (.i. **ferþ-u-z*: freumh-bun-dùnadh); gheibhte (1) bunan fuaimreagach (na claonaidhean làidir – canar AINMEAR LÀIDIR ri ainmear a bhuineas do chlaonadh làidir): bunan-*a* (agus *-ja*, *-wa*, *-ija*), bunan-*ō* (agus *-jō*, *-wō*, *-ijō*), bunan-*i* agus bunan-*u*, agus (2) bunan connragach (na claonaidhean laga – canar AINMEAR LAG ri ainmear a bhuineas do chlaonadh lag), m.e. bunan-*n* (m.e. *-an*, *-jan*, *-wan*; *-ōn*, *-jōn*, *-wōn*), bunan-*īn*, bunan-*nd* agus bunan-*r*. Bha buadhairean làidir no lag a rèir a' cho-rèir aca. (Faic, mar eisimpleir, Iversen 1973, 44–74.)

3. Chan fhaicear seo an-còmhnaidh san nua-chruth, m.e. GA *each* f. < SG *ech* bun-*o* < Ur-Cheiltis **ekᵘos* (.i. **ekᵘ-o-s*: freumh-bun-dùnadh); coim. Laid. *equus* < Ur-Laideann **ekwos*.

§31 *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, the genitive specific of the name *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*, is used today as a radical form.

Adjectives following Old Norse loan-names are not inflected, e.g. ScG (rad.) *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, (gen.) *Phabaigh Mhòr*, (rad.) *Crò Mòr* #154, (gen.) *Chrò Mòr* §32 (xi).

§31 (ii) Genitive inflection in Old Norse loan-names
Only some Old Norse loan-names are inflected in the genitive case:[4]

§31 (ii) (a) Loan-names in a final vowel are not inflected, e.g. ScG *Brù*, (gen.) *Bhrù* #82, but those in final -[a(ɣ)] are, e.g. ScG *Bòstadh*, (gen.) *Bhòstaidh* #72, *Giosladh*, (gen.) *Ghioslaidh* #206.

§31 (ii) (b) Loan-names in a final slender consonant or semi-vowel are not inflected, e.g. ScG *Callanis*, (gen.) *Challanis* #94, *Beàrnaraigh*, (gen.) *Bheàrnaraigh* #51.

§31 (ii) (c) If loan-names in a final broad lenited *-r* have not already been slenderised in the radical case §13, they are inflected in the genitive, e.g. ScG *Siadar*, (gen.) *Shiadair* #296.

§31 (ii) (d) Vocalic inflection is found in ScG *Tolm*, (gen.) *Thuilm* #330, but, otherwise, inflection is not found in loan-names in final (neutral §38) *m*, e.g. ScG *Brolum*, (gen.) *Bhrolum* #81.

§31 (ii) (e) Inflection can be seen in loan-names whose Old Norse original has a final single consonant, e.g. Sc*G *Cùiseal*, (gen. *Chùisil*) < ON **Kvísla* (with metathesis §40 (i)) (#106), ScG *Capadal* (< ON *-dal* acc.) #97, *Àrnal* (< ON *-hol*) #20, *Lìonal* (< ON *-hól* acc.) #237, *Càrlabhagh* (ON *-vág* acc.) #98 and, usually, in final *-s*, e.g. ScG *Càros* (< ON *-óss*) #100, *Ceòs* (< ON **Kjóss*) #123, *Cros* (< ON **Kross*) #155, *Bhalamus* (< ON *-sum* acc., with metathesis §40 (iii)) #61, *Bhaltos* (< ON *-lausa*, with apocope §44 (iii)) #63, but not in ScG *Rias* (< ON **Hreysa*, with apocope §44 (iii)) #279. In addition, inflection is found in loan-names with Gaelic forms in final *-st*, e.g. ScG *Calbost* (< ON *-bólstað* acc.) #93.

§31 (ii) (f) Inflection is not found in loan-names whose original forms end (or end after apocope) in geminates or consonant clusters, e.g. *Beanasbac* (< ON *-bakka* acc.) #50, *Adabroc* (< ON *-*brokka*) #3, *Sòbhal* (< ON *-fjall*) #303, *Cealagbhol* (< OWNorn *-kváll*) #101, *Borghaston* (< ON *-stafn*/OWNorn **stamn*) #69, *Langabhat* (< ON *-vatn*) (#63); nor is inflection usually found

4. Old Norse loan-names are not inflected in the dative case.

§31 Thèid *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, sònraichear ginideach an ainme *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*, a chleachdadh an-diugh na chruth bunasach.

Cha tèid buadhairean an dèidh ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais a mhùthadh, m.e. GA (bun.) *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, (gin.) *Phabaigh Mhòr*, (bun.) *Crò Mòr* #154, (gin.) *Chrò Mòr* §32 (xi).

§31 (ii) Mùthadh ginideach ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais
Cha ghabh ach cuid de dh'ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais mùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach:[4]

§31 (ii) (a) Cha ghabh ainmean-iasaid aig a bheil fuaimreag dheiridh mùthadh, m.e. GA *Brù*, (gin.) *Bhrù* #82, ach gabhaidh an fheadhainn aig a bheil -[a(ɣ)] dheiridh, m.e. GA *Bòstadh*, (gin.) *Bhòstaidh* #72, *Giosladh*, (gin.) *Ghioslaidh* #206.

§31 (ii) (b) Cha ghabh ainmean-iasaid aig a bheil connrag chaol no leth-fhuaimreag dheiridh mùthadh, m.e. GA *Callanis*, (gin.) *Challanis* #94, *Beàrnaraigh*, (gin.) *Bheàrnaraigh* #51.

§31 (ii) (c) Mana deach ainmean-iasaid aig a bheil *-r* dheiridh leathainn shèimhichte a chaolachadh san tuiseal bhunasach mar-thà §13, thèid am mùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach, m.e. GA *Siadar*, (gin.) *Shiadair* #296.

§31 (ii) (d) Gheibhear mùthadh fuaimreagach ann an GA *Tolm*, (gin.) *Thuilm* #330, ach, a bharrachd air sin, chan fhaighear mùthadh ann an ainmean-iasaid aig a bheil *m* (neo-fheartail §38) dheiridh, m.e. GA *Brolum*, (gin.) *Bhrolum* #81.

§31 (ii) (e) Chithear mùthadh ann an ainmean-iasaid a tha an tùs Lochlannais ann an connraig dheiridh shingilte, m.e. GA **Cùiseal*, (gin. *Chùisil*) < SL **Kvísla* (le eadar-chàradh §40) (#106), GA *Capadal* (< SL *-dal* cusp.) #97, *Àrnal* (< SL *-hol*) #20, *Lìonal* (< SL *-hól* cusp.) #237, *Càrlabhagh* (< SL *-vág* cusp.) #98 agus, mar as trice, ann an *-s* dheiridh, m.e. GA *Càros* (< SL *-óss*) #100, *Ceòs* (< SL **Kjóss*) #123, *Cros* (< SL **Kross*) #155, *Bhalamus* (< SL *-sum* cusp., le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii)) #61, *Bhaltos* (< SL *-lausa*, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)) #63, ach chan fhaic ann an GA *Rias* (< SL **Hreysa*, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)) #279. A thuilleadh, gheibhear mùthadh ann an ainmean-iasaid aig a bheil cruthan Gàidhlig ann an *-st* dheiridh, m.e. GA *Calbost* (< SL *-bólstað* cusp.) #93.

§31 (ii) (f) Chan fhaighear mùthadh ann an ainmean-iasaid a tha an cruthan tùsail (no a tha an dèidh teasgaidh dheiridh) a' crìochnachadh ann an eamhnaich no còmhlain chonnragach, m.e. *Beanasbac* (< SL *-bakka* cusp.) #50, *Adabroc* (< SL *-*brokka*) #3, *Sòbhal* (< SL *-fjall*) #303, *Cealagbhol* (< SNòrnI *-kváll*) #101, *Borghaston* (< SL *-stafn*/SNòrnI **stamn*) #69, *Langabhat* (< SL *-vatn*) (#63);

4. Cha ghabh ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais mùthadh san tuiseal thabhartach.

§31 in ScG *Miabhag* (< ON **Mæ-vǫk*) #251.

§31 (ii) (g) There is occasional variation, e.g. ScG *Borgh*, (gen.) *Bhuirgh* (< ON **Borg*) #68, but ScG *Tiodaborgh* (< ON *-borg*) #329 without inflection in the genitive, and ScG *Gabhsann*, (gen.) *Ghabhsainn* (< ON *-sund*) #188, but ScG *Tòpsann* (< ON *-sund*) #335 without inflection in the genitive. Adaptation to the morphological rules of Gaelic is evidently closer or more complete in some instances.

§31 (iii) Case in Old Norse reconstructions

Although it is often difficult to identify with any certainty what case an Old Norse name or appellative was in when borrowed into Gaelic, the evidence shows names were borrowed in more than one case, e.g. ScG *Borgh* #68 < ON **Borg* nom. or acc., ScG *Nùb* (#216) < OWNorn **Núp* acc. and ScG *Dail* #166 < ON **Dali* dat. The preposition ON *milli* governed its noun in the accusative case and so one would expect ScG **Mille Thòla* (#172) to derive from ON **Milli Hóla*, with accusative plural of ON *hóll* m.; however, the same element occurs in the nominative plural in ScG *Tòlair* (#101) < ON **Hólar* and in the accusative singular in ScG *Totarol* #339 < ON **Toptarhól* acc. Old Norse loan-names and loan-words were presumably borrowed into Gaelic in the case in which they were most often used.

However, distinctive inflectional endings often seem to be absent from Old Norse loans, at least in the form in which they appear in Gaelic (Cox 2009a, 23–25). This may be (1) because a loan's case forms are identical, cf. ON **Borg*, above, which is either nominative or accusative; (2) because inflectional endings are lost with the dropping of unstressed final syllables in Gaelic §44 (iii), cf. ON **Dali* dat., above, which became ScG *Dail* [d̥al]; (3) because the forms of some loans are changed by morphemic analogy: for example, among the many loan-names in ON *-vatn* 'loch, lake' found in Lewis, which became ScG *-bhat* [vaʰt̪] regularly, there were probably a few examples that were borrowed by Gaels in the dative case, e.g. an ON **Langavatni* '(the) long loch' would yield ScG **Langabhait* *[ˈl̪ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪ʲ] in the first instance but would be altered in due course to ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63) by analogy with other loch names in ScG -[vaʰt̪]; and (4) because of morphemic apocope in which inflectional endings were lost in favour of an endingless base, e.g. Norse speakers would have used the name form ON *Hirtir* nom., *Hjǫrtu* acc., *Hjarta* gen. and *Hjǫrtum* dat. pl. for what became *Hiort* [hiɤ̞t̪] in Gaelic (#315), with no

cha mhotha a gheibhear mùthadh mar as trice ann an GA *Miabhag* (< SL **Mæ-vǫk*) #251. §31

§31 (ii) (g) Lorgar eugsamhlachadh corra uair, m.e. GA *Borgh*, (gin.) *Bhuirgh* (< SL **Borg*) #68, ach GA *Tiodaborgh* (< SL *-borg*) #329 gun mhùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach, agus GA *Gabhsann*, (gin.) *Ghabhsainn* (< SL *-sund*) #188, ach GA *Tòpsann* (< SL *-sund*) #335 gun mhùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach. Is lèir gu bheil freagrachadh ri riaghailtean cruith-eòlach na Gàidhlig nas dlùithe no nas coileanta ann an cuid de sheaghan.

§31 (iii) Tuiseal ann an ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais

Ged as duilich gu tric a shònrachadh le cinnt sam bith cò an tuiseal san robh ainm no facal bitheanta Lochlannais nuair a chaidh a thoirt a-steach dhan Ghàidhlig, tha fianais ann gun deigheadh iad air iasad ann am barrachd air aon tuiseal, m.e. GA *Borgh* #68 < SL **Borg* ainmn. no cusp., GA *Nùb* (#216) < SNòrnI **Núp* cusp. agus GA *Dail* #166 < SL **Dali* tabh. Bhiodh an roimhear SL *milli* a' comharradh a ainmear san tuiseal chuspaireach agus bhite a' sùileachadh a-rèist gun tàrmaicheadh GA **Mille Thòla* (#172) ann an SL **Milli Hóla*, le tuiseal cuspaireach iolra an ainmeir SL *hóll* f.; gidheadh, nochdaidh an aon eileamaid san tuiseal ainmneach iolra ann an GA *Tòlair* (#101) < SL **Hólar* agus san tuiseal chuspaireach shingilte ann an GA *Totarol* #339 < SL **Toptarhól* cusp. Thathas an dùil gun deigheadh ainmean- is facail-iasaid Lochlannais a thoirt a-steach dhan Ghàidhlig san tuiseal sam bu trice a dheigheadh an cleachdadh.

Gidheadh, is coltach gu bheil dùnaidhean mùthaidh so-aithnichte gu tric a dhìth air iasadan Lochlannais, co-dhiù sa chruth san nochd iad sa Ghàidhlig (Cox 2009a, 23–25). Faodaidh seo a bhith (1) a chionn 's gur h-ionann na cruthan tuiseil aig iasad, coim. SL **Borg*, shuas, a tha aon chuid ainmneach no cuspaireach; (2) a chionn 's gun caillear dùnaidhean mùthaidh nuair a thèid lidean deiridh neo-bheumte a theasgadh sa Ghàidhlig §44 (iii), coim. SL **Dali* tabh., shuas, a chaidh na GA *Dail* [d̥al]; (3) a chionn 's gun deach na cruthan aig cuid de dh'iasadan a cho-rèiteachadh gu cruitheamach ri feadhainn eile: mar eisimpleir, am measg a liuthad ainmean-iasaid ann an SL *-vatn* 'loch' a gheibhear ann an Leòdhas, a chaidh na GA *-bhat* [vaʰt̪] gu riaghailteach, is iongantach mana h-eil corra eisimpleir ann a thug na Gàidheil air iasad san tuiseal thabhartach, m.e. bheireadh an t-ainm SL **Langavatni* tabh. '(an) loch fada' GA **Langabhait* *[ˈl̪ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪ʲ] sa chiad àite ach dheigheadh e na GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63) an ceann ùine ann an co-rèiteachas ri ainmean locha eile ann an GA -[vaʰt̪]; agus (4) a chionn teasgaidh chruitheamaich far an caillte dùnaidhean mùthaidh às leth bunait gun dùnadh sam bith, m.e. chleachdadh luchd-bruidhinn na Lochlannais an cruth ainme SL *Hirtir* ainmn., *Hjǫrtu* cusp., *Hjarta* gin. agus *Hjǫrtum* tabh. iol. air na chaidh na *Hiort* [hiɤ̞t̪] sa Ghàidhlig (#315), gun sgeul air dùnadh mùthaidh sam

§31 trace of any ending – contrast the names ScG *Tòlair*, **Mille Thòla* and *Totarol*, above, which preserve the inflectional reflexes of their Old Norse originals (i.e. ON **Hólar*, **Milli Hóla* and **Toptarhól*).

For a syntactical account of Old Norse reconstructions and examples of case forms occurring in them, see §27.

§32 §32 Lenition in Gaelic

Lenition in Gaelic is a mutation in which the sound of consonants at the beginning of words is weakened, shown in writing by an *h* after the majority of consonants (Cox 2017, §45). Lenition occurs in the collection in the following situations:

§32 (i) Radical feminine nouns after the article, e.g. *A' Bheirgh* #57, *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, *A' Cheannmhor* #118 (but not in *An Ceannmhor* #119, where the generic is masculine), *A' Chlibh* #132, *An Fheòirlig* #184, *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268.

§32 (ii) Genitive masculine nouns after the article: *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1, *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26, *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27, *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52, *Ceann a' Bhàigh* #102, *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135, *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136, *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266, *Tom an Fhuadain* #333.

§32 (iii) The noun *cille* after the masculine personal name in *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, in an adjectival function.

§32 (iv) Genitive plural nouns without the article: *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108, although the forms (1549) *Loch Selga* and (1843–82) *Loch Sealg* suggest that lenition in *sealg* here is relatively recent; cf. the name ScG **Cala Muc* (#256, fn 589), created before lenition in this position developed, sometime from the 17th century (Thomson 1983, 95–95).

§32 (v) Nouns after the numeric adjective *dà*^{L}: *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14, *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172.

§32 (vi) Masculine personal names in the genitive: *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16, *Baile Phàil* #40, *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, *Gil MhicPhàic* #204, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269 (but not in feminine personal names, as is usual in the dialect: *Bruach Màiri* #83, *Baile Geàrr* #33; for the woman's name *Catrìona Thangaidh*, see #320); also the noun *mac* in the genitive as part of a personal name: *Gil MhicPhàic*, above. Regarding the personal names in *MacSuain* and *Cleite Suain*, which lack lenition, see #311 (i).

bith – iomsgaraich na h-ainmean GA *Tòlair*, **Mille Thòla* agus *Totarol*, shuas, a ghleidheas riochdan mùthaidh an tùsan Lochlannais (.i. SL **Hólar*, **Milli Hóla* agus **Toptarhól*). §31

Airson cunntas air co-rèir nan ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais agus eisimpleirean de na cruthan tuiseil a gheibhear annta, faic §27.

§32 Sèimheachadh sa Ghàidhlig §32

Tha sèimheachadh sa Ghàidhlig na mhùthadh far an tèid fuaimneachadh connraig aig toiseach facail a lagachadh, air a chomharradh ann an sgrìobhadh le *h* an dèidh na mòr-chuid de chonnragan (Cox 2017, §45). Gheibhear sèimheachadh sa chruinneachadh anns na suidheachaidhean a leanas:

§32 (i) Ainmearan bunasach boireann an dèidh an uilt, m.e. *A' Bheirgh* #57, *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, *A' Cheannmhor* #118 (ach chan ann anns *An Ceannmhor* #119, far a bheil an seòrsaichear fireann), *A' Chlibh* #132, *An Fheòirlig* #184, *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268.

§32 (ii) Ainmearan ginideach fireann an dèidh an uilt: *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1, *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26, *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27, *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52, *Ceann a' Bhàigh* #102, *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135, *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136, *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266, *Tom an Fhuadain* #333.

§32 (iii) An t-ainmear *cille* an dèidh an ainme phearsanta fhireann ann an *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, ann an dreuchd bhuadhairich.

§32 (iv) Ainmearan ginideach iolra gun an t-alt: *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108, ged a chuireas na cruthan (1549) *Loch Selga* agus (1843–82) *Loch Sealg* air shùilibh gu bheil an sèimheachadh ann an *sealg* ann an seo cuibheasach ùr; coim. an t-ainm GA **Cala Muc* (#256, bn 589), a chaidh a chruthachadh mus do dh'èirich sèimheachadh san t-suidheachadh seo, uaireigin bhon 17mh linn (Thomson 1983, 95–95).

§32 (v) Ainmearan an dèidh a' bhuadhair àireamhail *dà*^{S}: *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14, *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172.

§32 (vi) Ainmean pearsanta fireann san tuiseal ghinideach: *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16, *Baile Phàil* #40, *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, *Gil MhicPhàic* #204, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269 (ach chan ann ann an ainmean pearsanta boireann, mar as dual san dualchainnt: *Bruach Màiri* #83, *Baile Geàrr* #33; airson an ainm boireannaich *Catrìona Thangaidh*, faic #320); cuideachd an t-ainmear *mac* san tuiseal ghinideach mar phàirt de dh'ainm pearsanta: *Gil MhicPhàic*, shuas. A thaobh nan ainmean pearsanta *MacSuain* agus *Cleite Suain*, air a bheil sèimheachadh a dhìth, faic #311 (i).

§32 §32 (vii) Old Norse loan-names in the genitive: *Àird Dhail* #9, *Àird Thunga* #11, *Baile Ghriais* #34, *Beinn Chasgro* #53, *Bun Chorcabhig* #88, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96, *Ceann Chùisil* #106, *Ceann Shìophort* #113, *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211, *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, *Loch Shiadair* #242, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Port Mholair* #273, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292, *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341. Both *Àird Dhrobhanis* and *Àird Drobhanis* #10 were recorded, with lenition prevented in the latter on account of the juxtaposition of homorganic consonants. In the following, initial *th-* is simply an orthographic device to represent initial [h]- in Gaelic; it is not evidence of lenition §16: (ON *h-* >) *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205, *Cleite Thòg* #129; (ON *þ-* >) *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56. It seems that the specific in *Baile Glom* #35 is being treated as an adjective, hence the lack of lenition. In a few examples, e.g. *Loch Bacabhat* (#24), it seems the Gaelic names in which Old Norse loan-names occur were created before lenition in this position developed, sometime after the early part of the 13th century (Cox 2002a, 51, 117–18).

§32 (viii) Radical feminine adjectives: *An Àird Bheag* #8, *An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17.

§32 (ix) Genitive masculine adjectives after definite nouns: *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16; in *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, the beginning of the original name has been elided (< *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*).

§32 (x) The adjective *dà*^{L} after the preposition *eadar*: *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172.

§32 (xi) Adjectives after Old Norse loan-names are usually lenited: *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67, *Geardha Bheag* #191, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, except in *Crò Mòr* #154, where the loan-name is treated as a masculine Gaelic appellative. This lenition is most probably a result of dative usage and nothing to do with gender.

§33 §33 Delenition in Gaelic

§33 (i) Prevention: Traditionally, lenition is prevented where two homorganic consonants come together, e.g. *Loch Croistean* #240 rather than **Loch Chroistean*; *Loch Crò Mòr* (#154) rather than **Loch Chrò Mòr*; *Tòb Lèireabhaigh* (nMO) [tɔːb ˈleːðəvɑj] (lenited) (#239) but *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh* (nMO) [ãvɪɴʲ ˈʟʲeːðəvɑj] (unlenited).

§33 (ii) Unfamiliar sounds: Sounds that are unfamiliar in initial position in

§32 §32 (vii) Ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach: *Àird Dhail* #9, *Àird Thunga* #11, *Baile Ghriais* #34, *Beinn Chasgro* #53, *Bun Chorcabhig* #88, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96, *Ceann Chùisil* #106, *Ceann Shìophort* #113, *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211, *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, *Loch Shiadair* #242, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*, *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Port Mholair* #273, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292, *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341. Chaidh an dà chuid *Àird Dhrobhanis* agus *Àird Drobhanis* #10 a chlàradh, agus sèimheachadh air a bhacadh san eisimpleir mu dheireadh le connragan co-altaichte an còmhghar a chèile. Anns na leanas, chan eil ann an *th-* thoisich ach inneal ceart-sgrìobhaidh gus [h]- thoisich a riochdachadh sa Ghàidhlig; chan eil i na fhianais air sèimheachadh §16: (SL *h-* >) *Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205, *Cleite Thòg* #129; (SL *þ-* >) *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56. Is coltach gun dèiligear ris an t-sònraichear ann am *Baile Glom* #35 mar gur h-e buadhair a th' ann, às a sin an dìth sèimheachaidh. Ann an corra eisimpleir, m.e. *Loch Bacabhat* (#24), is coltach gun deach na h-ainmean Gàidhlig san nochd ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais a chruthachadh mus do dh'fhàs sèimheachadh san t-suidheachadh seo, uaireigin an dèidh pàirt tràth na 13mh linne (Cox 2002a, 51, 117–18).

§32 (viii) Buadhairean bunasach boireann: *An Àird Bheag* #8, *An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17.

§32 (ix) Buadhairean ginideach fireann an dèidh ainmearan deimhinnte: *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16; ann an *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, chaidh toiseach an ainme thùsail a theasgadh (< *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*).

§32 (x) Am buadhair *dà*^{S} an dèidh an roimheir *eadar*: *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172.

§32 (xi) Buadhairean an dèidh ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais mar as trice: *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67, *Geardha Bheag* #191, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, ach ann an *Crò Mòr* #154, agus coltas ainmear bitheanta fireann Gàidhlig air an ainm-iasaid. Is iongantach mana h-e cleachdadh tabhartach as coireach ris an t-sèimheachadh seo agus nach eil gnothach sam bith aige ri gnè.

§33 §33 Dì-shèimheachadh sa Ghàidhlig

§33 (i) Bacadh: Gu dualchasach, thèid sèimheachadh a bhacadh far an tig dà chonnraig cho-altaichte ri chèile, m.e. *Loch Croistean* seach **Loch Chroistean*; *Loch Crò Mòr* (#154) seach **Loch Chrò Mòr*; *Tòb Lèireabhaigh* (nMO) [tɔːb ˈleːðəvɑj] (air a shèimheachadh) (#239) ach *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh* (nMO) [ãvɪɴʲ ˈʟʲeːðəvɑj] (gun a shèimheachadh).

§33 (ii) Fuaimean coimheach: Dèiligear ri fuaimean a tha coimheach ann an

§33 Gaelic (at least outwith lenited situations) are changed in Gaelic to equivalent unlenited sounds via back-formation, e.g. initial [ʍ] in CSc. **hvarf* yields ScG [f], which is delenited to [pʰ] in ScG *parbh* (Fig. 13).

The same process can be discerned in ScG **Dùn Fileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈfilə ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ]: (1) > **Dùn Bhileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈvilə ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ], with devoicing, (2) > (1843–82) *Bilascleitear*, with delenition (#186).

Delenition in Old Norse loans in Gaelic Fig. 13

	Gaelic				Old Norse	
	Unlenited		Lenited			
	ScG		ScG	EG		
1	[pʰ]	*parbh* (#47 (ii))	[f]	[ɸ]	[ʍ]	CSc. **hvarf*
2	[pʰ]	*Plada* (#47 (ii))	[f]	[f]	[f]	CSc. **Flat-øy*
3	[b̥]	*bàgh* (#24)	[v]	[β]	[ʊ]	ON *vág* acc.
4	[b̥]	*Barbhas* #47	[v]	[β]	[ʍ] or [w]	CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc.
5	[b̥]	*Beanasbac* #50	[v]	[βʲ]	[ʍ] or [w]	CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc.
6	[b̥]	*Borraiseadar* #70	[v]	[β]	[ʊ]	ON **Vǫrðusætr*
7	[t̪ʰ]	*Tolm* #330	[h]	[h]	[h]	ON **Holm* acc.
8	[tʲʰ]	*Tiodaborgh* #329	[h]	[h]	[h]	ON **Hitaborg*
9	[tʲʰ]	*Teallasbhagh* #322	[hj]	[hj]	[hj]	ON **Hjallsvág* acc.
10	[kʰ]	*carbh* (#47 (i))	[x]	[x]	[xw]	CSc. **hvarf*
11	[kʰɾ]	*Crabhlastadh* #151	[xɾ]	[xɾ]	[xr]	CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl.
12	[kʲʰ]	*Ceallasaigh* (#51)	[ç]	[ç]	[ç]	CSc. **Hjallsøy*
13	[kʲʰ]	*Ceartaigh* #121	[ç]	[ç]	[ç]	CSc. **Hjart-øy*

§33 (iii) Reinterpretation: The same feature arises through reinterpretation in ScG *alc* f. (< ON *alka* f.): (with radical article) *an alc* [ə ˈn̪ɑɬ̪k] > *an fhalc* [ə ˈn̪ɑɬ̪k] > (without the article) *falc* (#204 §77 (i) (c)); *Loch Dhìobadail*, in which initial [d̥ʲ]- becomes [ɟ]-, via lenition, but which is reradicalised as [ɠʲ]- (rather than [d̥ʲ]-) (#168); and (rad. without the article) *Tiumpan* [tʲʰ]- > (gen. with the article) *An Tiumpain* [ə ˈɲtʲʰ]-, which is reinterpretated as (gen. with the article) *An t-Siumpain* [ə ˈɲtʲʰ] > (rad. without the article) *Siumpan* [ʃ]- (#283).

§34 §34 Eclipsis

No examples of eclipsis[5] are found in the collection, but note (1797) *Clach i Drushel* ?for **Clach a dTruiseil* (see *Baile an Truiseil* #31), and (1843–82) *Mol na Gile*, today *Mol na Cille*, ?earlier **Mol na gCille* (see *Baile an Teampaill* #30). Outwith the collection, cf. ScG *Cnoc Ò Dòmod* [ˌkʰɾõʰkˌo ˈd̥ɔ̃ːmɔd̥] NB260478 (Cox 2002a, 238), in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), i.e. 'the hill belonging to

5. For the history of this initial mutation, see Ó Maolalaigh 1996.

suidheachadh toisich sa Ghàidhlig (co-dhiù air taobh a-muigh shuidheachaidhean sèimhichte) le bhith gan tionndadh gu fuaimean neo-shèimhichte co-ionann le cùl-chinntinn, m.e. bheir [ʍ] thoisich ann an *LB **hvarf* GA [f], a thèid a dì-shèimheachadh na [pʰ] ann an GA *parbh* (Fig. 13). §33

Chithear an t-aon phròsas ann an GA **Dùn Fileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈfilə ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ]: (1) > **Dùn Bhileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈvilə ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ], le dì-ghuthachadh, (2) > (1843–82) *Bilascleitear*, le dì-shèimheachadh (#186).

Dì-shèimheachadh ann an iasadan Lochlannais sa Ghàidhlig Fig. 13

	A' Ghàidhlig				An Lochlannais	
	Neo-shèimhichte		Sèimhichte			
	GA		GA	GT		
1	[pʰ]	*parbh* (#47 (ii))	[f]	[ɸ]	[ʍ]	LB **hvarf*
2	[pʰ]	*Plada* (#47 (ii))	[f]	[f]	[f]	LB **Flat-øy*
3	[b̥]	*bàgh* (#24)	[v]	[β]	[ʊ]	SL *vág* cusp.
4	[b̥]	*Barbhas* #47	[v]	[β]	[ʍ] no [w]	LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp.
5	[b̥]	*Beanasbac* #50	[v]	[βʲ]	[ʍ] no [w]	LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp.
6	[b̥]	*Borraiseadar* #70	[v]	[β]	[ʊ]	SL **Vǫrðusætr*
7	[t̪ʰ]	*Tolm* #330	[h]	[h]	[h]	SL **Holm* cusp.
8	[tʲʰ]	*Tiodaborgh* #329	[h]	[h]	[h]	SL **Hitaborg*
9	[tʲʰ]	*Teallasbhagh* #322	[hj]	[hj]	[hj]	SL **Hjallsvág* cusp.
10	[kʰ]	*carbh* (#47 (i))	[x]	[x]	[xw]	LB **hvarf*
11	[kʰɾ]	*Crabhlastadh* #151	[xɾ]	[xɾ]	[xr]	LB **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol.
12	[kʲʰ]	*Ceallasaigh* (#51)	[ç]	[ç]	[ç]	LB **Hjallsøy*
13	[kʲʰ]	*Ceartaigh* #121	[ç]	[ç]	[ç]	LB **Hjart-øy*

§33 (iii) Ath-mhìneachadh: Èiridh an t-aon fheart tro ath-mhìneachadh ann an GA *alc* b. (< SL *alka* b.): (leis an alt bhunasach) *an alc* [ə ˈn̪ɑɬ̪k] > *an fhalc* [ə ˈn̪ɑɬ̪k] > (gun an t-alt) *falc* (#204 §77 (i) (c)); *Loch Dhìobadail*, san tèid [d̥ʲ]- thoisich na [ɟ]-, le sèimheachadh, ach a thèid ath-bhunasachadh na [ɠʲ]- (seach [d̥ʲ]-) (#168); agus (bun. gun an t-alt) *Tiumpan* [tʲʰ]- > (gin. leis an alt) *An Tiumpain* [ə ˈɲtʲʰ]-, a thèid ath-mhìneachadh na (gin. leis an alt) *An t-Siumpain* [ə ˈɲtʲʰ]- > (bun. gun an t-alt) *Siumpan* [ʃ]- (#283).

§34 §34 Dùbhradh

Chan fhaighear eisimpleirean de dhùbhradh[5] sa co-chruinneachadh, ach mothaich (1797) *Clach i Drushel* ?airson **Clach a dTruiseil* (faic *Baile an Truiseil* #31), agus (1843–82) *Mol na Gile*, an-diugh *Mol na Cille*, ?nas tràithe **Mol na gCille* (faic *Baile an Teampaill* #30). Taobh a-muigh a' cho-chruinneachaidh, coim. GA *Cnoc Ò Dòmod* [ˌkʰɾõʰkˌo ˈd̥ɔ̃ːmɔd̥] NB260478 (Cox 2002a, 238), ann an *Siabost a Tuath*

5. Airson eachdraidh a' mhùthaidh thoisich seo, faic Ó Maolalaigh 1996.

§34 *Tòmod*'s descendents', with genitive plural of the noun ScG GA *ò* (*ogha*) m. (EG *úa*, *óa*, *ó*) and the eclipsed form of the man's name ScG *Tòmod* (?as a *u*-stem noun), from ON *Hámund*, accusative of ON *Hámundr* m. (*GP* 115); cf. EG *Amond mac Duiḃġinn* in *Cogaḋ Gaeḋel ri Gallaiḃ* (The War of the Gaels with the Foreigners, c. 11th c.; Marstrander 1915, 45, 48), *Pol mc. Amaind* AU1103 (Mac Airt 1983, 542–43) and perhaps AMUD in the Lochgoilhead ogam inscription (Cox 1999a, 85–88).

§35 §35 Definiteness

From an onomastic point of view, place-names are definite in sense, so the names ScG *Clèid* and *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* and the reconstruction ON **Langavatn* (> ScG *Langabhat* (#63)) are definite despite their not containing a (definite) article.

§35 (i) The Gaelic article

There is only the definite article in Gaelic, which may change according to the number (singular, dual or plural), gender (masculine, feminine or, in Early Gaelic, neuter), case (nominative or accusative, which have fallen together as the radical case in the modern language, or genitive or dative) and/or the initial letter of the following noun (Cox 2017, 69–80).

The article precedes its noun (or any preceding adjective) but, formally, where there is a series of nouns with each noun governing the following in the genitive, the article is only used before the final noun, e.g. ScG *Geàrraidh **a'** Bhàird*, although the element *geàrraidh* here is just as definite as the element *bàrd*, which is governed by the article.[6]

For examples of Gaelic names in the collection without the article, see §26 (i)–§26 (ii), Classes S1a(i), S2a(i), C1(i), C1(ix), C2(i), and §26 (iii)–§26 (iv). For further examples of Gaelic names in the collection with the article, see §26 (i)–§26 (ii), Classes S1a(ii), S2a(ii), S4a(ii), S5a, C1(ii), C1(v), C1(v), C1(xiv), C1(xviii), C1(xix). For the question of the Gaelic article occurring before Old Norse loan-names, see #31 (i).

§35 (ii) The Old Norse definite article

For the most part, the definite article does not occur in reconstructions of Old Norse place-names in the collection. However, the article appears to occur in the name ON **Vǫtn**in*** (ScG *Bhatan*), in Skye §27 (i) (b); on the same island, cf. ScG *Stafainn* ['s̪t̪afiɲ̪] around NG483684 (Eng. *Staffin*), from ON

6. Exceptions such as ScG *Loch **a'** Bhaile Tholstaidh* #124, fn 275) are the result of their onomastic structure (Cox 2002a, 36–37; 2017, 131, §104(v)).

(#295), .i. 'an cnoc le oghaichean *Thòmod*', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir GA *ò* (*ogha*) f. (GT *úa*, *óa*, *ó*) agus cruth dùbhraichte an ainm fireannaich GA *Tòmod* (?na ainmear buin-*u*), à SL *Hámund*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *Hámundr* f. (*GP* 115); coim. GT *Amond mac Duiḃġinn* ann an *Cogaḋ Gaeḋel ri Gallaiḃ* (mun 11mh linn; Marstrander 1915, 45, 48), *Pol mc. Amaind* AU1103 (Mac Airt 1983, 542–43) agus is dòcha AMUD anns an in-sgrìobhainn oghaim ann an Ceann Loch Goibhle (Cox 1999a, 85–88). §34

§35 Deimhinneachd §35

Tha ainmean-àite deimhinnte nam brìgh bho thaobh seallaidh ainmeachais, mar sin tha na h-ainmean GA *Clèid* agus *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* and an t-ath-dhèanamh SL **Langavatn* (> GA *Langabhat* (#63)) deimhinnte a dh'aindeoin 's nach cleachdar an t-alt (deimhinnte) annta.

§35 (i) An t-alt Gàidhlig

Chan eil ann ach an t-alt deimhinnte sa Ghàidhlig, a ghabhas atharrachadh a rèir uimhir (singilte, deise no iolra), gnè (fireann, boireann no, sa Ghàidhlig Thràth, neodrach), tuiseal (ainmneach no cuspaireach – a chaidh còmhla nan tuiseal bunasach san nua-chànan – no ginideach no tabhartach) agus/no ciad litir an ainmeir na dhèidh (Cox 2017, 69–80).

Thig an t-alt air thoiseach air an ainmear aige (no buadhair ro-shuidhichte sam bith) ach, gu foirmeil, far a bheil sreath de dh'ainmearan leis gach ainmear a' comharradh an fhir na dhèidh san tuiseal ghinideach cha chleachdar an t-alt ach ron ainmear mu dheireadh, m.e. GA *Geàrraidh **a'** Bhàird*, ged a tha an eileamaid *geàrraidh* an seo a cheart cho deimhinnte ris an eileamaid *bàrd*, a tha ga chomharradh leis an alt.[6]

Airson eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean Gàidhlig sa chruinneachadh gun an t-alt, faic §26 (i)–§26 (ii), Rangannan S1a(i), S2a(i), C1(i), C1(ix), C2(i), is §26 (iii)–§26 (iv). Airson tuilleadh eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean Gàidhlig sa chruinneachadh leis an alt, faic §26 (i)–§26 (ii), Rangannan S1a(ii), S2a(ii), S4a(ii), S5a, C1(ii), C1(v), C1(v), C1(xiv), C1(xviii), C1(xix). Airson na ceiste a thaobh an uilt Ghàidhlig a bhith air a chleachdadh cuide ri ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, faic #31 (i).

§35 (ii) An t-alt deimhinnte Lochlannais

Airson na mòr-chuid, cha nochd an t-alt deimhinnte ann an ath-dhèanamhan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais sa chruinneachadh. Is coltach, ge-tà, gun nochd an t-alt deimhinnte iar-leasaichte san ainm SL **Vǫtn**in*** (GA *Bhatan*), san Eilean Sgitheanach §27 (i) (b); air an aon eilean, coim. GA *Stafainn* ['s̪t̪afiɲ̪] mu NG483684 (Brl. *Staffin*),

6. Tha mura-bhithean mar GA *Loch **a'** Bhaile Tholstaidh* #124, bn 275) nan toradh air an co-chur ainmeachais (Cox 2002a, 36–37; 2017, 131, §104(v)).

§35 *Stafinn* 'the pillar', with accusative of the noun ON *stafr* + the suffixed article.[7]

In Lewis itself, Oftedal (1980, 186) suggests that ScG *Lòbaid* (MO) [lɔ:bid'] NB556473, in *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), originates from ON **Hlaupit* 'the leap', with nominative or accusative of the noun ON *hlaup* nt. + the suffixed article,[8] and one can assume that the suffixed article also occurred in names such as ON **Bergit Lága* (> GA *Beirgh Làgha*) §27 (i) (e).

§36 §36 Suffixes in Gaelic

Suffixes are often used in word building in Gaelic and examples occur in the collection. Most of the following suffixes are noted in Watson 1904, xxxiii–xxxix, and in Cox 2002a, 59–60, and 2017, 121–24).

§36 (i) ScG *-ach*: (in common nouns) ScG *cliatha*(*i*)*ch* (ScG *cliath*, EG *clíath*) (#127); (in nouns describing the nature or quality of a place) ScG *ciarach* (ScG *ciar*) (#24); ScG *fideach* (ScG **fid* < ON *fit*) (#147); EG **locach* (ScG *lag*, EG *loc*) (#320); EG **tangach* (EG **tanga* < ON *tanga* obl.) (#320); (in collective nouns) ScG *gainmheach* (ScG *gaineamh*, EG *gaineṁ*) (#241); (and in the adjectives) ScG *flannach* (ScG *flann*, EG *flann*) (#176) and ScG *sligeach* (ScG *slige*, OG *slice*) (#226).

§36 (ii) ScG *-ag*: (originally a feminine diminutive suffix (masculine in Old Gaelic)) ScG *ùigeag* (ScG *ùig* < ON *vík*) (#345); ScG *uinneag* (< ON *vindauga*, with morphemic substitution §37) (#12, fn 27, #67); (in agent nouns) ScG *sgalag* (EG *scolóc* < Lat. *schola*) (#98); (in nouns describing the nature or quality of a place) ScG *driseag* (ScG *dris*, EG idem) (#27); ScG *dubhag* (ScG *dubh*, EG *dub́*) (#304, fn 717); ScG *urrdhag* (ScG **urrdh* < ON *urð*) (#182, + fn 413); (in river names) ScG **Crìonag* (ScG *crìon*, EG *crín*) (#105); (often found in bird names) ScG *feadag* f. 'plover' (ScG *fead*), hence ScG *arspag* (< ON *svart-bak* acc.) (#311 (i), + fn 731).

§36 (iii) ScG *-aire*: (in agent nouns) *breugaire* (ScG *breug*, EG *brég*), *pìobaire* (ScG *pìob*, EG *píp*(*a*)) (#314, fn 747); (in bird names) ScG *sùlaire* (ScG **sùla* < ON *súla*).

§36 (iv) ScG *-an*: (originally a masculine diminutive suffix) ScG *càrnan* (ScG *càrn*, EG *carn*) (#136); ScG *cladhan* (ScG *cladh*, EG *clad*) (#209); ScG *cliathan*

7. ON **Stafinn* is named after the basalt rock found in the area; cf. the island name ScG *Stafa* ['st̪afa] NM324355 (Eng. *Staffa*), from ON **Staf-ey* '(the) pillar-island', with the stem form of the specific and ON *ey* f. 'island' §16 (Cox 1992, 143).

8. Cox (1992, 143) states there is a Gaelic explanation for the name ScG *Lòbaid* in ScG *lòb* 'marsh' + suffix (cf. ScG *A' Mhiasaid* #31 (i), fn 63), but the topography virtually rules out that solution.

§35 à SL **Stafinn* 'an colbh', le tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *stafr* + an alt iar-leasaichte.[7]

Ann an Leòdhas fhèin, cuiridh Oftedal (1980, 186) air shùilibh gun tàrmaich GA *Lòbaid* (MO) [lɔ:bid'] NB556473, ann an *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), ann an SL **Hlaupit* 'an leum', le tuiseal ainmneach no cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *hlaup* n. + an alt iar-leasaichte,[8] agus faodar a shùileachadh gun robh an t-alt iar-leasaichte cuideachd ann an ainmean a leithid SL **Bergit Lága* (> GA *Beirgh Làgha*) §27 (i) (e).

§36 §36 Iar-leasachain sa Ghàidhlig

Thèid iar-leasachain a chleachdadh gu tric ann a bhith a' togail fhacal sa Ghàidhlig, agus nochdaidh eisimpleirean sa chruinneachadh. Gheibhear iomradh air a' chuid as motha de na h-iar-leasachain a leanas ann an Watson 1904, xxxiii–xxxix, agus ann an Cox 2002a, 59–60, agus 2017, 121–24).

§36 (i) GA *-ach*: (ann an ainmearan bitheanta) GA *cliatha*(*i*)*ch* (GA *cliath*, GT *clíath*) (#127); (ann an ainmearan a' toirt tuairisgeul air nàdar no feart àite) GA *ciarach* (GA *ciar*) (#24); GA *fideach* (GA **fid* < SL *fit*) (#147); GT **locach* (GA *lag*, GT *loc*) (#320); GT **tangach* (GT **tanga* < SL *tanga* cl.) (#320); (ann an ainmearan trusaidh) GA *gainmheach* (GA *gaineamh*, GT *gaineṁ*) (#241); (agus sna buadhairean) GA *flannach* (GA *flann*, GT *flann*) (#176) agus GA *sligeach* (GA *slige*, SG *slice*) (#226).

§36 (ii) GA *-ag*: (iar-leasachan meanbhach boireann bho thùs (fireann san t-Sean Ghàidhlig)) GA *ùigeag* (GA *ùig* < SL *vík*) (#345); GA *uinneag* (< SL *vindauga*, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37) (#12, bn 27, #67); (ann an ainmearan ionaid) GA *sgalag* (GT *scolóc* < Laid. *schola*) (#98); (ann an ainmearan a' toirt tuairisgeul air nàdar no feart àite) GA *driseag* (GA *dris*, GT idem) (#27); GA *dubhag* (GA *dubh*, GT *dub́*) (#304, bn 717); GA *urrdhag* (GA **urrdh* < SL *urð* 'ulbhagan, meall chlachan' (#182, + bn 413); (ann an ainmean aibhne) GA **Crìonag* (GA *crìon*, GT *crín*) (#105); (ri lorg gu tric ann an ainmean eòin) GA *feadag* b. (GA *fead*), às a sin GA *arspag* (< SL *svart-bak* cusp.) (#311 (i), + bn 731).

§36 (iii) GA *-aire*: (ann an ainmearan ionaid) *breugaire* (GA *breug*, GT *brég*), *pìobaire* (GA *pìob*, GT *píp*(*a*)) (#314, bn 747); (ainmean eòin) GA *sùlaire* (GA **sùla* < SL *súla*).

§36 (iv) GA *-an*: (iar-leasachan meanbhach fireann bho thùs) GA *càrnan* (GA *càrn*, GT *carn*) (#136); GA *cladhan* (GA *cladh*, GT *clad*) (#209); GA *cliathan*

7. Tha SL **Stafinn* air ainmeachadh air a' chreig bhasailt a gheibhear san àrainn; coim. ainm an eilein GA *Stafa* ['st̪afa] NM324355 (Brl. *Staffa*), à SL **Staf-ey* '(an) colbh-eilean', le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir agus SL *ey* b. 'eilean' §16 (Cox 1992, 143).

8. Canaidh Cox (1992, 143) gu bheil mìneachadh Gàidhlig dhan ainm GA *Lòbaid* ann, .i. GA *lòb* 'boglach' + iar-leasachan (coim. GA *A' Mhiasaid* #31 (i), bn 63), ach cha mhòr nach tèid am fuasgladh ud a chur an dàrna taobh le cruth na tìre.

§36 (ScG *cliath*, EG *clíath*) (#127); ScG *cnocan* (ScG *cnoc*, EG *cnocc*) (#38); ScG *dùnan* (ScG *dùn*, EG *dún*) (#170); ScG *òban* (ScG *òb* < ON *hóp* acc.) (#315 (i)); ScG *rùghan* (ScG **rùgha* < ON *hrúga*) (#175, fn 385); ScG *sìoman* (ScG **sìoma* < ON *síma* obl.) (#223); ScG *tàbhan* (ScG *tàbh* < ON *háf* acc.) (#315 (iii)); for ScG **ceannmhoran*, see #281, fn 647, for EG **giġrán*, see #274, and for ScG *luchraban*, see #175; (in nouns describing the nature or quality of a place) ScG *ceòsan* (ScG **ceòs* < ON *kjóss*) (#123); ScG *grianan* (ScG *grian*, EG *gríán*) (#221); ScG *ruagan* (ScG *ruag*, EG *rúac*) (#138); ScG *sìthean* (ScG *sìth*, EG *síḋ*, *síth*) (#238, + fn 542); (in masculine personal names) ScG *Ailean* (< OG *ail*) (#28); ScG *Ròn*an (ScG *ròn*, EG *rón*) (#281).

§36 (v) ScG *-ar*: (in nouns describing the nature or quality of a place, possibly of a different origin to *-ar* §36 (vi), below) ScG *clèidir* (ScG *cliath*, EG *clíath*); ScG **gleadhair* (ScG *gleadh*, ?cf. EG *gliaḋ*); ScG **gortair* (ScG *gort*, *gart*, EG *gort*); ScG **iolair* (ScG *iola* < ON **hylla*) (#127).

§36 (vi) ScG *-ar*: (in common nouns) ScG *liaghra* < **liaghara* pl. (ScG *liagh*, EG *líaġ*, *líach*); ScG *salchar* (ScG *salach*, EG idem) (#239, fn 546); (with *-ar* + *-id*) ScG *sgapraid* (ScG *sgap*) (#289).

§36 (vii) ScG *-as*: (in nouns describing the nature or quality of a place) ScG *caolas* (ScG *caol*, EG *cáel*) #95.

§36 (viii) ScG *-iche*: (in agent nouns) ScG *greusaiche* (EG *grés*) (#27).

§36 (ix) ScG *-id*: (in nouns describing the nature or quality of a place) ScG *clèid* (ScG *cliath*, EG *clíath*); ScG *clèidir* (ScG *cliath*, EG *clíath*) (#127); ScG *làthaid* (ScG *làth*) (#289, fn 676); ScG *lomaid* (ScG *lom*, EG *lomm*) (#127); ScG *miasaid* (ScG *mias*, EG *mías* < Lat. *mensa*) (#31 (i), fn 63; #127); ScG *seòlaid* (ScG *seòl*); ScG *slugaid* (ScG *slug*) (#127); with *-ar* + *-id*: ScG *sgapraid* (ScG *sgap*) (#289).

§36 (x) ScG *-re* (*-r(a)idh*): (in collective nouns) ScG *luaithre*, EG *lúaithreḋ* (ScG *luaith*, EG *lúaithe*) (#239).

§37 §37 Folk etymology and morphemic substitution

§37 (i) There are several examples of Old Norse loan-names in the collection that appear to have been partly or entirely changed through morphemic substitution §9 (ii), as a result of folk etymology.

§37 (i) (a) CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG **[ˈb̥ĩnəˌn̥paʰk] > *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnəˌn̥paʰk] (cf. ScG *bean* [b̥ẽn] 'woman, wife') #50;

§37 (i) (b) ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. > EG **Broġa-* no **Braġa-*, genitive of EG

(GA *cliath*, GT *clíath*) (#127); GA *cnocan* (GA *cnoc*, GT *cnocc*) (#38); GA *dùnan* (GA *dùn*, GT *dún*) (#170); GA *òban* (GA *òb* < ON *hóp* acc.) (#315 (i)); GA *rùghan* (GA **rùgha* < ON *hrúga*) (#175, bn 385); GA *sìoman* (GA **sìoma* < SL *síma* cl.) (#223); GA *tàbhan* (GA *tàbh* < ON *háf* acc.) (#315 (iii)); airson GA **ceannmhoran*, faic #281, bn 647, airson GT **giġrán*, faic #274, agus airson GA *luchraban*, faic #175; (ann an ainmearan a' toirt tuairisgeul air nàdar no feart àite) GA *ceòsan* (GA **ceòs* < SL *kjóss*) (#123); GA *grianan* (GA *grian*, GT *gríán*) (#221); GA *ruagan* (GA *ruag*, GT *rúac*) (#138); GA *sìthean* (GA *sìth*, GT *síḋ*, *síth*) (#238, + bn 542); (ann an ainmean pearsanta fireann) GA *Ailean* (< SG *ail*) (#28); GA *Ròn*an (GA *ròn*, GT *rón*) (#281). §36

§36 (v) GA *-ar*: (ann an ainmearan a' toirt tuairisgeul air nàdar no feart àite, is dòcha à tùs eadar-dhealaichte ri *-ar* §36 (vi), shìos) GA *clèidir* (GA *cliath*, GT *clíath*); GA **gleadhair* (GA *gleadh*, ?coim. GT *gliaḋ*); GA **gortair* (GA *gort*, *gart*, GT *gort*); GA **iolair* (GA *iola* < SL **hylla*) (#127).

§36 (vi) GA *-ar*: (ann an ainmearan bitheanta) GA *liaghra* < **liaghara* iol. (GA *liagh*, GT *líaġ*, *líach*); GA *salchar* (GA *salach*, GT idem) (#239, bn 546); (le *-ar* + *-id*) GA *sgapraid* (GA *sgap*) (#289).

§36 (vii) GA *-as*: (ann an ainmearan a' toirt tuairisgeul air nàdar no feart àite) GA *caolas* (GA *caol*, GT *cáel*) #95.

§36 (viii) GA *-iche*: (ann an ainmearan ionaid) GA *greusaiche* (GT *grés*) (#27).

§36 (ix) GA *-id*: (ann an ainmearan a' toirt tuairisgeul air nàdar no feart àite) GA *clèid* (GA *cliath*, GT *clíath*); GA *clèidir* (GA *cliath*, GT *clíath*) (#127); GA *làthaid* (GA *làth*) (#289, bn 676); GA *lomaid* (GA *lom*, GT *lomm*) (#127); GA *miasaid* (GA *mias*, GT *mías* < Laid. *mensa*) (#31 (i), bn 63; #127); GA *seòlaid* (GA *seòl*); GA *slugaid* (GA *slug*) (#127); le *-ar* + *-id*: GA *sgapraid* (GA *sgap*) (#289).

§36 (x) GA *-re* (*-r(a)idh*): (ann an ainmearan trusaidh) GA *luaithre*, GT *lúaithreḋ* (GA *luaith*, GT *lúaithe*) (#239).

§37 §37 Dinnsheanchas agus ionadachadh cruitheamach

§37 (i) Tha caochladh eisimpleir de dh'ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais sa chruinneachadh as coltach a chaidh atharrachadh gu ìre no gu buileach le ionadachadh cruitheamach §9 (ii), mar thoradh air dinnsheanchas.

§37 (i) (a) LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA **[ˈb̥ĩnəˌn̥paʰk] > *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnəˌn̥paʰk] (coim. GA *bean* [b̥ẽn]) #50;

§37 (i) (b) SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GT **Broġa-* no **Braġa-*, an tuiseal ginideach

§37 *bruġ*, *bruiġ* '(fortified) abode' (ScG *brugh*) #74;

§37 (i) (c) ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌsˠkleʰtʲ] (cf. ScG *brèagha* [ˈbˠɾʲia-a], [ˈbˠɾʲia-ə] 'pretty', as opposed to ScG *[ˈbˠɾʲe-aˌsˠkleʰtʲ] #79.

§37 (i) (d) ON **Bygging-gerði* or **Bygning-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* (cf. ScG *beag* adj. 'little' and the genitive feminine article ScG *na*) #49.

§37 (i) (e) ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (cf. ScG *dròbh* 'drove') #10.

§37 (i) (f) ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* (cf. the man's name ScG *Tòmas*) #328.

§37 (i) (g) ON **Illsligavík* > ScG *Ìslibhig* [ˈiːʃɫ̪əˌvi̯ɣʲ] (cf. ScG *ìsle* [ˈiːʃɫ̪ə] 'lower'), as opposed to ScG *[ˈeiʃɫ̪əˌvi̯ɣʲ] #228.

§37 (i) (h) ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ẽːmrəˌvaɣ] (cf. ScG *leum* [ˈl̪ẽːm] 'jump') #235.

§37 (i) (i) ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪ər] ?> [ˈmãniˌʃad̪ər] (cf. ScG *manach* [ˈmãnɔx] 'monk') #244.

§37 (ii) The following loans could be added to the above:

§37 (ii) (a) ON *fjǫrð* acc. > ScG (lenited) *phort* 'landing place': ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Èireasort* (#180); ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Reusort* (#112); ON **Síð(u)fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Sìophort* (#113); ON **Ý-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Iuthort* (#174); cf. ON **Svan-fjǫrð* acc. or **Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* (mainland Scotland) (#311 (iii)).

§37 (ii) (b) ON **Garðrinn milli Vatna* > ScG *[ˌg̊ɑɾ̪ɑmiˌl̪ə ˈvaʰt̪ˌ] > *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̪ɔmiˌl̪ə ˈvaʰt̪ˌ] (cf. ScG *gorm* buadh. 'blue; green') (#172).

§37 (ii) (c) ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* (cf. ScG *gàrraidh* gen. 'dyke') (#172).

§37 (ii) (d) ON **Súlufjall* > ScG *Sùlabheinn* [ˈsˠuːɫ̪əˌveɲ], as opposed to *[ˈsˠuːɫ̪əˌvaɬ̪] (cf. ScG (lenited) *bheinn* 'mountain') (mainland Scotland) (#314).

§37 (ii) (e) ON *Sumarliði* > ScG *Somhairle* (cf. EG *saṁairle* 'puppy') (#311 (i), fn 733).

§37 (ii) (f) ON *vindauga* > ScG *uinneag* (#67); ON **Mæ-vǫk* > ScG *Miabhag* #251; ON *svart-bak* acc. > ScG *arspag* (#311 (i)) (cf. the suffix ScG *-ag* §36 (ii)).

§37 (ii) (g) ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG **Èistean* *[ˈeːʃtʲan] as opposed to *[ˈeːʃtʲən] (#171) (cf. the suffix ScG *-an* §36 (iv)).

§37 (iii) Cf. the English loan-name *The Reef*, from ScG *An Righe*, in Tiree (#280).

aig GT *bruġ*, *bruiġ* 'fàrdach (dhaingnichte)' (GA *brugh*) #74; §37

§37 (i) (c) SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌsˠkleʰtʲ] (coim. GA *brèagha* [ˈbˠɾʲia-a], [ˈbˠɾʲia-ə], seach GA *[ˈbˠɾʲe-aˌsˠkleʰtʲ] #79.

§37 (i) (d) SL **Bygging-gerði* no **Bygning-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* (coim. GA *beag* buadh. agus an t-alt ginideach boireann GA *na*) #49.

§37 (i) (e) SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (coim. GA *dròbh*) #10.

§37 (i) (f) SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* (coim. an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Tòmas*) #328.

§37 (i) (g) SL **Illsligavík* > GA *Ìslibhig* [ˈiːʃɫ̪əˌvi̯ɣʲ] (coim. GA *ìsle* [ˈiːʃɫ̪ə]), seach GA *[ˈeiʃɫ̪əˌvi̯ɣʲ] #228.

§37 (i) (h) SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ẽːmrəˌvaɣ] (coim. GA *leum* [ˈl̪ẽːm]) #235.

§37 (i) (i) SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪ər] ?> [ˈmãniˌʃad̪ər] (coim. GA *manach* [ˈmãnɔx]) #244.

§37 (ii) B' urrainnear na h-iasadan a leanas a chur ris na tha shuas:

§37 (ii) (a) SL *fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *phort* (air a shèimheachadh): SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Èireasort* (#180); SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* (#112); SL **Síð(u)fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Sìophort* (#113); SL **Ý-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Iuthort* (#174); coim. SL **Svan-fjǫrð* cusp. no **Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* (tìr-mòr na h-Albann) (#311 (iii)).

§37 (ii) (b) SL **Garðrinn milli Vatna* > GA *[ˌg̊ɑɾ̪ɑmiˌl̪ə ˈvaʰt̪ˌ] > *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̪ɔmiˌl̪ə ˈvaʰt̪ˌ] (coim. GA *gorm* buadh.) (#172).

§37 (ii) (c) SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* (coim. GA *gàrraidh* gin.) (#172).

§37 (ii) (d) SL **Súlufjall* > GA *Sùlabheinn* [ˈsˠuːɫ̪əˌveɲ], seach *[ˈsˠuːɫ̪əˌvaɬ̪] (coim. GA *bheinn* (air a shèimheachadh)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann) (#314).

§37 (ii) (e) SL *Sumarliði* > GA *Somhairle* (coim. GT *saṁairle* 'cuilean') (#311 (i), bn 733).

§37 (ii) (f) SL *vindauga* > GA *uinneag* (#67); SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* #251; SL *svart-bak* cusp. > GA *arspag* (#311 (i)) (coim. an t-iar-leasachan GA *-ag* §36 (ii)).

§37 (ii) (g) SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA **Èistean* *[ˈeːʃtʲan] seach *[ˈeːʃtʲən] (#171) (coim. an t-iar-leasachan GA *-an* §36 (iv)).

§37 (iii) Coim. an t-ainm-iasaid Beurla *The Reef*, à GA *An Righe*, an Tiriodh (#280).

§38 Consonant quality

Consonants in Scottish Gaelic can be categorised as either BROAD (ˣ), SLENDER (ʲ) or NEUTRAL (ᵒ). Broad consonants are non-palatal or non-palatalised, and in some cases velarised (with the back of the tongue raised to or towards the velum). Slender consonants are palatal or palatalised (with the tongue raised to or towards the palate). Broad consonants have slender equivalents and *vice versa*; neutral consonants show no broad ~ slender distinction. The man's name ScG *Seumas* [ˈʃeːməs̪] could be transcribed phonemically as /sʲeːmᵒəsˣ/, containing slender *s*, neutral *m* and broad *s*; slender consonants are usally marked while broad and neutral consonants are usually left unmarked.

The number and case of nouns and their attributive adjectives may be marked by vowel changes and/or endings, frequently involving the slenderising or broadening of final syllables, e.g. (with ScG *eilean* m. 'island') (rad. sg.) *Eilean nan Luchraban* #175, (gen. sg.) *Caolas an Eilein* #95, (rad. pl.) *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177.

§39 §39 Devoicing/voicing of consonants

§39 (i) Final devoicing

Devoicing before a pause in speech is a common phenomenon in the Gaelic dialects of Lewis and is not usually marked in phonetic transcriptions below §13.

In Old Norse loan-words: ON *haf* > ScG *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf], *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪̊ʰaf] (#281, fn 655). In ON *klif* > ScG *clibh*, cf. the place-name ScG *A' Chlibh* [ə ˈxlif] with final devoicing, but without devoicing in medial position in the genitive: *Na Clibheadh* [nə ˈkʰlivəɣ] #132; and ON *rifa* > ScG *riobh*, with apocope §44 (iii), cf. the place-name ScG *An Riobh* [ə ˈɾu̥f],[ə ˈɾɪf] with final devoicing, but without devoicing in medial position in the genitive: *Na Riobhadh* [nə ˈɾuvəɣ], [nə ˈɾɪvəɣ] #280.

§39 (ii) Initial devoicing

Initial ON *v* (§25) is either delenited through back-formation §33 (ii), or devoiced: ON *vaðil* acc. > ScG *fadhail* (#67); ON **Víð-vík* or **Við-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* #185; LB **Víð-øy* > ScG *Fuidheigh* (nMO) [ɸujaj], [fujɑj] (Benbecula) (#67); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG *Loch Bhatan Dìob* [ˌɬ̪ɔxˌfaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̥ʲiːb̥], which is sometimes heard instead of [ˌɬ̪ɔxˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̥ʲiːb̥] (#63).

§39 (iii) Initial voicing

Initial voicing is found in a few examples: ScG **Bharbhas* *[ˈvaɾ̂ˌvas̪] (which

§38 Feart nan connragan

Is urrainnear connragan ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann a rangachadh aon chuid LEATHANN (ˣ), CAOL (ʲ) no NEO-FHEARTAIL (ᵒ). Tha connragan leathann neo-chàireanach no neo-chàireanaichte, agus air uairean sgannaichte (agus an teanga air èirigh ris no a dh'ìonnsaigh an sgainn). Tha connragan caola càireanach no càireanaichte (agus an teanga air èirigh ris no a dh'ìonnsaigh a' chàirein). Tha an seisean leathann aig connragan caola agus a chaochladh; cha nochd connragan neo-fheartail an diofar leathann ~ caol. B' urrainnear an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Seumas* [ˈʃeːməs̪] a thras-sgrìobhadh gu fuinn-eòlach na /sʲeːmᵒəsˣ/, a' gabhail a-steach *s* chaol, *m* neo-fheartail agus *s* leathann; mar as trice, comharraichear connragan caola is fàgar connragan leathann is neo-fheartail gun an comharradh.

Gabhaidh uimhir agus tuiseal nan ainmearan agus am buadhairean càileach comharradh le atharrachaidhean fuaimreige agus/no dùnaidhean, gu tric a' ciallachadh caolachadh no leathannachadh san lide dheiridh, m.e. (le GA *eilean* f.) (bun. sg.) *Eilean nan Luchraban* #175, (gin. sg.) *Caolas an Eilein* #95, (bun. iol.) *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177.

§39 Dì-ghuthachadh/guthachadh chonnragan §39

§39 (i) Dì-ghuthachadh deiridh

Tha dì-ghuthachadh ro stad labhairte na fheart bitheanta ann an dualchainntean Gàidhlig Leòdhais agus, mar as trice, cha tèid a chomharradh ann an tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach shìos §13.

Ann am facail-iasaid Lochlannais: SL *haf* > GA *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf], *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪̊ʰaf] (#281, bn 655). Ann an SL *klif* > GA *clibh*, coim. an t-ainm-àite GA *A' Chlibh* [ə ˈxlif], le dì-ghuthachadh deiridh, ach gun dì-ghuthachadh ann an suidheachadh meadhain anns an tuiseal ghinideach: *Na Clibheadh* [nə ˈkʰlivəɣ] #132; agus SL *rifa* > GA *riobh*, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii), coim. an t-ainm-àite GA *An Riobh* [ə ˈɾu̥f],[ə ˈɾɪf], le dì-ghuthachadh, ach gun dì-ghuthachadh anns an tuiseal ghinideach: *Na Riobhadh* [nə ˈɾuvəɣ], [nə ˈɾɪvəɣ] #280.

§39 (ii) Dì-ghuthachadh toisich

Thèid dèiligeadh ri SL *v* thoisich (§25) aon chuid le dì-shèimheachadh le cùl-chinntinn §33 (ii), air neo le dì-ghuthachadh: SL *vaðil* cusp. > GA *fadhail* (#67); SL **Víð-vík* no **Við-vík* GA *Fìbhig* #185; LB **Víð-øy* > GA *Fuidheigh* (nMO) [ɸujaj], [fujɑj] (Beinn na Fadhla) (#67); LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA *Loch Bhatan Dìob* [ˌɬ̪ɔxˌfaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̥ʲiːb̥], a chluinnear air uairean seach [ˌɬ̪ɔxˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̥ʲiːb̥] (#63).

§39 (iii) Guthachadh toisich

Gheibhear guthachadh toisich ann an corra eisimpleir: GA **Bharbhas* *[ˈvaɾ̂ˌvas̪]

§39 became *Barbhas* [ˈbaɾ̂aˌvaʂ] via delenition) from CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. (contrast ScG *parbh, carbh* < CSc. **hvarf*) #47; ScG *Àird Bhianis* [ˌɑ·ɖˈvĩãˌniʃ], perhaps from **Àird Fianis*, perhaps with a loan-name from ON **Fé-nes* (#281, fn 649); ScG *Fileascleitir*, recorded as *Bilascleitear* (?< **Dùn Bhileascleitir* *[ˌd̪ʊ̃·nˈvilaˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ]) on the 1843–82 map #186; and ScG *Cnoc Bhileabhair* [ˌkʰɾõʰkˈvilaˌvəɾʲ], written (1843–82) *Cnoc Fillibhir Mhor*, (1932) *Filabhir*, (1934) *Vilifir* – perhaps from ON **Fyljavarða* (#186, fn 430).

§40 §40 Metathesis

The sounds in a word or name are occasionally transposed, e.g. (EG *luchorpán* >) ScG *luchorpan* > ScG *luchraban* (#175); OEng. *penning* > SG *pinginn* (> ScG *peighinn* (#269)); for further examples, see Calder 1972, 17–18.

There are several examples of Old Norse loan-names or loan-words where the same feature occurs, e.g.

§40 (i) *...l* > *l...*: ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* [ˈvĩn̪̊dəˌɬam] (#66, fn 139); ON **Ærholm* acc. > ScG *Eurlam* (MO) [jəːʟam] (#225); CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða* > EG *[ˈkɾoːβəɬˌsta̪ð] > EG *[ˈkɾoːβɬəˌsta̪ð] (> ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬəˌsta̪ɣ]) #151; *l...* > *...l*: ON **Kvísla* > ScG **Cùiseal* *[ˈkʰu̟ːʃəɬ̪] (#106); *...lm* > *l...m*: OWNorn **Krú-holm-vík* > ScG *[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əmˌviɠʲ] (> *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɠʲ]) #159; *m...l* > *l...m*: ON **Band*(*a*)*múla* acc. > ScG **Banndalum* *[ˈbə̃ũn̪̊dəˌɬum] ɬ̪əm] (#81); OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈbɾoɬ̪əm] #81; ON **Hest*(*a*)*holm* acc. > ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməʟ] (Benbecula) (#159); *t*(*n*)*l* > *lt*: ON **Vatnlausa* > EG *[ˈβat̪̊ɬoːʂ] > ScG *[ˈvaʰt̪ɬɔʂ] > *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪̊tɔʂ] #63.

§40 (ii) *...r* > *r...*: ON **Galtargil* > ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈg̊ɑɬ̪̊tɾəˌg̊ʲil] (Skye) (#188); *...r* > *r...*: ON **Stím-árvág* (> EG *[ʃtʲĩːmaːɾˌβaːɣ]) > ScG *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ] > *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩəmɾəˌvaɣ] #310; *...r* > *r...*: ON *þorsk* acc. > ScG *trosg* (#31 (i)); *...r* > *r...*: (*rnar* > *nnar* > *nnra*) ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌg̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410); *r...m* > *mr...*: ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *[ˈl̪̊ẽːɾamˌvaɣ] > *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪̊ẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235.

§40 (iii) *psd* > *stp* > *st...b*: OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪̊ũːʂt̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#216, fn 476); *ls* > *sl*: ON **Gilsá* > ScG *Giosladh* [ˈg̊ʲiʂɬ̪aɣ] #206; *s...m* > *m...s*: ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈvaɬ̪əˌməʂ] #61; *s...r* > *rs...*: CSc. *Rásarøyjar* > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾʂɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650); (*p*)*ts* > *st*: ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʰtʲʃaɬ̪] > *[ˈɾaʃtʲaɬ̪] (#199).

§40 (iv) *s...tr*: > *st...r*: OWNorn **Borg-sátr* > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̥ɔr̂(ɣ)əˌsta̪ɾ]; OWNorn **Ofansátr* > ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌsta̪ɾ]; OWNorn **-sátr* > ScG *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌsta̪ɾ]; OWNorn **-sátr* > ScG *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːʤ̊aˌsta̪ɾ] – although the development here may be the result of syncope in Old Norn (#296 + fnn 700–03).

(a chaidh na *Barbhas* [ˈbaɾ̂aˌvaʂ] le dì-shèimheachadh) à LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. (iomsgaraich GA *parbh, carbh* < LB **hvarf*) #47; GA *Àird Bhianis* [ˌɑ·ɖˈvĩãˌniʃ], 's dòcha à **Àird Fianis*, 's dòcha le ainm-iasaid à SL **Fé-nes* (#281, bn 649); GA *Fileascleitir*, a chaidh a chlàradh na *Bilascleitear* (?< **Dùn Bhileascleitir* *[ˌd̪ʊ̃·nˈvilaˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ]) air a' mhapa 1843–82 #186; agus GA *Cnoc Bhileabhair* [ˌkʰɾõʰkˈvilaˌvəɾʲ], air a sgrìobhadh (1843–82) *Cnoc Fillibhir Mhor*, (1932) *Filabhir*, (1934) *Vilifir* – 's dòcha à SL **Fyljavarða* (#186, bn 430). §39

§40 Eadar-chàradh §40

Air uairean, thèid fuaimean ann am facal ath-shuidheachadh, m.e. (GT *luchorpán* >) GA *luchorpan* > GA *luchraban* (#175); SBrl. *penning* > SG *pinginn* (> GA *peighinn* (#269)); airson tuilleadh eisimpleirean, faic Calder 1972, 17–18.

Tha corra eisimpleir de dh'ainmean- no facail-iasaid Lochlannais far an nochd an t-aon fheart, m.e.

§40 (i) *...l* > *l...*: SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA **Bhiondalam* [ˈvĩn̪̊dəˌɬam] (#66, bn 139); SL **Ærholm* cusp. > GA *Eurlam* (MO) [jəːʟam] (#225); LB **Hróðvaldsstaða* > GT *[ˈkɾoːβəɬˌsta̪ð] > GT *[ˈkɾoːβɬəˌsta̪ð] (> GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬəˌsta̪ɣ]) #151; *l...* > *...l*: SL **Kvísla* > GA **Cùiseal* *[ˈkʰu̟ːʃəɬ̪] (#106); *...lm* > *l...m*: SNòrnI **Krú-holm-vík* > GA *[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əmˌviɠʲ] (> *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɠʲ]) #159; *m...l* > *l...m*: SL **Band*(*a*)*múla* cusp. > GA **Banndalum* *[ˈbə̃ũn̪̊dəˌɬum] ɬ̪əm] (#81); SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈbɾoɬ̪əm] #81; SL **Hest*(*a*)*holm* cusp. > GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməʟ] (Beinn na Fadhla) (#159); *t*(*n*)*l* > *lt*: SL **Vatnlausa* > GT *[ˈβat̪̊ɬoːʂ] > GA *[ˈvaʰt̪ɬɔʂ] > *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪̊tɔʂ] #63.

§40 (ii) *...r* > *r...*: SL **Galtargil* > GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈg̊ɑɬ̪̊tɾəˌg̊ʲil] (an t-Eilean Sgitheanach) (#188); *...r* > *r...*: SL **Stím-árvág* (> GT *[ʃtʲĩːmaːɾˌβaːɣ]) > GA *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ] > *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩəmɾəˌvaɣ] #310; *...r* > *r...*: SL *þorsk* cusp. > GA *trosg* (#31 (i)); *...r* > *r...*: (*rnar* > *nnar* > *nnra*) SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌg̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410); *r...m* > *mr...*: SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *[ˈl̪̊ẽːɾamˌvaɣ] > *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪̊ẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235.

§40 (iii) *psd* > *stp* > *st...b*: SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪̊ũːʂt̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#216, bn 476); *ls* > *sl*: SL **Gilsá* > GA *Giosladh* [ˈg̊ʲiʂɬ̪aɣ] #206; *s...m* > *m...s*: SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈvaɬ̪əˌməʂ] #61; *s...r* > *rs...*: LB **Rásarøyjar* > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾʂɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650); (*p*)*ts* > *st*: SL **Raptsfjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʰtʲʃaɬ̪] > *[ˈɾaʃtʲaɬ̪] (#199).

§40 (iv) *s...tr*: > *st...r*: SNòrnI **Borg-sátr* > GA *Borghastar* [ˈb̥ɔr̂(ɣ)əˌsta̪ɾ]; SNòrnI **Ofansátr* > GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌsta̪ɾ]; SNòrnI **-sátr* > GA *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌsta̪ɾ]; SNòrnI **-sátr* > GA *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːʤ̊aˌsta̪ɾ] – ged a dh'fhaodas an leasachadh a tha seo a bhith mar thoradh air teasgadh meadhain san t-Seann Nòrn (#296 + bnn 700–03).

§41 §41 Vowel reduction

§41 (i) Long vowels are shortened in weakly stressed or unstressed syllables in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. EG *scolóc* > ScG *sgalag* (#98):

§41 (i) (a) In ScG *ceann* + *mòr* > *ceannmhor* (#118).

§41 (i) (b) In Old Norse loans, e.g. ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > EG **[ˈbɾʲeːˑaːˌsklʰtʲ] > ScG [ˈbɾʲeˑaˌsklʰtʲ] > *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲiˑaˌsklʰtʲ] #79; ON **Há-sætr* > EG **[ˈhaːˌʃeːdɐr] (?> ScG **[ˈhaːˌʃadɐr]) > ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃadɐr] #324 (contrast in fully stressed position, ON **Sætr* > ScG *Siadar* [ˈʃiadɐr] #296); ON **Straum-óss* > ScG *Sròmas* [ˈsˌtɾɔ̃ːˌmas] #307; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > EG **[ˈʃeːˌboːɬstað] > **[ˈʃeːˌboːst] > ScG *Siabost* **[ˈʃiaˌbɔst] #295; ON **Þrælafjall* > EG **[ˈθɾeːlaˌfʲiaɬ] > EG **[ˈθɾeːlaˌfʲɑːɬ] > ScG *Trialabhal* [ˈtʰriaɬəˌvaɬ] (#295); ON **Toptarhól* acc. > EG **[ˈtˌo(ɸ)tˌər(h)oːl] > ScG *Totarol* [ˈtʰoʰtəˌrɔl], [ˈtʰoʰtəˌraɬ] #339 §43;[1] ON **Vatnlausa* > EG **[ˈβatɬoːs] > ScG **[ˈvaʰtɬɔs] > *Bhaltos* [ˈvaɬtɔs] #63 §40 (i). However, final ON *-stein* acc. apparently yields [ə] in Gaelic, e.g. ON **Bugsstein* acc. > ScG *Bùistean* [ˈbuːˌʃtʲən] (#116).[2]

§41 (ii) Stressed vowels shortened before hiatus

In a few Scottish Gaelic words, a long vowel is shortened before hiatus, e.g. OG *móu* > ScG *motha* [ˈmũ-u], [ˈmõ-o] 'larger' and EG *gnó* m., cf. ScG *gnothach* [ˈgɾõ-ɔx] 'business' (contrast Ir. *gnóthach* adj.).

Shortening before hiatus is also found in Old Norse loans, e.g. ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > EG **[ˈbɾʲeːˑaːˌsklʰtʲ] > ScG **[ˈbɾʲeˑaˌsklʰtʲ] > *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲiˑaˌsklʰtʲ] #79 §37 (i) (c); ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈbu̯-u̯ˌniʃ] #89; ON **Króar* > ScG *Crothair* [ˈkʰrɔˑəɾʲ] #157; ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰrɔˑəɾʲˌgʲɑɾi] #158; ON **Kvíar* > EG **[kᵘiːˑəɾ] > **[kᵘiˑəɾ] > ScG *Cuidhir* [kʰu̯iəɾ] #161; ON **Lægð-á* > EG **[ˈʎɛːɣðˌaː] > **[ˈʎɛːˌaː] > ScG **[ˈʎɛˑa] (#153); CSc. **Rásarøyjar* > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* (with metathesis §40 (iii)) > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈrɑˑɑrʂɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650); ON **Rauðaskarð* > EG **[ˈrɔːðəˌsˌkəɾʲ] > **[ˈrɔːˑəˌsˌkəɾʲ] > ScG *Rothasgair* **[ˈrɔˑəˌsˌkəɾʲ] #282; and ON **Sauðafjall* > EG **[ˈsˌoːðəˌfʲiaɬ] > ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈsˌɔˑəˌvaɬ] (#303).

§42 §42 Vowel Epenthesis

The term EPENTHESIS refers to the addition of a sound or sounds to a word. Of vocalic epenthesis §23, two types are identified here: STRESSLESS EPENTHESIS §42 (i) and STRESSED EPENTHESIS (svarabhakti) §42 (ii). The distinction between the two types of epenthesis can be seen in, on the one hand ScG

1. For ScG *Abhainn Thotaroil* (nMO) [ãviɲ' ˈhohtərəl̪ˠ], [ãviɲ' ˈhoˠhtərəl̪], see #339.

2. It appears that [a] in ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG *Dùn Èistean* -[ˈeːʃtʲan] #171 is the result of assimilation to the man's name ScG *Ùisdean* [ˈuːʃtʲan] §37 (ii) (g).

§41 Lùghdachadh fuaimreige §41

§41 (i) Thèid fuaimreagan fada a ghiorrachadh ann an lidean lag- no neo-bheumte ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, m.e. GT *scolóc* > GA *sgalag* (#98):

§41 (i) (a) Ann an GA *ceann* + *mòr* > *ceannmhor* (#118).

§41 (i) (b) Ann an iasadan Lochlannais, m.e. SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GT **[ˈbɾʲeːˑaːˌsklʰtʲ] > GA [ˈbɾʲeˑaˌsklʰtʲ] > *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲiˑaˌsklʰtʲ] #79; SL **Há-sætr* > GT **[ˈhaːˌʃeːdɐr] (?> GA **[ˈhaːˌʃadɐr]) > GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃadɐr] #324 (iomsgaraich ann an suidheachadh làn-bheumte, SL **Sætr* > GA *Siadar* [ˈʃiadɐr] #296); SL **Straum-óss* > GA *Sròmas* [ˈsˌtɾɔ̃ːˌmas] #307; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GT **[ˈʃeːˌboːɬstað] > **[ˈʃeːˌboːst] > GA *Siabost* **[ˈʃiaˌbɔst] #295; SL **Þrælafjall* > GT **[ˈθɾeːlaˌfʲiaɬ] > GT **[ˈθɾeːlaˌfʲɑːɬ] > GA *Trialabhal* [ˈtʰriaɬəˌvaɬ] (#295); SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GT **[ˈtˌo(ɸ)tˌər(h)oːl] > GA *Totarol* [ˈtʰoʰtəˌrɔl], [ˈtʰoʰtəˌraɬ] #339 §43;[1] SL **Vatnlausa* > GT **[ˈβatɬoːs] > GA **[ˈvaʰtɬɔs] > *Bhaltos* [ˈvaɬtɔs] #63 §40 (i). Gidheadh, is coltach gun toir SL *-stein* cusp. deiridh [ə] sa Ghàidhlig, m.e. SL **Bugsstein* cusp. > GA *Bùistean* [ˈbuːˌʃtʲən] (#116).[2]

§41 (ii) Fuaimreagan beumte air an giorrachadh ro bheàrnas

Ann am beagan fhacal ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, thèid fuaimreag fhada a ghiorrachadh ro bheàrnas, m.e. SG *móu* > GA *motha* [ˈmũ-u], [ˈmõ-o] agus GT *gnó* f., coim. GA *gnothach* [ˈgɾõ-ɔx] (iomsgaraich GE *gnóthach* buadh.).

Gheibhear giorrachadh ro bheàrnas ann an iasadan Lochlannais cuideachd, m.e. SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GT **[ˈbɾʲeːˑaːˌsklʰtʲ] > GA **[ˈbɾʲeˑaˌsklʰtʲ] > *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲiˑaˌsklʰtʲ] #79 §37 (i) (c); SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈbu̯-u̯ˌniʃ] #89; SL **Króar* > GA *Crothair* [ˈkʰrɔˑəɾʲ] #157; SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰrɔˑəɾʲˌgʲɑɾi] #158; SL **Kvíar* > GT **[kᵘiːˑəɾ] > **[kᵘiˑəɾ] > GA *Cuidhir* [kʰu̯iəɾ] #161; SL **Lægð-á* > GT **[ˈʎɛːɣðˌaː] > **[ˈʎɛːˌaː] > ScG **[ˈʎɛˑa] (#153); LB **Rásarøyjar* > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* (le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii)) > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈrɑˑɑrʂɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650); SL **Rauðaskarð* > GT **[ˈrɔːðəˌsˌkəɾʲ] > **[ˈrɔːˑəˌsˌkəɾʲ] > GA *Rothasgair* **[ˈrɔˑəˌsˌkəɾʲ] #282; agus SL **Sauðafjall* > GT **[ˈsˌoːðəˌfʲiaɬ] > GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈsˌɔˑəˌvaɬ] (#303).

§42 Còmhnadh fuaimreige §42

Tha CÒMHNADH a' ciallachadh a bhith a' cur fuaim no fhuaimean ri facal. A thaobh còmhnadh fuaimreige §23, sònraichear dà sheòrsa an seo: CÒMHNADH NEO-BHEUMTE §42 (i) agus CÒMHNADH BEUMTE (svarabhakti) §42 (ii). Chithear an diofar eadar an dà sheòrsa còmhnaidh, air an dàrna làimh ann an GA

1. Airson GA *Abhainn Thotaroil* (nMO) [ãviɲ' ˈhohtərəl̪ˠ], [ãviɲ' ˈhoˠhtərəl̪], faic #339.

2. Is coltach gu bheil [a] ann an SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA *Dùn Èistean* -[ˈeːʃtʲan] #171 mar thoradh air co-choslachadh ris an ainm fireannaich GA *Ùisdean* [ˈuːʃtʲan] §37 (ii) (g).

§42 *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃad̪ər] (< ScG *[ˈl̪ãĩmʲˌʃad̪ər] < ON **Lamb-sætr* #232), with medial [ə] an example of unstressed epenthesis, and on the other hand ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈgrʉ̃ĩmʉ̃ĩˌʃad̪ər] (< ON **Gromssætr* #224), where stressed epenthesis occurs between *m* and *s*.[3]

§42 (i) Stressless epenthesis

Stressless epenthesis is found between consonants not normally juxtaposed and/or in order to facilitate the pronunciation of a series of sounds.

§42 (i) (a) In Gaelic names

ScG *Àird Mhiasaid* [ˌaːrˈd̪(ə) ˈvĩəsiˌd̪ʲ] (#31 (i), fn 63); ScG *Allt a' Chloichraid* ?for **Allt Chloichraid* (#289, fn 676); ScG *cèise-ball* [ˈkʲʰeːʃəˌb̪aul̪] < late MScots *caitchpell* etc. (#156); ScG *Cnoc Chuidhir* (nMO) [krõhk ə xujið] (#161 + fn 340); ScG **Cnoc Griama* *[kʰɾõʰkə ˈgɾʲĩəm] (#223); ScG *Iseabail* [ˈiʃəb̪al] < Eng. *Ishbel* (#156); ScG *Loch Gainmhich* [ˌl̪ɔxə ˈgãnn̪̆viç] #241; ScG *Loch Ròg* [ˌl̪ɔx(ə) ˈɾɔːg̊] (#107); ScG *Loch Shiadair* [ˌl̪ɔxə ˈhiad̪ərʲ] #242.

§42 (i) (b) Within Old Norse loan-names

ON **Alpt-nes* > ScG (1) *[ˈal̪t̪ˌnʲiʃ] > *[ˈal̪t̪ˌniʃ] > [ˈal̪t̪əˌniʃ], (2) [ˈal̪t̪ˌnʲiʃ] > [ˈaiɲ̊tʲˌnʲiʃ] > *Ailltinis* [ˈaiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #5; CSc. **Bergsøy* > ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̪eɾʲe-əs̪aj] #58; ON **Borg-stafn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃ɣəˌs̪t̪ɔn], [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; OWNorn **Borg-sátr* > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪ər] (#296, fn 701); ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* [ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] #10; ON **Fylsklettar* > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌs̪kleʰtʲər] #186; ON **Gilsá* > ScG *Giosladh* [ˈg̊ʲisl̪ˌɣ], [ˈg̊ʲisəˌl̪ɣ] #206 §40; ON **Grá-ássvík* no **Grá-óssvík* > ScG [ˈg̊ɾaːˌas̪ˌviˌg̊ʲ] > [ˈg̊ɾaˌas̪ˌviˌg̊ʲ] ?> *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviˌg̊ʲ] #218; ON **Há-klett* cusp. > ScG *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ], but (nMO) [tʻaːhkəlɛɣˈ] #317; CSc. **Hjallsøy* > ScG *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰaˌl̪əˌs̪aj] (#51); ON **Hreimsvág* cusp. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾɛ̃ːmsəˌvaɣ] (#25); ON **Hóp(s)sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰpˌs̪ən̪] #335; CSc. **Hópsøy* > ScG *Òpasaigh* [ɔːhpəsɛj] (Borgstrøm 1940, 218); CSc. **Hvalsøy* > ScG *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvaˌl̪əˌs̪aj] #62; ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* and ON **Hvammsstein* acc. > ScG **Uamaistean* [ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] #311 (i); ON **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > ScG *[ˈkʰaɬ̪avəˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] > *[ˈkʰaɬ̪a-əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] > *Calbost* [ˈkʰaɬ̪aˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #93; ON **Kas-gróf* > ScG **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo], [ˈkʰas̪kəˌɾo] (#53); OWNorn or MWNorn **Kjal-kváll* > ScG [ˈkʲʰaɬ̪əˌg̊vɔl̪] #101; ON **Kross-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Lax-á* > ScG *Lacasaigh* [ˈl̪aʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪aʰkəˌs̪t̪əl̪] #231; ON **Rang-gróf* > ScG *[ˈɾãŋg̊ˌg̊ɾo] > [ˈɾãŋg̊əˌɾo]

3. Note that stressed epenthesis does not occur between *m* and *s* in *Laidhmiseadar*: stressed epenthesis is prevented in Gaelic after long vowels, cf. ScG *àrmann* m. (HD) [aːrːmən] (i.e. [aːɾːməɲ̊]) < ON *ármann*, accusative of ON *ármaðr* m. 'hero', but ScG *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃amɔd̪̊], the man's name from ON *Þormund* acc. m. (#93).

Laidhmiseadar [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃad̪ər] (< GA *[ˈl̪ãĩmʲˌʃad̪ər] < SL **Lamb-sætr* #232), agus [ə] mheadhain na h-eisimpleir de chòmhnadh neo-bheumte, agus air an làimh eile GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈg̊ɾʉ̃ĩmʉ̃ĩˌʃad̪ər] (< SL **Gromssætr* #224), far an nochd còmhnadh beumte eadar *m* agus *s*.[3] §42

§42 (i) Còmhnadh neo-bheumte

Gheibhear còmhnadh neo-bheumte eadar connragan nach lorgar an gar a chèile mar as trice agus/no gus sreath de dh'fhuaimean a dhèanamh nas fhasa fhuaimneachadh.

§42 (i) (a) Ann an ainmean Gàidhlig

GA *Àird Mhiasaid* [ˌaːrˈd̪(ə) ˈvĩəsiˌd̪ʲ] (#31 (i), bn 63); GA *Allt a' Chloichraid* ?airson **Allt Chloichraid* (#289, bn 676); GA *cèise-ball* [ˈkʲʰeːʃəˌb̪aul̪] < MAlb. anmoch *caitchpell* ꟾc (#156); GA *Cnoc Chuidhir* (nMO) [krõhk ə xujið] (#161 + bn 340); GA **Cnoc Griama* *[kʰɾõʰkə ˈgɾʲĩəm] (#223); GA *Iseabail* [ˈiʃəb̪al] < Brl. *Ishbel* (#156); GA *Loch Gainmhich* [ˌl̪ɔxə ˈgãnn̪̆viç] #241; GA *Loch Ròg* [ˌl̪ɔx(ə) ˈɾɔːg̊] (#107); GA *Loch Shiadair* [ˌl̪ɔxə ˈhiad̪ərʲ] #242.

§42 (i) (b) Am broinn ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais

SL **Alpt-nes* > GA (1) *[ˈal̪t̪ˌnʲiʃ] > *[ˈal̪t̪ˌniʃ], (2) [ˈal̪t̪ˌnʲiʃ] > [ˈaiɲ̊tʲˌnʲiʃ] > *Ailltinis* [ˈaiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #5; LB **Bergsøy* > GA *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̪eɾʲe-əs̪aj] #58; SL **Borg-stafn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃ɣəˌs̪t̪ɔn], [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; SNòrnI **Borg-sátr* > GA *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪ər] (#296, bn 701); SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* [ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] #10; SL **Fylsklettar* > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌs̪kleʰtʲər] #186; SL **Gilsá* > GA *Giosladh* [ˈg̊ʲisl̪ˌɣ], [ˈg̊ʲisəˌl̪ɣ] #206 §40; SL **Grá-ássvík* no **Grá-óssvík* > GA [ˈg̊ɾaːˌas̪ˌviˌg̊ʲ] > [ˈg̊ɾaˌas̪ˌviˌg̊ʲ] ?> *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviˌg̊ʲ] #218; SL **Há-klett* cusp. > GA *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ], ach (nMO) [tʻaːhkəlɛɣˈ] #317; LB **Hjallsøy* > GA *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰaˌl̪əˌs̪aj] (#51); SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾɛ̃ːmsəˌvaɣ] (#25); SL **Hóp(s)sund* > GA *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰpˌs̪ən̪] #335; LB **Hópsøy* > GA *Òpasaigh* [ɔːhpəsɛj] (Borgstrøm 1940, 218); LB **Hvalsøy* > GA *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvaˌl̪əˌs̪aj] #62; SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* agus SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. > GA **Uamaistean* [ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] #311 (i); SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *[ˈkʰaɬ̪avəˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] > *[ˈkʰaɬ̪a-əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] > *Calbost* [ˈkʰaɬ̪aˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #93; SL **Kas-gróf* > GA **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo], [ˈkʰas̪kəˌɾo] (#53); SNòrnI no MNòrnI **Kjal-kváll* > GA [ˈkʲʰaɬ̪əˌg̊vɔl̪] #101; SL **Kross-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Lax-á* > GA *Lacasaigh* [ˈl̪aʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; SL **Lax-dal* cusp. > GA *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪aʰkəˌs̪t̪əl̪] #231; SL **Rang-gróf* > GA *[ˈɾãŋg̊ˌg̊ɾo] > [ˈɾãŋg̊əˌɾo]

3. Mothaich nach fhaighear còmhnadh beumte eadar *m* agus *s* ann an *Laidhmiseadar*: thèid còmhnadh beumte a bhacadh sa Ghàidhlig an dèidh fhuaimreagan fada, coim. GA *àrmann* f. (HD) [aːrːmən] (.i. [aːɾːməɲ̊]) < SL *ármann*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *ármaðr* f. 'gaisgeach', ach GA *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃amɔd̪̊], an t-ainm fireannaich à SL *Þormund* cusp. f. (#93).

§42 > [ˈɾɑ̃ŋgə̥ˌɾo] (#59); ON **Rokk-borg* > GT *[ˈɾɔkˌbɔɾɣ] > *[ˈɾɔkˌbɔɾ̊ɣ] > ScG *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɔɾə] > *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, fn 94); ON **Sand-vík* > GT *[ˈs̪ɑ̃n̪d̪ˌβʲiːgʲ] > ScG *[ˈs̪ɑ̃ũn̪̊d̪ˌβiə̯ʲ] > *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ɑ̃ũn̪̊d̪əˌviə̯ʲ] #285; ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ], [ˈʃeiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #299; ON **Skegg-nes* > GT *[ˈs̪kʲegʲˌnʲiʃ] > ScG **Sgeiginis* [ˈs̪kʲeə̯ʲəˌniʃ] (#294); ON **Smogsvík* > GT *[ˈs̪mõːʃˌβʲiːgʲ] > ScG *[ˈs̪mõːʃəˌviə̯ʲ] > *Smuaisibhig* [ˈs̪mũaʃəˌviə̯ʲ] #302; ON **Straum-nes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃ːməˌniʃ] (#203, fn 452); ON *torf-skeri* > ScG *[ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aʃˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] > *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] (#93); CSc. **Vágsøy* > ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60. For ON (-)*sætr* > ScG (-)*s*(*e*)*adar*, see §72 (vii).

§42 (i) (c) Epenthesis in Old Norse names

In a few situations, it appears that epenthesis may have occurred in Old Norse forms before they were borrowed into Gaelic: ON **Kol-gjá* > ScG *Cailigeadh* [ˈkʰaliˌg̊ʲaɣ] (#93); ON **Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), fn 65).

§42 (ii) Stressed epenthesis

In stressed epenthesis, the stress and quality of a short vowel in the first syllable of a word or name is repeated if followed by *l*, *m*, *n* or *r* + one of a number of particular consonants (Cox 2017, 16–18; Oftedal 1956, 25–31, 140–43); traditionally, this epenthetic vowel is not written in Scottish Gaelic.[4]

§42 (ii) (a) ON *l* + *b*: ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɬ̪̃ɑ̃ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248;

§42 (ii) (b) ON *l* + *f*: ON **Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̊ˌs̪t̪ɑɣ] #331; and where the stressed epenthesis is reduced in weakly stressed position: ON **Ulf*(*a*)*poll* acc. > ScG *[ˈuɬ̪uˌ(-ə)ˌb̥əɬ̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈuɬ̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#222, fn 494);

§42 (ii) (c) ON *l* + *m*: ON **Holm* acc. > ScG *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̊m] #330;

§42 (ii) (d) ON *m* + *n*: OWNorn **hamn* > ScG *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰɑ̃m̃ɑ̃n] (#315 (iii));

§42 (ii) (e) ON *m* + *s*: ON **Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈg̊ɾũ̟m̃ʊ̟̃ˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #224; SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰɯ̃m̃ɯ̃ˌʃkʲɑʀi] #342.

§42 (ii) (f) ON *r* + *ð*: ON **Garð*(*r*)*inn milli Vatna* (acc.) > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̂ɔmiʎ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON *urð* > ScG **urrdh* *[ˈuɾ̂ʊɣ] (#182, fn 413);

4. Hence *Barbhas* (rather than *Barabhas*) #47, *Mealbost* (rather than *Mealabost*) #248 etc., cf. ScG *tarbh* 'bull', *Alba* 'Scotland' etc.

§42 (#59); SL **Rokk-borg* > GT *[ˈɾɔkˌbɔɾɣ] > *[ˈɾɔkˌbɔɾ̊ɣ] > GA *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɔɾə] > *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, bn 94); SL **Sand-vík* > GT *[ˈs̪ɑ̃n̪d̪ˌβʲiːgʲ] > GA *[ˈs̪ɑ̃ũn̪̊d̪ˌβiə̯ʲ] > *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ɑ̃ũn̪̊d̪əˌviə̯ʲ] #285; SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ], [ˈʃeiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #299; SL **Skegg-nes* > GT *[ˈs̪kʲegʲˌnʲiʃ] > GA **Sgeiginis* [ˈs̪kʲeə̯ʲəˌniʃ] (#294); SL **Smogsvík* > GT *[ˈs̪mõːʃˌβʲiːgʲ] > GA *[ˈs̪mõːʃəˌviə̯ʲ] > *Smuaisibhig* [ˈs̪mũaʃəˌviə̯ʲ] #302; SL **Straum-nes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃ːməˌniʃ] (#203, bn 452); SL *torf-skeri* > GA *[ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aʃˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] > *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] (#93); LB **Vágsøy* > GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60. Airson SL (-)*sætr* > GA (-)*s*(*e*)*adar*, faic §72 (vii).

§42 (i) (c) Còmhnadh ann an ainmean Lochlannais

Ann an corra shuidheachadh, is coltach gur dòcha gun do dh'èirich còmhnadh sna cruthan Lochlannais mus deach iad air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig: SL **Kol-gjá* > GA *Cailigeadh* [ˈkʰaliˌg̊ʲaɣ] (#93); SL **Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), bn 65).

§42 (ii) Còmhnadh beumte

Ann an còmhnadh beumte, thèid am beum agus am feart aig fuaimreig ghoirid ann an ciad lide facail no ainme ath-aithris ma thèid a leantainn le *l*, *m*, *n* no *r* + tè de chaochladh chonnragan àraidh (Cox 2017, 16–18; Oftedal 1956, 25–31, 140–43); gu dualchasach, cha sgrìobhar an fhuaimreag còmhnaidh seo ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann.[4]

§42 (ii) (a) SL *l* + *b*: SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɬ̪̃ɑ̃ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248;

§42 (ii) (b) SL *l* + *f*: SL **Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̊ˌs̪t̪ɑɣ] #331; agus far an deach an còmhnadh beumte a lùghdachadh ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SL **Ulf*(*a*)*poll* cusp. > GA *[ˈuɬ̪uˌ(-ə)ˌb̥əɬ̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈuɬ̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#222, bn 494);

§42 (ii) (c) SL *l* + *m*: SL **Holm* cusp. > GA *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̊m] #330;

§42 (ii) (d) SL *m* + *n*: SNòrnI **hamn* > GA *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰɑ̃m̃ɑ̃n] (#315 (iii));

§42 (ii) (e) SL *m* + *s*: SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈg̊ɾũ̟m̃ʊ̟̃ˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #224; SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰɯ̃m̃ɯ̃ˌʃkʲɑʀi] #342.

§42 (ii) (f) SL *r* + *ð*: SL **Garð*(*r*)*inn milli Vatna* (cusp.) > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̂ɔmiʎ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL *urð* > GA **urrdh* *[ˈuɾ̂ʊɣ] (#182, bn 413);

4. Às a sin *Barbhas* (seach *Barabhas*) #47, *Mealbost* (seach *Mealabost*) #248 ⁊c, coim. GA *tarbh*, *Alba* ⁊c.

§42 §42 (ii) (g) ON *r* + *f*: CSc. **hvarf* > ScG *carbh* or *parbh* ['kʰaɾav] or [pʰaɾav] (#47 (i)–#47 (ii)); CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* ['b̪aɾˌavs̪] #47; ON *karfa* acc. > ScG *carbh* ['kʰaɾav] (#47 (iii)); ON *skarf* acc. > ScG *sgarbh* ['s̪kaɾav] (#107); ON **Torf-á* > ScG **Tarbhaigh* *['t̪ʰaɾˌvaj] (#115); ON **Torfastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* ['t̪ʰɔɾˌs̪taj] #337; and where the stressed epenthesis is reduced in weakly stressed position: CSc. **Orfirisøy* > ScG *Orasaigh* *['ɔɾ-əˌs̪ɛj] > ['ɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259;

§42 (ii) (h) ON *r* + *g*: ON **Band*(*a*)*bergi* dat. > ScG *Banndabeirgh* ['b̥ãũn̪d̥əˌb̥øɾʲøj] (#58); ON *bergi* dat. > ScG *beirgh* ['b̥eɾʲej] (#57); ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾʲøj 'l̪ɑːɣə] (#58); CSc. **Bergsøy* > ScG *Beirgheasaigh* ['b̥eɾʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58; ON **Berg-rá* > ScG *Beirghro* ['b̥eɾʲeˌɾo] #59; ON **Bergsgjá* > ScG *Beirghsgeadh* ['b̥øɾʲøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); ON **Borg* > ScG *Borgh* ['b̥ɔɾɣ] #68; OWNorn **Borg-sátr* (< ON **Borg-sætr*) > ScG *Borghastar* ['b̥ɔɾ(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪ər] (#296, fn 701); ON **Borg-stafn* > ScG *Borghaston* ['b̥ɔɾ-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; ON *dorg* > ScG *dorgh* ['d̥ɔɾɣ] (#47); ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* ['tʲʰid̥əˌb̥ɔɾ(ɣ)] #329; and where the stressed epenthesis is reduced in weakly stressed position: ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə 'g̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] #48; ON **Heið-berg* acc. > ScG **Thèibeirgh* *['heːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); ON **Rokk-borg* > GT *['ɾɔkˌbɔɾɣ] > *['ɾɔkˌbɔɾ̥ɣ] > ScG *Rocabarra* *['ɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɔɾə] > ['ɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, fn 94);

§42 (ii) (i) ON *r* + *m*: ON *Þormund* acc. > ScG *Tormod* ['t̪ʰaɾ̥amɔd̥] (#93);

§42 (ii) (j) ON *r* + *v*: ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* ['kʲʰiɾ̥ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124.

§43 §43 Vowel alternation

§43 (i) ScG *o* ~ *a*
There is a fairly frequent tendency for stressed *o* to become *a* in Lewis Gaelic dialects (Borgstrøm 1940, 199–201; Oftedal 1956, 53–56), e.g. ScG *doras* m. ['d̥aɾəs̪] (EG *dorus*). For ScG (gen.) *cloidh* ['kʰl̪̊ɔj] rather than *claidh* *['kʰl̪̊ɑj], see #209.

§43 (i) (a) In fully stressed position:

§43 (i) (a) (α) In Old Norse loan-words: ScG *Tormod* ['t̪ʰaɾ̥amɔd̥] < ON *Þormund* acc. (#93); ScG *tarfhsgeir* ['t̪ʰaɾ̥aˌʃkʲəɾʲ] ON *torf-skeri* m. (#93).

§43 (i) (a) (β) In Old Norse loan-names: ScG *Adabroc* ['ad̥əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] < ON **Oddabrokka*; ScG *Aiginis* ['aɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ] < ON **Ok-nes*, and ['æɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ], ['ɛɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ], with vocalic inflection before the palatal #4; ScG *Amhastar* < OWNorn **Ofansátr* (#296, fn 700); ScG *Cabharstaidh* ['kʰavəˌs̪taj] < ON **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð*

§42 §42 (ii) (g) SL *r* + *f*: LB **hvarf* > GA *carbh* no *parbh* ['kʰaɾav] no [pʰaɾav] (#47 (i)–#47 (ii)); LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* ['b̪aɾˌavs̪] #47; SL *karfa* cusp. > GA *carbh* ['kʰaɾav] (#47 (iii)); SL *skarf* cusp. > GA *sgarbh* ['s̪kaɾav] (#107); SL **Torf-á* > GA **Tarbhaigh* *['t̪ʰaɾˌvaj] (#115); SL **Torfastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* ['t̪ʰɔɾˌs̪taj] #337; agus far an deach an còmhnadh beumte a lagachadh ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: LB **Orfirisøy* > GA *Orasaigh* *['ɔɾ-əˌs̪ɛj] > ['ɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259;

§42 (ii) (h) SL *r* + *g*: SL **Band*(*a*)*bergi* tabh. > GA *Banndabeirgh* ['b̥ãũn̪d̥əˌb̥øɾʲøj] (#58); SL *bergi* tabh. > GA *beirgh* ['b̥eɾʲej] (#57); SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾʲøj 'l̪ɑːɣə] (#58); LB **Bergsøy* > GA *Beirgheasaigh* ['b̥eɾʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58; SL **Berg-rá* > GA *Beirghro* ['b̥eɾʲeˌɾo] #59; SL **Bergsgjá* > GA *Beirghsgeadh* ['b̥øɾʲøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); SL **Borg* > GA *Borgh* ['b̥ɔɾɣ] #68; SNòrnI **Borg-sátr* (< SL **Borg-sætr*) > GA *Borghastar* ['b̥ɔɾ(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪ər] (#296, bn 701); SL **Borg-stafn* > GA *Borghaston* ['b̥ɔɾ-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; SL *dorg* > GA *dorgh* ['d̥ɔɾɣ] (#47); SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* ['tʲʰid̥əˌb̥ɔɾ(ɣ)] #329; agus far an deach an còmhnadh beumte a lagachadh ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə 'g̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] #48; SL **Heið-berg* cusp. > GA **Thèibeirgh* *['heːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); SL **Rokk-borg* > GT *['ɾɔkˌbɔɾɣ] > *['ɾɔkˌbɔɾ̥ɣ] > GA *Rocabarra* *['ɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɔɾə] > ['ɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, bn 94);

§42 (ii) (i) SL *r* + *m*: SL *Þormund* cusp. > GA *Tormod* ['t̪ʰaɾ̥amɔd̥] (#93);

§42 (ii) (j) SL *r* + *v*: SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* ['kʲʰiɾ̥ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124.

§43 §43 Iomlaid fuaimreige

§43 (i) GA *o* ~ *a*
Is dual gun tèid *o* bheumte na *a* ann an dualchainntean Gàidhlig Leòdhais gu cuibheasach tric (Borgstrøm 1940, 199–201; Oftedal 1956, 53–56), m.e. GA *doras* f. ['d̥aɾəs̪] (GT *dorus*). Airson GA (gin.) *cloidh* ['kʰl̪̊ɔj] seach *claidh* *['kʰl̪̊ɑj] (< *cladh*), faic #209.

§43 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh làn-bheumte:

§43 (i) (a) (α) Ann am facail-iasaid Lochlannais: GA *Tormod* ['t̪ʰaɾ̥amɔd̥] < SL *Þormund* cusp. (#93); GA *tarfhsgeir* ['t̪ʰaɾ̥aˌʃkʲəɾʲ] SL *torf-skeri* f. (#93).

§43 (i) (a) (β) Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais: GA *Adabroc* ['ad̥əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] < SL **Oddabrokka*; GA *Aiginis* ['aɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ] < SL **Ok-nes*, agus ['æɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ], ['ɛɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ], le mùthadh fuaimreige ron chàireanach #4; GA *Amhastar* < SNòrnI **Ofansátr* (#296, bn 700); GA *Cabharstaidh* ['kʰavəˌs̪taj] < SL **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð*

§43 #90; ScG *Càiriseadar* < ON **Kórasætr* #91; ScG *Capadal* < ON **Koppadal* acc. #97; *Càrnis* < ON **Korn-nes* #99; ScG **Drobhanis* [ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] < ON **Drag-nes* #10; ScG **Canaiseadar* < ON **Konungssætr* (#323); ScG *Làmadal* < ON **Lómadal* acc. (or **Lóm-dal*) #233; ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̪ɑɾə] < ON **Rokk-borg* (#48, fn 94); ScG **Tarbhaigh* < ON **Torf-á* (#115); ScG (1843–82) *Tolm* (nMO) [tʻɑɪàm] < ON **Holm* acc. #330; ScG *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂amɔd̪̊] < ON *Þormund* acc. (#93); and perhaps ScG *Caithiseadar* < ON **Kofasætr* #92 and ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* < ON **Kofagerði* (#253).

§43 (i) (a) (γ) Cf. [ɔu] /ɔu/ ~ [au] /ɑu/ in ON **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *[ˈkʰɾɔuɬ̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] > *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬ̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151.

§43 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position: ScG *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːg̊am] (< GT *[ˈkɾaːgaːm]) < ON **Krák-holm* acc. (#93, #330); SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ]; SL **Kofr(s)stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌs̪t̪aj]; SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvag̊] §37 (ii) (f); ScG *[ˈɾẽːˌmaɾ], *[ˈɾẽːˌmɔɾ] < ON **Reim-mór*, and > *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] before final [ɾʲ] #278; ScG *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] < ON **Straum-óss*; ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑɬ̪] < ON **Toptarhól* acc. #339.

§43 (ii) ScG *a* ~ *o*

Furthermore, there is some tendency for ScG *a* to become *o* beside labials in Lewis Gaelic dialects, e.g. ScG *bainne* m. [ˈb̪ɔ̃ɲ̪ə] ‘milk’ (EG *bannae*); ScG *gabhail* m. [ˈg̊ɔ-al] ‘taking; lease’ (EG *gaḃáil*):

§43 (ii) (a) In Old Norse loan-names: ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] < ON **Hámundsgróf* #328; ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvaɬ̪] ?< ON **Karlafjall* #98; ScG *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kəl] < ON **Marsgil* #257.

§43 (ii) (b) In Old Norse loan-words: ScG *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə] (< EG *saṁairle*) < ON *Sumarliði* (#311 (i), fn 733), §37 (ii) (e); ScG *Tòmod* < ON *Hámund*, accusative of the man’s name *Hámundr* m. §34.

§43 (iii) ScG *e* ~ *i*

If the Old Norse forms of the loan-names ScG **Sgeiginis* and *Sgiogarstaidh* #294 have the same specific (viz ON *skegg*), the alternation *e* ~ *i* in the one name but not in the other is unexpected, but cf. ScG *Clèid* [kʰleːd̪ʲ] #126 beside the specific in ScG *Loch Dubh Chlìd* [l̪ɔx ˌd̪u̪ ˈxliːd̪̊ʲ] (#127); note also ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈg̊ɾʲiag̊əˌs̪pɔɬ̪]; ON **Nes* > ScG *Nis* [ɲiʃ]; ON *sef* > ScG *siobh* *[ʃif] > *siobhag* [ˈʃifag̊]; ON **Geis-gil* > ScG *Gìsgil* (#203, fn 453).

§43 (iv) ScG *i* ~ *e*

ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̪ɛ̃nəˌs̪paʰk] < CSc. **Hvinsbakka* (#50) occurs, perhaps due to the influence of ScG *bean* ‘woman, wife’ §37 (i) (a).

§43 #90: GA *Càiriseadar* < SL **Kórasætr* #91; GA *Capadal* < SL **Koppadal* cusp. #97; *Càrnis* < SL **Korn-nes* #99; GA **Drobhanis* [ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] < SL **Drag-nes* #10; GA **Canaiseadar* < SL **Konungssætr* (#323); GA *Làmadal* < SL **Lómadal* cusp. (no **Lóm-dal*) #233; GA *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̪ɑɾə] < SL **Rokk-borg* (#48, bn 94); GA **Tarbhaigh* < SL **Torf-á* (#115); GA (1843–82) *Tolm* (nMO) [tʻɑɪàm] < SL **Holm* cusp. #330; GA *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂amɔd̪̊] < SL *Þormund* cusp. (#93); agus is dòcha GA *Caithiseadar* < SL **Kofasætr* #92 agus GA **Cadhaigearraidh* < SL **Kofagerði* (#253).

§43 (i) (a) (γ) Coim. [ɔu] /ɔu/ ~ [au] /ɑu/ ann an SL **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *[ˈkʰɾɔuɬ̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] > *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬ̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151.

§43 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: GA *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːg̊am] (< GT *[ˈkɾaːgaːm]) < SL **Krák-holm* cusp. (#93, #330); SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ]; SL **Kofr(s)stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌs̪t̪aj]; SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvag̊] §37 (ii) (f); GA *[ˈɾẽːˌmaɾ], *[ˈɾẽːˌmɔɾ] (> GA *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] ro [ɾʲ] dheiridh) < SL **Reim-mór*, agus #278; GA *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] < SL **Straum-óss*; GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑɬ̪] < SL **Toptarhól* cusp. #339.

§43 (ii) GA *a* ~ *o*

A thuilleadh, is dual gun tèid GA *a* na *o* ri taobh bhileach air uairean ann an dualchainntean Gàidhlig Leòdhais, m.e. GA *bainne* f. [ˈb̪ɔ̃ɲ̪ə] (GT *bannae*); GA *gabhail* f. [ˈg̊ɔ-al] (GT *gaḃáil*):

§43 (ii) (a) Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais: GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] < SL **Hámundsgróf* #328; GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvaɬ̪] ?< SL **Karlafjall* #98; GA *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kəl] < SL **Marsgil* #257.

§43 (ii) (b) Ann am facail-iasaid Lochlannais: GA *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə] (< GT *saṁairle*) < SL *Sumarliði* (#311 (i), fn 733), §37 (ii) (e); GA *Tòmod* < SL *Hámund*, tuiseal cuspaireach an ainm fireannaich *Hámundr* f. §34.

§43 (iii) GA *e* ~ *i*

Mas e an t-aon sònraichear a th’ aig cruthan Lochlannais nan ainmean-iasaid GA **Sgeiginis* agus *Sgiogarstaidh* #294 (.i. SL *skegg*), cha shùilichear an iomlaid *e* ~ *i* san dàrna h-ainm gun a bhith ga faicinn san ainm eile, ach coim. GA *Clèid* [kʰleːd̪ʲ] #126 ri taobh an t-sònraicheir ann an GA *Loch Dubh Chlìd* [l̪ɔx ˌd̪u̪ ˈxliːd̪̊ʲ] (#127); agus mothaich SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈg̊ɾʲiag̊əˌs̪pɔɬ̪]; SL **Nes* > GA *Nis* [ɲiʃ]; SL *sef* > GA *siobh* *[ʃif] > *siobhag* [ˈʃifag̊]; SL **Geis-gil* > GA *Gìsgil* (#203, bn 453).

§43 (iv) GA *i* ~ *e*

Gheibhear GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̪ɛ̃nəˌs̪paʰk] < LB **Hvinsbakka* (#50), is dòcha fo bhuaidh GA *bean* §37 (i) (a).

§43 §43 (v) ScG *o* ~ *u*

The alternation *o* ~ *u* occurs in ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* *[ˌɛɾʲə ˈs̪oɬt̪] > [ˌɛɾʲə ˈs̪uɬt̪] (#180, fn 399); ON **Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈgɾʊm̆ˌʃad̪ɐɾ] #224, with raising before an original palatal consonant cluster; and uncertain examples in ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɫəˌviɣʲ] < ON **Kró-holm-vík* (unless the name is from OWNorn **Krú-holm-vík*) #159 and ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈgʲuːˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] < ON **Gjórsætr* #207.

§43 (vi) ScG *u* ~ *o*

Similarly doubtful is ON *hrúga* > ScG *ròghˌ* [ɾɔːˌ], with apocope §44 (iii) (*An Ròghˌ* [ə ˈɾɔːˌ]); contrast ON *hrúga* > ScG **rùgha* *[ɾuːɣə] > *[ɾuːˌ-ə] (> *rùghan* [ɾuːˌ-an] (#175, fn 385)). Perhaps also in OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈbɾoɫ̪əm].

§43 (vii) Monosyllables ~ disyllables

There are several examples where alternation between a monosyllable and a disyllable occur. (For hiatus in Lewis Gaelic and the value of the hyphen in phonetic transcriptions in the following, see §22.)

§43 (vii) (a) Diphthongs ~ disyllables: As explained in #251 (i), the pairs [ia] ~ [i-a] etc. below are distinguished in the dialect by tone alone, the tone rising on the second element of the diphthong but falling on the second element of the disyllable: ScG *Briacleit* [ˈbɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] > [ˈbɾʲi-aˌkleʰtʲ] #78; ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] > [ˈbɾʲiaˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; ScG *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃad̪ɐɾ] > [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̪ɐɾ] #92; ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̯-iˌʃad̪ɐɾ] > [ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ɐɾ] #162; ScG *Iarsadar* [ˈiaˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] > [ˈi-aˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] #225; ScG *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɣ̊] > [ˈmĩ-ãvaɣ̊] #251 (i).

§43 (vii) (b) Long monophthongs ~ disyllables: Alternation also occurs between long monophthongs and disyllables: ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈgʲuːˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] ?> *[ˈgʲu-əˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] #207; ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈbɾa-aˌɣ̊əɾʲ] > [ˈbɾaːˌɣ̊əɾʲ] #74; ScG *Bùistean* [ˈbu̯ːˌʃtʲən] > [ˈbu̯-iˌʃtʲən] (#116); ScG *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] ~ *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] #303; ScG *Thùbridh* (MM) [ˈhʉːˌb̥ɾi] ~ [ˈhʉ-øˌb̥ɾi] (#58, fn 114).

§44 §44 Loss of vowels

§44 (i) Aphaeresis

In everyday speech, an initial vowel in the Gaelic article is frequently dropped, e.g. ScG *An Àird* (nMO) [ɴ̥ˈɑːd̪̊] #12, fn 24; *A' Chlibh* (nMO) [xlif] #132, fn 290; and *An Dùn* (nMO) [ɴ̥ˈũ̯ːn̪̊] #170.

§44 (ii) Syncope

As Oftedal notes (#93), longer Old Norse names can hardly avoid contraction in Gaelic, e.g. CSc. **Orfirisøy* > GA *Orasaigh* (*[ˈɔɾ͡ɔ-əs̪æj] >) [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259 and

§43 §43 (v) GA *o* ~ *u*

Gheibhear an iomlaid GA *o* ~ *u* ann an SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* *[ˌɛɾʲə ˈs̪oɬt̪] > [ˌɛɾʲə ˈs̪uɬt̪] (#180, bn 399); SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈgɾʊm̆ˌʃad̪ɐɾ] #224, le àrdachadh ro chòmhlan connraig càireanach tùsail; agus eisimpleirean neo-chinnteach ann an GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɫəˌviɣʲ] < SL **Kró-holm-vík* (mana h-ann à SNòrnI **Krú-holm-vík* a tha e) #159 agus GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈgʲuːˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] < SL **Gjórsætr* #207.

§43 (vi) GA *u* ~ *o*

A cheart cho teagmhach, tha SL *hrúga* > GA *ròghˌ* [ɾɔːˌ], le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii) (*An Ròghˌ* [ə ˈɾɔːˌ]); iomsgaraich SL *hrúga* > GA **rùgha* *[ɾuːɣə] > *[ɾuːˌ-ə] (> *rùghan* [ɾuːˌ-an] (#175, bn 385)). Is dòcha cuideachd ann an SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈbɾoɫ̪əm].

§43 (vii) Aon-lidean ~ dà-lidean

Lorgar corra eisimpleir far am faighear iomlaid eadar aon-lide agus dà-lide. (Airson beàrnais ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais agus luach an tàthain ann an trasgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach anns na leanas, faic §22.)

§43 (vii) (a) Dà-fhogharan ~ dà-lidean: Mar a mhìnichear ann an #251 (i), dealaichear na càraidean [ia] ~ [i-a] ꝛc shìos san dualchainnt le fonn a-mhàin, am fonn ag èirigh air dàrna h-eileamaid an dà-fhoghair ach a' tuiteam air dàrna h-eileamaid na dà-lide: GA *Briacleit* [ˈbɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] > [ˈbɾʲi-aˌkleʰtʲ] #78; GA *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] > [ˈbɾʲiaˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; GA *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃad̪ɐɾ] > [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̪ɐɾ] #92; GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̯-iˌʃad̪ɐɾ] > [ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ɐɾ] #162; GA *Iarsadar* [ˈiaˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] > [ˈi-aˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] #225; GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɣ̊] > [ˈmĩ-ãvaɣ̊] #251 (i).

§43 (vii) (b) Aon-fhogharan fada ~ dà-lidean: Lorgar iomlaid cuideachd eadar aon-fhogharan fada agus dà-lidean: GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈgʲuːˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] ?> *[ˈgʲu-əˌs̪ad̪ɐɾ] #207; GA *Bradhagair* [ˈbɾa-aˌɣ̊əɾʲ] > [ˈbɾaːˌɣ̊əɾʲ] #74; GA *Bùistean* [ˈbu̯ːˌʃtʲən] > [ˈbu̯-iˌʃtʲən] (#116); GA *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] ~ *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] #303; GA *Thùbridh* (MM) [ˈhʉːˌb̥ɾi] ~ [ˈhʉ-øˌb̥ɾi] (#58, bn 114).

§44 §44 Call fhuaimreagan

§44 (i) Teasgadh toisich

Ann an cainnt làitheil, tuitidh fuaimreag toisich san alt Ghàidhlig dheth gu tric, m.e. GA *An Àird* (nMO) [ɴ̥ˈɑːd̪̊] #12, bn 24; *A' Chlibh* (nMO) [xlif] #132, bn 290; agus *An Dùn* (nMO) [ɴ̥ˈũ̯ːn̪̊] #170.

§44 (ii) Teasgadh meadhain

Canaidh Oftedal (#93) nach mòr gun tèid aig ainmean Lochlannais nas fhaide air teannachadh a sheachnadh sa Ghàidhlig, m.e. LB **Orfirisøy* > GA *Orasaigh*

§44 ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰu̟ɪm͡u̟ɪ ˌʃkʲɑɾi] < OWNorn **Tumssonargerði* or perhaps OWNorn **Tumsgerði* #342. Syncope is rarer in shorter names, e.g. ON **Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑʟ] (#4).

§44 (iii) Apocope

Loss of a vowel at the end of a word is common in Lewis Gaelic, e.g. ScG *Àirigh na Bèist*[*e*] #18, *Baile a' Ghreusaich*[*e*] #27, *Baile an Loch*[*a*] #29 and *Loch Shealg* < **Loch Sealg*[*a*] (#108), especially before a vowel, e.g. *Bail*(*e*) *a' Ghreusaich* and *Bail*(*e*) *an Loch*; (in Old Norse loan-words) ScG *bac* < ON *bakka* (#23), ScG *dail*(*e*) < ON *dali* (#167) and ScG *riobh* < ON *rifa* (#280); (in Old Norse loan-names) ScG *Adabroc* [ˈad̪ə ˌb̥ɾɔʰk] < ON **Oddabrokka* #3, ScG **Grìod*(*a*) **[ˈg̊ɾʲiːd̪ə], (MO) **[ˈgðiːd] < ON **Grýta* (#239) and ScG *Pabail* [ˈpʰab̥əl] < ON **Papýli* #261.

(*[ˈɔɾ͡ɔ-əs̪æj] >) [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259 agus GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰu̟ɪm͡u̟ɪ ˌʃkʲɑɾi] < SNòrnI **Tumssonargerði* no is dòcha SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* #342. Tha teasgadh meadhain nas ainneimh ann an ainmean nas giorra, m.e. SL **Esjufjall* > GA *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑʟ] (#4). §44

§44 (iii) Teasgadh deiridh

Tha call fuaimreige aig deireadh facail bitheanta ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais, m.e. GA *Àirigh na Bèist*[*e*] #18, *Baile a' Ghreusaich*[*e*] #27, *Baile an Loch*[*a*] #29 agus *Loch Shealg* < **Loch Sealg*[*a*] (#108), gu h-àraidh ro fhuaimreig, m.e. *Bail*(*e*) *a' Ghreusaich* agus *Bail*(*e*) *an Loch*; (ann am facail-iasaid Lochlannais) GA *bac* < SL *bakka* (#23), GA *dail*(*e*) < SL *dali* (#167) agus GA *riobh* < SL *rifa* (#280); (ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais) GA *Adabroc* [ˈad̪əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] < SL **Oddabrokka* #3, GA **Grìod*(*a*) **[ˈg̊ɾʲiːd̪ə], (MO) **[ˈgðiːd] < SL **Grýta* (#239) agus GA *Pabail* [ˈpʰab̥əl] < SL **Papýli* #261.

This section gives an account of the development of sounds from Old Norse to Scottish Gaelic, using the settlement names of the main collection and other examples given below. A summary can be found in Appendix III.

§45 ON *a*

§45 (i) In stressed syllables

§45 (i) (a) ON *a* > ScG [a][ɑ] /ɑ/: ON *alka* > ScG *alc* (*falc*) [(f)ɑɬk] (#204); ON *dali* dat. > ScG *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̥al(ə)] (#167) (the loan-word); ON **Dali* dat. > ScG *Dail* [d̥al] #166 (the loan-name); ON **Flat-sætr* > ScG *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̥a ˌʃad̥ər] (#203) (Skye); ON **Galtargil* > ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈɣ̊alt̥rəˌɣ̊ʲil] (#188) (Skye); ON **Galt-gróf* or *Galtagróf* > ScG *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑʟtəgro] (#188); ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌɣ̊ɔr̂miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɣ̊ɑrəˌb̥ɔsn̥t] #189; ON **Grafir* > ScG *Grabhair* [ˈɣ̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; ON *haf* > ScG *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf], *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪̊ʰaf] (#281, fn 655); ON *hamar* acc. > ScG *amar* [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)); ON **Hamar* acc. > ScG **Thamar* *[ˈhãmɔɾ], *[ˈhãməɾ] (#325); (reduced stress) ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̥ər] #325; OWNorn **hamn* > ScG *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãn] (#319); OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌvaɣ] #319; OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌs̪t̪əɬ] (#319); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamn·aiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌʃaɬ] (#319); ON *hjall* acc. > ScG **ceall* *[kʲʰauɬ] (*Na Ceallan* [nə ˈkʲʰɑɬən] (#51)); ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑɬəs̪ˌvaɣ] #322; CSc. **Hjallsøy* > ScG *Ceallasaigh* *[ˈkʲʰɑɬəˌs̪æj] (#51); CSc. **Hjart*(*a*)*vatn* > ScG **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂtəˌvaʰt̪] (#121); CSc. **Hjart-øy* > ScG *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌʂt̪aj] #121; MNorn **Hjatland* > ScG **Sealtann* > *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑɬt̪iɲ] §84 (x) (a) (γ); ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈvɑɬəˌməs̪] #61; ON **Hvalsøy* > ScG *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvɑɬəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvɑɬəˌs̪aj] #62; CSc. **hvarf* > ScG *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̂av] and *parbh* [pʰaɾ̂av] (#47); CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* [ˈb̥aɾ̂aˌvas̪] #47; ON *kaf* → ScG *cabhadh* [ˈkʰafəɣ] §77 (ii) (b); ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̂fɑˌb̥ɔsn̥t] #93; ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɬaˌniʃ] #94; ON *karfa* acc. > ScG *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̂av] (#47 (iii)); ON **Kas-gróf* > ScG **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo] (#53); ON **Keldan Kalda* > ScG **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑɬt̪ə ˈkʰɑɬt̪ə] (#93, fn 207); OWNorn **Kjal-kváll* > ScG *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰɑɬəɣ̊ˌvɔɬ̪] #101; ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋɣ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Lax-á* > ScG *Lacasaigh* [ˈl̪ʌʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ʌʰkəˌs̪t̪əɬ] #231; ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmãl̪əˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Manasætr* > ScG *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãniˌʃad̥ər]

Bheir an earrann seo cunntas air leasachadh nam fuaimean às an t-Seann Lochlannais gu Gàidhlig na h-Albann, a' cleachdadh ainmean tuineachaidh a' phrìomh cho-chruinneachaidh agus eisimpleirean eile a bheirear seachad shìos. Gheibhear geàrr-chunntas ann an Eàrr-sgrìobhadh III.

§45 SL *a*

§45 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§45 (i) (a) SL *a* > GA [a][ɑ] /ɑ/: SL *alka* > GA *alc* (*falc*) [(f)ɑɬk] (#204); SL *dali* tabh. > GA *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̥al(ə)] (#167) (am facal-iasaid); SL **Dali* tabh. > GA *Dail* [d̥al] #166 (an t-ainm-iasaid); SL **Flat-sætr* > GA *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪a ˌʃad̥ər] (#203) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Galtargil* > GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈɣ̊alt̥rəˌɣ̊ʲil] (#188) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Galt-gróf* no **Galtagróf* > GA *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑʟtəgro] (#188); SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌɣ̊ɔr̂miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɣ̊ɑrəˌb̥ɔsn̥t] #189; SL **Grafir* > GA *Grabhair* [ˈɣ̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; SL *haf* > GA *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf], *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪̊ʰaf] (#281, bn 655); SL *hamar* cusp. > GA *amar* [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)); SL **Hamar* cusp. > GA **Thamar* *[ˈhãmɔɾ], *[ˈhãməɾ] (#325); (beum air lùghdachadh) SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̥ər] #325; SNòrnI **hamn* > GA *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãn] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌvaɣ] #319; SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌs̪t̪əɬ] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌʃaɬ] (#319); SL *hjall* cusp. > GA **ceall* *[kʲʰauɬ] (*Na Ceallan* [nə ˈkʲʰɑɬən] (#51)); SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑɬəs̪ˌvaɣ] #322; LB **Hjallsøy* > GA *Ceallasaigh* *[ˈkʲʰɑɬəˌs̪æj] (#51); LB **Hjart*(*a*)*vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂtəˌvaʰt̪] (#121); LB **Hjart-øy* > GA *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌʂt̪aj] #121; MNòrn **Hjatland* > GA **Sealt·ann* > *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑɬt̪iɲ] §84 (x) (a) (γ); SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈvɑɬəˌməs̪] #61; SL **Hvalsøy* > GA *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvɑɬəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvɑɬəˌs̪aj] #62; LB **hvarf* > GA *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̂av] agus *parbh* [pʰaɾ̂av] (#47); LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* [ˈb̥aɾ̂aˌvas̪] #47; SL *kaf* → GA *cabhadh* [ˈkʰafəɣ] §77 (ii) (b); SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̂fɑˌb̥ɔsn̥t] #93; SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Calla·nis* [ˈkʰɑɬaˌniʃ] #94; SL *karfa* cusp. > GA *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̂av] (#47 (iii)); SL **Kas-gróf* > GA **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo] (#53); SL **Keldan Kalda* > GA **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑɬt̪ə ˈkʰɑɬt̪ə] (#93, bn 207); SNòrnI **Kjal-kváll* > GA *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰɑɬəɣ̊ˌvɔɬ̪] #101; SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋɣ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Lax-á* > GA *Laca·saigh* [ˈl̪ʌʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; SL **Lax-dal* cusp. > GA *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ʌʰkəˌs̪t̪əɬ] #231; SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmãl̪əˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Manasætr* > GA *Man·*

§45 #244; ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋgə˛ˌʂtaɣ] #245; ON **Maravík* > ScG *Marabhig* [ˈmãrəˌviɠʲ] #246; ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɻkaˌʂtəɬ] (#125, fn 278); ON **Mark-hól* acc. > ScG **Marcol* *[ˈmãɻkɔl̪] (#125, fn 278); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabə̥ˌniʃ] (#340); ON **Rang-gróf* > ScG **Rangaro* *[ˈɾɑ̃ŋgə̥ˌɾo] (#59); ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); ON *skarf* acc. > ScG *sgarbh* [ˈʂkaɾav] §8; ON **Tanga* obl. (the loan-name) > ScG **Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgə] (#320); ON **Tanganes* > ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋgə̥ˌniʃ] #321; ON **Tangavarða* > ScG **Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgə̥ˌvəɾʲ] (#74); ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪tɔʂ] #63; ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɲ̊tʲəʂ] (#63) (South Uist); ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65; CSc. **Vazøy* > ScG *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌsaj] (#65, fn 137).

§45 (i) (b) ON *a* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/, with vowel alternation §43 (ii): ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10); ON **Marsgil* > ScG *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] #257; ON **Malir* > ScG **Molair* *[ˈmɔɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)] (#273).

§45 (i) (c) With lengthening

§45 (i) (c) (α) ON *a* > ScG [aː] /ɑː/, with compensatory lengthening: ON **Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, fn 563); ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #244; ON **Vaðsgróf* > ScG **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, fn 404).

§45 (i) (c) (β) With lengthening often before [ɾ] and several *r*-clusters:

1. ON *a* > ScG [ɑː] /ɑː/: ON *garð* acc. > ScG *gàrradh* [ˈɠɑːɾəɣ] (#182); ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmiɲ̊ə ˈɠɑːɾi] (#172); ON **Skarð-holm* acc. > ScG **Sgàrdam* [ˈʂkɑːˌd̪̊am] (#330); ON **Karlavág* acc. > ScG *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪ə ˌvaɣ] #98; ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈt̪ʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌɠʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410).

2. ON *a* > ScG [ɔː] /ɔː/, with vowel alternation §43 (ii): ON **Jarð(ar)bý* > ScG *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̪i] #182; ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#98).

§45 (i) (c) (γ) With lengthening before ON *l*, *n*, *m* or *f* (sometimes lost) + consonant:

1. ON *a* > ScG [ai] /ai/´: (nasalised) ON **Kvín Ranga* > ScG *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲɠʲ] (#161, fn 342); ON **Lamb-sætr* > ScG (*[ˈl̪ãĩmʲˌʃad̪̊əɾ] >) *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #232.

2. ON *a* > ScG [au] /au/ˣ: ON **Galt-sund* > ScG (*[ˈɠɑl̪s̪əɲ̪] >) *Gabhsann* [ˈɠaus̪əɲ̪] #188; (nasalised) CSc. **Hafnarøy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũɲ̪əˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũɲ̪əˌɾæj] (#319); ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũɲ̪d̪̊iɠʲ] #286.

§45 (i) (c) (δ) ON *va-*, (*h*)*va-* and (*s*)*va-* become diphthongs in ON **Vangs·*

aiseadar [ˈmãniˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #244; SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋgə˛ˌʂtaɣ] #245; SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈmãrəˌviɠʲ] #246; SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɻkaˌʂtəɬ] (#125, bn 278); SL **Mark-hól* cusp. > GA **Marcol* *[ˈmãɻkɔl̪] (#125, bn 278); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabə̥ˌniʃ] (#340); SL **Rang-gróf* > GA **Rangaro* *[ˈɾɑ̃ŋgə̥ˌɾo] (#59); SL **Raptsfjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); SL *skarf* cusp. > GA *sgarbh* [ˈʂkaɾav] §8; SL **Tanga* cl. (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA **Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgə̥] (#320); SL **Tanganes* > GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋgə̥ˌniʃ] #321; SL **Tangavarða* > GA **Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgə̥ˌvəɾʲ] (#74); SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪tɔʂ] #63; SL **Vatnleysa* > GA **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɲ̊tʲəʂ] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas); SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65; LB **Vazøy* > GA *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌsaj] (#65, bn 137).

§45 (i) (b) SL *a* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (ii): SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10); SL **Marsgil* > GA *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] #257; SL **Malir* > GA **Molair* *[ˈmɔɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)] (#273).

§45 (i) (c) Le fadachadh

§45 (i) (c) (α) SL *a* > GA [aː] /ɑː/, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, bn 563); SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #244; SL **Vaðsgróf* > GA **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, bn 404).

§45 (i) (c) (β) Le fadachadh ro [ɾ] gu tric agus ro chorra chòmhlain-*r*:

1. SL *a* > GA [ɑː] /ɑː/: SL *garð* cusp. > GA *gàrradh* [ˈɠɑːɾəɣ] (#182); SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmiɲ̊ə ˈgɑːɾi] (#172); SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. > GA **Sgàrdam* [ˈʂkɑːˌd̪̊am] (#330); SL **Karlavág* cusp. > GA *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈt̪ʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌɠʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410).

2. SL *a* > GA [ɔː] /ɔː/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (ii): SL **Jarð(ar)bý* > GA *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̪i] #182; SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#98).

§45 (i) (c) (γ) Le fadachadh ro SL *l*, *n*, *m* no *f* (air uairean air chall) + connraig:

1. SL *a* > GA [ai] /ai/´: (srònaichte) SL **Kvín Ranga* > GA *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲɠʲ] (#161, bn 342); SL **Lamb-sætr* > GA (*[ˈl̪ãĩmʲˌʃad̪̊əɾ] >) *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #232.

2. SL *a* > GA [au] /au/ˣ: SL **Galt-sund* > GA (*[ˈɠɑl̪s̪əɲ̪] >) *Gabhsann* [ˈɠaus̪əɲ̪] #188; (srònaichte) LB **Hafnarøy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũɲ̪əˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũɲ̪əˌɾæj] (#319); SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũɲ̪d̪̊iɠʲ] #286.

§45 (i) (c) (δ) Thèid SL *va-*, (*h*)*va-* is (*s*)*va-* nan dà-fhogharan ann an SL **Vangs·*

§45 *sætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋgə̯ˌʃaɖ̥ər] #346; ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌn̪spɾɔʰk] (#311); ON **Hvammsstein* acc. > ScG **Uamaistean* *[ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#311) (but ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌn̪skɾo] #328 §37 (i) (f); ON **Svan-fjǫrð* or **Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɻs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (mainland Scotland); ON **Svarð-dal* acc. > ScG *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌt̪̊əɬ̪] #312.

§45 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§45 (ii) (a) ON *a* > ScG [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/

§45 (ii) (a) (α) Before the geminates ON *kk*, *ll*: CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̪ẽnəˌn̪spaʰk] #50; ON **Eiðsfjall* > ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑɬ̪] (#60); ON **Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑʟ] (#4); ON **Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvɑɬ̪] (#219); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛn̪s̪t̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#98); ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑɬ̪] #164; ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); ON **Sauð-fjall* > ScG *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvɑɬ̪] #303; ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvɑɬ̪] (#303); ON **Seið-fjall* > ScG *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvɑɬ̪] (#288, fn 674); ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kɑːl̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#257, fn 591); ON **Sveinafjall* or **Svínafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴ´əvaʟ] (#311); ON **Þrælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [triɑʟəvɑʟ] (#295); ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > ScG *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203). Medial syllables in ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95) and ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲi] (#95) are severely contracted. In the case of ON *svart-bak* acc. > ScG *arspag* [ˈɑs̪pag̊] (#311 (i)), the suffix ScG *-ag* found in other bird names in Gaelic occurs via morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (f).

§45 (ii) (a) (β) Before the cluster ON *tn*: ON **Breið-vatn* > ScG **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̪ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, fn 171); ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgrʊnəvaht] (#182); CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn* > ScG **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑs̪t̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋg̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Þrælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɬ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲiːb̥] (#168); ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪ɔːʃ] (#63).

§45 (ii) (a) (γ) Before ON *nd*: ON **Tind-land* > ScG **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲə l̪an] (#270).

§45 *sætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋg̊əˌʃaɖ̥ər] #346; SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌn̪spɾɔʰk] (#311); SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. > GA **Uamaistean* *[ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#311) (ach SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌn̪skɾo] #328 §37 (i) (f); SL **Svan-fjǫrð* no **Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɻs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann); SL **Svarð-dal* cusp. > GA *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌt̪̊əɬ̪] #312.

§45 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

§45 (ii) (a) SL *a* > GA [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/

§45 (ii) (a) (α) Ro na h-eamhnaich SL *kk*, *ll*: LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̪ẽnəˌn̪spaʰk] #50; SL **Eiðsfjall* > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑɬ̪] (#60); SL **Esjufjall* > GA *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑʟ] (#4); SL **Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvɑɬ̪] (#219); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛn̪s̪t̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#98); SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑɬ̪] #164; SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); SL **Raptsfjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); SL **Sauð-fjall* > GA *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvɑɬ̪] #303; SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvɑɬ̪] (#303); SL **Seið-fjall* > GA *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvɑɬ̪] (#288, bn 674); SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kɑːl̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#257, bn 591); SL **Sveinafjall* no **Svínafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴ´əvaʟ] (#311); SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [triɑʟəvɑʟ] (#295); SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > GA *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203). Thèid lidean meadhain ann an SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95) agus SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲi] (#95) a theannachadh gu mòr. San t-seagh SL *svart-bak* cusp. > GA *arspag* [ˈɑs̪pag̊] (#311 (i)), nochdaidh an t-iar-leasachan GA *-ag* a thèid a chleachdadh ann an ainmean eòin eile sa Ghàidhlig le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (f).

§45 (ii) (a) (β) Ron chòmhlan SL *tn*: SL **Breið-vatn* > GA **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̪ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, bn 171); SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgrʊnəvaht] (#182); LB **Hjart(a)vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑs̪t̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋg̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɬ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲiːb̥] (#168); SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪ɔːʃ] (#63).

§45 (ii) (a) (γ) Ro SL *nd*: SL **Tind-land* > GA **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲə l̪an] (#270).

§45 §45 (ii) (a) (ð) MNorn **Hjatland* > ScG **Sealtann* *[ˈʃaɬt̪ən̪] > *Sealtainn* (dat.) [ˈʃaɬt̪in̪] follows the pattern of the names ScG *Breatann* and *Sasann* §84 (x) (a) (γ).

§45 (ii) (a) (ɛ) ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. yields ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌgɔr̝miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172) with vowel alternation §43 (i), via morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (b).

§45 (ii) (b) With compensatory lengthening in the first instance and subsequent shortening of the vowel

§45 (ii) (b) (α) ON *a* > ScG [a] /ɑ/:

1. In loan-names in ON *-staðr* m.: ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈgʲrʲĩəməˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬəˌn̪s̪taɣ] #151; ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌn̪s̪taɣ] #252; ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋgəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋgəˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95); ON **Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃ˌn̪s̪taɣ] #331; gen. normalised as rad.: ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡəˌs̪t̪aj] #294; ON **Torfastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔr̝ˌn̪s̪taj] #337.

2. Also in ON **Bólstað* acc. > *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔːˌn̪s̪taɣ] #72, with a closing fricative in Gaelic; however, the final syllable is lost in ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈgʲrʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315; ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̃ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɾʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪ɑːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjãl̪̃ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248; ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; ON **Sæbólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295.

§45 (ii) (b) (β) ON *a* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/ before -[n]: ON **Borg-stafn* or OWNorn **Borg-stamn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈb̥ɔr̝-əˌn̪s̪tɔn] #69.

§45 (ii) (c) ON *a* > ScG [ə] /ə/

§45 (ii) (c) (α) Before non-geminate ON *l*: CSc. **Diupadal* acc. > ScG *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̥əl̪̃] #168; OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãmn̪̆ənˌn̪s̪təl̪̃] (#319); ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. > ScG *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əl̪̃] #183; ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌd̥əl̪̃] #97; ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌn̪s̪təl̪̃] #231; ON **Lómadal* (or **Lóm-dal*) acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ɑ̃ːməˌd̥əl̪̃] #233; ON **Lund-dal* acc. > ScG *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌd̥əl̪̃] #243; ON

§45 §45 (ii) (a) (ð) Leanaidh MNòrn **Hjatland* > GA **Sealtann* *[ˈʃaɬt̪ən̪] > *Sealtainn* (tabh.) [ˈʃaɬt̪iɲ̪] pàtran nan ainmean GA *Breatann* agus *Sasann* §84 (x) (a) (γ).

§45 (ii) (a) (ɛ) Bheir SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌgɔr̝miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172) le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i), le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (b).

§45 (ii) (b) Le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh sa chiad char agus giorrachadh san fhuaimreig an dèidh làimhe

§45 (ii) (b) (α) SL *a* > GA [a] /ɑ/:

1. Ann an ainmean-iasaid ann an SL *-staðr* f.: SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈgʲrʲĩəməˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; LB **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬəˌn̪s̪taɣ] #151; SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌn̪s̪taɣ] #252; SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋgəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋgəˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95); SL **Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃ˌn̪s̪taɣ] #331; gin. air àbhaisteachadh na bhun.: SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡəˌs̪t̪aj] #294; SL **Torfastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔr̝ˌn̪s̪taj] #337.

2. Mar an ceudna ann an SL **Bólstað* cusp. > *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔːˌn̪s̪taɣ] #72, le suathach dùnaidh sa Ghàidhlig; gidheadh, caillear an lide mu dheireadh ann an SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈgʲrʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315; SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̃ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɾʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪ɑːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjãl̪̃ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248; SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295.

§45 (ii) (b) (β) SL *a* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/ ro -[n]: SL **Borg-stafn* no SNòrnI **Borg-stamn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̥ɔr̝-əˌn̪s̪tɔn] #69.

§45 (ii) (c) SL *a* > GA [ə] /ə/

§45 (ii) (c) (α) Ro SL *l* neo-eamhnaich: LB **Diupadal* cusp. > GA *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̥əl̪̃] #168; SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãmn̪̆ənˌn̪s̪təl̪̃] (#319); SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. > GA *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əl̪̃] #183; SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌd̥əl̪̃] #97; SL **Lax-dal* cusp. > GA *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌn̪s̪təl̪̃] #231; SL **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ɑ̃ːməˌd̥əl̪̃] #233; SL **Lund-dal* cusp. > GA *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌd̥əl̪̃] #243; SL

§45 *Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̥kaˌsʲt̪əɬ̪] (#125, fn 278); OWNorn *Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *[ˈn̪ũːʰpsəˌt̪̊əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ũːs̪t̪əˌp̪əɬ̪] (#216, fn 476) (South Uist); ON *Skelludal* acc. > ScG *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲɑɬ̪əˌt̪̊əɬ̪] #290; ON *Svarð-dal* acc. > ScG *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌt̪̊əɬ̪] #312.

§45 (ii) (c) (β) Before ON *rð*: ON *Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈb̪ɾa-aˌɣəɾʲ] #74; ON *Rauðaskarð* > ScG *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282; ON *Fylja·varða* > ScG *Bhileabhair* *[ˈvilәˌvəɾʲ] (#186, fn 430); ON *Tangavarða* > ScG *Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɣəˌvəɾʲ] (#74).

§45 (ii) (c) (γ) In a reflex of OWNorn *sátr* (< ON *sætr*): with metathesis §40 (iv) and reduction in the vowel in Gaelic or epenthesis and syncope in Old Norn: OWNorn *Borg-sátr* > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔc͡ɔ(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 701); OWNorn *Ofansátr* > ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 700); OWNorn *-sátr* > ScG *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 703); OWNorn *-sátr* > ScG *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːd̪̊ʲaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 702).

§45 (iii) In unstressed syllables

§45 (iii) (a) ON *a* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON *hamar* acc. > ScG *amar* [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)), but in the place-name ON *Hamar* acc. > ScG *Thamar* *[ˈhãməɾ] or *[ˈhãmɔɾ] (#325); ON *Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); ON *Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #325; ON *Herað* sg. (or *Heruð* pl.) > ScG *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] (#254); ON *Ívar* acc. > EG *Íṁar* > ScG *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ] (#142); ON *Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋɣəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəːəɬ̪] (#151).

§45 (iii) (b) In Old Norse inflectional endings

§45 (iii) (b) (α) Final ON *-a*

1. ScG [ə] /ə/: ON *Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̪̊øɾʲc͡øj ˈɬ̪aːɣə] (#58); ON *boða* obl. > ScG *bodha* [ˈb̪̊o-ə] (or [ˈb̪̊o-o]) (#89); ON *boga* obl. > ScG *bogha* [ˈb̪̊o-ə] (or [ˈb̪̊o-o]) (#74); ON *Gerða* > ScG *Geardha* *[ˈɣʲac͡aɣə] (#191); ON *Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); ON *hylla* > ScG *iola* [ˈjuɬ̪ə] (*Iolairean* [ˈjuɬ̪əɾʲən] (#127)); ON *hǫfða* obl. > ScG *tobha, obha* [ˈt̪ʰo-ə], [ˈo-ə] (or [ˈt̪ʰo-o], [ˈo-o]) (#281, fn 641); ON *Keldan Kalda* > ScG *Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑɬ̪̊t̪ə ˈkʰɑɬ̪̊t̪ə] (#93, fn 207); ON *klofa* obl. > ScG *clobha* [ˈkʰɬ̪o-ə] (#281, fn 641); ON *Smuga* > ScG *Smudha* *[ˈs̪mũ-ə] (#302); ON *Tanga* obl. > ScG *Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɣə] (#320); ON *Tunga* > ScG *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋɣə] #343; ON *Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); and, with metathesis §40, ON *Hekla* > ScG *Theacal* (nMO) [hæxkəʟ], besides *Mullach Theacla* (nMO) [ˈmũɫəx ˈhæxkɫɑ], [ˈmũɫəx ˈhæxkəʟ] (#315 (iv), 768) (South Uist).

§45 *Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̥kaˌs̪t̪̊əɬ̪] (#125, bn 278); SNòrnI *Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *[ˈn̪ũːʰpsəˌt̪̊əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ũːs̪t̪əˌp̪əɬ̪] (#216, bn 476) (Uibhist a Deas); SL *Skelludal* cusp. > GA *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲɑɬ̪əˌt̪̊əɬ̪] #290; SL *Svarð-dal* cusp. > GA *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌt̪̊əɬ̪] #312.

§45 (ii) (c) (β) Ro SL *rð*: SL *Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradhagair* [ˈb̪ɾa-aˌɣəɾʲ] #74; SL *Rauðaskarð* > GA *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282; SL *Fyljavarða* > GA *Bhileabhair* *[ˈvilәˌvəɾʲ] (#186, bn 430); SL *Tangavarða* > GA *Tanga·bhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɣəˌvəɾʲ] (#74).

§45 (ii) (c) (γ) Ann an riochd aig SNòrnI *sátr* (< SL *sætr*): le eadar-chàradh §40 (iv) agus lùghdachadh san fhuaimreig sa Ghàidhlig no còmhnadh agus teasgadh meadhain san t-Seann Nòrn: SNòrnI *Borg-sátr* > GA *Borghastar* [ˈb̪̊ɔc͡ɔ(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 701); SNòrnI *Ofansátr* > GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 700); SNòrnI *-sátr* > GA *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 703); SNòrnI *-sátr* > GA *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːd̪̊ʲaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 702).

§45 (iii) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte

§45 (iii) (a) SL *a* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL *hamar* cusp. > GA *amar* [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)), ach san ainm-àite SL *Hamar* cusp. > GA *Thamar* *[ˈhãməɾ] no *[ˈhãmɔɾ] (#325); SL *Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); SL *Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #325; SL *Herað* sg. (no *Heruð* iol.) > GA *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] (#254); SL *Ívar* cusp. > GT *Íṁar* > GA *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ] (#142); SL *Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋɣəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəːəɬ̪] (#151).

§45 (iii) (b) Ann an dùnaidhean mùthaidh Lochlannais

§45 (iii) (b) (α) SL *-a* dheiridh

1. GA [ə] /ə/: SL *Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̪̊øɾʲc͡øj ˈɬ̪aːɣə] (#58); SL *boða* cl. > GA *bodha* [ˈb̪̊o-ə] (no [ˈb̪̊o-o]) (#89); SL *boga* cl. > GA *bogha* [ˈb̪̊o-ə] (no [ˈb̪̊o-o]) (#74); SL *Gerða* > GA *Geardha* *[ˈɣʲac͡aɣə] (#191); SL *Hamar·inn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); SL *hylla* > GA *iola* [ˈjuɬ̪ə] (*Iolairean* [ˈjuɬ̪əɾʲən] (#127)); SL *hǫfða* cl. > GA *tobha, obha* [ˈt̪ʰo-ə], [ˈo-ə] (no [ˈt̪ʰo-o], [ˈo-o]) (#281, bn 641); SL *Keldan Kalda* > GA *Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑɬ̪̊t̪ə ˈkʰɑɬ̪̊t̪ə] (#93, bn 207); SL *klofa* cl. > GA *clobha* [ˈkʰɬ̪o-ə] (#281, bn 641); SL *Smuga* > GA *Smudha* *[ˈs̪mũ-ə] (#302); SL *Tanga* cl. > GA *Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɣə] (#320); SL *Tunga* > GA *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋɣə] #343; SL *Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); agus, le eadar-chàradh §40, SL *Hekla* > GA *Theacal* (nMO) [hæxkəʟ], ri taobh *Mullach Theacla* (nMO) [ˈmũɫəx ˈhæxkɫɑ], [ˈmũɫəx ˈhæxkəʟ] (#315 (iv), 768) (Uibhist a Deas).

§45 2. ScG ∅, with apocope §44 (iii): ON *alka* > ScG *alc* [ɑɬ̪k] (#204); OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈb̪ɾoɬ̪əm] #81; ON **Fyljavarða* > ScG **Bhilea·bhair* *[ˈvilaˌvəɾʲ] (#186, fn 430); ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩəmaˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #223; ON **Hauka* > ScG **Thòg* *[hɔːg̊] (#129); ON **Hreysa* > ScG *Rias* [ɾiaʂ] #279; ON **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabh·lastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬ̪əˌn̪̊ʂt̪ɑɣ] #151; ON *hrúga* > ScG *ròg*h [ɾɔː] (*An Ròg*h [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, fn 385)); ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌn̪̊ʂpɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̪ɛ̃nəˌn̪̊spaʰk] #50; ON *karfa* acc. > ScG *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̃av] (#47 (iii)); ON **Kleifsbrokka* > ScG *Cliasbroc* [ˈkʰliaˌn̪̊spɾɔʰk] (#131); ON **Kvín Ranga* > ScG *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, fn 342); ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #245; ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈg̊ɑːɾi] (#172); ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈhɔː] (#172); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈhɔːɬ̪ə] (#172); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **-múla* acc. > ScG **Guidealum* *[ˈg̊u̥ɪd̥ʲə ɬ̪əm] (#81); ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌn̪̊ʂt̪ɑɣ] #252; ON **Odda·brokka* > ScG *Adabroc* [ˈad̪̊əˌb̪ɾɔʰk] #3; ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡ̊əˌʂt̪aj] #294; ON **Tangavarða* > ScG **Tangabhair* > (gen.) **Thangabhair* *[ˈhãŋg̊əˌvəɾʲ] (#74); ON **Torfastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ˌʂt̪aj] #337; ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongar·stadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] (#95); ON **Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɬ̪̃ˌn̪̊ʂt̪ɑɣ] #331; CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̊ʲiːb̪] (#168); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪̊ɔːʃ] (#63); ON **Vatn·lausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvaɬ̪̃t̪ɔs̪] #63; ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɬ̪̃tʲəs̪] (#63) (South Uist); perhaps in ON **brokka* > ScG **broc(a)* *[ˈb̪ɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə ˈb̪ɾɔhkəɲ̪] (#80)) and ON *hrúga* > ScG **rùgha* *[ˈɾuːɣə] > *[ˈɾuːə] (> *rùghan* [ˈɾuːan] (#175, fn 385)). Occasionally, there is variation: ON **Grýta* > ScG **Grìod(a)* *[ˈg̊ɾʲiːd̪̊(ə)] (#239).

§45 (iii) (b) (β) Final ON *-ar* (pl.): > ScG [əɾ] /ər/, [əɾʲ] /ərʲ/ §13: ON **Fylsklettar* > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə s̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; ON **Heið-klettar* > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Hólar* > ScG *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɬ̪əɾʲ] (#101); ON **Klettar* > ScG *Cleitir* [ˈkʰleʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; ON **Króar* > ScG *Crothair* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ] #157; ON **Kvíar* > ScG *Cuidhir* [ˈkʰu̥ʲ(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰu̥ʲ(ʰ)əɾʲ] #161; ON **Tindar* > ScG *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩñ̪d̪̊ʲəɾʲ] (#270); ON **Þúfar* (or **Þúfur*) > ScG *Tùthair* [ˈt̪ʰu̥ː-əɾʲ] or, with euphony, [ˈt̪ʰu̥ː-u̥ɾʲ] #344; cf. CSc. **Rásarøyjar* > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650).

§45 (iii) (b) (γ) Medial ON *-a, -ar*

1. > ScG [ə] /ə/: CSc. **Diupadal* acc. > ScG *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪̊ʲiːb̪əˌd̪̊əɬ̪] #168; ON **Eyr·*

§45 2. GA ∅, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii): SL *alka* > GA *alc* [ɑɬ̪k] (#204); SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈb̪ɾoɬ̪əm] #81; SL **Fyljavarða* > GA **Bhilea·bhair* *[ˈvilaˌvəɾʲ] (#186, bn 430); SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩəmaˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #223; SL **Hauka* > GA **Thòg* *[hɔːg̊] (#129); SL **Hreysa* > GA *Rias* [ɾiaʂ] #279; SL **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabh·lastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬ̪əˌn̪̊ʂt̪ɑɣ] #151; SL *hrúga* > GA *ròg*h [ɾɔː] (*An Ròg*h [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, bn 385)); SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌn̪̊spɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̪ɛ̃nəˌn̪̊spaʰk] #50; SL *karfa* cusp. > GA *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̃av] (#47 (iii)); SL **Kleifsbrokka* > GA *Cliasbroc* [ˈkʰliaˌn̪̊spɾɔʰk] (#131); SL **Kvín Ranga* > GA *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, bn 342); SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #245; SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈg̊ɑːɾi] (#172); SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈhɔː] (#172); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈhɔːɬ̪ə] (#172); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **-múla* cusp. > GA **Guidealum* *[ˈg̊u̥ɪd̥ʲə ɬ̪əm] (#81); SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌn̪̊ʂt̪ɑɣ] #252; SL **Oddabrokka* > GA *Adabroc* [ˈad̪̊əˌb̪ɾɔʰk] #3; SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡ̊əˌʂt̪aj] #294; SL **Tangavarða* > GA **Tangabhair* > (gin.) **Thangabhair* *[ˈhãŋg̊əˌvəɾʲ] (#74); SL **Torfastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ˌʂt̪aj] #337; SL **Þingvallar·staða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] (#95); SL **Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɬ̪̃ˌn̪̊ʂt̪ɑɣ] #331; LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̊ʲiːb̪] (#168); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪̊ɔːʃ] (#63); SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvaɬ̪̃t̪ɔs̪] #63; SL **Vatnleysa* > GA **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɬ̪̃tʲəs̪] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas); is dòcha ann an SL **brokka* > GA **broc(a)* *[ˈb̪ɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə ˈb̪ɾɔhkəɲ̪] (#80)) agus SL *hrúga* > GA **rùgha* *[ˈɾuːɣə] > *[ˈɾuː-ə] (> *rùghan* [ˈɾuː-an] (#175, bn 385)). Air uairean, tha eugsamhlachadh ann: SL **Grýta* > GA **Grìod(a)* *[ˈg̊ɾʲiːd̪̊(ə)] (#239).

§45 (iii) (b) (β) SL *-ar* dheiridh (iol.): > GA [əɾ] /ər/, [əɾʲ] /ərʲ/ §13: SL **Fylsklettar* > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə s̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; SL **Heið-klettar* > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Hólar* > GA *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɬ̪əɾʲ] (#101); SL **Klettar* > GA *Cleitir* [ˈkʰleʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; SL **Króar* > GA *Crothair* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ] #157; SL **Kvíar* > GA *Cuidhir* [ˈkʰu̥ʲ(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰu̥ʲ(ʰ)əɾʲ] #161; SL **Tindar* > GA *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩñ̪d̪̊ʲəɾʲ] (#270); SL **Þúfar* (no **Þúfur*) > GA *Tùthair* [ˈt̪ʰu̥ː-əɾʲ] no, le binneas, [ˈt̪ʰu̥ː-u̥ɾʲ] #344; coim. LB **Rásarøyjar* > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650).

§45 (iii) (b) (γ) SL *-a, -ar* mheadhain

1. > GA [ə] /ə/: LB **Diupadal* cusp. > GA *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪̊ʲiːb̪əˌd̪̊əɬ̪] #168; SL **Eyrará*

§45 *ará* > ScG **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrʹəraj̃] (#180, fn 399); ON **Galtargil* > ScG **Galtraigil* *[ˈɡɑl̪ˠt̪ɾəˌɡʲil] (#188) (Skye); ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #189; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡɾʲẽːnəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #219; ON **Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈɡɾʲẽːnəˌvɑl̪] (#219); ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgruɴəvaht] (#182); CSc. **Hafnarøy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪ˠəˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪ˠəˌɾæj] (#319); OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãmñ̪ˠəˌvaɣ] #319; ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˠ̪(ə)məˌɡʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Hest(a)holm* > ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʹesdəməl] (Benbecula) (#159); ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛsˠt̪əˌvɑl̪] (#315 (iv)); ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiɟ̊əˌb̪ɔɾ̃ɔ(ɣ)] #329; CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn* > ScG **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑsˠt̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪ˠəˌviɣʲ] (#116); ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈvɑl̪ˠəˌməsˠ̪] #61; ON **Jarð(ar)bý* > ScG *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̪i] #182; ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *[ˈkʰɑl̪̃ɑˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] > *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̃ɑˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #93; ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvɑl̪] (#98); ON **Karlavág* acc. > ScG *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌɟ̊əl̪] #97; ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̊kəˌviɣʲ] (#88); ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾˠʲˌɡʲɑɾi] #158; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔsˠəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #156; ON **Kvíanes* > ScG *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰu̯(j)əˌniʃ] (#161); ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪̃ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Lómadal* or **Lóm-dal* acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈl̪̃ãːməˌɟ̊əl̪] #233; ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmãl̪̃ˠəˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Maravík* > ScG *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɣʲ] #246; ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabˠəˌniʃ] (#340); ON **Rauðaskarð* > ScG *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282; ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvɑl̪] (#303); ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kɑːl̪ˠəˌvɑl̪] (#257, fn 591); ON **Straum(a)klett* acc. > ScG *Stròmacleit* *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, fn 452); ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãn̪ˠəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #311; ON **Svínafjall* or **Sveinafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãn̪ˠˊəvaɫ] (#311); ON **Tanganes* > ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌniʃ] #321; ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɫ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] #339; ON **Torfastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ɔˌs̪t̪aj] #337; ON **Prælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [triɑɫəvɑɫ] (#295); ON **Prælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɫ̪ˠəˌvaʰt̪] (#296); ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̪aːɾəˌʃaɟ̊əɾ] #46; ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65; and perhaps contraction in ON **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̯ːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160; ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95).

2. With euphony: ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈb̪u̯ˠ-u̯ˠˌniʃ] #89; ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650).

§45 > GA **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrʹəraj̃] (#180, bn 399); SL **Galtargil* > GA **Galtraigil* *[ˈɡɑl̪ˠt̪ɾəˌɡʲil] (#188) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡɾʲẽːnəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #219; SL **Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈɡɾʲẽːnəˌvɑl̪] (#219); SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgruɴəvaht] (#182); LB **Hafnarøy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪ˠəˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪ˠəˌɾæj] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãmñ̪ˠəˌvaɣ] #319; SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˠ̪(ə)məˌɡʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Hest(a)holm* > GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʹesdəməl] (Beinn na Fadhla); SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛsˠt̪əˌvɑl̪] (#315 (iv)); SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiɟ̊əˌb̪ɔɾ̃ɔ(ɣ)] #329; LB **Hjart(a)vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑsˠt̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪ˠəˌviɣʲ] (#116); SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈvɑl̪ˠəˌməsˠ̪] #61; SL **Jarð(ar)bý* > GA *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̪i] #182; SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *[ˈkʰɑl̪̃ɑˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] > *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̃ɑˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #93; SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvɑl̪] (#98); SL **Karlavág* cusp. > GA *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌɟ̊əl̪] #97; SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̊kəˌviɣʲ] (#88); SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾˠʲˌɡʲɑɾi] #158; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔsˠəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #156; SL **Kvíanes* > GA *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰu̯(j)əˌniʃ] (#161); SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪̃ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Lómadal* no **Lóm-dal* cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈl̪̃ãːməˌɟ̊əl̪] #233; SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmãl̪̃ˠəˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɣʲ] #246; SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabˠəˌniʃ] (#340); SL **Rauðaskarð* > GA *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282; SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvɑl̪] (#303); SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kɑːl̪ˠəˌvɑl̪] (#257, bn 591); SL **Straum(a)klett* cusp. > GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, bn 452); SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãn̪ˠəˌb̪ɔsˠt̪] #311; SL **Svínafjall* no **Sveinafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãn̪ˠˊəvaɫ] (#311); SL **Tanganes* > GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌniʃ] #321; SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɫ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] #339; SL **Torfastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ɔˌs̪t̪aj] #337; SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [triɑɫəvɑɫ] (#295); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɫ̪ˠəˌvaʰt̪] (#296); SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̪aːɾəˌʃaɟ̊əɾ] #46; SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65; agus is dòcha teannachadh ann an SL **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̯ːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160; SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95).

2. Le binneas: SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈb̪u̯ˠ-u̯ˠˌniʃ] #89; SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650).

§45 3. Or > ScG [i], [ɪ] /i/ frequently before a palatal: ON **Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaˑdəɾ] #91; ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɣʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃaˑdəɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃaˑdəɾ]) #92; ON **Kvíasætr* > ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰʉ-iˌʃaˑdəɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌʃaˑdəɾ] #162; ON **Manasætr* or ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmã(ː)niˌʃaˑdəɾ] #244; ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈsuːl̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰãːɾɪˌɣʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410).

4. And where it is lost: through contraction, ON **Ulf(a)poll* acc. > ScG *[ˈul̪̆u(-ə)ˌbəl̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈuɫəˌbəl̪] (#222, fn 494) (mainland Scotland); or before a vowel, ON **Káraóss* > ScG *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔsˌ] #100.

§45 (iii) (b) (δ) ScG [a], [ɑ] /ɑ/ replaces an Old Norse syllable or syllables (with lengthening in the first instance, before shortening): ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɫaˌniʃ] #94; OWNorn **Ofansátr* > ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌsˌtəɾ] (#296, fn 700); CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾˌsɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650).

§46 §46 **ON *á***

§46 (i) In stressed syllables

§46 (i) (a) ON *á* > ScG [aː] [ɑː] /ɑː/: ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈgɾaːsˌəˌviɣʲ] #218; ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈtˌʰaːˌbɔsˌt] #315; ON **Há-klett* acc. > ScG *Tàcleit* [ˈtˌʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317; ON **Há-sætr* > ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃaˑdəɾ] #324; ON *háf* acc. > ScG *tàbh* [tˌʰaːv] (#315 (iii)); ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˌ(ə)məˌɣʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Káraóss* > ScG *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔsˌ] #100; ON **Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaˑdəɾ] #91; ON **Krák-holm* acc. > ScG *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːɣam] (#330); MNorw. **krāken* > ScG *cràigean* *[ˈkʰɾaːɣʲən] (#281, fn 647); ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈɫaːˌbɔsˌt] #229; ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌbɛɾ̆ʲəj ˈɫaːɣə] (#58); ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈsˌkaːɫəˌvaɫˌ] (#257, fn 591); ON *vág* acc. > ScG *bàgh* [bˌaːɣ] (#24); CSc. **Vágsøy* > ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌsɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˌaj] #60; ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbˌaːɾəˌʃaˑdəɾ] #46.

§46 (i) (b) ON *á* > ScG [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/, shortened before hiatus §41 (ii): ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾˌsɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650).

§46 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§46 (ii) (a) ON *á* > ScG [a] /ɑ/: OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈtˌʰãm̆̂nəˌvaɣ] #319; ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑɫˌəsˌˌvaɣ] #322; ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsˌəˌvaɣ] (#25); ON **Hyrnuvág*

§45 3. No > GA [i], [ɪ] /i/ gu tric ro chàireanach: SL **Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaˑdəɾ] #91; SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɣʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Kofasætr* > GA *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃaˑdəɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃaˑdəɾ]) #92; SL **Kvíasætr* > GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰʉ-iˌʃaˑdəɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌʃaˑdəɾ] #162; SL **Manasætr* no SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmã(ː)niˌʃaˑdəɾ] #244; SL **Súlasker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈsuːl̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰãːɾɪˌɣʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410).

4. Agus far an tèid i air chall: le teannachadh, SL **Ulf(a)poll* cusp. > GA *[ˈul̪̆u(-ə)ˌbəl̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈuɫəˌbəl̪] (#222, bn 494) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann); no ro fhuaimreig, SL **Káraóss* > GA *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔsˌ] #100.

§45 (iii) (b) (δ) Cuirear GA [a], [ɑ] /ɑː/ an àite lide no lidean Lochlannais (le fadachadh sa chiad char, an uair sin giorrachadh): SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɫaˌniʃ] #94; SNòrnI **Ofansátr* > GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌsˌtəɾ] (#296, bn 700); LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾˌsɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650).

§46 §46 **SL *á***

§46 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§46 (i) (a) SL *á* > GA [aː] [ɑː] /ɑː/: SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈgɾaːsˌəˌviɣʲ] #218; SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈtˌʰaːˌbɔsˌt] #315; SL **Há-klett* cusp. > GA *Tàcleit* [ˈtˌʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317; SL **Há-sætr* > GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃaˑdəɾ] #324; SL *háf* cusp. > GA *tàbh* [tˌʰaːv] (#315 (iii)); SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˌ(ə)məˌɣʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Káraóss* > GA *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔsˌ] #100; SL **Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaˑdəɾ] #91; SL **Krák-holm* cusp. > GA *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːɣam] (#330); MNirr. **krāken* > GA *cràigean* *[ˈkʰɾaːɣʲən] (#281, bn 647); SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈɫaːˌbɔsˌt] #229; SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌbɛɾ̆ʲəj ˈɫaːɣə] (#58); SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈsˌkaːɫəˌvaɫˌ] (#257, bn 591); SL *vág* cusp. > GA *bàgh* [bˌaːɣ] (#24); LB **Vágsøy* > GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˌɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˌaj] #60; SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbˌaːɾəˌʃaˑdəɾ] #46.

§46 (i) (b) SL *á* > GA [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/, air a ghiorrachadh ro bheàrnas §41 (ii): SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾˌsɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650).

§46 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-beumte:

§46 (ii) (a) SL *á* > GA [a] /ɑ/: SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈtˌʰãm̆̂nəˌvaɣ] #319; SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑɫˌəsˌˌvaɣ] #322; SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsˌəˌvaɣ] (#25); SL **Hyrnu·*

§46 acc. > ScG *Ùrnabhagh *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); ON *Karlavág acc. > ScG *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; ON *Leir-heim-vág acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmrəˌvaɣ] #235; ON *Seljugjá > ScG *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɟʲaɣ] (#281); ON *Stím-árvág acc. > ScG *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmrəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãmrəˌvaɣ], but *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãməˌɾaɣ] #310; ON *Stjǫrnuvág acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309.

§46 (ii) (b) ON *á* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/: OWNorn *Kjal-kváll* > ScG *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰɑl̪əɡ̊ˌvɔl̪] #101, with vowel alternation §43 (ii).

§46 (ii) (c) Final ON *-á* f. 'river' gives ScG -[a] in the first instance, e.g. ON *Lægð-á* > ScG *Leatha* *[ˈl̪ʲæ-**a**], *[ˈl̪ʲa-**a**] (#153); this open syllable is frequently closed by a velar fricative, e.g. ON *Gilsá* > ScG *Giosladh* [ˈɟ̊ʲisl̪̊aɣ] #206, and the oblique form of this ending -[aj] or -[ɛj] is often normalised as a radical form, hence ON *Eyrará* > ScG *Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊərəj̊] (#180, fn 399); ON *Harð-á* > ScG *Torraigh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] #338; ON *Hrís-á* > ScG *Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌs̪aj] (#200); ON *Lax-á* > ScG *Lacasaigh* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; ON*Torf-á* > ScG *Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aˌvaj] (#115).

§46 (iii) In medial elements in three-element names

§46 (iii) (a) ON *á* > ScG [a] /ɑ/: ON *Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈbɾa-**a**ˌɟ̊əɾʲ] #74; ON *Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲi-**a**ˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; ON *Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̊kaˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#125, fn 278).

§46 (iii) (b) ON *á* > ScG [ə] /ə/, with further reduction, in ON *Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɟ̊əˌs̪t̪aj] #294. For OWNorn *Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG *Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌs̪t̪əl̪] and OWNorn *Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* (*[ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəʃˌvaɬ̪] >) [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌʃaɬ̪], cf. OWNorn *Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌvaɣ] #319.

§46 (iv) The preposition ON *á*
If ON *Borgin á Glumm* is represented by ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈɡ̊l̪̊õũm] #48, no certain trace of the preposition survives.

§47 §47 **ON *e***

§47 (i) In stressed syllables

§47 (i) (a) ON *e* > ScG [e] /e/ before palatals: ON *bergi* dat. > ScG *beirgh* [ˈb̥e͡ɾʲej] (#57); ON *Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾ̂ʲøj ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58), with [ø] an allophone of /e/; ON *Erjustǫð* > ScG *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪taɣ] #180; ON *Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* [eʃɑʟ] (#4); ON *klett* (*kletti*) acc. (dat.) > ScG *cleite* [ˈkʰlʲeʰtʲə] (#129); ON *Klettar* pl. > ScG *Cleitir* [ˈkʰlʲeʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; ON *Sef-sætr* > ScG *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃaɖ̊əɾ] #288; ON *Seljugjá* > ScG *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɟ̊ʲaɣ] (#281); ON

vág cusp. > GA *Ùrnabhagh *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); SL *Karlavág cusp. > GA *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; SL *Leir-heim-vág cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmrəˌvaɣ] #235; SL *Seljugjá > GA *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɟ̊ʲaɣ] (#281); SL *Stím-árvág cusp. > GA *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmrəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãmrəˌvaɣ], ach *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãməˌɾaɣ] #310; SL *Stjǫrnuvág cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309. §46

§46 (ii) (b) SL *á* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/: SNòrnI *Kjal-kváll* > GA *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰɑl̪əɡ̊ˌvɔl̪] #101, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (ii).

§46 (ii) (c) Bheir SL *-á* b. deiridh 'abhainn' GA -[a] sa chiad char, m.e. SL *Lægð-á* > GA *Leatha* *[ˈl̪ʲæ-**a**], *[ˈl̪ʲa-**a**] (#153); thèid an lide fhosgailte seo a dhùnadh gu tric le suathach sgannach, m.e. SL *Gilsá* > GA *Giosladh* [ˈɟ̊ʲisl̪̊aɣ] #206, agus thèid cruth claon an dùnaidh seo -[aj] no -[ɛj] àbhaisteachadh gu tric na chruth bunasach, às a sin SL *Eyrará* > GA *Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊərəj̊] (#180, bn 399); SL *Harð-á* > GA *Torraigh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] #338; SL *Hrís-á* > GA *Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌs̪aj] (#200); SL *Lax-á* > GA *Lacasaigh* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; SL *Torf-á* > GA *Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aˌvaj] (#115).

§46 (iii) Ann an eileamaidean meadhain ann an ainmean trì-eileamaideach

§46 (iii) (a) SL *á* > GA [a] /ɑ/: SL *Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradhagair* [ˈbɾa-**a**ˌɟ̊əɾʲ] #74; SL *Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲi-**a**ˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; SL *Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̊kaˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#125, bn 278).

§46 (iii) (b) SL *á* > GA [ə] /ə/, le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh, ann an SL *Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɟ̊əˌs̪t̪aj] #294. Airson SNòrnI *Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA *Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌs̪t̪əl̪] agus SNòrnI *Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* (*[ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəʃˌvaɬ̪] >) [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌʃaɬ̪], coim. SNòrnI *Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̂ãnəˌvaɣ] #319.

§46 (iv) An roimhear SL *á*
Ma riochdaichear SL *Borgin á Glumm* le GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈɡ̊l̪̊õũm] #48, chan eil lorg chinnteach air an roimhear.

§47 §47 **SL *e***

§47 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§47 (i) (a) SL *e* > GA [e] /e/ ro chàireanaich: SL *bergi* tabh. > GA *beirgh* [ˈb̥e͡ɾʲej] (#57); SL *Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾ̂ʲøj ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58), agus [ø] na eilfhuinneam aig /e/; SL *Erjustǫð* > GA *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪taɣ] #180; SL *Esjufjall* > GA *Eiseal* [eʃɑʟ] (#4); SL *klett* (*kletti*) cusp. (tabh.) > GA *cleite* [ˈkʰlʲeʰtʲə] (#129); SL *Klettar* iol. > GA *Cleitir* [ˈkʰlʲeʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; SL *Sef-sætr* > GA *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃaɖ̊əɾ] #288; SL *Seljugjá* > GA *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɟ̊ʲaɣ] (#281); SL §47

§47 *Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), fn 65); ON **Skegg-nes* > ScG **Sgeigi·nis* *[ˈsˠkʲeɡˠʲəˌniʃ] (#294); ON *sker* > ScG *sgeir* [sˠkʲeɾʲ] (#292); ON **Steð-nes* > ScG *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308, with compensatory lengthening .

§47 (i) (b) ON *e* > ScG [ɛ] /ɛ/ before non-palatals: ON **Brekkur* pl. > ScG *Breacair* [bˠɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); ON **Hekla* > ScG *Teacal* (*AFB*, s.v.) /tʲɛxgəl/, (nMO) [hæxkəl] (#315 (iv), fn 768) (South Uist); ON **Herað* sg. (or **Heruð* pl.) > ScG *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] (#254); ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛsˠtəˌvɑl̪] (#315 (iv)) (but ON **Hest(a)holm* > ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tˈesdəməl] (Benbecula) (#159)).

§47 (i) (c) ON *e* > ScG [i] /i/, with vowel alternation §43 (iii): ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈɡɾʲiɡəˌsˠpɔl̪] #222; ON **Nes* > ScG *Nis* [nˠĩʃ] §3 (i); ON *sef* > ScG *siobh* *[ʃiv] > *siobhag* [ˈʃivaɡ] (#288, fn 674); ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈsˠkʲiɡəˌsˠtaj] #294.

§47 (i) (d) ON *e* > ScG [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/ before [l̪] /l/ and [ɾ] /ʁ/: ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃l̪̃ˌbˠɔsˠt] #248; ON **Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* [ˈsˠkʲɑl̪əˌsˠkɾo] #291; ON **Skelludal* acc. > ScG *Sgealadal* [ˈsˠkʲɑl̪əˌd̪əl̪] #290; ON *gerði* > EG **[ˈɡʲeɾʲðʲi] > ScG *geàrraidh* [ˈɡʲɑːɾi] (#192), with lengthening (Cox 2007, 61–63); and before [ɾ] in ON **Gerða* > ScG **Geardha* *[ˈɡʲaɾ̂ɣə] (#191).

§47 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§47 (ii) (a) ON *e* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON **Heið-berg* acc. > ScG **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌbˠəɾʲə] (#58); ON **Heið-bergi* dat. > ScG *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌbˠəɾʲi] (#58), with further reduction; ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːbˠəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈsˠuːl̪ˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§47 (ii) (b) ON *e* > ScG [e] /e/ before ON *-tt*: ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌsˠkleʰtʲ] #79; ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* [ˈbˠɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌsˠkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; ON **Straum(a)klett* acc. > ScG *Stròmacleit* *[ˈsˠtɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); and in ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰliaˠsəmˌkʰɾʲeɡ̊] (#131), cf. ScG *creag* [kʰɾʲeɡ̊].

§47 (ii) (c) ON *e* > ScG [i] /i/ in ON *-nes*: ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈbˠu-ˤˌniʃ] #89; ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10); ON **Fé-nes* > ScG **Fianis* *[ˈfĩəˌniʃ] (#281, fn 649); ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪aˌniʃ] #94; ON **Korn-nes* > ScG *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɳiʃ] #99; ON **Kvíanes* > ScG *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰuˤ(j)əˌniʃ] (#161); ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmɑl̪əˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Oknes* > ScG *Aiginis* [ˈaɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ] #4; ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabˠəˌniʃ] (#340); ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃɪ̟iɲ̊ʲtʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiɲ̊ʲtʲəˌniʃ]

§47 *Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), bn 65); SL **Skegg-nes* > GA **Sgeigi·nis* *[ˈsˠkʲeɡˠʲəˌniʃ] (#294); SL *sker* > GA *sgeir* [sˠkʲeɾʲ] (#292); SL **Steð-nes* > GA *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh.

§47 (i) (b) SL *e* > GA [ɛ] /ɛ/ ro neo-chàireanaich: SL **Brekkur* iol. > GA *Breacair* [bˠɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); SL **Hekla* > GA *Teacal* (#315 (iv)) (*AFB*, s.v.) /tʲɛxgəl/, (nMO) [hæxkəl] (#315 (iv), bn 768) (Uibhist a Deas); SL **Herað* sg. (no **Heruð* iol.) > GA *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] (#254); SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛsˠtəˌvɑl̪] (#315 (iv)) (ach SL **Hest(a)holm* > GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tˈesdəməl] (Beinn na Fadhla) (#159)).

§47 (i) (c) SL *e* > GA [i] /i/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (iii): SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈɡɾʲiɡəˌsˠpɔl̪] #222; SL **Nes* > GA *Nis* [nˠĩʃ] §3 (i); SL *sef* > GA *siobh* *[ʃiv] > *siobhag* [ˈʃivaɡ] (#288, bn 674); SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈsˠkʲiɡəˌsˠtaj] #294.

§47 (i) (d) SL *e* > GA [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/ ro [l̪] /l/ agus [ɾ] /ʁ/: SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃l̪̃ˌbˠɔsˠt] #248; SL **Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* [ˈsˠkʲɑl̪əˌsˠkɾo] #291; SL **Skelludal* cusp. > GA *Sgealadal* [ˈsˠkʲɑl̪əˌd̪əl̪] #290; SL *gerði* > GT *[ˈgʲeɾʲðʲi] > GA *geàrraidh* [ˈɡʲɑːɾi] (#192), le fadachadh (Cox 2007, 61–63); agus ro [ɾ] ann an SL **Gerða* > GA **Geardha* *[ˈɡʲaɾ̂ɣə] (#191).

§47 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte:

§47 (ii) (a) SL *e* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL **Heið-berg* cusp. > GA **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌbˠəɾʲə] (#58); SL **Heið-bergi* tabh. > GA *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌbˠəɾʲi] (#58), le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh; SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːbˠəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); SL **Súlasker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈsˠuːl̪ˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§47 (ii) (b) SL *e* > GA [e] /e/ ro SL *-tt*: SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheas·cleit* [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌsˠkleʰtʲ] #79; SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* [ˈbˠɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌsˠkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; SL **Straum(a)klett* cusp. > GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈsˠtɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); agus ann an SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰliaˠsəmˌkʰɾʲeɡ̊] (#131), coim. GA *creag* [kʰɾʲeɡ̊].

§47 (ii) (c) SL *e* > GA [i] /i/ ann an SL *-nes*: SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈbˠu-ˤˌniʃ] #89; SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10); SL **Fé-nes* > GA **Fianis* *[ˈfĩəˌniʃ] (#281, bn 649); SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪aˌniʃ] #94; SL **Korn-nes* > GA *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɳiʃ] #99; SL **Kvíanes* > GA *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰuˤ(j)əˌniʃ] (#161); SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmɑl̪əˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Ok-nes* > GA *Aiginis* [ˈaɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ] #4; SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabˠəˌniʃ] (#340); SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃɪ̟iɲ̊ʲtʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiɲ̊ʲtʲəˌniʃ] #299; SL

#299; ON **Skegg-nes* > ScG **Sgeiginis* *[ˈsˠkʲeɡʲəˌnʲʃ] (#294); ON **Steð-nes* > ScG *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲɛ̃ːˌnʲʃ] #308; ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈsˠtˠɾɛ̃ːməˌnʲʃ] (#203, fn 452); ON **Tanganes* > ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌnʲʃ] #321; ON **Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌnʲʃ] #336.

§47 (ii) (d) ON *e* > ScG [ɑ] /ɑ/ in ON *-gerði*: ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈbʲeɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˠ(ə)məˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; OWNorn **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰɯ̟̃ũˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342; except where the vowel has been reduced: ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɛ̃ːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410).

§48 **ON *é***

In stressed syllables, ON *é* > ScG [ĩə] / ĩə/ before a nasal: ON **Fé-nes* > ScG **Fianis* *[ˈfĩəˌnʲʃ] (#281, fn 649).

§49 **ON *i***

§49 (i) In stressed syllables

§49 (i) (a) ON *i* > ScG [i] /i/: ON *fit* > ScG **fid* *[fiḓʲ] (*An Fhideach* [əˈn̪ʲiḓʲɔx]) (#147, fn 304); ON *gil* > ScG *gil* [ɡ̊ʲil] (#204); ON **Gilsá* > ScG *[ˈɡ̊ʲiɫˠsaɣ] > *Giosladh* [ˈɡ̊ʲisˠɫˠaɣ] #206; ON *Hirtir* pl. > ScG *Hiort* [hiʂt] (#315); ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiḓəˌb̥ɔɾ̃ə(ɣ)] #329; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiᵋkʲəˌb̥ɔsˠt̪] #125; ON *klif* > ScG *clibh* [kʰlif] (#132); ON **Klifsgróf* > ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌsˠkɾo] (#132); ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* [ˈkʰliʃam] (#132); ON *stig* acc. > ScG *stiogha* [ˈʃtʲiɣə] (#80, fn 180); ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌɫaɾʲi] (#95); ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌʂt̪aɣ] (#95); ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪ḓ̊əˌn̪am] (#67).

§49 (i) (b) ON *i* > ScG [ɯ] [ɯ̟] /ɯ/, in juxtaposition to a labial fricative: ON *rifa* > ScG *riobh* [ɾuf] (or [ɾɪf]) (#280); ON *vindauga* > ScG *uinneag* [ˈɯ̟̃ɲaɡ̊] (#67); (with compensatory lengthening) ON **Vin-sætr* > ScG **Uinseadar* *[ˈɯ̟̃ːˌʃaḓ̊əɾ] (#67).

§49 (i) (c) Final ON *-gi* survives as a semivowel in ON *bergi* dat. > ScG *beirgh* [ˈbʲeɾʲʃ͡ej] (#57).

§49 (i) (d) ON *i* > ScG [iː] /iː/, with compensatory lengthening: ON **Við-vík* (or **Víð-vík*) > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #185.

§49 (i) (e) ON *i* > ScG [ei] /ei/, with lengthening before heavy clusters: ON **Sild-

**Skegg-nes* > GA **Sgeiginis* *[ˈsˠkʲeɡ̊ʲəˌnʲʃ] (#294); SL **Steð-nes* > GA *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲɛ̃ːˌnʲʃ] #308; SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈsˠtˠɾɛ̃ːməˌnʲʃ] (#203, bn 452); SL **Tanganes* > GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌnʲʃ] #321; SL **Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌnʲʃ] #336.

§47

§47 (ii) (d) SL *e* > GA [ɑ] /ɑ/ ann an SL *-gerði*: SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈbʲeɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˠ(ə)məˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰɯ̟̃ũˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342; ach far an deach an fhuaimreag a lùghdachadh: SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɛ̃ːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410).

§48 **SL *é***

Ann an lidean beumte, SL *é* > GA [ĩə] /ĩə/ ro shrònach: SL **Fé-nes* > GA **Fianis* *[ˈfĩəˌnʲʃ] (#281, bn 649).

§48

§49 **SL *i***

§49 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§49 (i) (a) SL *i* > GA [i] /i/: SL *fit* > GA **fid* *[fiḓʲ] (*An Fhideach* [əˈn̪ʲiḓʲɔx]) (#147, bn 304); SL *gil* > GA *gil* [ɡ̊ʲil] (#204); SL **Gilsá* > GA *[ˈɡ̊ʲiɫˠsaɣ] > *Giosladh* [ˈɡ̊ʲisˠɫˠaɣ] #206; SL *Hirtir* iol. > GA *Hiort* [hiʂt] (#315); SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiḓəˌb̥ɔɾ̃ə(ɣ)] #329; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiᵋkʲəˌb̥ɔsˠt̪] #125; SL *klif* > GA *clibh* [kʰlif] (#132); SL **Klifsgróf* > GA *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌsˠkɾo] (#132); SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* [ˈkʰliʃam] (#132); SL *stig* cusp. > GA *stiogha* [ˈʃtʲiɣə] (#80, bn 180); SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌɫaɾʲi] (#95); SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌʂt̪aɣ] (#95); SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪ḓ̊əˌn̪am] (#67).

§49 (i) (b) SL *i* > GA [ɯ] [ɯ̟] /ɯ/, an gar ri suathach bileach: SL *rifa* > GA *riobh* [ɾuf] (no [ɾɪf]) (#280); SL *vindauga* > GA *uinneag* [ˈɯ̟̃ɲaɡ̊] (#67); (le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh) SL **Vin-sætr* > GA **Uinseadar* *[ˈɯ̟̃ːˌʃaḓ̊əɾ] (#67).

§49 (i) (c) Mairidh SL *-gi* dheiridh na leth-fhuaimreig ann an SL *bergi* tabh. > GA *beirgh* [ˈbʲeɾʲʃ͡ej] (#57).

§49 (i) (d) SL *i* > GA [iː] /iː/, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL **Við-vík* (no **Víð-vík*) > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #185.

§49 (i) (e) SL *i* > GA [ei] /ei/, le fadachadh ro chòmhlain troma: SL **Sild-holm*

§49 *holm* acc. > ScG *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛɨʲæm] #299; ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛɨʲənʲiʃ] [ˈʃeiʲənʲiʃ] (#299); ON **Tindar* > ScG *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩɲdʲəɾʲ] (#270); ON **Tind-land* > ScG **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩɲdʲə ɫan] (#270).

§49 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

ON *i* > ScG [i] [ɪ] /i/: ON **Brynugil* > ScG *Bruinigil* [ˈbɾʊĩnəˌgʲil] #84; ON **Galt·argil* > ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈgɑlt̃ɾəˌgʲil] (#188) (Skye); ON **Geis-gil* > ScG *Gìsgil* *[ˈgʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, fn 453) (Sutherland); ON **Marsgil* > ScG *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌsk̟ɪl] #257; ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈgɑːɾi] (#172); ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhoː] (#172); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhɔːɬə] (#172); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§49 (iii) In medial elements in three-element names

ON *i* > ScG [i] /i/ before a palatal or [ə] /ə/: ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲi ˌʃaɬ] #164; ON **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̟ːlə ˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163.

§49 (iv) In unstressed syllables

§49 (iv) (a) ON *i* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈbʲeŋnəˌgʲɑɾi] #49; ON **Grafir* > ScG *Grabhair* [ˈgɾavəɾʲ] #217; ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬəʃˌvɑɬ] > [ˈmĩãɬəˌʃɑɬ] (#252); ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; ON **Malir* > ScG **Molair* *[ˈmɔɬəɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɬəɾ(ʲ)] (#273); ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈgɑːɾi] (#172); ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhoː] (#172); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhɔːɬə] (#172); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§49 (iv) (b) ScG [i] /i/ is retained before a palatal in ON *byrðing* acc. > ScG *birlinn* [ˈbʲiːl̪ʲɲ] (#184).

§49 (iv) (c) Final ON *-rði* yields ScG [ɾi] /ʁi/: ON *gerði* > ScG *geàrraidh* [ˈgʲɑːɾi] (#192); ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌgʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌʲˌgʲɑɾi] #158; unless the vowel is lost through vowel reduction and apocope §44 (iii): ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌgʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410).

§49 (iv) (d) ON *-i* is lost through apocope §44 (iii) in ON *dali* dat. (the loan-word) > ScG *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̪al(ə)] (#167); ON **Dali* dat. (the loan-name) > ScG *Dail* [d̪al] #166; ON **Króki* > ScG *Còig* [kʰɾɔːgʲ] (#47); ON **Papýli* > ScG *Pabail* [ˈpʰabʲəl] #261; ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩãniʎtʲ] #293; also in the case of ON *Hirtir* pl. > ScG *Hiort* [hiʂt̪] (#315).

§49 (iv) (e) Although little trace survives of the suffixed article, it would be expected in the following: (no trace) ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG

cusp. > GA *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛɨʲæm] #299; SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛɨʲənʲiʃ] [ˈʃeiʲənʲiʃ] (#299); SL **Tindar* > GA *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩɲdʲəɾʲ] (#270); SL **Tind-land* > GA **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩɲdʲə ɫan] (#270). §49

§49 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

SL *i* > GA [i] [ɪ] /i/: SL **Brynugil* > GA *Bruinigil* [ˈbɾʊĩnəˌgʲil] #84; SL **Galtargil* > GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈgɑlt̃ɾəˌgʲil] (#188) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Geis-gil* > GA *Gìsgil* *[ˈgʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, bn 453) (Cataibh); SL **Marsgil* > GA *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kɪl] #257; SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈgɑːɾi] (#172); SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhoː] (#172); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhɔːɬə] (#172); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§49 (iii) Ann an eileamaidean meadhain ann an ainmean trì-eileamaideach

SL *i* > GA [i] /i/ ro chàireanach no [ə] /ə/: SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲi ˌʃaɬ] #164; SL **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̟ːlə ˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163.

§49 (iv) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte

§49 (iv) (a) SL *i* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈbʲeŋnəˌgʲɑɾi] #49; SL **Grafir* > GA *Grabhair* [ˈgɾavəɾʲ] #217; SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬəʃˌvɑɬ] > [ˈmĩãɬəˌʃɑɬ] (#252); SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; SL **Malir* > GA **Molair* *[ˈmɔɬəɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɬəɾ(ʲ)] (#273); SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈgɑːɾi] (#172); SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhoː] (#172); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhɔːɬə] (#172); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§49 (iv) (b) Gleidhear GA [i] /i/ ro chàireanach ann an SL *byrðing* cusp. > GA *birlinn* [ˈbʲiːl̪ʲɲ] (#184).

§49 (iv) (c) Bheir SL *-rði* dheiridh GA [ɾi] /ʁi/: SL *gerði* > GA *geàrraidh* [ˈgʲɑːɾi] (#192); SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌgʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌʲˌgʲɑɾi] #158; mana caillear an fhuaimreag le lùghdachadh fuaimreige agus teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii): SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌgʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410).

§49 (iv) (d) Caillear SL *-i* le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii) ann an SL *dali* tabh. (am facal-iasaid) > GA *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̪al(ə)] (#167); SL **Dali* tabh. (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA *Dail* [d̪al] #166; SL **Króki* > GA *Còig* [kʰɾɔːgʲ] (#47); SL **Papýli* > GA *Pabail* [ˈpʰabʲəl] #261; SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩãniʎtʲ] #293; cuideachd san t-seagh SL *Hirtir* iol. > GA *Hiort* [hiʂt̪] (#315).

§49 (iv) (e) Cha mhòr gum mair lorg den alt iar-leasaichte, ach bhite an dùil ris anns na leanas: (gun lorg) SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA

§49 *Gormille Bhat* [ˌgɔɾ͡ɔmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); (in the semi-vowel) ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾ͡ʲə̯j ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58); (in ScG [ə] /ə/) ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erˊə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, fn 399); ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈʎɔːʃ] (#63), and perhaps in ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] #48; (in ScG [ə] /ə/ + following nasal) > MNorw. **krāken* > ScG *cràigean* *[ˈkʰɾaːg̊ʲən] (#281, fn 647); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲʲiːb̥] (#168); ON **Vǫtnin* > ScG *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (Skye).

§50 **§50 ON *í***

§50 (i) In stressed syllables

§50 (i) (a) ON *í* > ScG [iː] /iː/: ON **Hrís-á* > ScG **Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌs̪aj] (#200); ON **Lín-sætr* > ScG *Lìnseadar* [ˈʎĩːˌʃad̪ɔɾ] #236; ON **Síð(u)ffǫrð* acc. > ScG **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪] (#113); ON **Víð-vík* or **Við-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɠʲ] #185.

§50 (i) (b) ON *í* > ScG [ĩã] /ĩã/ before a nasal: ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩəməˌʂt̪aɣ] #223; ON **Lín-hól* acc. > ScG *Lìonal* [ˈʎĩãnɑl̪], [ˈʎĩãnɔl̪] #237; ON *síma* obl. > ScG **sìoma* > *sìoman* [ˈʃĩãman] (#223); ON **Stím-árvág* acc. > ScG *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãmɾəˌvaɣ] and *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãməˌɾaɣ] #310.

§50 (i) (c) In juxtaposition with ON *v-*, where the stressed vowel of the syllable is rounded and where the fronting of ON *í* normally only survives in a following palatal semi-vowel or palatalised consonant; a diphthong is sometimes found before a consonant.

§50 (i) (c) (α) ON *ví*: CSc. **Víð-ǫy* > ScG **Bhuidhea* [ˈvu̯ja] (#67); ON *vík* > ScG *ùig* *[ˈu̯ːg̊ʲ] (the loan-word) (*Na h-Ùigean* [nə ˈhu̯ːg̊ʲən]) (#345); ON **Vík* > ScG *Ùig* [ˈu̯ːg̊ʲ] (the loan-name) (#12).

§50 (i) (c) (β) ON *hví*: ON **Hvít-ey* > ScG *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fu̯ːdˊʲæj] (#67, fn 148) (Barra).

§50 (i) (c) (γ) ON *kví*: ON **Kvíanes* > ScG *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰu̯**(j)**əˌniʃ] (#161); ON **Kvíar* pl. > ScG *Cuidhir* [ˈkʰu̯**j**ʲ(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰu̯**j**ʲ(ʰ)əɾʲ] #161; ON **Kvíasætr* > ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̯-iˌʃad̪ɔɾ] > [ˈkʰ**əi**ˌʃad̪ɔɾ] #162; ON **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̯ːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] (/lˊ/) #163; ON **Kví-sætr* > ScG **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰ**əi**ˌʃad̪ɔɾ] (#292); ON **Kví-vík* > ScG *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰ**əi**ˌviɠʲ] (#160); ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰ**əi**vəˌt̪oʰn̪t̪əɾ] #160; and, in weakly stressed position, ON **Kvín Ranga* > ScG *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰ**ə(i)** ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, fn 342).

§49 *Gormille Bhat* [ˌgɔɾ͡ɔmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); (san leth-fhuaimreig) SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾ͡ʲə̯j ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58); (ann an GA [ə] /ə/) SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erˊə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, bn 399); SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈʎɔːʃ] (#63), agus is dòcha ann an SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] #48; (ann an GA [ə] /ə/ + sròn ach na dèidh) MNirr. **krāken* > GA *cràigean* *[ˈkʰɾaːg̊ʲən] (#281, bn 647); LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲʲiːb̥] (#168); SL **Vǫtnin* > GA *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

§50 **SL *í***

§50 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§50 (i) (a) SL *í* > GA [iː] /iː/: SL **Hrís-á* > GA **Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌs̪aj] (#200); SL **Lín-sætr* > GA *Lìnseadar* [ˈʎĩːˌʃad̪ɔɾ] #236; SL **Síð(u)ffǫrð* cusp. > GA **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪] (#113); SL **Víð-vík* no **Við-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɠʲ] #185.

§50 (i) (b) SL *í* > GA [ĩã] /ĩã/ ro shrònach: SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩəməˌʂt̪aɣ] #223; SL **Lín-hól* cusp. > GA *Lìonal* [ˈʎĩãnɑl̪], [ˈʎĩãnɔl̪] #237; SL *síma* cl. > GA **sìoma* > *sìoman* [ˈʃĩãman] (#223); SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. > GA *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãmɾəˌvaɣ] agus *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩãməˌɾaɣ] #310.

§50 (i) (c) An gar ri SL *v-*, far an tèid fuaimreag bheumte na lide a chruinneachadh agus mar as trice nach mair lorg air adhartachadh na fuaimreige SL *í* ach ann an leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich no connraig chàireanaichte na dèidh; gheibhear dà-fhoghar air uairean ro chonnraig.

§50 (i) (c) (α) SL *ví*: LB **Víð-ǫy* > GA **Bhuidhea* [ˈvu̯ja] (#67); SL *vík* > GA *ùig* *[ˈu̯ːg̊ʲ] (am facal-iasaid) (*Na h-Ùigean* [nə ˈhu̯ːg̊ʲən]) (#345); SL **Vík* > GA *Ùig* [ˈu̯ːg̊ʲ] (an t-ainm-iasaid) (#12).

§50 (i) (c) (β) SL *hví*: SL **Hvít-ey*> GA *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fu̯ːdˊʲæj] (#67, bn 148) (Barraigh).

§50 (i) (c) (γ) SL *kví*: SL **Kvíanes* > GA *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰu̯**(j)**əˌniʃ] (#161); SL **Kvíar* iol. > GA *Cuidhir* [ˈkʰu̯**j**ʲ(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰu̯**j**ʲ(ʰ)əɾʲ] #161; SL **Kvíasætr* > GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̯-iˌʃad̪ɔɾ] > [ˈkʰ**əi**ˌʃad̪ɔɾ] #162; SL **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̯ːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] (/lˊ/) #163; SL **Kví-sætr* > GA **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰ**əi**ˌʃad̪ɔɾ] (#292); SL **Kví-vík* > GA *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰ**əi**ˌviɠʲ] (#160); SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰ**əi**vəˌt̪oʰn̪t̪əɾ] #160; agus, ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, SL **Kvín Ranga* > GA *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰ**ə(i)** ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, bn 342).

§50 §50 (i) (c) (ð) ON *sví*: ON **Svínabólstað* acc. or **Sveinabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãn̪əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #311; ON **Svínafjall* or **Sveinafjall* > ScG *Suainea·bhal* (MO) [sũãnˊəvaʟ] (#311); constrast ON **Svín-fjǫrð* acc. or **Svan-fjǫrð* > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɾs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (mainland Scotland).

§50 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables
ON *í* > ScG [i] /i/: ON **Breið-vík* > ScG *Brèibhig* [ˈb̪ɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #76; ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #218; ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːɬ̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#116); ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̪kəˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#88); ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #159; ON **Kví-vík* > ScG *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰəiˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#160); ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰɪr̝̊ˌviɣ̊ʲ] #124; ON **Maravík* > ScG *Mara·bhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #246; ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #285 and ScG *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɣ̊ʲ] #286; ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #302; ON **Þórsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɣ̊ʲ] (#56, fn 110); ON **Víð-vík* or **Við-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #185; but ON **Djúp-vík* > ScG **Diùbaig* [ˈd̪ʲuːb̪ɛɣ̊ʲ] (#168) (Skye), with morphemic substitution, cf. §37 (i) (d).

§50 (iii) In medial elements in three-element names
ON *í* > ScG [i] /i/ or [ə] /ə], with further reduction: ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰuːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160; ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃuːliˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #301.

§50 (iv) In unstressed syllables
ON *í* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəs̪ɔd̪̊] (#180, fn 399).

§51 §51 **ON nasal *í***
Nasal *í* occurs in ON *Ívar* acc. > EG *Íṁar* > ScG *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ] (#142).

§52 §52 **ON *o***

§52 (i) In stressed syllables

§52 (i) (a) ON *o* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/: ON **Borg* > ScG *Borgh* [ˈb̪ɔr̝̊ɣ] #68; OWNorn **Borg-sátr* (< ON **Borg-sætr*) > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔr̝̊(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 701); ON **Borg-stafn* or OWNorn **Borg-stamn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈbɔr̝̊-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; ON **brokka* > ScG **broc*(*a*) *[ˈb̪ɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nəˈb̪ɾɔhkəɲ̪] (#80)); ON *botn* > ScG *bot* [b̪ɔʰt̪̃] (#341, fn 827); ON **Botn-gróf* > ScG **Botagro* *[ˈb̪ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, fn 827); ON **Bozsætr* > ScG **Boiseadar* *[ˈb̪ɔˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#341); ON **Brokkur* pl. > ScG *Brocair* [ˈb̪ɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; ON *dorg* > ScG *dorgh* [ˈd̪ɔr̝̊ɣ] (#47); ON *fors* > ScG *fors* [ˈfɔs̪] (*Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ̪ əˈh̪ɔs̪ə]) (#180, fn 400); ON **Holm* acc. > ScG *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃m] #330; ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corca·bhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̪kəˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#88); ON **Kross* > ScG *Cros* [kʰɾɔs̪̃] #155; ON **Krossa·*

§50 §50 (i) (c) (ð) SL *sví*: SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. no **Sveinabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãn̪əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #311; SL **Svínafjall* no **Sveinafjall* > GA *Suainea·bhal* (MO) [sũãnˊəvaʟ] (#311); iomsgaraich SL **Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. no **Svan-fjǫrð* > GA *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɾs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§50 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte
SL *í* > GA [i] /i/: SL **Breið-vík* > GA *Brèibhig* [ˈb̪ɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #76; SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #218; SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːɬ̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#116); SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̪kəˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#88); SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #159; SL **Kví-vík* > GA *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰəiˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#160); SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰɪr̝̊ˌviɣ̊ʲ] #124; SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #246; SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #285 agus GA *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɣ̊ʲ] #286; SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #302; SL **Þórs·vík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɣ̊ʲ] (#56, bn 110); SL **Víð-vík* no **Við-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #185; ach SL **Djúp-vík* > GA **Diùbaig* [ˈd̪ʲuːb̪ɛɣ̊ʲ] (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach), le ionadachadh cruitheamach, coim. §37 (i) (d).

§50 (iii) Ann an eileamaidean meadhain ann an ainmean trì-eileamaideach
SL *í* > GA [i] /i/ no [ə] /ə], le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh: SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰuːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160; SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃuːliˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #301.

§50 (iv) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte
SL *í* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəs̪ɔd̪̊] (#180, bn 399).

§51 **§51 SL *í* shrònach**
Nochdaidh *í* shrònach ann an SL *Ívar* cusp. > GT *Íṁar* > GA *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ] (#142).

§52 **§52 SL *o***

§52 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§52 (i) (a) SL *o* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/: SL **Borg* > GA *Borgh* [ˈb̪ɔr̝̊ɣ] #68; SNòrnI **Borg-sátr* (< SL **Borg-sætr*) > GA *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔr̝̊(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 701); SL **Borg-stafn* no SNòrnI **Borg-stamn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔr̝̊-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; SL **brokka* > GA **broc*(*a*) *[ˈb̪ɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nəˈb̪ɾɔhkəɲ̪] (#80)); SL *botn* > GA *bot* [b̪ɔʰt̪̃] (#341, bn 827); SL **Botn-gróf* > GA **Botagro* *[ˈb̪ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, bn 827); SL **Bozsætr* > GA **Boiseadar* *[ˈb̪ɔˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#341); SL **Brokkur* iol. > GA *Brocair* [ˈb̪ɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; SL *dorg* > GA *dorgh* [ˈd̪ɔr̝̊ɣ] (#47); SL *fors* > GA *fors* [ˈfɔs̪] (*Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ̪ əˈh̪ɔs̪ə]) (#180, bn 400); SL **Holm* cusp. > GA *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃m] #330; SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̪kəˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#88); SL **Kross* > GA *Cros* [kʰɾɔs̪̃] #155; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA

§52 *bólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔsˌə̪ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Kross-stein* acc. > ScG **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240); CSc. **Orfirisøy* > ScG *Orasaigh* (*[ˈɔr̂vəs̪æj] > *[ˈɔr̂-əs̪æj] >) [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259; ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, fn 94); ON **Rokk-stainn* > ScG *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌs̪t̪aŋ̪] (#48, fn 94); ON *skor* > ScG *sgor* [s̪kɔɾ] (the loan-word) (#201); ON **Skor* > ScG **Sgor* *[s̪kɔɾ] (the loan-name) (#201); ON **slǫkk* > ScG *sloc* (*slochd*) [s̪l̪ɔxk] (#229, fn 517); ON **Þolfsstaðir* > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̂ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #331; ON *þorsk* acc. > ScG *trosg* [t̪ʰɾɔs̪k] (#31 (i)), with metathesis §40 (ii).

§52 (i) (b) ON *o* > ScG [o] /o/, frequently before an original labial (or labial fricative): ON *boða* obl. > ScG *bodha* [ˈb̥**o**-o], [ˈb̥**o**-ə] (#89); ON *boga* obl. > ScG *bogha* [ˈb̥**o**-o], [ˈb̥**o**-ə] (#74); ON *klofa* obl. > ScG *clobha* [ˈkʰl̪̊**o**-ə] (#281, fn 641); ON *lopt* > ScG *lobhta* [ˈl̪̊**o**ʰt̪ə] (#5, fn 17); ON *topt* > ScG *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪ə] (#339); ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪̊], [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪̊] #339; ON *þopta* > ScG *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪ə] (#5, fn 17).

§52 (i) (c) ON *o* > ScG [ʉ̟] /ʉ/, with raising before an original palatal cluster: ON *Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈg̊ɾʉ̟̃m̂ʉ̟̃ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #224.

§52 (i) (d) ON *o* > ScG [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/, with vowel alternation §43 (i): ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰ**a**-iˌg̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithi·seadar* [ˈkʰ**a**-iˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #92); ON **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > ScG *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰ**a**vəˌs̪t̪aj] #90; ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾ]; ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkʰ**a**ʰpəˌd̪əl̪̊] #97; ON **Korn-nes* > ScG *Càrnis* [ˈkʰ**ɑ**ːˌɲɪʃ] #99; ON **Oddabrokka* > ScG *Adabroc* [ˈ**a**d̪̊əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] #3; OWNorn **Ofansátr* (ON **Fyrir Ofan Sætr*) > ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 700); ON **Ok-nes* > ScG *Aiginis* [ˈag̊ʲəˌniʃ] #4; ON **Torf-á* > ScG **Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂aˌvaj] (#115); ON *torf-skeri* > ScG *tarfhsgeir* (*[ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂afʲˌʃkʲəɾʲ] >) [ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂aˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337); ON *Þormund* acc. > ScG *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂amɔd̪̊] (#93); for ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾ**a**-aˌg̊əɾʲ] #74, see §37 (i) (b).

§52 (i) (e) ON *o* > ScG [ɔu] /ɔu/, with lengthening before a heavy consonant in a monosyllabic word: ON *poll* acc. > ScG *poll* [pʰ**ɔu**l̪̊] (#272).

§52 (i) (f) ON *o* > ScG [oː] /oː/, with compensatory lengthening, > [ua] /ua/ (nasalised in juxtaposition with a nasal): ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũ**ã**ʃəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #302.

§52 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§52 (ii) (a) ON *o* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON **Ulf*(*a*)*poll* acc. > ScG *Ulapul* [ˈu**ə**ˌb̥əl̪̊] (#222, fn 494) (mainland Scotland).

§52 (ii) (b) ON *o* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/ before *-rg*, *-kk*: ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh*

Crosabost [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Kross-stein* cusp. > GA **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240); LB **Orfirisøy* > GA *Orasaigh* (*[ˈɔr̂vəs̪æj] > *[ˈɔr̂-əs̪æj] >) [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259; SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, bn 94); SL **Rokk-stainn* > GA *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌs̪t̪aŋ̪] (#48, bn 94); SL *skor* > GA *sgor* [s̪kɔɾ] (am facal-iasaid) (#201); SL **Skor* > GA **Sgor* *[s̪kɔɾ] (an t-ainm-iasaid) (#201); SL **slǫkk* > GA *sloc* (*slochd*) [s̪l̪ɔxk] (#229, bn 517); SL **Þolfsstaðir* > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̂ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #331; SL *þorsk* cusp. > GA *trosg* [t̪ʰɾɔs̪k] (#31 (i)), le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii). §52

§52 (i) (b) SL *o* > GA [o] /o/, gu tric an taic ri bileach (no suathach bileach) tùsail: SL *boða* cl. > GA *bodha* [ˈb̥**o**-o], [ˈb̥**o**-ə] (#89); SL *boga* cl. > GA *bogha* [ˈb̥**o**-o], [ˈb̥**o**-ə] (#74); SL *klofa* cl. > GA *clobha* [ˈkʰl̪̊**o**-ə] (#281, bn 641); SL *lopt* > GA *lobhta* [ˈl̪̊**o**ʰt̪ə] (#5, bn 17); SL *topt* > GA *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪ə] (#339); SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪̊], [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪̊] #339; SL *þopta* > GA *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰ**o**ʰt̪ə] (#5, bn 17).

§52 (i) (c) SL *o* > GA [ʉ̟] /ʉ/, le àrdachadh ro chòmhlan càireanach tùsail: SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈg̊ɾʉ̟̃m̂ʉ̟̃ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #224.

§52 (i) (d) SL *o* > GA [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i): SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰ**a**-iˌg̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Kofasætr* > GA *Caithi·seadar* [ˈkʰ**a**-iˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #92); SL **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰ**a**vəˌs̪t̪aj] #90; SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾ]; SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkʰ**a**ʰpəˌd̪əl̪̊] #97; SL **Korn-nes* > GA *Càrnis* [ˈkʰ**ɑ**ːˌɲɪʃ] #99; SL **Oddabrokka* > GA *Adabroc* [ˈ**a**d̪̊əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] #3; SNòrnI **Ofansátr* (SL **Fyrir Ofan Sætr*) > GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 700); SL **Ok-nes* > GA *Aiginis* [ˈag̊ʲəˌniʃ] #4; SL **Torf-á* > GA **Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂aˌvaj] (#115); SL *torf-skeri* > GA *tarfhsgeir* (*[ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂afʲˌʃkʲəɾʲ] >) [ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂aˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337); SL *Þormund* cusp. > GA *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰ**a**ɾ̂amɔd̪̊] (#93); airson SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾ**a**-aˌg̊əɾʲ] #74, faic §37 (i) (b).

§52 (i) (e) SL *o* > GA [ɔu] /ɔu/, le fadachadh ro chonnraig thruim ann am facal aon-lideach: SL *poll* cusp. > GA *poll* [pʰ**ɔu**l̪̊] (#272).

§52 (i) (f) SL *o* > GA [oː] /oː/, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh, > [ua] /ua/ (air a sròn achadh an gar ri sròn ach): SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũ**ã**ʃəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #302.

§52 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

§52 (ii) (a) SL *o* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL **Ulf*(*a*)*poll* cusp. > GA *Ulapul* [ˈu**ə**ˌb̥əl̪̊] (#222, bn 494) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§52 (ii) (b) SL *o* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/ ro *-rg*, *-kk*: SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh*

['ʧʰiḍəˌbɔʃ(ɣ)] #329; ON **Kleifsbrokka* > ScG *Cliasbroc* ['kʰliaˌsprɔʰk] (#131); ON **Oddabrokka* > ScG *Adabroc* ['aḍəˌbɔʰk] #3. §52

§52 (ii) (c) ON *o* > ScG [o] /o/ before *-pt*: ON **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* ['kʰu:ləˌtoʰṭər] #163; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* ['kʰəivəˌtoʰṭər] #160.

§52 (ii) (d) ON *o* > ScG [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/

§52 (ii) (d) (α) With vowel alternation §43 (i): ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌbɑrə 'gl̪ɔ̃um] #48; ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* ['rɔʰkəˌbɑrə] (#48, fn 94).

§52 (ii) (d) (β) With vowel alternation §43 (i) (shortened after compensatory lengthening): ON **Geit-holm* acc. > ScG *Gèideam* ['gʲe:ˌḍʲam] (#203); ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* ['kʰliʃam] (#132); ON **Krák-holm* acc. > ScG *Cràgam* ['kʰra:gam] (#330); ON **Sild-holm* acc. > ScG *Sillteam* ['ʃeiɲʧʲæm] (#299), with raising after a palatal; ON **Skarð-holm* acc. > ScG **Sgàrdam* ['sɡa:ˌḍam] (#330); ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* *['vĩn̪ḍəˌl̪am] (#67); but > ScG [ə] /ə/ in ON **Hest(a)holm* > ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməl] (Benbecula) (#159);

§52 (iii) In medial elements in three-element names
ON *o* > ScG [ə] /ə], with further reduction: ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰliasəmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* ['kʰru:l̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #159.

§53 ON *ó* §53

§53 (i) In stressed syllables

§53 (i) (a) ON *ó* > ScG [ɔ:] /ɔ:/: ON *ból* > ScG *bòl* [bɔ:l̪] (#72); ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bòstadh* ['bɔ:ˌsd̪ɑɣ] #72 (but, under the influence of the lateral, ScG *Bobhst* [bɔuṣṭ] (Coll) and ScG *Bobhsta* ['bɔuṣṭa] (#72, fn 160)) (Skye); ON *grjót* > ScG *greòd* [g̊ɾʲɔ:ḍ] (#86, fn 191); ON **Hólar* > ScG *Tòlair* ['ṯʰɔ:l̪əɾʲ] (#101); ON *hóp* acc. > ScG *tòb, òb* [ṯʰɔ:b̥], [ɔ:b̥] (#281, fn 641); ON **Hóp(s)sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* ['ṯʰɔ:ʰp(ə)ˌsən̪n̪] #335; CSc. **Hópsøy* > ScG *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔ:hpəsɛj] (#335) (North Uist); ON *hrók* acc. > ScG *ròg* [rɔ:g̊] (#107); ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* ['jɔ:ɾʲiˌʃaḍ̊əɾ] #181; ON **Kjóss* > ScG *Ceòs* [kʲʰɔ:s̪] #123; ON **Kró* > ScG **Crò* *[kʰrɔ:] (#152); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎə 'hɔ:l̪ə] (#172); ON **Þjórasætr* > ScG **Theòraiseadar* *['hjɔ:ɾiˌʃaḍ̊əɾ] (#147); ON **Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* ['hjɔ:ˌsaḍ̊əɾ] #327; ON **Þórðssætr* > ScG **Thòrsadar* *['hɔ:ˌsaḍ̊əɾ] (#56); ON **Þórðsvík* or *Þórsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *['hɔ:ˌsiɡ̊ʲ] (#56, fn 110); ON **Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* ['ṯʰɔ:ɾəˌniʃ] #336; ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰṯə 'ʎɔ:ʃ] (#63).

['ʧʰiḍəˌbɔʃ(ɣ)] #329; SL **Kleifsbrokka* > GA *Cliasbroc* ['kʰliaˌsprɔʰk] (#131); SL **Oddabrokka* > GA *Adabroc* ['aḍəˌbɔʰk] #3. §52

§52 (ii) (c) SL *o* > GA [o] /o/ ro *-pt*: SL **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* ['kʰu:ləˌtoʰṭər] #163; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* ['kʰəivəˌtoʰṭər] #160.

§52 (ii) (d) SL *o* > GA [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/

§52 (ii) (d) (α) Le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i): SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌbɑrə 'gl̪ɔ̃um] #48; SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* ['rɔʰkəˌbɑrə] (#48, bn 94).

§52 (ii) (d) (β) Le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i) (air a giorrachadh an dèidh fadachaidh cuidhteachaidh): SL **Geit-holm* cusp. > GA *Gèideam* ['gʲe:ˌḍʲam] (#203); SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* ['kʰliʃam] (#132); SL **Krák-holm* cusp. > GA *Cràgam* ['kʰra:gam] (#330); SL **Sild-holm* cusp. > GA *Sillteam* ['ʃeiɲʧʲæm] (#299), le àrdachadh an dèidh càireanaich; SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. > GA **Sgàrdam* ['sɡa:ˌḍam] (#330); SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA **Bhiondalam* *['vĩn̪ḍəˌl̪am] (#67); ach > GA [ə] /ə/ ann an SL **Hest(a)holm* > GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməl] (Beinn na Fadhla) (#159);

§52 (iii) Ann an eileamaidean meadhain ann an ainmean trì-eileamaideach
SL *o* > GA [ə] /ə], le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh: SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰliaˌsəmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* ['kʰru:l̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #159.

§53 SL *ó* §53

§53 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§53 (i) (a) SL *ó* > GA [ɔ:] /ɔ:/: SL *ból* > GA *bòl* [bɔ:l̪] (#72); SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bòstadh* ['bɔ:ˌsd̪ɑɣ] #72 (ach, fo bhuaidh an taobhaich, GA *Bobhst* [bɔuṣṭ] (Cola) agus GA *Bobhsta* ['bɔuṣṭa] (#72, bn 160) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach)); SL *grjót* > GA *greòd* [g̊ɾʲɔ:ḍ] (#86, bn 191); SL **Hólar* > GA *Tòlair* ['ṯʰɔ:l̪əɾʲ] (#101); SL *hóp* cusp. > GA *tòb, òb* [ṯʰɔ:b̥], [ɔ:b̥] (#281, bn 641); SL **Hóp(s)sund* > GA *Tòpsann* ['ṯʰɔ:ʰp(ə)ˌsən̪n̪] #335; LB **Hópsøy* > GA *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔ:hpəsɛj] (#335) (Uibhist a Tuath); SL *hrók* cusp. > GA *ròg* [rɔ:g̊] (#107); SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* ['jɔ:ɾʲiˌʃaḍ̊əɾ] #181; SL **Kjóss* > GA *Ceòs* [kʲʰɔ:s̪] #123; SL **Kró* > GA **Crò* *[kʰrɔ:] (#152); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎə 'hɔ:l̪ə] (#172); SL **Þjórasætr* > GA **Theòraiseadar* *['hjɔ:ɾiˌʃaḍ̊əɾ] (#147); SL **Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* ['hjɔ:ˌsaḍ̊əɾ] #327; SL **Þórðssætr* > GA **Thòrsadar* *['hɔ:ˌsaḍ̊əɾ] (#56); SL **Þórðsvík* no *Þórsvík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *['hɔ:ˌsiɡ̊ʲ] (#56, bn 110); SL **Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* ['ṯʰɔ:ɾəˌniʃ] #336; SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰṯə 'ʎɔ:ʃ] (#63).

§53 §53 (i) (b) ON *ó* > ScG [ɔː] /ɔː/ > [ɔ] /ɔ/ before hiatus §41 (ii): ON **Króar* pl. > ScG *Crothair* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ] #157; ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌɟʲəɾi] #158; or [oː] /oː/ > [o] /o/: ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284).

§53 (i) (c) ON *ó* > ScG [ɑː] /ɑː/ with vowel alternation §43 (i): ON **Lómadal* (or **Lóm-dal*) acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ãːməˌd̪əl̪] #233.

§53 (i) (d) ON *ó* > ScG [uː] /uː/ with vowel alternation §43 (v): ON **Gjórsætr* > ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈɟʲuːˌsad̪ər] #207; ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːl̪əˌviɟʲ] #159.

§53 (i) (e) ON **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. may give ScG *[ˈkʰɾɔul̪əˌn̪sta̠ɣ], with syncope §44 (ii), which yields *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾaul̪əˌn̪sta̠ɣ] #151, with [ɔu] ~ [au] alternation.

§53 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§53 (ii) (a) ON *ó* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/: ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈɡɾʲiɟəˌn̪spɔl̪] #222; ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈʎuːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰa͡fa̠ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɟ̊ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjãa͡fa̠ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295; ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; ON **Lín-hól* acc. > ScG *Lìonal* [ˈʎĩənɑl̪], [ˈʎĩənɔl̪] #237; ON **Mark-hól* acc. > ScG **Marcol* *[ˈmãɾ̥kɔl̪] (#125, fn 278); ON **Káraóss* > ScG *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] #100.

§53 (ii) (b) ON *ó* > ScG [o] /o/: ON **Botn-gróf* > ScG **Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪əˌɡ̊ɾo] (#341, fn 827); ON **Galt-gróf* or *Galtagróf* > ScG *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɪtəgro] (#188); ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] #328; ON **Kas-gróf* > ScG **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo] (#53); ON **Kleifsgróf* > ScG *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪kɾo] #131; ON **Klifsgróf* > ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌs̪kɾo] (#132); ON **Rang-gróf* > ScG **Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋɡ̊əˌɾo] (#59); ON **Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑl̪əˌs̪kɾo] #291; ON **Vaðsgróf* > ScG **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, fn 404).

§53 (ii) (c) ON *ó* > ScG [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/ with vowel alternation §43 (i): ON **Gróðuós* acc. > ScG (*[ˈɡɾʲia-a̠s̪] >) *Grias* [ɡ̊ɾʲias̪] > *Griais* [ɡ̊ɾʲiaʃ] #220; CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* [ˈb̥a͡ɾa̠ˌva̠s̪] #47; ON **Reim-mór* > ScG *[ˈɾẽːˌmɔɾʲ]/*[ˈɾẽːˌmaɾʲ] > *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278; ON **Straum-óss* > ScG *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] #307; ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] #339.

§53 §53 (i) (b) SL *ó* > GA [ɔː] /ɔː/ > [ɔ] /ɔ/ ro bheàrnas §41 (ii): SL **Króar* iol. > GA *Crothair* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ] #157; SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌɟʲəɾi] #158; no [oː] /oː/ > [o] /o/: SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284).

§53 (i) (c) SL *ó* > GA [ɑː] /ɑː/ le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i): SL **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ãːməˌd̪əl̪] #233.

§53 (i) (d) SL *ó* > GA [uː] /uː/ le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (v): SL **Gjórsætr* > GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈɟʲuːˌsad̪ər] #207; SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːl̪əˌviɟʲ] #159.

§53 (i) (e) Is dòcha gun toir SL **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. GA *[ˈkʰɾɔul̪əˌn̪sta̠ɣ], le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii), a bheir *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾaul̪əˌn̪sta̠ɣ] #151, le iomlaid [ɔu] ~ [au].

§53 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

§53 (ii) (a) SL *ó* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/: SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈɡɾʲiɟəˌn̪spɔl̪] #222; SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈʎuːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰa͡fa̠ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɟ̊ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjãa͡fa̠ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295; SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; SL **Lín-hól* cusp. > GA *Lìonal* [ˈʎĩənɑl̪], [ˈʎĩənɔl̪] #237; SL **Mark-hól* cusp. > GA **Marcol* *[ˈmãɾ̥kɔl̪] (#125, bn 278); SL **Káraóss* > GA *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] #100.

§53 (ii) (b) SL *ó* > GA [o] /o/: SL **Botn-gróf* > GA **Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪əˌɡ̊ɾo] (#341, bn 827); SL **Galt-gróf* no **Galtagróf* > GA *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɪtəgro] (#188); SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] #328; SL **Kas-gróf* > GA **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo] (#53); SL **Kleifsgróf* > GA *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪kɾo] #131; SL **Klifsgróf* > GA *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌs̪kɾo] (#132); SL **Rang-gróf* > GA **Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋɡ̊əˌɾo] (#59); SL **Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑl̪əˌs̪kɾo] #291; SL **Vaðsgróf* > GA **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, bn 404).

§53 (ii) (c) SL *ó* > GA [a] [ɑ] /ɑ/ le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i): SL **Gróðuós* cusp. > GA (*[ˈɡɾʲia-a̠s̪] >) *Grias* [ɡ̊ɾʲias̪] > *Griais* [ɡ̊ɾʲiaʃ] #220; LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* [ˈb̥a͡ɾa̠ˌva̠s̪] #47; SL **Reim-mór* > GA *[ˈɾẽːˌmɔɾʲ]/*[ˈɾẽːˌmaɾʲ] > *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278; SL **Straum-óss* > GA *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] #307; SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] #339.

§54 §54 **ON *u***

§54 (i) In stressed syllables

§54 (i) (a) ON *u* > ScG [u] /u/: ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgrunəvaht] (#182); ON **truss-* > ScG *trus* *[t̪ʰrus̪] (#31 (iii)); ON **Tunga* > ScG *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋgə] #343; ON *þurs* f. > ScG *turs*(*a*) [ˈt̪ʰus̪(ə)] (#31 (i)); ON **Ulf*(*a*)*poll* acc. > ScG *Ulapul* [ˈul̪ə ˌbə̯l̪] (#222, fn 494) (mainland Scotland); ON *urð* > ScG **urrdh* *[ˈurɦɯɣ] (#182, fn 413).

§54 (i) (b) ON *u* > ScG [ɯ̟] /ɯ/′: OWNorn **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰɯ̟m͡ɯ̟ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

§54 (i) (c) ON *u* > ScG [o] /o/, with vowel alternation §43 (vi): OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈbˠɾo̯l̪əm] #81.

§54 (i) (d) ON *u* > ScG [ɔu] /ɔu/, with lengthening before a heavy consonant (or cluster): ON **Glumm* > ScG **Glom* *[ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] (#35); ON **Lund-dal* acc. > ScG *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌd̪ə̯l̪] #243.

§54 (i) (e) ON *u* > ScG [uː] /uː/, with compensatory lengthening: ON **Bugsstein* acc. > ScG *Bùistean* [ˈbˠu̟ːˌʃtʲən] (#116); ON **hugl* > ScG *tùl* [t̪ʰuːl̪] (#315 (iii)); ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#116).

§54 (i) (f) For ON *Sumarliði* > ScG *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə], see #311 (i), fn 733.

§54 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables
ON *u* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈval̪əˌməs̪] #61; perhaps in ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #218 and ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪(ə)məˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #21; [ə] ~ [u] in ON *-múla* > ScG *-lum* (#81).

§54 (iii) In unstressed syllables

§54 (iii) (a) ON *u* > ScG [ə] /ə/: ON **Brekkur* pl. > ScG *Breacair* [bˠɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); ON **Brokkur* pl. > ScG *Brocair* [ˈbˠɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; ON **Erjustǫð* > ScG *Eirea·stadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #180; ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈg̊ɾʲiɣ̊əˌs̪pɔl̪] #222; ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. > ScG *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̪ə̯l̪] #183; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiˌpʲkʲəˌbˠɔs̪t̪] #125; ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːbə̯ʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309; ON **Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336; for ON **Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑɫ] (#4), see §44 (ii).

§54 (iii) (b) Or > ScG [i] [ɪ] /i/ often before a palatal: ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪ə̯ɾ] (#323); ON **Seljugjá* > ScG *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌg̊ʲaɣ] (#281).

§54 §54 **SL *u***

§54 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§54 (i) (a) SL *u* > GA [u] /u/: SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgrunəvaht] (#182); SL **truss-* > GA *trus* *[t̪ʰrus̪] (#31 (iii)); SL **Tunga* > GA *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋgə] #343; SL *þurs* f. > GA *turs*(*a*) [ˈt̪ʰus̪(ə)] (#31 (i)); SL **Ulf*(*a*)*poll* cusp. > GA *Ulapul* [ˈul̪ə ˌbə̯l̪] (#222, bn 494) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann); SL *urð* > GA **urrdh* *[ˈurɦɯɣ] (#182, bn 413).

§54 (i) (b) SL *u* > GA [ɯ̟] /ɯ/′: SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰɯ̟m͡ɯ̟ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

§54 (i) (c) SL *u* > GA [o] /o/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (vi): SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈbˠɾo̯l̪əm] #81.

§54 (i) (d) SL *u* > GA [ɔu] /ɔu/, le fadachadh ro chonnraig (no còmhlan connraige) thruim: SL **Glumm* > GA **Glom* *[ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] (#35); SL **Lund-dal* cusp. > GA *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌd̪ə̯l̪] #243.

§54 (i) (e) SL *u* > GA [uː] /uː/, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL **Bugsstein* cusp. > GA *Bùistean* [ˈbˠu̟ːˌʃtʲən] (#116); SL **hugl* > GA *tùl* [t̪ʰuːl̪] (#315 (iii)); SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#116).

§54 (i) (f) Airson SL *Sumarliði* > GA *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə], faic #311 (i), bn 733.

§54 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte
SL *u* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈval̪əˌməs̪] #61; agus is dòcha ann an SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #218 agus SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪(ə)məˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #21; [ə] ~ [u] ann an SL *-múla* > GA *-lum* (#81).

§54 (iii) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte

§54 (iii) (a) SL *u* > GA [ə] /ə/: SL **Brekkur* iol. > GA *Breacair* [bˠɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); SL **Brokkur* iol. > GA *Brocair* [ˈbˠɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eirea·stadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #180; SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈg̊ɾʲiɣ̊əˌs̪pɔl̪] #222; SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. > GA *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̪ə̯l̪] #183; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiˌpʲkʲəˌbˠɔs̪t̪] #125; SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːbə̯ʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309; SL **Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336; airson SL **Esjufjall* > GA *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑɫ] (#4), faic §44 (ii).

§54 (iii) (b) No > GA [i] [ɪ] /i/ gu tric ro chàireanach: SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪ə̯ɾ] (#323); SL **Seljugjá* > GA *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌg̊ʲaɣ] (#281).

§55 §55 **ON *ú***

§55 (i) In stressed syllables

§55 (i) (a) ON *ú* > ScG [uː] /uː/ before broad consonants: ON *múla* acc. > ScG *mùla* [ˈmʉ̃ːl̪̊(ə)] (#81, fn 185); ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːl̪̊ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; and after ScG [ɾ]: ON *hrúga* > ScG **rùgha* *[ˈɾuːɣə] > *[ˈɾuː-ə] (> *rùghan* [ˈɾuː-an] (#175, fn 385)), contrast §55 (i) (c), below.

§55 (i) (b) ON *ú* > ScG [ụː] /uː/ elsewhere: ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈb̪ụ-ụˌniʃ] #89, shortened before hiatus §41 (ii); ON **Brú* > ScG *Brù* [b̪ɾ̪ụː] #82; ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰụːɾʲiˌʃaɬ̪] #164; OWNorn **Núp* acc. > ScG *Nùb* [n̪ʉ̃ːb̪] (#216, fn 476); ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃụːliˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #301; ON **Púfur* (or **Púfar*) pl. > ScG *Tùthair* [ˈt̪ʰụː-əɾʲ], [ˈt̪ʰụː-ɯ̹ʲ] #344; but [u] in other dialects, e.g. ON **Djúp-vík* > ScG **Diùbaig* *[ˈd̪ʲuːb̪ɛɠ̊ʲ] (#168) (Skye); OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *[ˈn̪ʉ̃ːʰpsə̹ˌd̪̊əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ʉ̃ːs̪t̪əˌb̪əɬ̪] (#216, fn 476) (South Uist).

§55 (i) (c) ON *ú* > ScG [ɔː], with vowel alternation §43 (vi): ON *hrúga* > ScG *ròigh* [ɾɔː], with apocope §44 (iii) (*An Ròigh* [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, fn 385)); contrast §55 (i) (a), above.

§55 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables
ON *ú* > ScG [ə]: OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈb̪ɾoɫ̪əm] #81, with metathesis §40 (i); [u] ~ [ə] in ScG **Banndalum* *[ˈb̪ãũn̪̊d̪̊əˌɬ̪um] ˌn̪̊əm] and ScG **Guidealum* [ˈg̊ụɪd̪̊ʲəˌɬəm] ˌn̪̊um]; and perhaps [ɑ] ~ [ɔ] in ScG *Guaineamol* [ˈg̊uəɾəˌmɑɬ̪] ˌmɔɬ̪] [*sic*] (#81).

§55 (iii) In unstressed syllables
ON *ú* > ScG [ə]: ON *Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, fn 563).

§56 §56 **ON *y***

§56 (i) Front vowels (in stressed syllables)

§56 (i) (a) ON *y* > ScG [i] /i/: ON *byrðing* acc. > ScG *birlinn* [ˈb̪iːl̪̊ʲn̪̊] (#184) (lengthened before [l̪̊] /ʁl/); ON **Fyljavarða* > ScG **Bhileabhair* *[ˈviləˌvəɾʲ] (#186, fn 430); ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɠ̊ʲ] #124; ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪əˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124).

§56 (i) (b) ON *y* > ScG [e] /e/, with vowel alternation §37 (i) (d): ON **Byggingerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̪eɠ̊nəˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #49.

§56 (i) (c) ON *y* > ScG [iə] /iə/, with compensatory lengthening (before a nasal): ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩəniˌn̪̊ʲt̪ʲ] #293.

§55 §55 **SL *ú***

§55 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§55 (i) (a) SL *ú* > GA [uː] /uː/ ro chonnragan leathann: SL *múla* cusp. > GA *mùla* [ˈmʉ̃ːl̪̊(ə)] (#81, bn 185); SL **Súlasker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːl̪̊ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; agus an dèidh GA [ɾ]: SL *hrúga* > GA **rùgha* *[ˈɾuːɣə] > *[ˈɾuː-ə] (> *rùghan* [ˈɾuː-an] (#175, bn 385)), iomsgaraich §55 (i) (c), shìos.

§55 (i) (b) SL *ú* > GA [ụː] /uː/ an àitichean eile: SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈb̪ụ-ụˌniʃ] #89, air a giorrachadh ro bheàrnas §41 (ii); SL **Brú* > GA *Brù* [b̪ɾ̪ụː] #82; SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰụːɾʲiˌʃaɬ̪] #164; SNòrnI **Núp* cusp. > GA *Nùb* [n̪ʉ̃ːb̪] (#216, bn 476); SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃụːliˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #301; SL **Púfur* (no **Púfar*) iol. > GA *Tùthair* [ˈt̪ʰụː-əɾʲ], [ˈt̪ʰụː-ɯ̹ʲ] #344; ach [u] ann an dualchainntean eile, m.e. SL **Djúp-vík* > GA **Diùbaig* *[ˈd̪ʲuːb̪ɛɠ̊ʲ] (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *[ˈn̪ʉ̃ːʰpsə̹ˌd̪̊əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ʉ̃ːs̪t̪əˌb̪əɬ̪] (#216, bn 476) (Uibhist a Deas).

§55 (i) (c) SL *ú* > GA [ɔː], le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (vi): SL *hrúga* > GA *ròigh* [ɾɔː], le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii) (*An Ròigh* [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, bn 385)); iomsgaraich §55 (i) (a), shuas.

§55 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte
SL *ú* > GA [ə]: SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈb̪ɾoɫ̪əm] #81, le eadarchàradh §40 (i); [u] ~ [ə] ann an GA **Banndalum* *[ˈb̪ãũn̪̊d̪̊əˌɬ̪um] ˌn̪̊əm] agus GA **Guidealum* [ˈg̊ụɪd̪̊ʲəˌɬəm] ˌn̪̊um]; agus is dòcha [ɑ] ~ [ɔ] ann an GA *Guaineamol* [ˈg̊uəɾəˌmɑɬ̪] ˌmɔɬ̪] [*sic*] (#81).

§55 (iii) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte
SL *ú* > GA [ə]: SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, bn 563).

§56 §56 **SL *y***

§56 (i) Fuaimreagan toisich (ann an lidean beumte)

§56 (i) (a) SL *y* > GA [i] /i/: SL *byrðing* cusp. > GA *birlinn* [ˈb̪iːl̪̊ʲn̪̊] (#184) (air a fadachadh ro [l̪̊] /ʁl/); SL **Fyljavarða* > GA **Bhileabhair* *[ˈviləˌvəɾʲ] (#186, bn 430); SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɠ̊ʲ] #124; SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪əˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124).

§56 (i) (b) SL *y* > GA [e] /e/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §37 (i) (d): SL **Byggingerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̪eɠ̊nəˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #49.

§56 (i) (c) SL *y* > GA [iə] /iə/, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh (ro shrònach): SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩəniˌn̪̊ʲt̪ʲ] #293.

§56 §56 (ii) Back vowels (in stressed syllables)

§56 (ii) (a) ON *y* > ScG [ụ] /ɯ/: (nasalised) ON **Brynugil* > ScG *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾʊ̃ɲɪnəˌg̊ʲil] #84.

§56 (ii) (b) In initial position

§56 (ii) (b) (α) ON *y* > ScG [ụ] /u/′: ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > ScG *Uiseal* [ˈụˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203).

§56 (ii) (b) (β) ON *y* > ScG [(j)u] /(j)u/ˣ: ON **hylla* > ScG *iola* [ˈjuɬ̪ə] (*Iolairean* [ˈjuɬ̪əɾʲən] (#127)) and (with lengthening before *rn* in Gaelic) ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117).

§57 §57 **ON *ý***

§57 (i) In stressed syllables

§57 (i) (a) ON *ý* > ScG [iː] /iː/ followed by a non-palatal or neutral consonant: ON **Grýta* > ScG **Grìoda* *[ˈg̊ɾʲiːd̥ə] (#239); ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰl̥iːb̥əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)).

§57 (i) (b) ON *ý* > ScG [ụː] /uː/ following a palatal consonant: ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈĺụːɾˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #239; ON *stýri* > ScG *stiùir* [ˈʃtʲụːɾʲ] (#309), with apocope §44 (iii).

§57 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables
ON *ý* > ScG [i] /i/: ON **Jarð(ar)bý* > ScG *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̥i] #182.

§58 §58 **ON *æ***

§58 (i) In stressed syllables,

§58 (i) (a) ON *æ* > ScG [eː]′: ON **Ærklett* acc. > ScG **Èireacleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] (#296).

§58 (i) (b) ON *æ* > ScG [eː]ˣ > ScG [ia], with breaking (#295, fn 691): ON **Læmingastein* acc. > ScG **Liamaistean* *[ˈĺĩãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#235); ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãl̪əʃˌvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãl̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãl̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; ON **Mæ-vǫk* > ScG *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaǧ] #251; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295; ON **Sætr* > ScG *Siadar* [ˈʃiad̪ə̥ɾ] #296; ON **Þrælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [tr̥iɑɫəvɑɫ] (#295); ON **Þrælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰr̥iaɫ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); contrast CSc. **Ræs-øy* > ScG *Reusa* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪a] (#281, fn 650) (Argyll).

§58 (i) (c) ON *æ* > ScG [æ], with shortening before hiatus: ON **Lægð-á* > ScG **Leatha* *[ˈĺæ-a], or *[ˈĺa-a] with euphony (#153).

§56 §56 (ii) Fuaimreagan cùil (ann an lidean beumte)

§56 (ii) (a) SL *y* > GA [ụ] /ɯ/: (sròn aichte) SL **Brynugil* > GA *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾʊ̃ɲɪnəˌg̊ʲil] #84.

§56 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh toisich

§56 (ii) (b) (α) SL *y* > GA [ụ] /u/: SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > GA *Uiseal* [ˈụˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203).

§56 (ii) (b) (β) SL *y* > GA [(j)u] /(j)u/: SL **hylla* > GA *iola* [ˈjuɬ̪ə] (*Iolairean* [ˈjuɬ̪əɾʲən] (#127)) agus (le fadachadh ro *rn* sa Ghàidhlig) SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117).

§57 §57 **SL *ý***

§57 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§57 (i) (a) SL *ý* > GA [iː] /iː/ agus connrag neo-chàireanach no neo-fheartail na dèidh: SL **Grýta* > GA **Grìod(a)* *[ˈg̊ɾʲiːd̥(ə)] (#239); SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰl̥iːb̥əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)).

§57 (i) (b) SL *ý* > GA [ụː] /uː/ an dèidh connraige càireanaich: SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈĺụːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; SL *stýri* > GA *stiùir* [ˈʃtʲụːɾʲ] (#309), le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii).

§57 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte
SL *ý* > GA [i] /i/: SL **Jarð(ar)bý* > GA *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̥i] #182.

§58 §58 **SL *æ***

§58 (i) Ann an lidean beumte,

§58 (i) (a) SL *æ* > GA [eː]′: SL **Ærklett* cusp. > GA **Èireacleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] (#296).

§58 (i) (b) SL *æ* > GA [eː]ˣ > GA [ia], le briseadh (#295, bn 691): SL **Læminga·stein* cusp. > GA **Liamaistean* *[ˈĺĩãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#235); SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãl̪əʃˌvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãl̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãl̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaǧ] #251; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295; SL **Sætr* > GA *Siadar* [ˈʃiad̪ə̥ɾ] #296; SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [tr̥iɑɫəvɑɫ] (#295); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰr̥iaɫ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); iomsgaraich LB **Ræs-øy* > GA *Reusa* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪a] (#281, bn 650) (Earra-Ghàidheal).

§58 (i) (c) SL *æ* > GA [æ], le giorrachadh ro bheàrnas: SL **Lægð-á* > GA **Leatha* *[ˈĺæ-a], no *[ˈĺa-a] le binneas (#153).

§58 §58 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

ON *æ* > ScG [a] [ɑ]: In addition to ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋgə ˌɫɑɾʲi] (#95), there are several examples of ON *-sætr*: ON **Barrasætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔɾi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #70; ON **Bozsætr* > ScG **Boiseadar* *[ˈbɔ ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#341); ON **Geit-sætr* > ScG *Gèiseadar* [ˈgʲeː ˌʃaʤəɾ] #203; ON **Gjórsætr* > ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈgʲuː ˌsaʤəɾ] #207; ON **Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈgɾʊ̃mʲ̃ʊ̃ ˌʃaʤəɾ] #224; ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãmə ˌsaʤəɾ] #325; ON **Há-sætr* > ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaː ˌʃaʤəɾ] #324; ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #181; ON **Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #91; ON **Ker(s)sætr* > ScG *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑ ˌsaʤəɾ] #120; ON **Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-i ˌʃaʤəɾ] (> [ˈkʰai ˌʃaʤəɾ]) #92; ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪ ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#323); ON **Kvíasætr* > ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰʊ̟-i ˌʃaʤəɾ], [ˈkʰəi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #162; ON **Kví-sætr* > ScG **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰəi ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#292); ON **Lamb-sætr* > ScG *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈɫãĩmə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #232; ON **Lín-sætr* > ScG *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ʲĩː ˌʃaʤəɾ] #236; ON **Manasætr* > ScG *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãni ˌʃaʤəɾ] #244; ON **Sef-sætr* > ScG *Seiseadar* [ˈʃe ˌʃaʤəɾ] #288; ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùliseadar* [ˈʃʊ̟ːli ˌʃaʤəɾ] #301; ON **Þjórasætr* > ScG **Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾi ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#147); ON **Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔː ˌsaʤəɾ] #327; ON **Þórðssætr* > ScG **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔː ˌsaʤəɾ] (#56); ON **Vangssætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũŋgə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #346; ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbaːɾə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #46; ON **Vin-sætr* > ScG **Uinseadar* *[ˈʉ̃ː ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#67); ON **Vǫrðusætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔɾi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #70; ON **Ærsætr* > ScG *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑ ˌsaʤəɾ] #225; in addition, there are the following in ON **-sætr*, although their specifics are obscure: ScG *Eiliseadar* [ˈeli ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#296, fn 703) (Skye); ScG **Eòrsadar* *[ˈjɔː ˌsaʤəɾ] (#141); ScG *Glogaiseadar* [ˈgl̪ɔgə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #215.

§59 §59 **ON *ǿ* (*œ*)**

In stressed syllables

§59 (i) ON *ǿ* > ScG [eː]: ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈgɾʲẽːnə ˌbɔs̪ʈ] #219; ON **Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈgɾʲẽːnə ˌvaɬ] (#219); ON **Grón-holm* acc. > ScG *Grèineam* [ˈgɾʲẽːnam] (#219).

§59 (ii) ON *ǿ* > ScG [eː] > [e], shortened before hiatus §41 (ii): ON **Flóðarsker* > ScG *Fleadhaisgeir* (MO) [flə-əʃkʹið], ?i.e. [ˈflø-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ], an allophonic variant of *[ˈfle-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ] (#220, fn 492). In this instance, the fricative was lost before the breaking of ScG [eː] to [ia] took place; contrast §59 (iii), below.

§59 (iii) ON *ǿ* > ScG [eː] > [ia], with breaking before a non-palatal consonant (#295, fn 691): ON **Gróðuós* acc. > ScG *Griais* [gɾʲiaʃ] (< [gɾʲias̪]) #220.

§58 §58 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

SL *æ* > GA [a] [ɑ]: A thuilleadh air SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋgə ˌɫɑɾʲi] (#95), tha caochladh eisimpleir de SL *-sætr* ann: SL **Barrasætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔɾi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #70; SL **Bozsætr* > GA **Boiseadar* *[ˈbɔ ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#341); SL **Geit-sætr* > GA *Gèiseadar* [ˈgʲeː ˌʃaʤəɾ] #203; SL **Gjórsætr* > GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈgʲuː ˌsaʤəɾ] #207; SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈgɾʊ̟mʲ̃ʊ̟ ˌʃaʤəɾ] #224; SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãmə ˌsaʤəɾ] #325; SL **Há-sætr* > GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaː ˌʃaʤəɾ] #324; SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #181; SL **Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #91; SL **Ker(s)sætr* > GA *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑ ˌsaʤəɾ] #120; SL **Kofasætr* > GA *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-i ˌʃaʤəɾ] (> [ˈkʰai ˌʃaʤəɾ]) #92; SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪ ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#323); SL **Kvíasætr* > GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰʊ̟-i ˌʃaʤəɾ], [ˈkʰəi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #162; SL **Kví-sætr* > GA **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰəi ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#292); SL **Lamb-sætr* > GA *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈɫãĩmə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #232; SL **Lín-sætr* > GA *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ʲĩː ˌʃaʤəɾ] #236; SL **Manasætr* > GA *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãni ˌʃaʤəɾ] #244; SL **Sef-sætr* > GA *Seiseadar* [ˈʃe ˌʃaʤəɾ] #288; SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃʊ̟ːli ˌʃaʤəɾ] #301; SL **Þjórasætr* > GA **Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾi ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#147); SL **Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔː ˌsaʤəɾ] #327; SL **Þórðssætr* > GA **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔː ˌsaʤəɾ] (#56); SL **Vangssætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũŋgə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #346; SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbaːɾə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #46; SL **Vin-sætr* > GA **Uinseadar* *[ˈʉ̃ː ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#67); SL **Vǫrðusætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔɾi ˌʃaʤəɾ] #70; SL **Ærsætr* > GA *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑ ˌsaʤəɾ] #225; a thuilleadh, tha na leanas ann an SL **-sætr* ann, ged a tha an sònraichearan doilleir: GA *Eiliseadar* [ˈeli ˌʃaʤəɾ] (#296, bn 703) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); GA **Eòrsadar* *[ˈjɔː ˌsaʤəɾ] (#141); GA *Glogaiseadar* [ˈgl̪ɔgə ˌʃaʤəɾ] #215.

§59 §59 **SL *ǿ* (*œ*)**

Ann an lidean beumte

§59 (i) SL *ǿ* > GA [eː]: SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈgɾʲẽːnə ˌbɔs̪ʈ] #219; SL **Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈgɾʲẽːnə ˌvaɬ] (#219); SL **Grón-holm* cusp. > GA *Grèineam* [ˈgɾʲẽːnam] (#219).

§59 (ii) SL *ǿ* > GA [eː] > [e], air a giorrachadh ro bheàrnas §41 (ii): SL **Flóðarsker* > GA *Fleadhaisgeir* (MO) [flə-əʃkʹið], ?.i. [ˈflø-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ], na eugsamhail eil-fhuinneach air *[ˈfle-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ] (#220, bn 492). San t-seagh seo, chailleadh an suathach mus deach GA [eː] a bhriseadh na [ia]; iomsgaraich §59 (iii), shìos.

§59 (iii) SL *ǿ* > GA [eː] > [ia], le briseadh ro chonnraig neo-chàireanaich (#295, bn 691): SL **Gróðuós* cusp. > GA *Griais* [gɾʲiaʃ] (< [gɾʲias̪]) #220.

§60 §60 **ON *ǫ***

§60 (i) In stressed syllables

§60 (i) (a) ON *ǫ* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/: OWNorn **glǫmbar* (ON *klǫmbr*) > ScG *glomair* [ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃məɾʲ] (#35); ON *mǫl* > ScG *mol* [mɔ̃l̪] (#62, fn 124); ON **slǫkk* > ScG *sloc* (*slochd*) [s̪l̪ɔxk] (#229, fn 517); and ON **Vǫrðusætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾi ʃad̥ə̥ɾ] #70.

§60 (i) (b) ON *ǫ* > ScG [ɔ] > [ɔː] /ɔː/ with lengthening before *r*-clusters: ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309, before ScG *rn* [ɳ] /ʁn/; ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. > ScG *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥ə̥l̪] #183, before ON *rð*, cf. ON *garð* acc. > ScG *gàrradh* [ˈg̊ɑːɾəɣ] (#182).

§60 (i) (c) ON *ǫ* > ScG [o] /o/: ON *hǫfða* obl. > ScG *tobha*, *obha* [ˈt̪ʰo-ə], [ˈo-ə], [ˈt̪ʰo-o], [ˈo-o] (#281, fn 641); ON **Stǫð* > ScG *Stoth* [s̪t̪oʰ] (#90).

§60 (i) (d) ON *ǫ* > ScG [u][ʊ] /u/ with vowel alternation §43 (v): ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erˊə ˈsʊɫt] (#180, fn 399).

§60 (i) (e) ON *ǫ* > ScG [a][ɑ] /ɑ/ with vowel alternation §43 (i): ON *rǫng* > ScG *rang* [ɾɑ̃ɣ] (#343); ON **Vǫtnin* > ScG *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (Skye).

§60 (i) (f) ON *ǫ* > ScG [au] /ɑu/ with lengthening before an earlier nasal fricative + *n* in Gaelic: ON **Hǫfn* > ScG *Na h-Amhn* (or *Na Hamhn*) [nə ˈhãũn] (Eriskay and Mull) and ScG *Na Hamhnan* [nə ˈhãũnən] (Mull) (#315 (ii)).

§60 (i) (g) ON *ǫ* > ScG [ə] > [əː] /əː/ with compensatory lengthening: ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɫ̪] (#151).

§60 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§60 (ii) (a) ON *ǫ* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/ before [d̥] /ʁd/ in Gaelic: ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̥] (#180, fn 399); ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG ****Reusort*** *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̥] (#112); ON **Síð(u)fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̥] (#113); ON **Ý-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Iuthort* *[ˈju-ɔd̥], *[ˈjuhɔd̥] (#174); contrast ON **Svan-fjǫrð* acc. or **Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɻs̪t̪] (Scottish mainland) (#311 (iii)).

§60 (ii) (b) ON *ǫ* > ScG [a] /ɑ/, with vowel alternation §43 (i): ON **Erjustǫð* > ScG *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #180; ON **Kofr(s)stǫð* > ScG *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌʂt̪aj] #90; ON **Mæ-vǫk* > ScG *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɡ̊] #251.

§61 §61 **ON *ǫ́***

ON *ǫ́* > ScG [o] /o/ before hiatus §41 (ii): ON *gjǫ́* f. (< *gjá*, after 1200 (Haugen 1976, 206)) > ScG *geodha* [g̊ʲo-o], [g̊ʲo-ə] (#58).

§60 §60 **SL *ǫ***

§60 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§60 (i) (a) SL *ǫ* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/: SNòrnI **glǫmbar* (SL *klǫmbr*) > GA *glomair* [ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃məɾʲ] (#35); SL *mǫl* > GA *mol* [mɔ̃l̪] (#62, bn 124); SL **slǫkk* > GA *sloc* (*slochd*) [s̪l̪ɔxk] (#229, bn 517); agus SL **Vǫrðusætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾi ʃad̥ə̥ɾ] #70.

§60 (i) (b) SL *ǫ* > GA [ɔ] > [ɔː] /ɔː/ le fadachadh ro chòmhlain-*r*: SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309, ro GA *rn* [ɳ] /ʁn/; SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. > GA *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥ə̥l̪] #183, ro SL *rð*, coim. SL *garð* cusp. > GA *gàrr·adh* [ˈg̊ɑːɾəɣ] (#182).

§60 (i) (c) SL *ǫ* > GA [o] /o/: SL *hǫfða* cl. > GA *tobha*, *obha* [ˈt̪ʰo-ə], [ˈo-ə], [ˈt̪ʰo-o], [ˈo-o] (#281, bn 641); SL **Stǫð* > GA *Stoth* [s̪t̪oʰ] (#90).

§60 (i) (d) SL *ǫ* > GA [u][ʊ] /u/ le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (v): SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erˊə ˈsʊɫt] (#180, bn 399).

§60 (i) (e) SL *ǫ* > GA [a][ɑ] /ɑ/ le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i): SL *rǫng* > GA *rang* [ɾɑ̃ɣ] (#343); SL **Vǫtnin* > GA *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

§60 (i) (f) SL *ǫ* > GA [au] /ɑu/ le fadachadh ro shuathach srònach na bu tràithe + *n* sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Hǫfn* > GA *Na h-Amhn* (no *Na Hamhn*) [nə ˈhãũn] (Èirisgeigh is Muile) agus GA *Na Hamhnan* [nə ˈhãũnən] (Muile) (#315 (ii)).

§60 (i) (g) SL *ǫ* > GA [ə] > [əː] /əː/ le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɫ̪] (#151).

§60 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

§60 (ii) (a) SL *ǫ* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/ ro [d̥] /ʁd/ sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̥] (#180, bn 399); SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̥] (#112); SL **Síð(u)fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̥] (#113); SL **Ý-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Iuthort* *[ˈju-ɔd̥], *[ˈjuhɔd̥] (#174); iomsgaraich SL **Svan-fjǫrð* cusp. no **Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɻs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§60 (ii) (b) SL *ǫ* > GA [a] /ɑ/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i): SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] #180; SL **Kofr(s)stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌʂt̪aj] #90; SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɡ̊] #251.

§61 §61 **SL *ǫ́***

SL *ǫ́* > GA [o] /o/ ro bheàrnas §41 (ii): SL *gjǫ́* b. (< *gjá*, an dèidh 1200 (Haugen 1976, 206)) > GA *geodha* [g̊ʲo-o], [g̊ʲo-ə] (#58).

§62 §62 **CSc. *ai***

§62 (i) In stressed syllables
Before the diphthong CSc. *ai* is raised to *ei*, CSc. **aið* (ON *eið*) is borrowed into Gaelic as ScG *aoidh* [**ui**] /ui/, [**əi**] /əi/ (#75).

§62 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables
CSc. *ai* becomes ScG [a] /ɑ/: ON **Rokk-stainn* > ScG *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌs̪t̪aɲ̪] (#48, fn 94).

§63 §63 **ON *au***

§63 (i) In stressed syllables

§63 (i) (a) ON *au* > ScG [ɔː] /ɔː/: ON **Hauka* > ScG **Thòg* *[hɔːg̊] (#129); ON *hraun* > ScG *ròn* [ɾɔ̃ːn] (#281); CSc. **Hraun-øy* > ScG *Rònaigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj] #281; ON **Sauð-fjall* > ScG *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] #303; ON *skaut* > ScG *sgòd* [s̪kɔːd̥] (#7); ON *straum* acc. > ScG *sròm* [s̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːm] (#7); ON **Straum(a)klett* acc. > ScG *Stròma·cleit* *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); ON **Straum-óss* > ScG *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] #307. Cf. CSc. **Austęin* > EG **Óistín* (#171); contrast §64.

§63 (i) (b) ON *au* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/ shortened before hiatus §41 (ii): ON **Rauðaskarð* > ScG *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282; ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodha·bhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (#303).

§63 (i) (c) ON *au* > ScG [oː] /oː/ in final position in Gaelic: before lost ON *g*, in final position after apocope in Gaelic: ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎ̃əˈhoː] (#172); before lost final ON *f*: ON *rauf* > ScG *rò* [**ɾoː**] (#59).

§63 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables
ON *au* > ScG [o] /o/ in final position in Gaelic: ON **Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾ**o**] (#31 (i), fn 65).

§63 (iii) In unstressed syllables

§63 (iii) (a) ON *au* > ScG [ɔ] /ɔ/: ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvaɬ̪̊t̪ɔs̪] #63.

§63 (iii) (b) ON *au* > ScG [a] /ɑ/: ON *vindauga* > ScG *uinneag* [ˈ ̪̈ɪ̯ɲ̪aɡ̊] (#67), where the second element of the Old Norse word has been replaced by the Gaelic suffix *-ag* §36 (ii), by morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (f).

§64 §64 **CSc. *ay***
ON *ay* > ScG [ʉː] /uː/′: CSc. **Aystęin* (< CSc. **Austęin* §63 (i) (a)) becomes ScG *Ùisdean* [ˈ**ʉː**ʃʲan] (#171), once raising of the CSc. diphthong *au* had begun.

§62 §62 **LB *ai***

§62 (i) Ann an lidean beumte
Mus tèid an dà-fhoghar LB *ai* àrdachadh na *ei*, thèid LB **aið* (SL *eið*) air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na GA *aoidh* [**ui**] /ui/, [**əi**] /əi/ (#75).

§62 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte
Thèid LB *ai* na GA [a] /ɑ/: SL **Rokk-stainn* > GA *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌs̪t̪aɲ̪] (#48, bn 94).

§63 §63 **SL *au***

§63 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§63 (i) (a) SL *au* > GA [ɔː] /ɔː/: SL **Hauka* > GA **Thòg* *[hɔːg̊] (#129); SL *hraun* > GA *ròn* [ɾɔ̃ːn] (#281); LB **Hraun-øy* > GA *Ròn aigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj] #281; SL **Sauð-fjall* > GA *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] #303; SL *skaut* > GA *sgòd* [s̪kɔːd̥] (#7); SL *straum* cusp. > GA *sròm* [s̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːm] (#7); SL **Straum(a)klett* cusp. > GA *Stròma·cleit* *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); SL **Straum-óss* > GA *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] #307. Coim. LB **Austęin* > GT **Óistín* (#171); iomsgaraich §64.

§63 (i) (b) SL *au* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/ air a giorrachadh ro bheàrnas §41 (ii): SL **Rauðaskarð* > GA *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282; SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodha·bhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (#303).

§63 (i) (c) SL *au* > GA [oː] /oː/ ann an suidheachadh deiridh sa Ghàidhlig: ro SL *g* chaillte, ann an suidheachadh deiridh an dèidh teasgaidh dheiridh sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎ̃əˈhoː] (#172); ro SL *f* dheiridh chaillte: SL *rauf* > GA *rò* [**ɾoː**] (#59).

§63 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte
SL *au* > GA [o] /o/ ann an suidheachadh deiridh sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾ**o**] (#31 (i), bn 65).

§63 (iii) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte

§63 (iii) (a) SL *au* > GA [ɔ] /ɔ/: SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvaɬ̪̊t̪ɔs̪] #63.

§63 (iii) (b) SL *au* > GA [a] /ɑ/: SL *vindauga* > GA *uinneag* [ˈ ̪̈ɪ̯ɲ̪aɡ̊] (#67), far an deach an t-iar-leasachan Gàidhlig *-ag* §36 (ii) a chur an àite dàrna h-eileamaid an fhacail Lochlannais, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (f).

§64 §64 **LB *ay***
SL *ay* > GA [ʉː] /uː/′: Thèid LB **Aystęin* (< LB **Austęin* §63 (i) (a)) na GA *Ùisdean* [ˈ**ʉː**ʃʲan] (#171), an dèidh dhan dà-fhoghar SL *au* tòiseachadh air àrdachadh.

§65 §65 **ON *ei***

§65 (i) In stressed syllables

§65 (i) (a) Before an original palatal consonant

§65 (i) (a) (α) ON *ei* > ScG [eː] /eː/: ON **Breið-nes* > ScG *Brèinis* [ˈbˠɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; ON **Breið-vatn* > ScG **Brèibhat* *[ˈbˠɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, fn 171); ON **Breið-vík* > ScG *Brèibhig* [ˈbˠɾʲeːˌviɣʲ] #76; ON **Eiðsfjall* > ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑt̪] (#60); ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171); ON **Eini-klett* acc. > ScG *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ] #178 (with ScG neutral /n/ from EG palatal /nˊ/, cf. ScG *lèine* f. [ˈl̪ẽːnə] (EG *léine*)); ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪] (#180, fn 399); ON **Geit-holm* acc. > ScG *Gèideam* [ˈɡʲeːˌd̪am] (#203); ON **Geit-sætr* > ScG *Gèiseadar* [ˈɡʲeːˌʃad̪ər] #203; ON **Heið-bergi* dat. > ScG *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌbˠəɾʲi] (#58); ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmˌs̪əˌvaɣ] (#25); CSc. **Keif-øy* > ScG *Cèabhaigh* [ˈkʲʰeːˌvaj] (#48, fn 96); ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235; ON **Leiruvág* acc. > ScG *Lèireabhagh* (MO) *[lˊeːðəvɑɣ] (#239); ON **Reim-mór* > ScG *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278; ON **Seið-fjall* > ScG *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvɑt̪] (#288, fn 674).

§65 (i) (a) (β) ON *ei* > ScG [iː] /iː/, with vowel alternation §43 (iii): ON **Geis-gil* > ScG *Gìsgil* *[ˈɡʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, fn 453) (Sutherland); for short [i] in ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ], see #79.

§65 (i) (b) Before a non-palatal consonant
ON *ei* > ScG [ia] /ia/˟˚, with breaking: ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* [ˈbˠɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; ON **Kleifsbrokka* > ScG *Cliasbroc* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#131); ON **Kleifsgróf* > ScG *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪kɾo] #131; ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰlias̪əmˌkʰɾʲeɡ̊] (#131).

§65 (i) (c) After ON *v*, ON *ei* > ScG [uə] /uə/, [ua] /ua/: (before a nasal) ON *Sveinn* > ScG *Suain* [s̪ũãn̪] (#311 (i)); ON **Sveinafjall* or **Svínafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãnˊəvaL] (#311).

§65 (ii) In unstressed syllables
ON *ei* > ScG [i] /i/ˊ: ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪ər] #181.

§66 §66 **ON *ey***

§66 (i) In stressed syllables
ON *ey* > ScG [eː] /eː/: ON **Eyrará* > ScG **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊəraɟ] (#180, fn 399); ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̪] (#112); ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪tɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, fn 452); for ON **Steypavatn* > ScG **Stiapabhat* [ˈʃtʲiaʰpəˌvaʰt̪], see #140, fn 300.

§65 §65 **SL *ei***

§65 (i) Ann an lidean beumte

§65 (i) (a) Ro chonnraig chàireanaich thùsail

§65 (i) (a) (α) SL *ei* > GA [eː] /eː/: SL **Breið-nes* > GA *Brèinis* [ˈbˠɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; SL **Breið-vatn* > GA **Brèibhat* *[ˈbˠɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, bn 171); SL **Breið-vík* > GA *Brèibhig* [ˈbˠɾʲeːˌviɣʲ] #76; SL **Eiðsfjall* > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑt̪] (#60); SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171); SL **Eini-klett* cusp. > GA *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ] #178 (le GA /n/ neo-fheartail à GT /nˊ/ chàireanaich, coim. GA *lèine* b. [ˈl̪ẽːnə] (GT *léine*)); SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪] (#180, bn 399); SL **Geit-holm* cusp. > GA *Gèideam* [ˈɡʲeːˌd̪am] (#203); SL **Geit-sætr* > GA *Gèiseadar* [ˈɡʲeːˌʃad̪ər] #203; SL **Heið-bergi* tabh. > GA *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌbˠəɾʲi] (#58); SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmˌs̪əˌvaɣ] (#25); LB **Keif-øy* > GA *Cèabhaigh* [ˈkʲʰeːˌvaj] (#48, bn 96); SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235; SL **Leiruvág* cusp. > GA *Lèireabhagh* (MO) *[lˊeːðəvɑɣ] (#239); SL **Reim-mór* > GA *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278; SL **Seið-fjall* > GA *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvɑt̪] (#288, bn 674).

§65 (i) (a) (β) SL *ei* > GA [iː] /iː/, le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (iii): SL **Geis-gil* > GA *Gìsgil* *[ˈɡʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, bn 453) (Cataibh); airson [i] goirid ann an SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ], faic #79.

§65 (i) (b) Ro chonnraig neo-chàireanaich
SL *ei* > GA [ia] /ia/˟˚, le briseadh: SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* [ˈbˠɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; SL **Kleifsbrokka* > GA *Cliasbroc* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#131); SL **Kleifsgróf* > GA *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪kɾo] #131; SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪əmˌkʰɾʲeɡ̊] (#131).

§65 (i) (c) An dèidh SL *v*, SL *ei* > GA [uə] /uə/, [ua] /ua/: (ro shrònach) SL *Sveinn* > GA *Suain* [s̪ũəɲ̪] (#311 (i)); SL **Sveinafjall* no **Svínafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãnˊəvaL] (#311).

§65 (ii) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte
SL *ei* > GA [i] /i/ˊ: SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪ər] #181.

§66 §66 **SL *ey***

§66 (i) Ann an lidean beumte
SL *ey* > GA [eː] /eː/: SL **Eyrará* > GA **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊəraɟ] (#180, bn 399); SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̪] (#112); SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪tɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, bn 452); airson SL **Steypavatn* > GA **Stiapabhat* [ˈʃtʲiaʰpəˌvaʰt̪], faic #140, bn 300.

§66 §66 (ii) In weakly stressed syllables

§66 (ii) (a) ON *ey* > ScG [e] /e/ (?or [eˑ]): ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [**e**r´ə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, fn 399).

§66 (ii) (b) Final ON *-ey* 'island' > ScG [æj]´ in ON **Hvít-ey* > ScG *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːd´ʲ**æj**] (#67, fn 148) (Barra); contrast §69.

§66 (iii) In unstressed syllables
ON *ey* > ScG [ə] /ə/, with further reduction: ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaʌ̯̊tʲəs̪] (#63) (South Uist).

§67 §67 **CSc. *ęi***
ON *ęi* > EG [eː], shortened to [a] in Modern Gaelic in CSc. **Austęin* §63 (i) (a)) > CSc. **Aystęin* > ScG *Ùisdean* [ˈu̪ːʃtʲ**a**n] (#171), following the development of the diminutive suffix ScG *-an* [an] §36 (iv).

§68 §68 **CSc. *iu***
CSc. *iu*, with stress on the first element of the diphthong, becomes ScG [iː] /iː/, followed by a non-palatal consonant: CSc.**Diupadal* acc. > ScG *Dìoba·dal* [ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪̊əɬ̪] #168; CSc.**Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̊ʲiːb̥] (#168).

§69 §69 **CSc. *ǫy***
The phonetics suggest that the following go back to forms in CSc. **-ǫy* 'island', rather than ON *-ey* §66 (ii) (b), before raising of the diphthong:[1]

§69 (i) CSc. **-ǫy* ScG -[aj], -[æj] or -[ɛj] according to dialect in the Western Isles: CSc. **Barð-ǫy* > ScG *Barraigh* [ˈb̥ɑɾ**aj**] (#314); CSc. **Bergsǫy* > ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲe-əˌs̪**aj**] #58; CSc. **Bjarnarǫy* > ScG *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾ**aj**] #51; CSc. **Hafnarǫy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊əˌɾ**aj**], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊əˌɾ**æj**] (#319); CSc. **Hjallsǫy* > ScG *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑɬ̪əˌs̪**aj**] (#51); CSc. **Hjart-ǫy* > ScG *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌʂ**taj**] #121; CSc. **Hópsǫy* > ScG *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔːhpəs**ɛj**] (#335) (North Uist); CSc. **Hraun-ǫy* > ScG *Ròonaigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːn**aj**] #281; CSc. **Hvalsǫy* > ScG *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪**ɛj**], [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪**aj**] #62; CSc. **Orfirisǫy* > ScG *Orasaigh* (*[ˈɔɾ͡ɔvəs̪**æj**] > *[ˈɔɾ͡ɔ-əs̪**æj**] >) [ˈɔɾəˌs̪**æj**] #259; CSc. **Vágsǫy* > ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪**ɛj**], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪**aj**] #60; in non-final position, CSc. **Rásarǫyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650), with metathesis §40 (iii).

§69 (ii) CSc. **-ǫy* ScG -[a] in the Inner Hebrides, e.g. CSc. **Ræs-ǫy* > ScG *Reusa*

1. Common Germanic **au̯i̯ō* (de Vries 1962, s.v. *ey*) > CSc. **ǫy* > ON *øy* or *ey*, as a result of front mutation (*i*-umlaut; Haugen 1976, 153).

§66 §66 (ii) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

§66 (ii) (a) SL *ey* > GA [e] /e/ (?no [eˑ]): SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [**e**r´ə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, bn 399).

§66 (ii) (b) SL *-ey* deiridh 'eilean' > GA [æj]´ ann an SL **Hvít-ey* > GA *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːd´ʲ**æj**] (#67, bn 148) (Barraigh); iomsgaraich §69.

§66 (iii) Ann an lidean neo-bheumte
SL *ey* > GA [ə] /ə/, le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh: SL **Vatnleysa* > GA **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaʌ̯̊tʲəs̪] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas).

§67 §67 **LB *ęi***
SL *ęi* > GT [eː], air a giorrachadh gu [a] san Nua-Ghàidhlig ann an LB **Austęin* §63 (i) (a)) > LB **Aystęin* > GA *Ùisdean* [ˈu̪ːʃtʲ**a**n] (#171), a' leantainn fàs an iar-leasachain mheanbhaich GA *-an* [an] §36 (iv).

§68 §68 **LB *iu***
Thèid LB *iu*, agus beum air ciad eileamaid an dà-fhoghair, na GA [iː] /iː/, agus connrag neo-chàireanaich na dèidh: LB **Diupadal* cusp. > GA *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪̊əɬ̪] #168; LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̊ʲiːb̥] (#168).

§69 §69 **LB *ǫy***
Cuiridh am fuaim-eòlas air shùilibh gun tèid na leanas air ais gu cruthan ann an LB **-ǫy* 'eilean', seach SL *-ey* §66 (ii) (b), mus deach an dà-fhoghar àrdachadh:[1]

§69 (i) LB **-ǫy* GA -[aj], -[æj] no -[ɛj] a-rèir dualchainnt anns na h-Eileanan Siar: LB **Barð-ǫy* > GA *Barraigh* [ˈb̥ɑɾ**aj**] (#314); LB **Bergsǫy* > GA *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲe-əˌs̪**aj**] #58; LB **Bjarnarǫy* > GA *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾ**aj**] #51; LB **Hafnarǫy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊əˌɾ**aj**], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊əˌɾ**æj**] (#319); LB **Hjallsǫy* > GA *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑɬ̪əˌs̪**aj**] (#51); LB **Hjart-ǫy* > GA *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌʂ**taj**] #121; LB **Hópsǫy* > GA *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔːhpəs**ɛj**] (#335) (Uibhist a Tuath); LB **Hraun-ǫy* > GA *Ròonaigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːn**aj**] #281; LB **Hvalsǫy* > GA *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪**ɛj**], [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪**aj**] #62; LB **Orfirisǫy* > GA *Orasaigh* (*[ˈɔɾ͡ɔvəs̪**æj**] > *[ˈɔɾ͡ɔ-əs̪**æj**] >) [ˈɔɾəˌs̪**æj**] #259; LB **Vágsǫy* > GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪**ɛj**], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪**aj**] #60; ann an suidheachadh neo-dheiridh, LB **Rásarǫyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650), le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii).

§69 (ii) LB **-ǫy* > GA -[a] sna h-Eileanan a-Staigh, m.e. LB **Ræs-ǫy* > GA *Reusa*

1. A' Ghearmanais Bhitheanta **au̯i̯ō* (de Vries 1962, s.v. *ey*) > LB **ǫy* > SL *øy* no *ey*, mar thoradh air mùthadh toisich (*i*-umlaut; Haugen 1976, 153).

§69 *[ˈɾeːˌn̪**a**] (#281, fn 650) (Argyll). For CSc. **Víð-øy* > ScG **Bhuidhea* [ˈvu̯j**a**], see #67.

§70 §70 **ON *p***

Broad EG [p] /p/ and slender EG [pʲ] /p′/ fall together as [pʰ, ʰp] /p/ᵒ in Scottish Gaelic, although the slenderisation in EG [pʲ] /p′/ before a broad vowel survives in the form of a palatal semi-vowel [j] in the modern language, e.g. ScG *piuthar* [ˈ**pʰj**u̯-ər] ‘sister’;[2] however, only examples within a broad environment occur in the collection.

§70 (i) Initial **ON *p***-

§70 (i) (a) In stressed position

ON *p*- > ScG [pʰ] /p/: ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯ˌniʃ] (#340); ON **Papýli* > ScG *Pabail* [ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯əl] #261, with apocope §44 (iii); CSc. **Papøy* > ScG *Pabaigh* [ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯ɛj], [ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯aj] (#260); ON *poll* acc. > ScG *poll* [**pʰ**ɔuɬ̪] (#272).

§70 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position

ON *p*- > ScG [b̥] /b/: ON **Ulf(a)poll* acc. > ScG *Ulapul* [ˈuɬ̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#222, fn 494) (mainland Scotland).

§70 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-p***

ON *-p* > ScG [b̥] /b/: CSc. **Diupadal* acc. > ScG *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̥əɬ̪] #168; ON **Djúp-vík* > ScG **Diùbaig* [ˈd̪ʲuːb̥ɛɠ̊ʲ] (#168) (Skye); ON *hóp* acc. > ScG *tòb, òb* [t̪ʰɔːb̥], [ɔːb̥] (#281, fn 641); ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːb̥əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); OWNorn **Núp* acc. > ScG *Nùb* [n̪̊ˌũːb̥] (#216, fn 476); ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰaʊ̯əˌniʃ] (#340); ON **Papýli* > ScG *Pabail* [ˈpʰaʊ̯əl] #261; CSc. **Papøy* > ScG *Pabaigh* [ˈpʰaʊ̯ɛj], [ˈpʰaʊ̯aj] (#260); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̊d̪ʲiːb̥] (#168).

§70 (iii) Post-stress **ON *-pp-***

ON *-pp-* > ScG [ʰp] /p/: ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkʰa**ʰp**əˌd̥əɬ̪] #97.

§70 (iv) Post-stress **ON *-p*** + genitive ***s***

ON *-ps-* > ScG [ʰpʂ] /ps/: ON **Hóp(s)sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔː**ʰp(ə)**ˌʂən̪̊] #335 and CSc. **Hópsøy* > ScG *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔː**hpə**sɛj] (#335) (North Uist), with epenthesis §42 (i) (b); OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *[ˈn̪̊ũː**ʰp**ʂəˌd̥əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪̊ũːʂt̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#216, fn 476) (South Uist), with metathesis §40 (iii).

§70 (v) Post-stress **ON *-pt***

§70 (v) (a) In stressed position

§70 (v) (a) (α) ON *-pt* > ScG [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: ON *lopt* > ScG *lobhta* [ˈl̪o**ʰt̪**ə] (#5, fn

2. OG (dissyllabic) *süur* f., (len.) *fùur*, *phüur* > ScG (rad.) *piuthar*, via back-formation.

*[ˈɾeːˌn̪**a**] (#281, bn 650) (Earra-Ghàidheal). Airson LB **Víð-øy* > GA **Bhuidhea* [ˈvu̯j**a**], faic #67. §69

§70 **SL *p*** §70

Thèid GT [p] /p/ leathann agus GT [pʲ] /p′/ chaol còmhladh na [pʰ, ʰp] /p/ᵒ ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, ged a mhaireas an caolachadh ann an GT [pʲ] /p′/ ro fhuaimreig leathainn ann an cruth leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich [j] san nua-chànan, m.e. GA *piuthar* [ˈ**pʰj**u̯-əɾ];[2] gidheadh, cha nochd eisimpleirean sa cho-chruinneachadh ach ann an àrainn leathainn.

§70 (i) **SL *p***- thoisich

§70 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

SL *p*- > GA [pʰ] /p/: SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯əˌniʃ] (#340); SL **Papýli* > GA *Pabail* [ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯əl] #261, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii); LB **Papøy* > GA *Pabaigh* [ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯ɛj], [ˈ**pʰ**aʊ̯aj] (#260); SL *poll* cusp. > GA *poll* [**pʰ**ɔuɬ̪] (#272).

§70 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

SL *p*- > GA [b̥] /b/: SL **Ulf(a)poll* cusp. > GA *Ulapul* [ˈuɬ̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#222, bn 494) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§70 (ii) **SL *-p*** iar-bheumach

SL *-p* > GA [b̥] /b/: LB **Diupadal* cusp. > GA *Dìobadal* [ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̥əɬ̪] #168; SL **Djúp-vík* > GA **Diùbaig* [ˈd̪ʲuːb̥ɛɠ̊ʲ] (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL *hóp* cusp. > GA *tòb, òb* [t̪ʰɔːb̥], [ɔːb̥] (#281, bn 641); SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːb̥əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); SNòrnI **Núp* cusp. > GA *Nùb* [n̪̊ˌũːb̥] (#216, bn 476); SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰaʊ̯əˌniʃ] (#340); SL **Papýli* > GA *Pabail* [ˈpʰaʊ̯əl] #261; LB **Papøy* > GA *Pabaigh* [ˈpʰaʊ̯ɛj], [ˈpʰaʊ̯aj] (#260); LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪̊d̪ʲiːb̥] (#168).

§70 (iii) **SL *-pp-*** iar-bheumach

SL *-pp-* > GA [ʰp] /p/: SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkʰa**ʰp**əˌd̥əɬ̪] #97.

§70 (iv) **SL *-p*** iar-bheumach + ***s*** ghinideach

SL *-ps-* > GA [ʰpʂ] /ps/: SL **Hóp(s)sund* > GA *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔː**ʰp(ə)**ˌʂən̪̊] #335 agus LB **Hópsøy* > GA *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔː**hpə**sɛj] (#335) (Uibhist a Tuath), le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b); SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *[ˈn̪̊ũː**ʰp**ʂəˌd̥əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪̊ũːʂt̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#216, bn 476) (Uibhist a Deas), le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii).

§70 (v) **SL *-pt*** iar-bheumach

§70 (v) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§70 (v) (a) (α) SL *-pt* > GA [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: SL *lopt* > GA *lobhta* [ˈl̪o**ʰt̪**ə] (#5, bn 17); SL

2. SG (dà-lideach) *süur* b., (sèimh.) *fùur*, *phüur* > GA (bun.) *piuthar*, le cùl-chinntinn.

§70 17); ON *topt* > ScG *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] (#339); ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪] [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] #339; ON *þopta* > ScG *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] (#5, fn 17).

§70 (v) (a) (β) ON *-pt* > ScG [ʰtʲ] /tʹ/ʹ: ON **Alpt-nes* > ScG *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʲʧtʲəˌniʃ] #5.

§70 (v) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *-pt* > ScG [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu:ləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160.

§71 §71 **ON *b***

Broad EG [b] /b/ and slender EG [bʲ] /bʹ/ fall together as [b̪] /b/º in Scottish Gaelic, although the slenderisation in EG [bʲ] /bʹ/ before a broad vowel survives in the form of a palatal semi-vowel [j] in the modern language, e.g. ScG *bealach* [ˈb̪jɑl̪ɔx] ‘pass’.

§71 (i) Initial **ON *b***-

§71 (i) (a) In stressed position
ON *b*- > ScG [b̪] /b/: ON **Bakkavatn* > ScG **Bacabhat* *[ˈb̪aʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); ON **Band*(*a*)*bergi* dat. > ScG *Banndabeirgh* [ˈb̪ãũn̪d̪əˌb̪øɾʲəj] (#58); ON **Barra·sætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̪ɔɾiˌʃad̪əɾ] #70; CSc. **Barð-øy* > ScG *Barraigh* [ˈb̪ɑɾaj] (#314); ON **Bendilsfjall* > ScG *Beinniseal* [ˈb̪ẽɲəˌʃal̪] (#50); ON *bergi* dat. > ScG *beirgh* [ˈb̪eɾʲej] (#57); ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̪øɾʲəj ˈl̪ɑ:ɣə] (#58); ON **Berg-rá* > ScG *Beirghro* [ˈb̪eɾʲeˌɾo] #59; ON **Bergsgjá* > ScG *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̪øɾʲøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); ON **Bergsøy* > ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̪eɾʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58; CSc. **Bjarnarøy* > ScG *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̪jɑ:ɳəˌɾaj] #51; ON *boða* obl. > ScG *bodha* [ˈb̪o-o], [ˈb̪o-ə] (#89); ON *boga* obl. > ScG *bogha* [ˈb̪o-o], [ˈb̪o-ə] (#74); ON *ból* > ScG *bòl* [b̪ɔ:l̪] (#72); ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bòstadh* [ˈb̪ɔ:ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #72, cf. ScG *Bobhst* [b̪ɔus̪t̪] (Coll) and ScG *Bobhsta* [ˈb̪ɔus̪t̪a] (#72, fn 160) (Skye); ON **Borg* > ScG *Borgh* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃ɣ] #68; ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈb̪ɾa-aˌg̊əɾʲ] #74, with morphemic substitution §37 (i) (b); ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̪ɑɾə ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] #48; OWNorn **Borg-sátr* (< ON **Borg-sætr*) > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 701), with epenthesis §42 (ii) (h); ON **Borg-stafn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; ON *botn* > ScG *bot* [b̪ɔʰt̪] (#341, fn 827); ON **Botn-gróf* > ScG **Botagro* *[ˈb̪ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, fn 827); ON **Bozsætr* > ScG **Boiseadar* *[ˈb̪ɔˌʃad̪əɾ] (#341); ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈb̪u-uˌniʃ] #89; ON **Bugsstein* acc. > ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̪u:ˌʃtʲən] (#116); ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̪eg̊nəˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #49; ON *byrðing* acc. > ScG *birlinn* [ˈb̪i:l̪iŋ̪] (#184).

§71 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position

§71 (i) (b) (α) ON *b*- > ScG [b̪] /b/: ON **Heið-berg* acc. > ScG **Thèibeirgh*

topt > GA *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] (#339); SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪] [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] #339; SL *þopta* > GA *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] (#5, bn 17). §70

§70 (v) (a) (β) SL *-pt* > GA [ʰtʲ] /tʹ/ʹ: SL **Alpt-nes* > GA *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʲʧtʲəˌniʃ] #5.

§70 (v) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *-pt* > GA [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu:ləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160.

§71 §71 **SL *b***

Thèid GT [b] /b/ leathann agus GT [bʲ] /bʹ/ chaol còmhladh na [b̪] /b/º ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, ged a mhaireas an caolachadh ann an GT [bʲ] /bʹ/ ro fhuaimreig leathainn ann an cruth leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich [j] san nua-chànan, m.e. GA *bealach* [ˈb̪jɑl̪ɔx]. §71

§71 (i) SL ***b***- thoisich

§71 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte
SL *b*- > GA [b̪] /b/: SL **Bakkavatn* > GA **Bacabhat* *[ˈb̪aʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); SL **Band*(*a*)*bergi* tabh. > GA *Banndabeirgh* [ˈb̪ãũn̪d̪əˌb̪øɾʲəj] (#58); SL **Barra·sætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̪ɔɾiˌʃad̪əɾ] #70; LB **Barð-øy* > GA *Barraigh* [ˈb̪ɑɾaj] (#314); SL **Bendilsfjall* > GA *Beinniseal* [ˈb̪ẽɲəˌʃal̪] (#50); SL *bergi* tabh. > GA *beirgh* [ˈb̪eɾʲej] (#57); SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̪øɾʲəj ˈl̪ɑ:ɣə] (#58); SL **Berg-rá* > GA *Beirghro* [ˈb̪eɾʲeˌɾo] #59; SL **Bergsgjá* > GA *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̪øɾʲøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); SL **Bergsøy* > GA *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̪eɾʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58; LB **Bjarnarøy* > GA *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̪jɑ:ɳəˌɾaj] #51; SL *boða* cl. > GA *bodha* [ˈb̪o-o], [ˈb̪o-ə] (#89); SL *boga* cl. > GA *bogha* [ˈb̪o-o], [ˈb̪o-ə] (#74); SL *ból* > GA *bòl* [b̪ɔ:l̪] (#72); SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bòstadh* [ˈb̪ɔ:ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #72, coim. GA *Bobhst* [b̪ɔus̪t̪] (Cola) agus GA *Bobhsta* [ˈb̪ɔus̪t̪a] (#72, bn 160) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Borg* > GA *Borgh* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃ɣ] #68; SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradha·gair* [ˈb̪ɾa-aˌg̊əɾʲ] #74, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (i) (b); SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̪ɑɾə ˈg̊l̪ɔ̃ũm] #48; SNòrnI **Borg-sátr* (< SL **Borg-sætr*) > GA *Borghastar* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃(ɣ)əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 701), le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (h); SL **Borg-stafn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔɾ̃-əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69; SL *botn* > GA *bot* [b̪ɔʰt̪] (#341, bn 827); SL **Botn-gróf* > GA **Botagro* *[ˈb̪ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, bn 827); SL **Bozsætr* > GA **Boiseadar* *[ˈb̪ɔˌʃad̪əɾ] (#341); SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈb̪u-uˌniʃ] #89; SL **Bugsstein* cusp. > GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̪u:ˌʃtʲən] (#116); SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̪eg̊nəˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #49; SL *byrðing* cusp. > GA *birlinn* [ˈb̪i:l̪iŋ̪] (#184).

§71 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§71 (i) (b) (α) SL *b*- > GA [b̪] /b/: SL **Heið-berg* cusp. > GA **Thèibeirgh*

§71 *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); ON **Heið-bergi* dat. > ScG *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲi] (#58); ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡ̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315; ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈl̪̊ʊːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɟ̊kʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪̊aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjãl̪̊ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295; ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̟əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiɖ̊əˌb̥ɔɾ̃(ɣ)] #329; ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, fn 94); ON **Jarð(ar)bý* > ScG *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̥i] #182.

§71 (i) (b) (β) ON *b-* > ScG [p] /b/ after a sibilant: CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪paʰk] #50; ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲiɡ̊əˌs̪pɔɬ̪] #222; ON *svart-bak* acc. > ScG *arspag* [ˈɑs̪paɡ̊] (#311 (i)).

§71 (ii) Initial **ON *br-***

§71 (ii) (a) In stressed position

§71 (ii) (a) (α) ON *br-* > ScG [b̥ɾ]ˣ: ON **brokka* > ScG **broc(a)* *[ˈb̥ɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə ˈb̥ɾɔhkəɲ̟] (#80)); ON **Brokkur* pl. > ScG *Brocair* [ˈb̥ɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; ON **Brú* > ScG *Brù* [b̥ɾ̪ʊː] #82; OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈb̥ɾoɫ̪əm] #81; ON **Brynugil* > ScG *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾʊ̃ɲ̟əˌɡ̊ʲil] #84.

§71 (ii) (a) (β) ON *br-* > ScG [b̥ɾʲ]′: ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheas·cleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; ON **Breið-nes* > ScG *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; ON **Breið-vatn* > ScG **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, fn 171); ON **Breið-vík* > ScG *Brèibhig* [ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #76; ON **Brekkur* pl. > ScG *Breacair* [ˈb̥ɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80).

§71 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *br-* > ScG [b̥ɾ] /br/ˣ: ON **Oddabrokka* > ScG *Adabroc* [ˈaɖ̪əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] #3; and ON *s* + *br* > ScG [s̪pɾ] /sbr/: ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); ON **Kleifsbrokka* > ScG *Cliasbroc* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#131).

§72 §72 **ON *t***

§72 (i) Initial **ON *t-***

§72 (i) (a) In stressed position

§72 (i) (a) (α) ON *t-* > ScG [t̪ʰ] /t/ˣ: ON **Tanga* obl. (the loan-name) > ScG **Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊ə] (#320); ON *tanga* obl. (the loan-word) > ScG *tanga*

§71 *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); SL **Heið-bergi* tabh. > GA *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲi] (#58); SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡ̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315; SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈl̪̊ʊːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɟ̊kʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪̊aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjãl̪̊ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #248; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #295; SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̟əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiɖ̊əˌb̥ɔɾ̃(ɣ)] #329; SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, bn 94); SL **Jarð(ar)bý* > GA *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̥i] #182.

§71 (i) (b) (β) SL *b-* > GA [p] /b/ an dèidh siabaich: LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪paʰk] #50; SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲiɡ̊əˌs̪pɔɬ̪] #222; SL *svart-bak* cusp. > GA *arspag* [ˈɑs̪paɡ̊] (#311 (i)).

§71 (ii) **SL *br-*** thoisich

§71 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§71 (ii) (a) (α) SL *br-* > GA [b̥ɾ]ˣ: SL **brokka* > GA **broc(a)* *[ˈb̥ɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə ˈb̥ɾɔhkəɲ̟] (#80)); SL **Brokkur* iol. > GA *Brocair* [ˈb̥ɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; SL **Brú* > GA *Brù* [b̥ɾ̪ʊː] #82; SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈb̥ɾoɫ̪əm] #81; SL **Brynugil* > GA *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾʊ̃ɲ̟əˌɡ̊ʲil] #84.

§71 (ii) (a) (β) SL *br-* > GA [b̥ɾʲ]′: SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; SL **Breið-nes* > GA *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; SL **Breið-vatn* > GA **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, bn 171); SL **Breið-vík* > GA *Brèibhig* [ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #76; SL **Brekkur* iol. > GA *Breacair* [ˈb̥ɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80).

§71 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *br-* > GA [b̥ɾ] /br/ˣ: SL **Oddabrokka* > GA *Adabroc* [ˈaɖ̪əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] #3; agus SL *s* + *br* > GA [s̪pɾ] /sbr/: SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); SL **Kleifsbrokka* > GA *Cliasbroc* [ˈkʰliaˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#131).

§72 §72 **SL *t***

§72 (i) **SL *t-*** thoisich

§72 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§72 (i) (a) (α) SL *t-* > GA [t̪ʰ] /t/ˣ: SL **Tanga* cl. (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA **Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊ə] (#320); SL *tanga* cl. (am facal-iasaid) > GA *tanga*

§72 *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgə] (#320); ON **Tanganes* > ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋgəˌniʃ] #321; ON **Tangavarða* > ScG **Tangabhair* > (gen.) **Thangabhair* *[ˈhãŋgəˌvərʲ] (#74); ON *topt* > ScG *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] (#339); ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌrɔɬ], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌrɑɬ] #339; ON**Torf-á* > ScG **Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂əˌvaj] (#115); ON **Torfastað* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̂ˌs̪t̪aj] #337; ON *torf-skeri* > ScG *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337); ON **truss-* > ScG *trus* *[t̪ʰrus̪] (#31 (iii)); OWNorn **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰu̟m͡ũˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342; ON **Tunga* > ScG *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋgə] #343.

§72 (i) (a) (β) ON *t-* > ScG [tʲʰ] /t′/′: ON **Tindar* > ScG *Tinndir* [ˈt̪ʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲəɾʲ] (#270); ON **Tind-land* > ScG **Tinndealan* *[ˈt̪ʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲəˌl̪an] (#270); ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈt̪ʲʰɑ̃ːrɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410).

§72 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *t-* > ScG [t̪] /d/ˣ: ON **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̟ːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160.

§72 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-t***

§72 (ii) (a) ON *-t* > ScG [d̪̊] /d/ˣ: CSc. **Flat-øy* > ScG *Plada* [ˈpʰl̪ad̪̊a] (Lismore) (App. II, fn 16); ON **grjót* > ScG *greòd* [ɡ̊ɾʲɔːd̪̊] (#86, fn 191); ON **Grýta* > ScG **Grìoda* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲiːd̪̊ə] (#239); ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰid̪̊əˌb̪ɔɾ̂ɔ(ɣ)] #329; ON *skaut* > ScG *sgòd* [s̪kɔːd̪̊] (#7).

§72 (ii) (b) ON *-t* > ScG [d̪̊ʲ] /d′/′: ON *fit* > ScG **fid* [fid̪̊ʲ] (*An Fhideach* [əˈn̪id̪̊ʲɔx]) (#147, fn 304); ON **Geit-holm* acc. > ScG *Gèideam* [ˈɡ̊ʲeːˌd̪̊ʲam] (#203); ON **Hvít-ey* > ScG *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːd̪̊ʲʲæj] (#67, fn 148) (Barra); and probably also in the Old Norse name behind the loan-name ScG *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːd̪̊ʲaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 702).

§72 (iii) Unstressed **ON *-t***
Although there is no trace of it today, it is understood that *-t* of the Old Norse neuter article occurred in the following: CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪d̪̊ʲiːb̪̊] (#168); ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG (gen.) **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪ɔːʃ] (#63); and ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̪ø̟ɾʲ͡øj ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58).

§72 (iv) Post-stress **ON *-tt*(-)**

§72 (iv) (a) In stressed position

§72 (iv) (a) (α) ON *-tt-* > ScG [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§72 (iv) (a) (β) ON *-tt-* > ScG [ʰtʲ] /t′/′: ON **Klettar* > ScG *Cleitir* [ˈkʰleʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; ON *klett* (*kletti*) acc. (dat.) > ScG *cleite* [ˈkʰleʰtʲə] (#129).

§72 *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgə] (#320); SL **Tanganes* > GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋgəˌniʃ] #321; SL **Tangavarða* > GA **Tangabhair* > (gin.) **Thangabhair* *[ˈhãŋgəˌvərʲ] (#74); SL *topt* > GA *tobhta* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] (#339); SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌrɔɬ], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌrɑɬ] #339; SL **Torf-á* > GA **Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂əˌvaj] (#115); SL **Torfastað* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̂ˌs̪t̪aj] #337; SL *torf-skeri* > GA *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337); SL **truss-* > GA *trus* *[t̪ʰrus̪] (#31 (iii)); SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰu̟m͡ũˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342; SL **Tunga* > GA *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋgə] #343.

§72 (i) (a) (β) SL *t-* > GA [tʲʰ] /t′/′: SL **Tindar* > GA *Tinndir* [ˈt̪ʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲəɾʲ] (#270); SL **Tind-land* > GA **Tinndealan* *[ˈt̪ʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲəˌl̪an] (#270); SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈt̪ʲʰɑ̃ːrɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410).

§72 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *t-* > GA [t̪] /d/ˣ: SL **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̟ːləˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾ] #160.

§72 (ii) **SL *-t*** iar-bheumach

§72 (ii) (a) SL *-t* > GA [d̪̊] /d/ˣ: LB **Flat-øy* > GA *Plada* [ˈpʰl̪ad̪̊a] (Lios Mòr) (Eàrr. II, bn 16); SL *grjót* > GA *greòd* [ɡ̊ɾʲɔːd̪̊] (#86, bn 191); SL **Grýta* > GA **Grìod*(*a*) *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲiːd̪̊(ə)] (#239); SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰid̪̊əˌb̪ɔɾ̂ɔ(ɣ)] #329; SL *skaut* > GA *sgòd* [s̪kɔːd̪̊] (#7).

§72 (ii) (b) SL *-t* > GA [d̪̊ʲ] /d′/′: SL *fit* > GA **fid* [fid̪̊ʲ] (*An Fhideach* [əˈn̪id̪̊ʲɔx]) (#147, bn 304); SL **Geit-holm* cusp. > GA *Gèideam* [ˈɡ̊ʲeːˌd̪̊ʲam] (#203); SL **Hvít-ey*> GA *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːd̪̊ʲʲæj] (#67, bn 148) (Barraigh); agus is math dh'fhaodte mar an ceudna san ainm Lochlannais air cùl an ainm-iasaid GA *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːd̪̊ʲaˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 702).

§72 (iii) **SL *-t*** neo-bheumte
Ged nach eil lorg air an-diugh, tuigear gun robh *-t* an uilt neodraich Lochlannais sna leanas: LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪d̪̊ʲiːb̪̊] (#168); SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA (gin.) **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪ɔːʃ] (#63); agus SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̪ø̟ɾʲ͡øj ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58).

§72 (iv) **SL *-tt*(-)** iar-bheumach

§72 (iv) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§72 (iv) (a) (α) SL *-tt-* > GA [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§72 (iv) (a) (β) SL *-tt-* > GA [ʰtʲ] /t′/′: SL **Klettar* > GA *Cleitir* [ˈkʰleʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; SL *klett* (*kletti*) cusp. (tabh.) > GA *cleite* [ˈkʰleʰtʲə] (#129).

§72 §72 (iv) (b) In weakly stressed position

ON *-tt* > ScG [ʰtʲ] /t′/′: ON **Ærklett* acc. > ScG **Èireacleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] (#296); ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; ON **Eini-klett* acc. > ScG *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ] #178; ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə̥ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; ON **Há-klett* acc. > ScG *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317; ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Straum(a)klett* acc. > ScG *Stròmacleit* *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306).

§72 (v) Post-stress **ON *-tn***

§72 (v) (a) In stressed position

ON *-tn* > ScG [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: ON *botn* > ScG *bot* [b̥ɔʰt̪] (#341, fn 827); ON **Botn-gróf* > ScG **Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, fn 827); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̥miɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Vǫtnin* > ScG *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (Skye); (with metathesis §40 (i)) /_lˣ: ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪t̪ɔs̪] #63, and /_l′: ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɲ̊t̪ʲəs̪] (#63) (South Uist).

§72 (v) (b) In weakly stressed position

ON *-tn* > ScG [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: ON **Bakkavatn* > ScG **Bacabhat* *[ˈb̥aʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); ON **Breið-vatn* > ScG **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, fn 171); ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgruɴəvaʰt] (#182); CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn* > ScG **Cearta·bhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂt̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋg̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Þrælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾial̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲʲiːb̥] (#168); ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG (gen.) **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈʎɔːʃ] (#63).

§72 (vi) Post-stress **ON *-ts*** (*z*)

§72 (vi) (a) ON *-ts* > ScG [ʰt̪s̪]ˣ: CSc. **Vazøy* > ScG *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌs̪aj] (#65, fn 137), with epenthesis §42 (i) (b).

§72 (vi) (b) ON *-ts* > ∅ before slender *s*: ON **Bozsætr* > ScG **Boiseadar* *[ˈb̥ɔˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#341). Also, ON *t* /_*s′* is lost in ON **Flat-sætr* > ScG *Flaisea·dar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#203) (Skye); ON **Geit-sætr* > ScG *Gèiseadar* [ˈg̊ʲeːˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #203.

§72 (vi) (c) ON *-tst* (*zt*) is simplified as ScG [ʃ]′ before lost ON *fj-*: ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > ScG *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203).

§72 (vii) Post-stress **ON *-tr***

ON *tr* > ScG [d̪̊əɾ]ˣ, with epenthesis §42 (i) (b): ON **Barrasætr* or **Vǫrðusætr* > ScG

§72 §72 (iv) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

SL *-tt* > GA [ʰtʲ] /t′/′: SL **Ærklett* cusp. > GA **Èireacleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] (#296); SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; SL **Eini-klett* cusp. > GA *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ] #178; SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə̥ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; SL **Há-klett* cusp. > GA *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317; SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Straum(a)klett* cusp. > GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306).

§72 (v) **SL *-tn*** iar-bheumach

§72 (v) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

SL *-tn* > GA [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: SL *botn* > GA *bot* [b̥ɔʰt̪] (#341, bn 827); SL **Botn-gróf* > GA **Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, bn 827); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̥miɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Vǫtnin* > GA *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); (le eadar-chàradh §40 (i)) /_lˣ: SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪t̪ɔs̪] #63, agus /_l′: SL **Vatnleysa* > GA **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɲ̊t̪ʲəs̪] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas).

§72 (v) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

SL *-tn* > GA [ʰt̪] /t/ˣ: SL **Bakkavatn* > GA **Bacabhat* *[ˈb̥aʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); SL **Breið-vatn* > GA **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, bn 171); SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgruɴəvaʰt] (#182); LB **Hjart(a)vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂt̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋg̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾial̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲʲiːb̥] (#168); SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA (gin.) **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈʎɔːʃ] (#63).

§72 (vi) **SL *-ts*** (*z*) iar-bheumach

§72 (vi) (a) SL *-ts* > GA [ʰt̪s̪]ˣ: LB **Vazøy* > GA *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌs̪aj] (#65, bn 137), le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b).

§72 (vi) (b) SL *-ts* > ∅ ro *s* chaoil: SL **Bozsætr* > GA **Boiseadar* *[ˈb̥ɔˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#341). Mar an ceudna, caillear SL *t* /_*s′* ann an SL **Flat-sætr* > GA *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#203) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) agus SL **Geit-sætr* > GA *Gèisea·dar* [ˈg̊ʲeːˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #203.

§72 (vi) (c) Thèid SL *-tst* (*zt*) a shìmpleachadh na GA [ʃ]′ ro SL *fj-* thùsail: SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > GA *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203).

§72 (vii) **SL *-tr*** iar-bheumach

SL *-tr* > GA [d̪̊əɾ]ˣ, le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b): SL **Barrasætr* no **Vǫrðusætr* > GA

§72 *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔɾiˌʃaɖəɾ] #70; ON **Bozsætr* > ScG **Boiseadar* *[ˈbɔˌʃaɖəɾ] (#341); ON **Flat-sætr* > ScG *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃaɖəɾ] (#203) (Skye); ON **Geit-sætr* > ScG *Gèiseadar* [ˈɡʲeːˌʃaɖəɾ] #203; ON **Gjórsætr* > ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈɡʲuːˌs̪aɖəɾ] #207; ON **Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈɡɾu̟m͡ʃu̟ˌʃaɖəɾ] #224; ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪aɖəɾ] #325; ON **Há-sætr* > ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃaɖəɾ] #324; ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃaɖəɾ] #181; ON **Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaɖəɾ] #91; ON **Ker(s)sætr* > ScG *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑˌs̪aɖəɾ] #120; ON **Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃaɖəɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃaɖəɾ]) #92; ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃaɖəɾ] (#323); ON **Kvíasætr* > ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̟-iˌʃaɖəɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌʃaɖəɾ] #162; ON **Kví-sætr* > ScG **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰəiˌʃaɖəɾ] (#292); ON **Lamb-sætr* > ScG *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃaɖəɾ] #232; ON **Lín-sætr* > ScG *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ĩːˌʃaɖəɾ] #236; ON **Manasætr* > ScG *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãniˌʃaɖəɾ] or ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃaɖəɾ] #244; ON **Sætr* > ScG *Siadar* [ˈʃiaɖəɾ] #296; ON **Sef-sætr* > ScG *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃaɖəɾ] (#288); ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃu̟ːliˌʃaɖəɾ] #301; ON **Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌs̪aɖəɾ] #327; ON **Þjórasætr* > ScG **Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾɪˌʃaɖəɾ] (#147); ON **Þórðssætr* > ScG **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖəɾ] (#56); ON **Vangssætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋɡəˌʃaɖəɾ] #346; ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbˌaːɾəˌʃaɖəɾ] #46; ON **Vin-sætr* > ScG **Uinseadar* *[ˈu̟ːˌʃaɖəɾ] (#67); ON **Ærsætr* > ScG *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑˌs̪aɖəɾ] #225; and the following loan-names whose Old Norse specfics are unclear but which have generics in ON *-sætr*: ScG *Eiliseadar* [ˈeliˌʃaɖəɾ] (#296, fn 703) (Skye); ScG **Eòrsadar* *[ˈjɔːˌs̪aɖəɾ] (#141); ScG *Glogaiseadar* [ˈɡl̪ɔɡəˌʃaɖəɾ] #215.

§73 §73 **ON *d***

§73 (i) Initial **ON *d-***

§73 (i) (a) ON *d-* > ScG [d̪] /d/ˣ:

§73 (i) (a) (α) In stressed position: ON **Dali* dat. > ScG *Dail* [d̪al] #166 (the loan-name); ON *dali* dat. > ScG *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̪al(ə)] (#167) (the loan-word); ON *dorg* > ScG *dorgh* [ˈd̪ɔɾ͡ɣ] (#47).

§73 (i) (a) (β) In weakly stressed position: ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. > ScG *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌt̪əl̪] #183; ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌt̪əl̪] #97; ON **Lómadal* or **Lóm-dal* acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ãːməˌt̪əl̪] #233; ON **Lund-dal* acc. > ScG *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌt̪əl̪] #243; OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *[ˈn̪ũːʰpsəˌt̪əl̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ũːs̪t̪əˌbəl̪] (#216, fn 476) (South Uist), with metathesis §40 (iii); ON **Skelludal* acc. > ScG *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲɑl̪əˌt̪əl̪] #290; /*s*_ > [s̪t̪] /sd/: OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#319); ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG

Borraiseadar [ˈbɔɾiˌʃaɖəɾ] #70; SL **Bozsætr* > GA **Boiseadar* *[ˈbˌɔʃaɖəɾ] (#341); SL **Flat-sætr* > GA *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃaɖəɾ] (#203) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Geit-sætr* > GA *Gèiseadar* [ˈɡʲeːˌʃaɖəɾ] #203; SL **Gjórsætr* > GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈɡʲuːˌs̪aɖəɾ] #207; SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈɡɾu̟m͡ʃu̟ˌʃaɖəɾ] #224; SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪aɖəɾ] #325; SL **Há-sætr* > GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃaɖəɾ] #324; SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃaɖəɾ] #181; SL **Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaɖəɾ] #91; SL **Ker(s)sætr* > GA *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑˌs̪aɖəɾ] #120; SL **Kofasætr* > GA *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃaɖəɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃaɖəɾ]) #92; SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃaɖəɾ] (#323); SL **Kvíasætr* > GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰu̟-iˌʃaɖəɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌʃaɖəɾ] #162; SL **Kví-sætr* > GA **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰəiˌʃaɖəɾ] (#292); SL **Lamb-sætr* > GA *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃaɖəɾ] #232; SL **Lín-sætr* > GA *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ĩːˌʃaɖəɾ] #236; SL **Manasætr* > GA *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãniˌʃaɖəɾ] no SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃaɖəɾ] #244; SL **Sætr* > GA *Siadar* [ˈʃiaɖəɾ] #296; SL **Sef-sætr* > GA *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃaɖəɾ] (#288); SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃu̟ːliˌʃaɖəɾ] #301; SL **Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌs̪aɖəɾ] #327; SL **Þjórasætr* > GA **Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾɪˌʃaɖəɾ] (#147); SL **Þórðssætr* > GA **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖəɾ] (#56); SL **Vangssætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋɡəˌʃaɖəɾ] #346; SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbˌaːɾəˌʃaɖəɾ] #46; SL **Vin-sætr* > GA **Uinseadar* *[ˈu̟ːˌʃaɖəɾ] (#67); SL **Ærsætr* > GA *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑˌs̪aɖəɾ] #225; agus na h-ainmean-iasaid a leanas nach eil an sònraichearan Lochlannais soilleir ach a tha an seòrsaichearan uile nan SL *-sætr*: GA *Eiliseadar* [ˈeliˌʃaɖəɾ] (#296, bn 703) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); GA **Eòrsadar* *[ˈjɔːˌs̪aɖəɾ] (#141); GA *Glogaiseadar* [ˈɡl̪ɔɡəˌʃaɖəɾ] #215. §72

§73 **SL *d***

§73 (i) **SL *d-*** thoisich

§73 (i) (a) SL *d-* > GA [d̪] /d/ˣ:

§73 (i) (a) (α) Ann an suidheachadh beumte: SL **Dali* tabh. > GA *Dail* [d̪al] #166 (an t-ainm-iasaid); SL *dali* tabh. > GA *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̪al(ə)] (#167) (am facal-iasaid); SL *dorg* > GA *dorgh* [ˈd̪ɔɾ͡ɣ] (#47). §73

§73 (i) (a) (β) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. > GA *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌt̪əl̪] #183; SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌt̪əl̪] #97; SL **Lómadal* no **Lóm-dal* cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ãːməˌt̪əl̪] #233; SL **Lund-dal* cusp. > GA *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌt̪əl̪] #243; SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *[ˈn̪ũːʰpsəˌt̪əl̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ũːs̪t̪əˌbəl̪] (#216, bn 476) (Uibhist a Deas), le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii); SL **Skelludal* cusp. > GA *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲɑl̪əˌt̪əl̪] #290; /*s*_ > [s̪t̪] /sd/: SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#319); SL **Lax-dal* cusp. >

§73 *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌsn̪t̪əl̪] #231; ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̥kaˌsn̪t̪əl̪] (#125, fn 278); /r_ > [d̥] /ʁd/: ON **Svarð-dal* acc. > ScG *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌd̥əl̪] #312.

§73 (i) (b) ON *d-* > ScG [d̥ʲ] /d′/′: (in stressed position) CSc. **Diupadal* acc. > ScG *Dìobadal* [ˈd̥ʲiːb̥əˌd̥əl̪] #168; ON **Djúp-vík* > ScG **Diùbaig* *[ˈd̥ʲuːb̥ɛɡ̊ʲ] (#168) (Skye); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪d̥ʲiːb̥] (#168).

§73 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-dd-***
ON *-dd-* > ScG [d̥] /d/ˣ: ON **Oddabrokka* > ScG *Adabroc* [ˈad̥əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] #3.

§73 (iii) Initial **ON *dr-***
ON *dr-* > ScG [d̥ɾ] /dr/ˣ: ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̥ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10).

§74 §74 **ON *k***

§74 (i) Initial **ON *k-***

§74 (i) (a) In stressed position

§74 (i) (a) (α) ON *k-* > ScG [kʰ] /k/ˣ: ON **Keldan Kalda* > ScG **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪̊t̪ə ˈkʰɑl̪̊t̪ə] (#93, fn 207); ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊ɑˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊əˌniʃ] #94; ON **Káraóss* > ScG *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] #100; ON **Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃad̥əɾ] #91; ON *karfa* acc. > ScG *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̂av] (#47 (iii)); ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌval̪̊] (#98); ON **Karlavág* acc. > ScG *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; ON **Kas-gróf* > ScG **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo] (#53); ON **Kofagerði* (or with a loan from EG *cáe* 'pass') > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃad̥əɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̥əɾ]) #92; ON **Kofr(s)stǫð* > ScG *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌs̪t̪aj] #90; ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̥əɾ] (#323); ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌd̥əl̪̊] #97; ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̥kəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#88); ON **Korn-nes* > ScG *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɳiʃ] #99; ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑl̪̊] #164.

§74 (i) (a) (β) ON *k-* > ScG [kʲʰ] /k′/′: CSc. **Keif-øy* > ScG *Cèabhaigh* [ˈkʲʰeːˌvaj] (#48, fn 96); ON **Keldan Kalda* > ScG **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪̊t̪ə ˈkʰɑl̪̊t̪ə] (#93, fn 207); ON **Ker(s)sætr* > ScG *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑˌs̪ad̥əɾ] #120; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɾ̥ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ̂ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124; ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124).

§74 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *k-* > ScG [kʲ] /ɡ′/′: ON **Ís-kinn* > ScG *Ìsginn* [ˈiːʃkʲiɲ] #227.

GA *Lacasdal* [ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌs̪t̪əl̪] #231; SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̥kaˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#125, bn 278); /r_ > [d̥] /ʁd/: SL **Svarð-dal* cusp. > GA *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌd̥əl̪] #312. §73

§73 (i) (b) SL *d-* > GA [d̥ʲ] /d′/′: (ann an suidheachadh beumte) LB **Dùpadal* cusp. > GA *Dìobadal* [ˈd̥ʲiːb̥əˌd̥əl̪] #168; SL **Djúp-vík* > GA **Diùbaig* *[ˈd̥ʲuːb̥ɛɡ̊ʲ] (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); LB **Vatnit Dùpa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪d̥ʲiːb̥] (#168).

§73 (ii) **SL *-dd-*** iar-bheumach
SL *-dd-* > GA [d̥] /d/ˣ: SL **Oddabrokka* > GA *Adabroc* [ˈad̥əˌb̥ɾɔʰk] #3.

§73 (iii) **SL *dr-*** thoisich
SL *dr-* > GA [d̥ɾ] /dr/ˣ: SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̥ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10).

§74 **SL *k***

§74 (i) **SL *k-*** thoisich

§74 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§74 (i) (a) (α) SL *k-* > GA [kʰ] /k/ˣ: SL **Keldan Kalda* > GA **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪̊t̪ə ˈkʰɑl̪̊t̪ə] (#93, bn 207); SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊ɑˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #93; SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊əˌniʃ] #94; SL **Káraóss* > GA *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] #100; SL **Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃad̥əɾ] #91; SL *karfa* cusp. > GA *carbh* [ˈkʰaɾ̂av] (#47 (iii)); SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌval̪̊] (#98); SL **Karlavág* cusp. > GA *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; SL **Kas-gróf* > GA **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌs̪kɾo] (#53); SL **Kofagerði* (no le iasad à GT *cáe* 'cadha') > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Kofasætr* > GA *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃad̥əɾ] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̥əɾ]) #92; SL **Kofr(s)stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌs̪t̪aj] #90; SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̥əɾ] (#323); SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkʰaʰpəˌd̥əl̪̊] #97; SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̥kəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#88); SL **Korn-nes* > GA *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɳiʃ] #99; SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑl̪̊] #164.

§74 (i) (a) (β) SL *k-* > GA [kʲʰ] /k′/′: LB **Keif-øy* > GA *Cèabhaigh* [ˈkʲʰeːˌvaj] (#48, bn 96); SL **Keldan Kalda* > GA **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪̊t̪ə ˈkʰɑl̪̊t̪ə] (#93, bn 207); SL **Ker(s)sætr* > GA *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑˌs̪ad̥əɾ] #120; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɾ̥ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125; SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ̂ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124; SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124). §74

§74 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *k-* > GA [kʲ] /ɡ′/′: SL **Ís-kinn* > GA *Ìsginn* [ˈiːʃkʲiɲ] #227.

§74 §74 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-k***

§74 (ii) (a) In stressed position

§74 (ii) (a) (α) ON *-k* > ScG [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: ON **Hauka* > ScG **Thòg* *[hɔːɡ̊] (#129); ON *hrók* acc. > ScG *ròg* [ɾɔːɡ̊] (#107).

§74 (ii) (a) (β) ON *-k* > ScG [ɡ̊ʲ] /g′/′: ON **Króki* > ScG *Cròig* [kʰɾɔːɡ̊ʲ] (#47), with apocope §44 (iii); ON **Ok-nes* > ScG *Aiginis* [ˈaɡ̊ʲəˌnɪʃ] #4; ON **Vík* > ScG *Ùig* [ˈuːɡ̊ʲ] (the loan-name) (#12); ON *vík* > ScG *ùig* *[ˈuːɡ̊ʲ] (the loan-word) (*Na h- Ùigean* [nə ˈhuːɡ̊ʲən]) (#345).

§74 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position

§74 (ii) (b) (α) ON *-k* > ScG [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: ON **Mæ-vǫk* > ScG *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɡ̊] #251; ON *svart-bak* acc. > ScG *arspag* [ˈɑsˌpaɡ̊] (#311 (i)).

§74 (ii) (b) (β) ON *-k* > ScG [ɡ̊ʲ] /g′/′: ON **Breið-vík* > ScG *Brèibhig* [ˈbɾʲeːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #76; ON **Djúp-vík* > ScG **Diùbaig* *[ˈʤʲuːbˌɛɡ̊ʲ] (#168) (Skye); ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈɡ̊ɾaːsˌəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218; ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːɬˌəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#116); ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾˌkəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#88); ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬˌəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #159; ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʃiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124; ON **Maravík* > ScG *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #246; ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndabhig* [ˈsˠãũⁿⁿʤəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #285; ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndaig* [ˈsˠãũⁿⁿʤiˌɡ̊ʲ] #286; ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #302; ON **Þórðsvík* or *Þórsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌʂiɡ̊ʲ] (#56, fn 110); ON **Við-vík* or **Víð-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #185.

§74 (iii) Unstressed **ON *-k***
ON *-k* > ScG [ɡ̊] /g/ > ∅ /_sˣ: ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG *[ˈeːɾʲiːɡ̊ˌsˠfɔˌd̥] > ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌsˠɔˌd̥] (#180, fn 399).

§74 (iv) Post-stress **ON *-kk*(-)**

§74 (iv) (a) In stressed position
ON *-kk*(-) > ScG [ʰk] /k/ˣ: ON **Bakkavatn* > ScG**Bacabhat* *[ˈbˌacəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); ON **Brekkur* pl. > ScG *Breacair* [bˌɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); ON **brokka* > ScG **broc*(*a*) *[ˈbˌɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə ˈbˌɾɔhkəⁿ] (#80)); ON **Brokkur* pl. > ScG *Brocair* [ˈbˌɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌbˌɑɾə] (#48, fn 94); ON **Rokk-stainn* > ScG *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌsˠtaⁿ] (#48, fn 94); ON **slǫkk* > ScG *sloc* (*slochd*) [sˠl̪ɔxk] (#229, fn 517), by analogy.

§74 (iv) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *-kk-* > ScG [ʰk] /k/ˣ: CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈbˌẽnəˌsˠpaʰk] #50; ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌsˠpɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); ON **Oddabrokka* > ScG *Adabroc* [ˈad̥əˌbˌɾɔʰk] #3.

§74 §74 (ii) **SL *-k*** iar-bheumach

§74 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§74 (ii) (a) (α) SL *-k* > GA [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: SL **Hauka* > GA **Thòg* *[hɔːɡ̊] (#129); SL *hrók* cusp. > GA *ròg* [ɾɔːɡ̊] (#107).

§74 (ii) (a) (β) SL *-k* > GA [ɡ̊ʲ] /g′/′: SL **Króki* > GA *Cròig* [kʰɾɔːɡ̊ʲ] (#47), le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii); SL **Ok-nes* > GA *Aiginis* [ˈaɡ̊ʲəˌnɪʃ] #4; SL **Vík* > GA *Ùig* [ˈuːɡ̊ʲ] (an t-ainm-iasaid) (#12); SL *vík* > GA *ùig* *[ˈuːɡ̊ʲ] (am facal-iasaid) (*Na h-Ùigean* [nə ˈhuːɡ̊ʲən]) (#345).

§74 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§74 (ii) (b) (α) SL *-k* > GA [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɡ̊] #251; SL *svart-bak* cusp. > GA *arspag* [ˈɑsˌpaɡ̊] (#311 (i)).

§74 (ii) (b) (β) SL *-k* > GA [ɡ̊ʲ] /g′/′: SL **Breið-vík* > GA *Brèibhig* [ˈbɾʲeːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #76; SL **Djúp-vík* > GA **Diùbaig* *[ˈʤʲuːbˌɛɡ̊ʲ] (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈɡ̊ɾaːsˌəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218; SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːɬˌəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#116); SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾˌkəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#88); SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬˌəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #159; SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʃiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124; SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #246; SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndabhig* [ˈsˠãũⁿⁿʤəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #285; SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndaig* [ˈsˠãũⁿⁿʤiˌɡ̊ʲ] #286; SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #302; SL **Þórðsvík* no *Þórsvík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌʂiɡ̊ʲ] (#56, bn 110); SL **Við-vík* no **Víð-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #185.

§74 (iii) **SL *-k*** neo-bheumte
SL *-k* > GA [ɡ̊] / g/ > ∅ /_sˣ: SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA *[ˈeːɾʲiːɡ̊ˌsˠfɔˌd̥] > ***GA*** **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌsˠɔˌd̥] (#180, bn 399).

§74 (iv) **SL *-kk*(-)** iar-bheumach

§74 (iv) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte
SL *-kk*(-) > GA [ʰk] /k/ˣ: SL **Bakkavatn* > GA **Bacabhat* *[ˈbˌaʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); SL **Brekkur* iol. > GA *Breacair* [bˌɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); SL **brokka* > GA **broc*(*a*) *[ˈbˌɾɔʰk(ə)] (*Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə ˈbˌɾɔhkəⁿ] (#80)); SL **Brokkur* iol. > GA *Brocair* [ˈbˌɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌbˌɑɾə] (#48, bn 94); SL **Rokk-stainn* > GA *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌsˠtaⁿ] (#48, bn 94); SL **slǫkk* > GA *sloc* (*slochd*) [sˠl̪ɔxk] (#229, bn 517), le co-rèiteachadh.

§74 (iv) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *-kk-* > GA [ʰk] /k/ˣ: LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈbˌẽnəˌsˠpaʰk] #50; SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌsˠpɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); SL **Odda-brokka* > GA *Adabroc* [ˈad̥əˌbˌɾɔʰk] #3.

§74 §74 (v) Initial **ON *kj-***

ON *kj-* > ScG [kʲʰ] /kj/ before a broad vowel: OWNorn **Kjal-kváll* > ScG *Cealagbhol* [ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑɬəgˌvɔɬ] #101; ON **Kjóss* > ScG *Ceòs* [**kʲʰ**ɔːs] #123.

§74 (vi) Initial **ON *kl-***

§74 (vi) (a) In stressed position

§74 (vi) (a) (α) ON *kl-* > ScG [kʰɬ] /kl/ˈ: ON *klofa* obl. > ScG *clobha* [ˈ**kʰɬ**o-ə] (#281, fn 641).

§74 (vi) (a) (β) ON *kl-* > ScG [kʰl] /klˈ/ˈ: ON **Kleifsbrokka* > ScG *Cliasbroc* [ˈ**kʰl**iaˌspɾɔʰk] (#131); ON **Kleifsgróf* > ScG *Cliasgro* [ˈ**kʰl**iaˌskɾo] #131; ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈ**kʰl**iaṣəmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); ON **Klettar* > ScG *Cleitir* [ˈ**kʰl**eʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; ON *klett* (*kletti*) acc. (dat.) > ScG *cleite* [ˈ**kʰl**eʰtʲə] (#129); ON *klif* > ScG *clibh* [**kʰl**if] (#132); ON **Klifsgróf* > ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈ**kʰl**iˌskɾo] (#132); ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* [ˈ**kʰl**iʃam] (#132); ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈ**kʰl**iːbəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296).

§74 (vi) (b) In weakly stressed position

ON *kl-* > ScG [kl] /glˈ/ˈ: ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲi-aˌs**kl**eʰtʲ] #79; ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* [ˈbɾʲiaˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] #78; ON **Einiklett* acc. > ScG *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] #178; ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə s**kl**eʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; ON **Há-klett* acc. > ScG *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] #317; ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌ**kl**eʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Straum(a)klett* acc. > ScG *Stròmacleit* *[ˈs̪tɾɔ̃ːməˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] (#306); ON **Ærklett* acc. > ScG **Èirecleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] (#296).

§74 (vi) (c) Post-stress

ON *-kl* > ScG [ʰkɬ] ([ˣkɬ] in South Uist) /kl/ˣ: ON **Hekla* > ScG *Theacal* (nMO) [hæ**xkəl**], with metathesis, *Mullach Theacla* (nMO) [ˈmũləx ˈhæ**xkl**ɑ], [ˈmũləx ˈhæ**xkəl**] (#315 (iv), 768) (South Uist).

§74 (vii) Initial **ON *kr-***

§74 (vii) (a) In stressed position

ON *kr-* > ScG [kʰɾ] /kr/ˣ: ON **Kráargróf* > ScG *Crathagro* *[ˈ**kʰɾ**a-əˌg̊ɾo] ((nMO) [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɑ-əˌkro]) (#157, fn 327); ON **Krák-holm* acc. > ScG *Cràgam* [ˈ**kʰɾ**aːg̊am] (#330); (ON *kraki* + suffixed article >) MNorw. **krāken* > ScG *cràigean* *[ˈ**kʰɾ**aːg̊jən] (#281, fn 647); ON **Kró* > ScG **Crò* *[**kʰɾ**ɔː] (#152); ON **Króar* pl. > ScG *Crothair* [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔ-əɾʲ] #157; ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔ-əˌʲˌg̊jɑɾi] #158; ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈ**kʰɾ**uːɬəˌvig̊ʲ] #159; ON **Króki* > ScG *Cròig* [**kʰɾ**ɔːg̊ʲ] (#47); ON **Kross* > ScG *Cros* [**kʰɾ**ɔs̪] #155; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔs̪əˌbɔ̊ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Kross-stein* acc.

§74 §74 (v) **SL *kj-*** thoisich

SL *kj-* > GA [kʲʰ] /kj/ ro fhuaimreig leathainn: SNòrnI **Kjal-kváll* > ***GA*** *Cealagbhol* [ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑɬəg̊ˌvɔɬ] #101; SL **Kjóss* > ***GA*** *Ceòs* [**kʲʰ**ɔːs] #123.

§74 (vi) **SL *kl-*** thoisich

§74 (vi) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§74 (vi) (a) (α) SL *kl-* > GA [kʰɬ] /kl/ˈ: SL *klofa* cl. > GA *clobha* [ˈ**kʰɬ**o-ə] (#281, bn 641).

§74 (vi) (a) (β) SL *kl-* > GA [kʰl] /klˈ/ˈ: SL **Kleifsbrokka* > GA *Cliasbroc* [ˈ**kʰl**iaˌspɾɔʰk] (#131); SL **Kleifsgróf* > GA *Cliasgro* [ˈ**kʰl**iaˌskɾo] #131; SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈ**kʰl**iaṣəmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); SL **Klettar* > GA *Cleitir* [ˈ**kʰl**eʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; SL *klett* (*kletti*) cusp. (tabh.) > GA *cleite* [ˈ**kʰl**eʰtʲə] (#129); SL *klif* > GA *clibh* [**kʰl**if] (#132); SL **Klifsgróf* > GA *Cliosgro* [ˈ**kʰl**iˌskɾo] (#132); SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* [ˈ**kʰl**iʃam] (#132); SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈ**kʰl**iːbəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296).

§74 (vi) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

SL *kl-* > GA [kl] /glˈ/ˈ: SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈbɾʲi-aˌs**kl**eʰtʲ] #79; SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* [ˈbɾʲiaˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] #78; SL **Einiklett* cusp. > GA *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] #178; SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə s**kl**eʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; SL **Há-klett* cusp. > GA *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] #317; SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌ**kl**eʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Straum(a)klett* cusp. > GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈs̪tɾɔ̃ːməˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] (#306); SL **Ærklett* cusp. > GA **Èirecleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌ**kl**eʰtʲ] (#296).

§74 (vi) (c) Iar-bheumach

SL *-kl* > GA [ʰkɬ] ([ˣkɬ] ann an Uibhist a Deas) /kl/ˣ: SL **Hekla* > GA *Theacal* (nMO) [hæ**xkəl**], le eadar-chàradh, *Mullach Theacla* (nMO) [ˈmũləx ˈhæ**xkl**ɑ], [ˈmũləx ˈhæ**xkəl**] (#315 (iv), 768) (Uibhist a Deas).

§74 (vii) **SL *kr-*** thoisich

§74 (vii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

SL *kr-* > GA [kʰɾ] /kr/ˣ: SL **Kráargróf* > GA *Crathagro* *[ˈ**kʰɾ**a-əˌg̊ɾo] ((nMO) [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɑ-əˌkro]) (#157, bn 327); SL **Krák-holm* cusp. > GA *Cràgam* [ˈ**kʰɾ**aːg̊am] (#330); (SL *kraki* + an t-alt iar-leasaichte >) MNirr. **krāken* > GA *cràigean* *[ˈ**kʰɾ**aːg̊jən] (#281, bn 647); SL **Kró* > GA **Crò* *[**kʰɾ**ɔː] (#152); SL **Króar* iol. > GA *Crothair* [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔ-əɾʲ] #157; SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔ-əˌʲˌg̊jɑɾi] #158; SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈ**kʰɾ**uːɬəˌvig̊ʲ] #159; SL **Króki* > GA *Cròig* [**kʰɾ**ɔːg̊ʲ] (#47); SL **Kross* > GA *Cros* [**kʰɾ**ɔs̪] #155; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔs̪əˌbɔ̊ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Kross-stein* cusp. > GA

§74 > ScG **Croistean* *[ˈ**kʰɾ**ɔʃtʲən] (#240).

§74 (vii) (b) In weakly stressed position

§74 (vii) (b) (α) In a broad environment, one might expect ON *kr-* > ScG [kɾ] /gr/, but contrast ON **Kráarkró* > ScG *Crathacro* (nMO) [ˈkrɑ-əˌ**kʰɾ**o], i.e. [ˈkʰɾɑ-əˌ**kʰɾ**o] (but see #157, fn 327).

§74 (vii) (b) (β) In a slender environment, one would expect ON *kr-* > ScG [kɾʲ] /gr´/, but in the following ScG *creag* [**kʰɾʲ**eg̊] has probably influenced the development of the loan-name in Gaelic: ON **Kleifsholm-krek* (with a loan-word from EG *crec* f.) > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰlias̪əmˌ**kʰɾʲ**eg̊] (#131).

§74 (viii) Post-stress **ON *-ks*** (***x***)
ON *-ks* > ScG [ʰks̪] /ks/: ON **Lax-vatn* > ScG *Lacsabhat* [ˈl̪ɑ**ʰk**s̪əˌvaʰt̪] (§8 + fn 28), with epenthesis §42 (i) (b); so also ON **Lax-á* > ScG **[ˈl̪ɑ**ʰk**ˌs̪aj] > *Laca·saigh* [ˈl̪ɑ**ʰkə**ˌs̪aj] #230 and ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG *Lacasdal* *[ˈl̪ɑ**ʰk**ˌs̪t̪əl̪] > [ˈl̪ɑ**ʰkə**ˌs̪t̪əl̪] #231. (For ScG [ʰks̪] from ON *gs* [xs̪], see §75 (iii) (e).)

§74 (ix) Initial **ON *kv-***

§74 (ix) (a) In stressed position (before a slender vowel)

§74 (ix) (a) (α) ON *kv-* > ScG ([kʰui] /kui/ >) [kʰəi] /kəi/: ON **Kví-sætr* > ScG **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈ**kʰəi**ˌʃad̪ər] (#292); ON **Kví-vík* > ScG *Cuidhbhig* [ˈ**kʰəi**ˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#160); ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈ**kʰəi**və ˌt̪oʰt̪ər] #160; ON **Kvín Ranga* > ScG *Cuidh Raing* [ˌ**kʰə(i)** ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, fn 342).

§74 (ix) (a) (β) ON *kv-* > ScG [kʰu̯ː] /kuː/: ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > ScG *Cùil·eatotar* [ˈ**kʰu̯ː**lə ˌt̪oʰt̪ər] #163; ON **Kvísla* > ScG **Cùiseal* *[ˈ**kʰu̯ː**ʃəl̪] (#106).

§74 (ix) (a) (γ) ON *kv-* > ScG [kʰu̯j] ([kʰu̯i̯]) /kuj/ or [kʰu̯ʲ] ([kʰu̯i̯̊]) /kujh/: ON **Kvíar* pl. > ScG *Cuidhir* [ˈ**kʰu̯j**ʰəɾ], [ˈ**kʰu̯j**ʰəɾʲ] #161.

§74 (ix) (a) (δ) Unless the variation in the development of ON **Kvíasætr* > ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈ**kʰu̯-i**ˌʃad̪ər], [ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ər] #162 is the same as sometimes found in ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲ**i-a**ˌs̪kleʰt̪ʲ] ~ [ˈb̥ɾʲ**ia**ˌs̪kleʰt̪ʲ] #79 §43 (vii) (a), the pronunciation [ˈ**kʰəi**ˌʃad̪ər] may follow development (α) and the pronunciation [ˈ**kʰu̯-i**ˌʃad̪ər] development (β), above, except that in the latter the stressed vowel has been shortened before hiatus §41 (ii).

§74 (ix) (a) (ε) Macaulay's spelling (1972, 333: ScG *Cuidhinis* (#161) (from ON **Kvíanes*)) might intend ScG *[ˈ**kʰu̯-ə**ˌniʃ], with the stressed vowel shortened before hiatus (cf. (δ), above), or ScG *[ˈ**kʰu̯jə**ˌniʃ] (cf. (γ), above).

Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾ**ɔʃtʲən] (#240). §74

§74 (vii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§74 (vii) (b) (α) Ann an àrainn leathainn, dh'fhaodte SL *kr-* > GA [kɾ] /gr/ a shùileachadh, ach iomsgaraich SL **Kráarkró* > GA *Crathacro* (nMO) [ˈkrɑ-əˌ**kʰɾ**o], .i. [ˈkʰɾɑ-əˌ**kʰɾ**o] (ach faic #157, bn 327).

§74 (vii) (b) (β) Ann an àrainn chaoil, dh'fhaodte SL *kr-* > GA [kɾʲ] /gr´/ a shùileachadh, ach anns na leanas is iongantach mana tug GA *creag* [**kʰɾʲ**eg̊] buaidh air leasachadh an ainm-iasaid sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Kleifsholm-krek* (le facal-iasaid à GT *crec* b.) > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰlias̪əmˌ**kʰɾʲ**eg̊] (#131).

§74 (viii) **SL *-ks*** (***x***) iar-bheumach
SL *-ks* > GA [ʰks̪] /ks/: SL **Lax-vatn* > GA *Lacsabhat* [ˈl̪ɑ**ʰk**s̪əˌvaʰt̪] (§8 + bn 28), le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b); mar sin SL **Lax-á* > GA **[ˈl̪ɑ**ʰk**ˌs̪aj] > *Laca·saigh* [ˈl̪ɑ**ʰkə**ˌs̪aj] #230 agus SL **Lax-dal* cusp. > GA *Lacasdal* *[ˈl̪ɑ**ʰk**ˌs̪t̪əl̪] > [ˈl̪ɑ**ʰkə**ˌs̪t̪əl̪] #231. (Airson GA [ʰks̪] à SL *gs* [xs̪], faic §75 (iii) (e).)

§74 (ix) **SL *kv-*** thoisich

§74 (ix) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte (ro fhuaimreig chaoil)

§74 (ix) (a) (α) SL *kv-* > GA ([kʰui] /kui/ >) [kʰəi] /kəi/: SL **Kví-sætr* > GA **Cuidhseadar* *[ˈ**kʰəi**ˌʃad̪ər] (#292); SL **Kví-vík* > GA *Cuidhbhig* [ˈ**kʰəi**ˌviɣ̊ʲ] (#160); SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈ**kʰəi**və ˌt̪oʰt̪ər] #160; SL **Kvín Ranga* > GA *Cuidh Raing* [ˌ**kʰə(i)** ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, bn 342).

§74 (ix) (a) (β) SL *kv-* > GA [kʰu̯ː] /kuː/: SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > GA *Cùilea·totar* [ˈ**kʰu̯ː**lə ˌt̪oʰt̪ər] #163; SL **Kvísla* > GA **Cùiseal* *[ˈ**kʰu̯ː**ʃəl̪] (#106).

§74 (ix) (a) (γ) SL *kv-* > GA [kʰu̯j] ([kʰu̯i̯]) /kuj/ no [kʰu̯ʲ] ([kʰu̯i̯̊]) /kujh/: SL **Kvíar* iol. > GA *Cuidhir* [ˈ**kʰu̯j**ʰəɾ], [ˈ**kʰu̯j**ʰəɾʲ] #161.

§74 (ix) (a) (δ) Mana h-ionann an t-eugsamhlachadh san leasachadh ann an SL **Kvíasætr* > GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈ**kʰu̯-i**ˌʃad̪ər], [ˈ**kʰəi**ˌʃad̪ər] #162 agus na gheibhear air uairean ann am SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheas·cleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲ**i-a**ˌs̪kleʰt̪ʲ] ~ [ˈb̥ɾʲ**ia**ˌs̪kleʰt̪ʲ] #79 §43 (vii) (a), is dòcha gun lean am fuaimneachadh [ˈ**kʰəi**ˌʃad̪ər] leasachadh (α) agus am fuaimneachadh [ˈ**kʰu̯-i**ˌʃad̪ər] leasachadh (β), shuas, ach gun deach an fhuaimreag bheumte san fhear mu dheireadh a ghiorrachadh ro bheàrnas §41 (ii).

§74 (ix) (a) (ε) Dh'fhaodadh litreachadh Mhacaulay (1972, 333: GA *Cuidh·inis* (#161) (à SL **Kvíanes*)) a bhith ag amas air GA *[ˈ**kʰu̯-ə**ˌniʃ], agus an fhuaimreag bheumte air a giorrachadh ro bheàrnas (coim. (δ), shuas), no GA *[ˈ**kʰu̯jə**ˌniʃ] (coim. (γ), shuas).

§74 §74 (ix) (b) In weakly stressed position (before a broad vowel)
ON *kv-* > ScG [ɡv] ([kv]) /gv/: OWNorn **Kjal-kváll* > ScG *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰɑl̪əɡ̊ˌvɔɬ̪] #101.

§75 §75 **ON *g***

§75 (i) Initial **ON *g-***

§75 (i) (a) In stressed position

§75 (i) (a) (α) ON *g-* > ScG [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: ON **Galtargil* > ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈɡ̊ɑl̪t̪rəˌɡ̊ʲil] (#188) (Skye); ON **Galt-gróf* or *Galtagróf* > ScG *Galtagro* (MO) [ɡɑɪtəgro] (#188); ON **Galt-sund* > ScG *Gabhsann* [ˈɡ̊auˢ̪ən̪̊] #188; ON *garð* acc. > ScG *gàrradh* [ˈɡ̊ɑːrəɣ] (#182); ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrr·aidh* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈɡ̊ɑːɾi] (#172), with morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (c); ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡ̊ɑrəˌb̥ɔˢ̪t̪] #189; ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌɡ̊ɔr͡mi ɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§75 (i) (a) (β) ON *g-* > ScG [ɡ̊ʲ] /ɡ′/: ON **Geis-gil* > ScG *Gìsgil* *[ˈɡ̊ʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, fn 453) (Sutherland); ON **Geit-holm* acc. > ScG *Gèideam* [ˈɡ̊ʲeːˌd̪̊am] (#203); ON **Geit-sætr* > ScG *Gèiseadar* [ˈɡ̊ʲeːˌʃad̪̊ər] #203; ON **Gerða* > ScG **Geardha* *[ˈɡ̊ʲar͡aɣə] (#191); ON *gerði* > ScG *geàrraidh* [ˈɡ̊ʲɑːɾi] (#192); ON *gil* > ScG *gil* [ɡ̊ʲil] (#204); ON **Gilsá* > ScG *Giosladh* [ˈɡ̊ʲisɬ̪ˢ̪ay] #206; ON *gjá* > ScG *geodha* [ˈɡ̊ʲo-o], [ˈɡ̊ʲo-ə] (#58); ON **Gjórsætr* > ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈɡ̊ʲuːˌʂad̪̊ər] #207.

§75 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position

§75 (i) (b) (α) ON *g-* > ScG [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌɡ̊əɾʲ] #74 §37 (i) (b).

§75 (i) (b) (β) ON *g-* > ScG [ɡ̊ʲ] /ɡ′/: ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearr·aidh* [ˈb̥eɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪ˢ̪(ə)məˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰrɔ-əˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410); ON **Brynugil* > ScG *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾʊ̃ɪnəˌɡ̊ʲil] #84; ON **Seljugjá* > ScG *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɡ̊ʲaɣ] (#281); /[ʃ]_: [kʲ]: OWNorn **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰʊ̃ɪm͡ʊ̃ɪˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342; ON **Bergsgjá* > ScG *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̥øɾ͡ʃøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); /[ʂ]_: [k]: ON **Marsgil* > ScG *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] #257.

§75 (ii) **ON *-g*** after short stressed vowels

§75 (ii) (a) ON *-g* > ScG [ɣ]ˣ: ON *stig* acc. > ScG *stiogha* [ˈʃtʲiɣə] (#80, fn 180); but ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪̊ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10), with morphemic substitution §37 (i) (e) and an epenthetic vowel §42 (i) (b), with ScG [ɣ] becoming [v] after the development of [ə].

§74 §74 (ix) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte (ro fhuaimreig leathainn)
SL *kv-* > GA [ɡv] ([kv]) /gv/: SNòrnI **Kjal-kváll* > GA *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰɑl̪əɡ̊ˌvɔɬ̪] #101.

§75 §75 **SL *g***

§75 (i) **SL *g-*** thoisich

§75 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§75 (i) (a) (α) SL *g-* > GA [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: SL **Galtargil* > GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈɡ̊ɑl̪t̪rəˌɡ̊ʲil] (#188) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Galt-gróf* no **Galtagróf* > GA *Galta·gro* (MO) [ɡɑɪtəgro] (#188); SL **Galt-sund* > GA *Gabhsann* [ˈɡ̊auˢ̪ən̪̊] #188; SL *garð* cusp. > GA *gàrradh* [ˈɡ̊ɑːrəɣ] (#182); SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrr·aidh* *[ˌmĩɲ̊ə ˈɡ̊ɑːɾi] (#172), le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (c); SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡ̊ɑrəˌb̥ɔˢ̪t̪] #189; SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌɡ̊ɔr͡miɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§75 (i) (a) (β) SL *g-* > GA [ɡ̊ʲ] /ɡ′/: SL **Geis-gil* > GA *Gìsgil* *[ˈɡ̊ʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, bn 453) (Cataibh); SL **Geit-holm* cusp. > GA *Gèideam* [ˈɡ̊ʲeːˌd̪̊am] (#203); SL **Geit-sætr* > GA *Gèiseadar* [ˈɡ̊ʲeːˌʃad̪̊ər] #203; SL **Gerða* > GA **Geardha* *[ˈɡ̊ʲar͡aɣə] (#191); SL *gerði* > GA *geàrraidh* [ˈɡ̊ʲɑːɾi] (#192); SL *gil* > GA *gil* [ɡ̊ʲil] (#204); SL **Gilsá* > GA *Giosladh* [ˈɡ̊ʲisɬ̪ˢ̪ay] #206; SL *gjá* > GA *geodha* [ˈɡ̊ʲo-o], [ˈɡ̊ʲo-ə] (#58); SL **Gjórsætr* > GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈɡ̊ʲuːˌʂad̪̊ər] #207.

§75 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§75 (i) (b) (α) SL *g-* > GA [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌɡ̊əɾʲ] #74 §37 (i) (b).

§75 (i) (b) (β) SL *g-* > GA [ɡ̊ʲ] /ɡ′/: SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̥eɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪ˢ̪(ə)məˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰrɔ-əˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410); SL **Brynugil* > GA *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾʊ̃ɪnəˌɡ̊ʲil] #84; SL **Seljugjá* > GA *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɡ̊ʲaɣ] (#281); /[ʃ]_: [kʲ]: SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰʊ̃ɪm͡ʊ̃ɪˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342; SL **Bergsgjá* > GA *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̥øɾ͡ʃøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); /[ʂ]_: [k]: SL **Marsgil* > GA *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] #257.

§75 (ii) **SL *-g*** an dèidh fhuaimreagan beumte goirid

§75 (ii) (a) SL *-g* > GA [ɣ]ˣ: SL *stig* cusp. > GA *stiogha* [ˈʃtʲiɣə] (#80, bn 180); ach SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪̊ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10), le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (i) (e) agus fuaimreig còmhnaidh §42 (i) (b), agus > GA [ɣ] a' dol na [v] an dèidh do [ə] nochdadh.

§75

§75 (ii) (b) Between vowels
ON *-g* > hiatus,ˣ: ON *boga* obl. > ScG *bogha* [ˈb̥o-o], [ˈb̥o-ə] (#74); ON **Smuga* > ScG *Smudha* *[ˈs̪mũ-ə] (#302); contrast ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10), above.

§75 (ii) (c) Before a consonant
ON *-g* > ∅, with compensatory lengthening in the stressed vowel:

§75 (ii) (c) (α) ˣ: ON **hugl* > ScG *tùl* [t̪ʰuːl̪] (#315 (iii)); ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɠʲ] (#116); ON *Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, fn 563); ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪ɔɾ] #244; ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əl̪] (#151);[3] ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩənid̪ʲ] #293; ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈs̪mũãʃəˌviɠʲ] #302, with epenthesis §42 (i) (b); but contrast ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10).

§75 (ii) (c) (β) ´: ON **Bugsstein* acc. > ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̥uːˌʃtʲən] (#116).

§75 (iii) **ON *-g*** after long stressed vowels

§75 (iii) (a) In final position
ON *-g* > ScG [ɣ] ˣ:

§75 (iii) (a) (α) In stressed position: ON *vág* acc. > ScG *bàgh* [b̥aːɣ] (#24).

§75 (iii) (a) (β) In weakly stressed position: OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌvaɣ] #319; ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰal̪əs̪ˌvaɣ] #322; ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsʲəˌvaɣ] (#25); ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); ON **Karlavág* acc. > ScG *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235; ON **Stím-árvág* acc. > ScG (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəmɾəˌvaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌɾaɣ] #310, with contraction; ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309; elided in OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#319); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* (*[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəʃˌvaɬ̪] >) [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌʃaɬ̪] (#319).

§75 (iii) (b) Elsewhere
ON *-g* > ∅, ˣ:

§75 (iii) (b) (α) Before a consonant: ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229.

3. While the nasal in Gaelic has since been lost – hence the hiatus; cf. the man's name EG *Doṁnall* m. *[ˈd̪ɔ̃βn̪əl̪] > ScG *[ˈd̪ɔ̃ːnəl̪], with loss of the fricative (cf. Ir. *Dónall*), > ScG *Dòmhnall* [ˈd̪ɔ̃ː-əl̪]; cf. ON *Dufn(i)all* m., borrowed from Early Gaelic.

§75

§75 (ii) (b) Eadar fuaimreagan
SL *-g* > beàrnas,ˣ: SL *boga* cl. > GA *bogha* [ˈb̥o-o], [ˈb̥o-ə] (#74); SL **Smuga* > GA *Smudha* *[ˈs̪mũ-ə] (#302); iomsgaraich SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10), shuas.

§75 (ii) (c) Ro chonnraig
SL *-g* > ∅, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh san fhuaimreig bheumte:

§75 (ii) (c) (α) ˣ: SL **hugl* > GA *tùl* [t̪ʰuːl̪] (#315 (iii)); SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɠʲ] (#116); SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, bn 563); SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪ɔɾ] #244; SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əl̪] (#151);[3] SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩənid̪ʲ] #293; SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈs̪mũãʃəˌviɠʲ] #302, le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b); ach iomsgaraich SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10).

§75 (ii) (c) (β) ´: SL **Bugsstein* cusp. > GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̥uːˌʃtʲən] (#116).

§75 (iii) **SL *-g*** an dèidh fhuaimreagan beumte fada

§75 (iii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh deiridh
SL *-g* > GA [ɣ] ˣ:

§75 (iii) (a) (α) Ann an suidheachadh beumte: SL *vág* cusp. > GA *bàgh* [b̥aːɣ] (#24).

§75 (iii) (a) (β) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌvaɣ] #319; SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰal̪əs̪ˌvaɣ] #322; SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsʲəˌvaɣ] (#25); SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); SL **Karlavág* cusp. > GA *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235; SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. > GA (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəmɾəˌvaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌɾaɣ] #310, le teannachadh; SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309; aig a theasgadh ann an SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌs̪t̪əl̪] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* (*[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəʃˌvaɬ̪] >) [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌʃaɬ̪] (#319).

§75 (iii) (b) Ann an àitichean eile
SL *-g* > ∅, ˣ:

§75 (iii) (b) (α) Ro chonnraig: SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #229.

3. Agus an srònach sa Ghàidhlig bhon uair sin air chall – às a sin beàrnas; coim. an t-ainm fireannaich GT *Doṁnall* f. *[ˈd̪ɔ̃βn̪əl̪] > GA *[ˈd̪ɔ̃ːnəl̪], le call an t-suathaich (coim. GE *Dónall*), > GA *Dòmhnall* [ˈd̪ɔ̃ː-əl̪]; coim. SL *Dufn(i)all* f., a chaidh air iasad às a' Ghàidhlig Thràth.

§75

§75 (iii) (b) (β) Before a vowel (with apocope §44 (iii)): ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhoː] (#172); ON *hrúga* > ScG *rògh* [ɾɔː] (*An Rògh* [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, fn 385)).

§75 (iii) (c) The post-stress cluster ON *-gð* is replaced by hiatus (with shortening of the preceding vowel §41 (ii)) in ON **Lægð-á* > ScG **Leatha* *[ˈl̪æ-a], *[ˈl̪a-a] (#153).

§75 (iii) (d) In the loan-word ScG *uinneag* [ˈɯ̟ɪ̯n̪aɡ̊] (#67), the ending *-auga* (in weakly stressed position) in ON *vindauga* has been replaced by the native suffix EG *-óc:* > EG -[ɔːg] > ScG -[aɡ̊] /ag/, by morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (f).

§75 (iii) (e) ON *-gs* [xs̪] in CSc. **Vágsøy* has developed into [ʰks̪] /ks/ in Gaelic, giving ScG *[ˈvaːʰkˌs̪ɛj] > *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60, with epenthesis §42 (i) (b).

§75 (iv) **ON *-gg-***

§75 (iv) (a) ON *-gg-* > ScG [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearr·aidh* [ˈbe̝ɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡ̊əˌʂtaj] #294.

§75 (iv) (b) ON *-gg-* > ScG [ɡ̊ʲ] /g´/´: ON **Skegg-nes* > ScG **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲe̝ɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ] (#294).

§75 (v) Initial **ON *gl-***
ON *gl-* > ScG [ɡ̊l̪̊] /gl/ˣ: ON **Glumm* > ScG **Glom* *[ˈɡ̊l̪̊õũm] (#35); ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌbɔɑɾə ˈɡ̊l̪̊õũm] #48; OWNorn **glǫmbar* (ON *klǫmbr*) > ScG *glomair* [ˈɡ̊l̪̊õməɾʲ] (#35); and in ON **-sætr* > ScG *Glogaiseadar* [ˈɡ̊l̪̊ɔɡ̊əˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #215.

§75 (vi) Post-stress **ON *-gn***
ON *-gn* > ScG [n], with compensatory lengthening: ON *Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, fn 563); ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːnˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #244; ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩənʲiʎ̊tʲ] #293; but in ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɬ̪̊] (#151) with loss of the nasal after lengthening of the vowel.

§75 (vii) Initial **ON *gr-***

§75 (vii) (a) In stressed position

§75 (vii) (a) (α) ON *gr-* > ScG [ɡ̊ɾ] /gɾ/ˣ: ON **Grafir* > ScG *Grabhair* [ˈɡ̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈɡ̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218; ON **Groms·sætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈɡ̊ɾʊ̟ɯ̃ũˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #224; ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgrʊnəvaht] (#182).

§75

§75 (iii) (b) (β) Ro fhuaimreig (le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)): SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈhoː] (#172); SL *hrúga* > GA *rògh* [ɾɔː] (*An Rògh* [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, bn 385)).

§75 (iii) (c) Thèid an còmhlan SL *-gð* iar-bheumach na bheàrnas (le giorrachadh san fhuaimreig air thoiseach air §41 (ii)) ann an SL **Lægð-á* > GA **Leatha* *[ˈl̪æ-a], *[ˈl̪a-a] (#153).

§75 (iii) (d) San fhacal-iasaid GA *uinneag* [ˈɯ̟ɪ̯n̪aɡ̊] (#67), chaidh an leasachan dùthchasach GT *-óc* a chur an àite an dùnaidh *-auga* (ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte) ann an SL *vindauga*: > GT -[ɔːg] > GA -[aɡ̊] /ag/, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (f).

§75 (iii) (e) Tha SL *-gs* [xs̪] ann an LB **Vágsøy* air a dhol na [ʰks̪] /ks/ sa Ghàidhlig, a' toirt GA *[ˈvaːʰkˌs̪ɛj] > *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60, le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b).

§75 (iv) **SL *-gg-***

§75 (iv) (a) SL *-gg-* > GA [ɡ̊] /g/ˣ: SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearr·aidh* [ˈbe̝ɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡ̊əˌʂtaj] #294.

§75 (iv) (b) SL *-gg-* > GA [ɡ̊ʲ] /g´/´: SL **Skegg-nes* > GA **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲe̝ɡ̊ʲəˌniʃ] (#294).

§75 (v) **SL *gl-*** thoisich
SL *gl-* > GA [ɡ̊l̪̊] /gl/ˣ: SL **Glumm* > GA **Glom* *[ˈɡ̊l̪̊õũm] (#35); SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌbɔɑɾə ˈɡ̊l̪̊õũm] #48; SNòrnI **glǫmbar* (SL *klǫmbr*) > GA *glomair* [ˈɡ̊l̪̊õməɾʲ] (#35); agus ann an SL **-sætr* > GA *Glogaiseadar* [ˈɡ̊l̪̊ɔɡ̊əˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #215.

§75 (vi) **SL *-gn*** iar-bheumach
SL *-gn* > GA [n], le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, bn 563); SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːnˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #244; SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩənʲiʎ̊tʲ] #293; ach ann an SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɬ̪̊] (#151) le call an t-srònaich an dèidh fadachadh na fuaimreige.

§75 (vii) **SL *gr-*** thoisich

§75 (vii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§75 (vii) (a) (α) SL *gr-* > GA [ɡ̊ɾ] /gɾ/ˣ: SL **Grafir* > GA *Grabhair* [ˈɡ̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈɡ̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218; SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈɡ̊ɾʊ̟ɯ̃ũˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #224; SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunna·bhat* (MO) *[ˈgrʊnəvaht] (#182).

§75 §75 (vii) (a) (β) > ScG [ɡ̊ɾʲ] /gr′/′: ON *Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲiɡ̊əˌn̪spɔɬ̪] #222; ON *Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲĩməˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; ON *grjót* > ScG *greòd* [ɡ̊ɾʲɔːd̪̊] (#86, fn 191); ON *Gróðuós* acc. > ScG *Griais* [ɡ̊ɾʲiaʃ] (< (MO) [gðias]) #220; ON *Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnəˌn̪ɔs̪t̪] #219; ON *Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvaɬ̪] (#219); ON *Grón-holm* acc. > ScG *Grèineam* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnam] (#219); ON *Grýta* > ScG *Grìoda* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲiːd̪̊ə] (#239).

§75 (vii) (b) In weakly stressed position

ON *gr-* > ScG [ɡ̊ɾ] /gr/ˣ: ON *Botn-gróf* > ScG *Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪̊əˌɡ̊ɾo] (#341, fn 827); ON *Galt-gróf* or *Galtagróf* > ScG *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɪtə**gr**o] (#188); for ON *Rang-gróf* > ScG *Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋɡ̊əˌɾo] (#59), see §42 (i) (b); /s_ [kɾ]: ON *Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌn̪**kɾ**o] #328; ON *Kas-gróf* > ScG *Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌn̪**kɾ**o] (#53); ON *Kleifsgróf* > ScG *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌn̪**kɾ**o] #131; ON *Klifsgróf* > ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌn̪**kɾ**o] (#132); ON *Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑɬ̪əˌn̪**kɾ**o] #291; ON *Vaðsgróf* > ScG *Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌn̪**kɾ**o] (#181, fn 404).

§76 §76 **ON *þ***

EG broad [θ] /θ/ and EG slender [θʲ] /θ′/ were lenited forms of EG broad [t̪] /t/ and EG slender [tʲ] /t′/, respectively, but EG broad [θ] /θ/ and EG slender [θʲ] /θ′/ became [h] /h/ in Scottish Gaelic in the 12th c., although the slenderisation of EG [θʲ] /θ′/ is still found in the modern language in the form of a palatal semi-vowel before a broad vowel, cf. ON *Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈ**hj**ɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #327.

§76 (i) Initial **ON *þ-***

§76 (i) (a) ON *þ-* > ScG [h] /h/: ON *Þingvallarstað* acc. > ScG *Thiongarstaidh* [ˈ**h**ĩŋɡ̊əˌs̪t̪æj]; ON *Þórðssætr* > ScG *Thòrsadar* *[ˈ**h**ɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] (#56); ON *Þórsvík* > ScG *Thòrsaig* *[ˈ**h**ɔːˌs̪iɡ̊ʲ] (#56, fn 110).

§76 (i) (b) With delenition in Gaelic

§76 (i) (b) (α) ON *þ-* > ScG [t̪ʰ] /t/ˣ: ON *Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ɔ͡ʊn̪ˌs̪taɣ] #331; ON *þopta* > ScG *tobhta* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**oʰt̪̊ə] (#5, fn 17); ON *Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336; ON *Þormund* acc. > ScG *Tormod* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**a͡ɾãmɔd̪̊] (#93); ON *þorsk* acc. > ScG *trosg* [**t̪ʰ**ɾɔs̪k] (#31 (i)), with metathesis §40 (ii); ON *Þúfur* (no *Púfar*) pl. > ScG *Tùthair* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ʉːˑəɾʲ], [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ʉːˑʉɾʲ] #344; ON *þurs* f. > ScG *turs*(*a*) [ˈ**t̪ʰ**uʂ(ə)] (#31 (i)).

§76 (i) (b) (β) ON *þ-* > ScG [tʲʰ] /t′/′: ON *Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG *Tiongalairidh* [ˈ**tʲʰ**ĩŋɡ̊əˌɬɑɾʲi] (#95).

§75 §75 (vii) (a) (β) > GA [ɡ̊ɾʲ] /gr′/′: SL *Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲiɡ̊əˌn̪spɔɬ̪] #222; SL *Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲĩməˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; SL *grjót* > GA *greòd* [ɡ̊ɾʲɔːd̪̊] (#86, bn 191); SL *Gróðuós* cusp. > GA *Griais* [ɡ̊ɾʲiaʃ] (< (MO) [gðias]) #220; SL *Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnəˌn̪ɔs̪t̪] #219; SL *Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvaɬ̪] (#219); SL *Grón-holm* cusp. > GA *Grèineam* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnam] (#219); SL *Grýta* > GA *Grìod*(*a*) *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲiːd̪̊(ə)] (#239).

§75 (vii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

SL *gr-* > GA [ɡ̊ɾ] /gr/ˣ: SL *Botn-gróf* > GA *Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪̊əˌɡ̊ɾo] (#341, bn 827); SL *Galt-gróf* no *Galtagróf* > GA *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɪtə**gr**o] (#188); SL *Rang-gróf* > GA *Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋɡ̊əˌɾo] (#59), faic §42 (i) (b); /s_ [kɾ]: SL *Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌn̪**kɾ**o] #328; SL *Kas-gróf* > GA *Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌn̪**kɾ**o] (#53); SL *Kleifsgróf* > GA *Cliasgro* [ˈkʰliaˌn̪**kɾ**o] #131; SL *Klifsgróf* > GA *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌn̪**kɾ**o] (#132); SL *Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑɬ̪əˌn̪**kɾ**o] #291; SL *Vaðsgróf* > GA *Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌn̪**kɾ**o] (#181, bn 404).

§76 §76 **SL *þ***

Bha GT [θ] /θ/ leathann agus GT [θʲ] /θ′/ chaol nan cruthan sèimhichte aig GT [t̪] /t/ leathainn agus GT [tʲ] /t′/ chaoil, fa leth, ach chaidh GT [θ] /θ/ leathann agus GT [θʲ] /θ′/ chaol nan [h] /h/ ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann san 12ra linn, ged a chithear lorg air a' chaolachadh ann an GT [θʲ] /θ′/ fhathast san nua-chànan san leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich ro fhuaimreig leathainn, coim. SL *Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈ**hj**ɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #327.

§76 (i) **SL *þ-*** thoisich

§76 (i) (a) SL *þ-* > GA [h] /h/: SL *Þingvallarstað* cusp. > GA *Thiongarstaidh* [ˈ**h**ĩŋɡ̊əˌs̪t̪æj]; SL *Þórðssætr* > GA *Thòrsadar* *[ˈ**h**ɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] (#56); SL *Þórsvík* > GA *Thòrsaig* *[ˈ**h**ɔːˌs̪iɡ̊ʲ] (#56, bn 110).

§76 (i) (b) Le dì-shèimheachadh sa Ghàidhlig

§76 (i) (b) (α) SL *þ-* > GA [t̪ʰ] /t/ˣ: SL *Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ɔ͡ʊn̪ˌs̪taɣ] #331; SL *þopta* > GA *tobhta* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**oʰt̪̊ə] (#5, bn 17); SL *Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336; SL *Þormund* cusp. > GA *Tormod* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**a͡ɾãmɔd̪̊] (#93); SL *þorsk* cusp. > GA *trosg* [**t̪ʰ**ɾɔs̪k] (#31 (i)), le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii); SL *Þúfur* (no *Púfar*) iol. > GA *Tùthair* [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ʉːˑəɾʲ], [ˈ**t̪ʰ**ʉːˑʉɾʲ] #344; SL *þurs* f. > GA *turs*(*a*) [ˈ**t̪ʰ**uʂ(ə)] (#31 (i)).

§76 (i) (b) (β) SL *þ-* > GA [tʲʰ] /t′/′: SL *Þingvall-ærgi* > GA *Tiongalairidh* [ˈ**tʲʰ**ĩŋɡ̊əˌɬɑɾʲi] (#95).

§76 §76 (ii) Initial **ON *þj-***

ON *þj-* > ScG [hj] /hj/: ON **Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈ**hj**ɔːˌsaˌ̊dəɾ] #327.

§76 (iii) Initial **ON *þr-***

ON *þr-* > ScG [t̪ʰɾ] /tr/, with delenition of the fricative, via back-formation §33: ON **Þrælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [**tr**iɑləvɑl] (#295); ON **Þrælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈ**t̪ʰɾ**iaɫ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296).

§77 §77 **ON *f***

Broad EG [f] /f/ and slender EG [fʲ] /f′/ fall together as [f] /f/ in Scottish Gaelic, although the slenderisation in EG [fʲ] /f′/ before a broad vowel survives in the form of a palatal semi-vowel [j] in the modern language, e.g. ScG (without the article) *Feòirlig* [ˈ**fj**ɔːl̪ɪgʲ] #184.

§77 (i) Initial **ON *f-***

§77 (i) (a) ON *f-* > ScG [f] /f/: ; ON **Fé-nes* > ScG **Fianis* *[ˈ**f**ĩəˌniʃ] (#281, fn 649); ON *fit* > ScG **fid* *[fiʤʲ] (*An Fhideach* [ə ˈɲiʤʲɔx]) (#147, fn 304); ON *fors* > ScG *fors* [ˈfɔʂ] (*Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ ə ˈn̪ɔʂə]) (#180, fn 400); ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈ**f**ilə̃ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186.

§77 (i) (b) ON *f-* > ScG [v] /v/, with voicing §39 (iii): ON **Fyljavarða* > ScG **Bhileabhair* *[ˈvilə̃ˌvəɾʲ] (#186, fn 430); ON **Fé-nes* > ScG **Àird Bhianis* *[ˈvĩə̃ˌniʃ] (#186).

§77 (i) (c) Not in ScG *falc*, however, where ScG *f* is prothetic, i.e. from ScG *alc* [ɑɫ̪̊k] (#204) < ON *alka*, with apocope §44 (iii); cf. ScG *farspag* f. < *arspag* < ON *svart-bak* acc. (#311 (i) + fn 731).

§77 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-f***

§77 (ii) (a) In final position

§77 (ii) (a) (α) ON *-f* > ScG [v] /v/: ON *háf* acc. > ScG *tàbh* [t̪ʰaːv] (#315 (iii)).

§77 (ii) (a) (β) ON *-f* > ScG [f] /f/, with devoicing after a short vowel §39 (i): ON *haf* > ScG *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf], *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪ʰaf] (#281, fn 655); ON *klif* > ScG *clibh* [kʰlif] (but (gen.) [nə ˈkʰlivəɣ] (#132)); ON *rifa* > ScG *riobh* [ɾɪf], [ɾuf] (with apocope §44 (iii)) (but (gen.) [nə ˈɾɪvəɣ], [nə ˈɾuvəɣ] (#280)); ON *sef* > ScG *siobh* *[ʃɪf] (#288, fn 674) (cf. ScG *siobhag* §77 (ii) (b) (β)).

§77 (ii) (a) (γ) ON *-f* > ∅, after a long vowel: ON *rauf* > ScG *rò* [ɾoː] (#59); and, in weakly stressed position, ON **Botn-gróf* > ScG **Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, fn 827); ON **Galt-gróf* or *Galtagróf* > ScG *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɫtəgɾo] (#188); ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌʂkɾo] #328; ON **Kas-gróf* > ScG **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌʂkɾo] (#53); ON **Kleifsgróf* > ScG *Cliasgro*

§76 §76 (ii) **SL *þj-*** thoisich

SL *þj-* > GA [hj] /hj/: SL **Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈ**hj**ɔːˌsaˌ̊dəɾ] #327.

§76 (iii) **SL *þr-*** thoisich

SL *þr-* > GA [t̪ʰɾ] /tr/, agus an suathach air a dhì-shèimheachadh, le cùl-chinntinn §33: SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [**tr**iɑləvɑl] (#295); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈ**t̪ʰɾ**iaɫ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296).

§77 §77 **SL *f***

Thèid GT [f] /f/ leathann agus GT [fʲ] /f′/ chaol còmhladh na [f] /f/ ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, ged a chithear lorg air a' chaolachadh ann an GT [fʲ] /f′/fhathast san nua-chànan san leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich ro fhuaimreig leathainn, m.e. GA (gun an t-allt) *Feòirlig* [ˈ**fj**ɔːl̪ɪgʲ] #184.

§77 (i) **SL *f-*** thoisich

§77 (i) (a) SL *f-* > GA [f] /f/: ; SL **Fé-nes* > GA **Fianis* *[ˈ**f**ĩə̃ˌniʃ] (#281, bn 649); SL *fit* > GA **fid* *[fiʤʲ] (*An Fhideach* [ə ˈɲiʤʲɔx]) (#147, bn 304); SL *fors* > GA *fors* [ˈfɔʂ] (*Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ ə ˈn̪ɔʂə]) (#180, bn 400); SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈ**f**ilə̃ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186.

§77 (i) (b) SL *f-* > GA [v] /v/, le guthachadh §39 (iii): SL **Fyljavarða* > GA **Bhileabhair* *[ˈvilə̃ˌvəɾʲ] (#186, bn 430); SL **Fé-nes* > GA **Àird Bhianis* *[ˈvĩə̃ˌniʃ] (#186).

§77 (i) (c) Chan ann ann an GA *falc*, ge-tà, far a bheil GA *f* ro-shuidhichte, .i. à GA *alc* [ɑɫ̪̊k] (#204) < SL *alka*, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii); coim. GA *farspag* b. < *arspag* < SL *svart-bak* cusp. (#311 (i) + bn 731).

§77 (ii) **SL *-f*** iar-bheumach

§77 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh deiridh

§77 (ii) (a) (α) SL *-f* > GA [v] /v/: SL *háf* cusp. > GA *tàbh* [t̪ʰaːv] (#315 (iii)).

§77 (ii) (a) (β) SL *-f* > GA [f] /f/, le dì-ghuthachadh an dèidh fuaimreige goirid §39 (i): SL *haf* > GA *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf], *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪ʰaf] (#281, bn 655); SL *klif* > GA *clibh* [kʰlif] (ach (gin.) [nə ˈkʰlivəɣ] (#132)); SL *rifa* > GA *riobh* [ɾɪf], [ɾuf] (le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)) (ach (gin.) [nə ˈɾɪvəɣ], [nə ˈɾuvəɣ] (#280)); SL *sef* > GA *siobh* *[ʃɪf] (#288, bn 674) (coim. GA *siobhag* §77 (ii) (b) (β)).

§77 (ii) (a) (γ) SL *-f* > ∅, an dèidh fuaimreige fada: SL *rauf* > GA *rò* [ɾoː] (#59); agus, ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, SL **Botn-gróf* > GA **Botagro* *[ˈb̥ɔʰt̪əˌg̊ɾo] (#341, bn 827); SL **Galt-gróf* no **Galtagróf* > GA *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɫtəgɾo] (#188); SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌʂkɾo] #328; SL **Kas-gróf* > GA **Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌʂkɾo] (#53); SL **Kleifsgróf* > GA *Cliasgro*

§77 ['kʰlia ˌsk̟ro] #131; ON **Klifsgróf* > ScG *Cliosgro* ['kʰli ˌsk̟ro] (#132); ON **Rang-gróf* > ScG **Rangaro* *['ɾɑ̃ŋg̊ə ˌro] (#59); ON **Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* ['ʃelə ˌro] (#31 (i), fn 65); ON **Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* ['s̪kʲɑɬ̪ə ˌsk̟ro] #291; ON **Vaðsgróf* > ScG **Fàsgro* *['fa: ˌsk̟ro] (#181, fn 404).

§77 (ii) (b) Between vowels

§77 (ii) (b) (α) ON *f* > ScG [v] /v/: ON **Grafir* > ScG *Grabhair* ['g̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; OWNorn **Ofansátr* (ON **Fyrir Ofan Sætr*) > ScG *Amhastar* ['ãva ˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 700); CSc. **Keif-øy* > ScG *Cèabhaigh* ['kʲʰe: ˌvaj] (#48, fn 96); and (assuming an epenthetic vowel between *f* and *r* in Old Norse) ON **Kofr*(*s*) *stǫð* > ScG *Cabharstaidh* ['kʰavə ˌs̪t̪aj] #90.

§77 (ii) (b) (β) ON *f* > ScG [f] /f/: *siobhag* ['ʃiɸag̊], from ScG *siobh* §77 (ii) (a) (β), above. Medial /f/ is found in the dialect only in a very few words (Oftedal 1956, 111), e.g. ScG *cabhadh* f. ['kʰafəɣ] (also *cathadh*[4]) 'snowdrift', a word MacLennan (1925, s.v.) associates with ScG *caitheadh* m. (*caitheamh*) in the sense 'casting, throwing', but note ON *kaf* nt. 'heavy snowfall' etc.

§77 (ii) (b) (γ) ON *f* > hiatus: ON *klofa* obl. > ScG *clobha* ['kʰl̪o-ə] (#281, fn 641); ON **Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithiseadar* ['kʰa-i ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (> ['kʰai ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] §43 (vii) (a)) #92; ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *['kʰa-i ˌg̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *['ɾo-ə ˌniʃ] (#284); ON **Þúfur* (or *Þúfar*) pl. > ScG *Tùthair* ['t̪ʰu:-əɾʲ], ['t̪ʰu:-u̟ɾʲ] #344.

§77 (ii) (c) Before *s*
ON *f* > ∅: ON **Sef-sætr* > ScG *Seiseadar* ['ʃe ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #288; ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰlias̪əm ˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); ON **Kleifsbrokka* > ScG *Cliasbroc* ['kʰlia ˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#131); ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* ['kʰliʃam] (#132).

§77 (iii) Port-stress **ON** ***-fð***
ON *-fð* > hiatus: ON *hǫfða* obl. > ScG *tobha*, *obha* ['t̪ʰo-ə], ['o-ə], ['t̪ʰo-o], ['o-o] (#281, fn 641).

§77 (iv) Initial **ON** ***fj-***
With examples only in weakly stressed position:

§77 (iv) (a) ON *fj-* > ScG [v] /v/: ON **Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* ['g̊ɾʲẽ:nə ˌvaɬ̪] (#219); ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* ['hɛs̪t̪ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* ['kʰɔ:l̪ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#98); ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodhabhal* ['s̪ɔ-ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#303); ON **Sauð-fjall* > ScG *Sòbhal* ['s̪ɔ: ˌvaɬ̪] #303; ON **Seið-fjall* > ScG *Sèabhal* ['ʃe: ˌvaɬ̪] (#288, fn 674); ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* ['s̪kɑ:l̪̊ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#257,

4. E.g. Dieckhoff 1932 (Glengarry). Cf. ScG (South Uist) *cur is cathadh* 'a storm of snow and wind' (McDonald 1972).

['kʰlia ˌsk̟ro] #131; SL **Klifsgróf* > GA *Cliosgro* ['kʰli ˌsk̟ro] (#132); SL **Rang-gróf* > GA **Rangaro* *['ɾɑ̃ŋg̊ə ˌro] (#59); SL **Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* ['ʃelə ˌro] (#31 (i), bn 65); SL **Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* ['s̪kʲɑɬ̪ə ˌsk̟ro] #291; SL **Vaðsgróf* > GA **Fàsgro* *['fa: ˌsk̟ro] (#181, bn 404).

§77

§77 (ii) (b) Eadar fuaimreagan

§77 (ii) (b) (α) SL *f* > GA [v] /v/: SL **Grafir* > GA *Grabhair* ['g̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; SNòrnI **Ofansátr* (SL **Fyrir Ofan Sætr*) > GA *Amhastar* ['ãva ˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 700); LB **Keif-øy* > GA *Cèabhaigh* ['kʲʰe: ˌvaj] (#48, bn 96); agus (an dùil ri fuaimreig còmhnaidh eadar *f* agus *r* san Lochlannais) SL **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* ['kʰavə ˌs̪t̪aj] #90.

§77 (ii) (b) (β) SL *f* > GA [f] /f/: *siobhag* ['ʃiɸag̊], à GA *siobh* §77 (ii) (a) (β), shuas. Cha lorgar /f/ mheadhanach san dualchainnt ach ann am fìor chorra fhacal (Oftedal 1956, 111), m.e. GA *cabhadh* f. ['kʰafəɣ] (cuideachd *cathadh*[4]), facal a cheanglas MacLennan (1925, s.v.) ri GA *caitheadh* f. (*caitheamh*) sa bhrìgh 'cur, sadadh', ach mothaich SL *kaf* n. 'cur sneachda trom' ¬c.

§77 (ii) (b) (γ) SL *f* > beàrnas: SL *klofa* cl. > GA *clobha* ['kʰl̪o-ə] (#281, bn 641); SL **Kofasætr* > GA *Caithiseadar* ['kʰa-i ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (> ['kʰai ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] §43 (vii) (a)) #92; SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *['kʰa-i ˌg̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *['ɾo-ə ˌniʃ] (#284); SL **Þúfur* (no *Þúfar*) iol. > GA *Tùthair* ['t̪ʰu:-əɾʲ], ['t̪ʰu:-u̟ɾʲ] #344.

§77 (ii) (c) Ro *s*
SL *f* > ∅: SL **Sef-sætr* > GA *Seiseadar* ['ʃe ˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #288; SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰlias̪əm ˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); SL **Kleifsbrokka* > GA *Cliasbroc* ['kʰlia ˌs̪pɾɔʰk] (#131); SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* ['kʰliʃam] (#132).

§77 (iii) **SL** ***-fð*** iar-bheumach
SL *-fð* > beàrnas: SL *hǫfða* cl. > GA *tobha*, *obha* ['t̪ʰo-ə], ['o-ə], ['t̪ʰo-o], ['o-o] (#281, bn 641).

§77 (iv) **SL** ***fj-*** thoisich
Gun eisimpleirean ach ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte:

§77 (iv) (a) SL *fj-* > GA [v] /v/: SL **Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* ['g̊ɾʲẽ:nə ˌvaɬ̪] (#219); SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* ['hɛs̪t̪ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* ['kʰɔ:l̪ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#98); SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodhabhal* ['s̪ɔ-ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#303); SL **Sauð-fjall* > GA *Sòbhal* ['s̪ɔ: ˌvaɬ̪] #303; SL **Seið-fjall* > GA *Sèabhal* ['ʃe: ˌvaɬ̪] (#288, bn 674); SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* ['s̪kɑ:l̪̊ə ˌvaɬ̪] (#257, bn 591); SL

4. M.e. Dieckhoff 1932 (Gleann Garadh). Coim. GA (Uibhist a Deas) *cur is cathadh* 'doineann sneachda is gaoithe' (McDonald 1972).

§77 fn 591); ON **Sveinafjall* or **Svínafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴ´əvaʟ] (#311); ON **Þrælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [triaʟəvaʟ] (#295).

§77 (iv) (b) After *s*, ON *fj-* > [v] > ∅: ON **Bendilsfjall* > ScG *Beinnisbhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈb̪ẽn̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#50); ON **Eiðsfjall* > ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰt̪ʲʃaɫ̪] (#60); ON **Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃaʟ] (#4), with syncope §44 (ii); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG **[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəʃˌvaɫ̪] > *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌʃaɫ̪] (#319); ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɫ̪] #164; ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɫ̪əʃˌvaɫ̪] > *Mialaiseal* [ˈmĩãɫ̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#252); ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾaʃt̪ʲaɫ̪] (#199); ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > ScG *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃaɫ̪] (#203).

§77 (iv) (c) ON *fj-* in *fjǫrðr* becomes ScG (len.) *phort*, with morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (a): (after a vowel) [f], [h] or hiatus: ON **Síð(u)fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪] (#113); ON **Ý-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Iuthort* *[ˈju-ɔd̪], *[ˈjuhɔd̪] (#174); (after a consonant) ∅: ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪] (#180, fn 399); ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̪] (#112); ON **Svan-fjǫrð* acc. or *Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑ̃ɾs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (mainland Scotland).

§77 (v) Initial **ON *fl-***

§77 (v) (a) ON *fl-* > ScG [fl̪] /fʟ/ˣ: ON **Flat-sætr* > ScG *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃaɖ̪əɾ] (#203) (Skye).

§77 (v) (b) ON *fl-* > ScG [pʰɬ̪] /pʟ/ˣ, via back-formation §33: CSc. **Flat-øy* > ScG *Plada* [ˈ**pʰɬ̪**aɖ̪a] (Lismore) (App. II, fn 16).

§77 (vi) Post-stress **ON *-fn***

§77 (vi) (a) In stressed position:
ON *-fn* > ScG [n̪], with nasalisation and lengthening of the stressed vowel: CSc. **Hafnarøy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌraj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌræj] (#319); but [n] in ON **Hǫfn* > ScG *Na h-Amhn* (or *Na Hamhn*) [nə ˈhãũ**n**] (Eriskay and Mull) and ScG *Na Hamhnan* [nə ˈhãũ**n**ən] (Mull) (#315 (ii)).[5]

§77 (vi) (b) In weakly stressed position:
ON *-fn* > ScG [n]: ON **Borg-stafn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔ͡ɔ-əˌs̪t̪ɔ**n**] #69.

§78 §78 **ON *v***

The initial semi-vowel CSc. *v-* [w] becomes ON [ʊ] after 1200.

§78 (i) Initial **ON *v-*** in stressed position

§78 (i) (a) ON *v-* > rounding of the stressed vowel

5. For ScG (*Port*) *na h-Abhainn*(*e*) in Islay, see Cox 2008a, 54–55 + fnn 22–23.

**Sveinafjall* no **Svínafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴ´əvaʟ] (#311); SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [triaʟəvaʟ] (#295). §77

§77 (iv) (b) An dèidh *s*, SL *fj-* > [v] > ∅: SL **Bendilsfjall* > GA *Beinnisbhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈb̪ẽn̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#50); SL **Eiðsfjall* > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰt̪ʲʃaɫ̪] (#60); SL **Esjufjall* > GA *Èiseal* (MO) [eʃaʟ] (#4), le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA **[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəʃˌvaɫ̪] > *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌʃaɫ̪] (#319); SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɫ̪] #164; SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɫ̪əʃˌvaɫ̪] > *Mialaiseal* [ˈmĩãɫ̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#252); SL **Raptsfjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾaʃt̪ʲaɫ̪] (#199); SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > GA *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃaɫ̪] (#203).

§77 (iv) (c) Thèid SL *fj-* ann am *fjǫrðr* na GA (sèimh.) *phort*, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (a): (an dèidh fuaimreige) [f], [h] no beàrnas: SL **Síð(u)fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪] (#113); SL **Ý-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Iuthort* *[ˈju-ɔd̪], *[ˈjuhɔd̪] (#174); (an dèidh connraige) ∅: SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪] (#180, bn 399); SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̪] (#112); SL **Svan-fjǫrð* cusp. no *Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑ̃ɾs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§77 (v) **SL *fl-*** thoisich

§77 (v) (a) SL *fl-* > GA [fl̪] /fʟ/ˣ: SL **Flat-sætr* > GA *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃaɖ̪əɾ] (#203) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

§77 (v) (b) SL *fl-* > GA [pʰɬ̪] /pʟ/ˣ, le cùl-chinntinn §33: LB **Flat-øy* > GA *Plada* [ˈ**pʰɬ̪**aɖ̪a] (Lios Mòr) (Eàrr. II, bn 16).

§77 (vi) **SL *-fn*** iar-bheumach

§77 (vi) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte:
SL *-fn* > GA [n̪], le srònachadh agus fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte: LB **Hafnarøy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌraj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌræj] (#319); ach [n] ann an SL **Hǫfn* > GA *Na h-Amhn* (no *Na Hamhn*) [nə ˈhãũ**n**] (Èirisgeigh is Muile) agus GA *Na Hamhnan* [nə ˈhãũ**n**ən] (Muile) (#315 (ii)).[5]

§77 (vi) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte:
SL *-fn* > GA [n]: SL **Borg-stafn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̪ɔ͡ɔ-əˌs̪t̪ɔ**n**] #69.

§78 **SL *v***

Thèid an leth-fhuaimreag thoisich LB *v-* [w] na SL [ʊ] an dèidh 1200. §78

§78 (i) **SL *v-*** thoisich ann an suidheachadh beumte

§78 (i) (a) SL *v-* > cruinneachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte

5. Airson GA (*Port*) *na h-Abhainn*(*e*) ann an Ìle, faic Cox 2008a, 54–55 + bnn 22–23.

§78

§78 (i) (a) (α) ON *ν-* > ScG [u] /u/ˣ: (as the first element of a diphthong) ON **Vangssætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋgə̊ˌʃaʤ̥ər] #346.

§78 (i) (a) (β) ON *ν-* > ScG [ụ] /u/′ or [ụ̃] /ɯ/′: ON **Vík* (the loan-name) > ScG *Ùig* [ˈụ̃ːg̊ʲ] (#12); ON *vík* (the loan-word) > ScG *ùig* *[ˈụ̃ːg̊ʲ] (*Na h-Ùigean* [nə ˈhụ̃ːg̊ʲən]) (#345); ON *vindauga* > ScG *uinneag* [ˈʉ̃ɲ̊ag̊] (#67); ON **Vinsætr* > ScG **Uinseadar* *[ˈʉ̃ːˌʃaʤ̥ər] (#67).

§78 (i) (b) ON *ν-* > labio-dental fricative + rounding of the following vowel
ON *ν-* > ScG [vụ] /vu/: CSc. **Víð-øy* > ScG **Bhuidhea* *[ˈvụja] (#67).

§78 (i) (c) ON *ν-* > labio-dental fricative

§78 (i) (c) (α) ON *ν-* > ScG [v] /v/:

1. (Before a broad vowel) CSc. **Vágsøy* > ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˠɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˠaj] #60; ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̪ɔmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑl̪t̪ɔsˠ] #63; ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaʎtʲəsˠ] (#63) (South Uist); CSc. **Vazøy* > ScG *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌsˠaj] (#65, fn 137); ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

2. (Before a slender vowel) ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪ʲd̪ə l̪am] (#67).

§78 (i) (c) (β) ON *ν-* > ScG [v] /v/ > [f] /f/ with devoicing §39 (ii):

1. (Before a broad vowel) ON *vaðil* acc. > ScG *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] (#67); ON **Vaðsgróf* > ScG **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌsˠkro] (#181, fn 404); ON **Vǫtnin* > ScG *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (Skye);

2. (Before a slender vowel) ON **Víð-vík* or **Við-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #185.

§78 (i) (c) (γ) ON *ν-* > ScG [v] /v/ > [b̥] /b/ with delenition, via back-formation §33: (examples before a broad vowel only) ON *vág* acc. > ScG *bàgh* [b̥aːɣ] (#24); ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̥aːɾəˌʃaʤ̥ər] #46; ON **Vǫrðusætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾ̪iˌʃaʤ̥ər] #70.

§78 (ii) Initial **ON *ν-*** in weakly stressed position

§78 (ii) (a) ON *ν-* > ScG [v] /v/:

1. (Before a broad vowel) OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌvaɣ] (but lost in OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌsˠt̪əɬ̪] and OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑl̪əsˠˌvaɣ] #322; ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾɛ̃ːmsˠəˌvaɣ] (#25); ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); ON **Karlavág* acc. > ScG

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§78 (i) (a) (α) SL *ν-* > GA [u] /u/ˣ: (mar chiad chuibhreann dà-fhoghair) SL **Vangssætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋgə̊ˌʃaʤ̥ər] #346.

§78 (i) (a) (β) SL *ν-* > GA [ụ] /u/′ no [ụ̃] /ɯ/′: SL **Vík* (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA *Ùig* [ˈụ̃ːg̊ʲ] (#12); SL *vík* (am facal-iasaid) > GA *ùig* *[ˈụ̃ːg̊ʲ] (*Na h-Ùigean* [nə ˈhụ̃ːg̊ʲən]) (#345); SL *vindauga* > GA *uinneag* [ˈʉ̃ɲ̊ag̊] (#67); SL **Vinsætr* > GA **Uinseadar* *[ˈʉ̃ːˌʃaʤ̥ər] (#67).

§78 (i) (b) SL *ν-* > suathach bil-dheudach + cruinneachadh
SL *ν-* > GA [vụ] /vu/: LB **Víð-øy* > GA **Bhuidhea* *[ˈvụja] (#67).

§78 (i) (c) SL *ν-* > suathach bil-dheudach

§78 (i) (c) (α) SL *ν-* > GA [v] /v/:

1. (Ro fhuaimreig leathainn) LB **Vágsøy* > GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˠɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌsˠaj] #60; SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̪ɔmiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑl̪t̪ɔsˠ] #63; SL **Vatnleysa* > GA **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaʎtʲəsˠ] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas); LB **Vazøy* > GA *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌsˠaj] (#65, bn 137); SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

2. (Ro fhuaimreig chaoil) SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪ʲd̪ə l̪am] (#67).

§78 (i) (c) (β) SL *ν-* > GA [v] /v/ > [f] /f/ le dì-ghuthachadh §39 (ii):

1. (Ro fhuaimreig leathainn) SL *vaðil* cusp. > GA *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] (#67); SL **Vaðsgróf* > GA **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌsˠkro] (#181, bn 404); SL **Vǫtnin* > GA *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] (#63) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach);

2. (Ro fhuaimreig chaoil) SL **Víð-vík* no **Við-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #185.

§78 (i) (c) (γ) SL *ν-* > GA [v] /v/ > [b̥] /b/ le dì-shèimheachadh le cùl-chinntinn §33: (gun eisimpleirean ach ro fhuaimreig leathainn) SL *vág* cusp. > GA *bàgh* [b̥aːɣ] (#24); SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̥aːɾəˌʃaʤ̥ər] #46; SL **Vǫrðusætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾ̪iˌʃaʤ̥ər] #70.

§78 (ii) **SL *ν-*** thoisich ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§78 (ii) (a) SL *ν-* > GA [v] /v/:

1. (Ro fhuaimreig leathainn) SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌvaɣ] (ach air chall ann an SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌsˠt̪əɬ̪] agus SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌʃɑɬ̪]) (#319); SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑl̪əsˠˌvaɣ] #322; SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾɛ̃ːmsˠəˌvaɣ] (#25); SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); SL **Karlavág* cusp. > GA

§78 *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmrəˌvaɣ] but [ˈl̪ʲẽːməˌɾaɣ] #235; ON **Stím-árvág* acc. > ScG *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmrəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃mrəˌvaɣ] but *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃məˌɾaɣ] #310; ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːn̪əˌvaɣ] #309; ON **Tangavarða* > ScG **Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌvəɾʲ] (#74); ON **Bakkavatn* > ScG**Bacabhat* *[ˈb̥aʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); ON **Breið-vatn* > ScG **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, fn 171); ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgɾuɴəvaht] (#182); CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn* > ScG **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂt̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Þrælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾial̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲʲiːb̥] (#168); ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪ɔːʃ] (#63); ON **Mæ-vǫk* > ScG *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɡ̊] #251.

2. (Before a slender vowel) ON **Breið-vík* > ScG *Brèibhig* [ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #76; ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈɡ̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218; ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#116); ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̥kəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#88); ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #159; ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124; ON **Maravík* > ScG *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #246; ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #285; ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #302.

§78 (ii) (b) ON *v-* > ∅: ON **Djúp-vík* > ScG **Diùbaig* *[ˈd̪ʲuːb̥ɛɡ̊ʲ] (#168) (Skye); ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɡ̊ʲ] #286; ON **Þórðsvík* or *Þórsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɡ̊ʲ] (#56, fn 110), and in the compounds ON **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾaul̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151; ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəːn̪̊ˌəl̪̊] (#151); ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌl̪̊aɾʲi] (#95); ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95).

§78 (iii) Post-stress **ON *-v***
ON *-v* > EG [β] > ScG [v]: ON *Ívar* acc.[6] EG *Íṁar* > ScG *Ìomhar* [ˈĩə̃vəɾ] (#142).

§79 §79 **ON *ð***

ON *ð* was [ð] but [θ] beside a voiceless consonant. EG broad /ð/ and EG slender /ð′/ became ScG broad /ɣ/ [ɣ] and slender /ɣ′/ [ʝ], when not lost or vocalised.

6. Rather than from ON *Yngvar*, *Ingvar* acc., as sometimes suggested (Oftedal 1956, 96). ON *Ívar* (with a nasalised stressed vowel) gives EG *[ˈĩːβəɾ] and OEng. *Inwer*; ON *Yngvar* gives OG *Hingar* and OEng. *Ingware*, *Hinguar*, although OG *Hingar* is a literary borrowing from Old English according to Marstrander (1915, 67, 117, especially 150); de Vries 1962, s.v. *Yngvarr*.

§78 *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmrəˌvaɣ] ach [ˈl̪ʲẽːməˌɾaɣ] #235; SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. > GA *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩːmrəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃mrəˌvaɣ] ach *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃məˌɾaɣ] #310; SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːn̪əˌvaɣ] #309; SL **Tangavarða* > GA **Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌvəɾʲ] (#74); SL **Bakkavatn* > GA **Bacabhat* *[ˈb̥aʰkəˌvaʰt̪] (#23); SL **Breið-vatn* > GA **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, bn 171); SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgɾuɴəvaht] (#182); LB **Hjart(a)vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂt̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#121); SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾial̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296); LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈn̪ʲʲiːb̥] (#168); SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124); SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪ɔːʃ] (#63); SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaɡ̊] #251.

2. (Ro fhuaimreig chaoil) SL **Breið-vík* > GA *Brèibhig* [ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #76; SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈɡ̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218; SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#116); SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̥kəˌviɡ̊ʲ] (#88); SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #159; SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɡ̊ʲ] #124; SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #246; SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #285; SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviɡ̊ʲ] #302.

§78 (ii) (b) SL *v-* > ∅: SL **Djúp-vík* > GA **Diùbaig* *[ˈd̪ʲuːb̥ɛɡ̊ʲ] (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɡ̊ʲ] #286; SL **Þórðsvík* no *Þórsvík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɡ̊ʲ] (#56, bn 110), agus anns na filltich SL **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾaul̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151; SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəːn̪̊ˌəl̪̊] (#151); SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌl̪̊aɾʲi] (#95); SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡ̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95).

§78 (iii) **SL *-v*** iar-bheumach
SL *-v* > GT [β] > GA [v]: SL *Ívar* cusp.[6] GT *Íṁar* > GA *Ìomhar* [ˈĩə̃vəɾ] (#142).

§79 §79 **SL *ð***

Bha SL *ð* na [ð] ach [θ] ri taobh connraige neo-ghuthaich. Chaidh GT /ð/ leathann agus /ð′/ chaol na GA /ɣ/ [ɣ] leathainn agus /ɣ′/ [ʝ] chaoil, far nach deach iad air chall no a fhuaimreagachadh.

6. Seach à SL *Yngvar*, *Ingvar* cusp., mar a thèid a mholadh air uairean (Oftedal 1956, 96). Bheir SL *Ívar* (le fuaimreig bheumte shrònaichte) GT *[ˈĩːβəɾ] agus SBrl. *Inwer*; bheir SL *Yngvar* SG *Hingar* agus SBrl. *Ingware*, *Hinguar*, ged as e iasad litreachail às an t-Sean Bheurla a th' ann an SG *Hingar* a rèir Mharstrander (1915, 67, 117, gu h-àraidh 150); de Vries 1962, s.v. *Yngvarr*.

§79 §79 (i) **ON *-ð*** after short stressed vowels

§79 (i) (a) In final position
ON *-ð* > ScG ∅: ON **Stǫð* > ScG *Stoth* [st̪oʰ] (#90) – it is understood here that ScG final [ʰ] does not represent ON *ð* but that it is a feature that occurs in the dialect before a pause in speech at the end of monosyllabic words with an otherwise final vowel (Oftedal 1956, 116–17), cf. ScG *crodh* [kʰɾoʰ] (EG *crod*), ScG *dubh* [d̪uʰ] (EG *dub*), ScG *math* [mãʰ] (EG idem); contrast *chaidh e a Stoth an-dè* [ˌxaj a ə ˈst̪o ə ˈn̪ʲeː] 'he went to *Stoth* yesterday'.

§79 (i) (b) Before a consonant
ON *-ð* > ∅, with compensatory lengthening: ON **Steð-nes* > ScG *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308; ON **Vaðsgróf* > ScG **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, fn 404); ON **Við-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣʲ] #185.

§79 (i) (c) Between vowels

§79 (i) (c) (α) In stressed position
ON *ð* > hiatus: ON *boða* cl. > ScG *bodha* [ˈb̥o-o], [ˈb̥o-ə] (#89); ON *vaðil* acc. > ScG *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] (#67).

§79 (i) (c) (β) In weakly stressed position
ON *ð* > ∅, with compensatory lengthening:

1. ON *-staða* (acc. pl.) in weakly stressed position yields EG -[s̪taː] > ScG -[s̪ta], with shortening, which frequently becomes ScG -[s̪taɣ], with a fricative closing an open syllable: ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈɡɾʲĩəmə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauˌl̪ə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151; ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋɡə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãl̪ə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG (gen. normalised as rad.) *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡə ˌs̪t̪aj] #294; ON **Torfastaða* acc. pl. > ScG (gen. normalised as rad.) *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ ˌs̪t̪aj] #337; ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95) > (gen.) **Thiongarstaidh* [ˈhĩŋɡə ˌs̪t̪aj]; ON **Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃ ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #331.

2. Also, ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔː ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #72;[7] cf. ON **Erjustǫð* > ScG *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #180; ON **Kofr(s)stǫð* > ScG **Cabharstadh* > *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavə ˌs̪t̪aj] #90.

3. The final syllable in names in final ON *-bólstað* acc. are elided in Gaelic: ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾə ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; ON

7. Also, ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bobhst* [b̥ɔus̪t̪] (Coll), although a final vowel survives in ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bobhsta* [ˈb̥ɔus̪t̪a] (#72, fn 160) (Skye).

§79 (i) **SL *-ð*** an dèidh fhuaimreagan beumte goirid §79

§79 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh deiridh
SL *-ð* > GA ∅: SL **Stǫð* > GA *Stoth* [st̪oʰ] (#90) – thathas a' gabhail ris an seo nach riochdaich GA [ʰ] dheiridh SL *ð* ach gu bheil i na feart a nochdas san dualchainnt ro stad labhairte aig deireadh fhacal aon-lideach aig am bi fuaimreag dheiridh air mhodh eile (Oftedal 1956, 116–17), coim. GA *crodh* [kʰɾoʰ] (GT *crod*), GA *dubh* [d̪uʰ] (GT *dub*), GA *math* [mãʰ] (GT idem); iomsgaraich *chaidh e a Stoth an-dè* [ˌxaj a ə ˈst̪o ə ˈn̪ʲeː].

§79 (i) (b) Ro chonnraig
SL *-ð* > ∅, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL **Steð-nes* > GA *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308; SL **Vaðsgróf* > GA **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, bn 404); SL **Við-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣʲ] #185.

§79 (i) (c) Eadar fuaimreagan

§79 (i) (c) (α) Ann an suidheachadh beumte
SL *ð* > beàrnas: SL *boða* cl. > GA *bodha* [ˈb̥o-o], [ˈb̥o-ə] (#89); SL *vaðil* cusp. > GA *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] (#67).

§79 (i) (c) (β) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *ð* > ∅, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh:

1. Bheir SL *-staða* (cusp. iol.) ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte GT -[s̪taː] > GA -[s̪ta], le giorrachadh, a thèid na GA -[s̪taɣ] gu tric, le suathach a' dùnadh lide fhosgailte: SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈɡɾʲĩəmə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; LB **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauˌl̪ə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151; SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋɡə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãl̪ə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA (gin. air àbhaisteachadh na bhun.) *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiɡə ˌs̪t̪aj] #294; SL **Torfastaða* cusp. iol. > GA (gin. air àbhaisteachadh na bhun.) *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ ˌs̪t̪aj] #337; SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋɡə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95) > (gin.) **Thiongarstaidh* [ˈhĩŋɡə ˌs̪t̪aj]; SL **Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃ ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #331.

2. Mar an ceudna, bheir SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔː ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #72;[7] coim. SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #180; SL **Kofr(s)stǫð* > GA **Cabharstadh* > *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavə ˌs̪t̪aj] #90.

3. Thèid an lide mu dheireadh ann an ainmean ann an SL *-bólstað* cusp. deiridh a theasgadh sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost*

7. Mar an ceudna, SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bobhst* [b̥ɔus̪t̪] (Cola), ged a mhaireas fuaimreag dheiridh ann an SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bobhsta* [ˈb̥ɔus̪t̪a] (#72, bn 160) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

§79 *Grónabólstað acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈgɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #219; ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #315; ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈʎuːrˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #239; ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰaɬ̪aˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #93; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiˌʲkʲəˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #125; ON **Krossa·bólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #156; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #229; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɬ̪ɑ̃ˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #248; ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̪əˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #311; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #295.

§79 (ii) **ON *-ð*** after long stressed vowels

§79 (ii) (a) CSc. **aið* becomes ScG *aoidh* [ui], [əi] (#75), with vocalisation of ON *ð* in Gaelic.

§79 (ii) (b) Before a consonant

§79 (ii) (b) (α) ON *-ð* > ScG ∅: ON **Breið-vík* > ScG *Brèibhig* [ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #76; ON **Breið-vatn* > ScG **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, fn 171); ON **Breið-nes* > ScG *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171), contrast ON **Eiðsfjall* > ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃaɬ̪] (#60) §79 (ii) (b) (β); ON **Heið-berg* acc. > ScG **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); ON **Heið-bergi* dat. > ScG *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲi] (#58); ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Sauð-fjall* > ScG *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] #303; ON **Seið-fjall* > ScG *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɬ̪] (#288, fn 674); ON **Víð-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #185; and in the reconstructions ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃuːliˌʃaˌd̪ər] #301; ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰuːləˌt̪oʰt̪ər] #163.

§79 (ii) (b) (β) ON *ð* before *s* in ON **Eiðsfjall* is a plosive in ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰt̪ʲʃaɬ̪] (#60); contrast ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171) §79 (ii) (b) (α).

§79 (ii) (c) Between vowels

§79 (ii) (c) (α) ON *ð* > ScG hiatus: ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheas·cleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈb̥u-ˌuˌniʃ] #89; ON **Fløðarsker* > ScG *Fleadhaisgeir* (MO) [flə-əʃkˊiðˌ] (#220, fn 492); ON **Gróðu·ós* acc. > ScG *[ˈgɾʲia-as̪] > *Grias* [gɾʲias̪] > *Griais* [gɾʲiaʃ] (genitive now normalised as radical) #220; ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (#303).

§79 (ii) (c) (β) But the fricative is found in the form [j] in CSc. **Víð-øy* > ScG **Bhuidhea* [ˈvu̯ja] (#67), i.e. CSc. *[wiːð]- > EG *[βuðʲ]- > ScG [vu̯j]-.

§79 [ˈgɑrəˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈgɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #219; SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #315; SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈʎuːrˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #239; SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰaɬ̪aˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #93; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiˌʲkʲəˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #125; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #156; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #229; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɬ̪ɑ̃ˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #248; SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̪əˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #311; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] #295.

§79 (ii) **SL *-ð*** an dèidh fhuaimreagan beumte fada

§79 (ii) (a) Thèid LB **aið* na GA *aoidh* [ui], [əi] (#75), agus SL *ð* air a fuaimreagachadh sa Ghàidhlig.

§79 (ii) (b) Ro chonnraig

§79 (ii) (b) (α) SL *-ð* > GA ∅: SL **Breið-vík* > GA *Brèibhig* [ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #76; SL **Breið-vatn* > GA **Brèibhat* *[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪] (#76, bn 171); SL **Breið-nes* > GA *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ] #78; SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171), iomsgaraich SL **Eiðsfjall* > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃaɬ̪] (#60) §79 (ii) (b) (β); SL **Heið-berg* cusp. > GA **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); SL **Heið-bergi* tabh. > GA *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲi] (#58); SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Sauð-fjall* > GA *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] #303; SL **Seið-fjall* > GA *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɬ̪] (#288, bn 674); SL **Víð-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɣ̊ʲ] #185; agus anns na h-ath-dhèanamhan SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃuːliˌʃaˌd̪ər] #301; SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰuːləˌt̪oʰt̪ər] #163.

§79 (ii) (b) (β) Tha SL *ð* ro *s* ann an SL **Eiðsfjall* na stadach ann an > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰt̪ʲʃaɬ̪] (#60); iomsgaraich SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171) §79 (ii) (b) (α).

§79 (ii) (c) Eadar fuaimreagan

§79 (ii) (c) (α) SL *ð* > GA beàrnas: SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheas·cleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈb̥u-ˌuˌniʃ] #89; SL **Fløðarsker* > GA *Fleadhaisgeir* (MO) [flə-əʃkˊiðˌ] (#220, bn 492); SL **Gróðuós* cusp. > GA *[ˈgɾʲia-as̪] > *Grias* [gɾʲias̪] > *Griais* [gɾʲiaʃ] (ginideach a-nise air àbhaisteachadh na bhunasach) #220; SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (#303).

§79 (ii) (c) (β) Ach gheibhear lorg air an t-suathach sa chruth [j] ann an LB **Víð-øy* > GA **Bhuidhea* [ˈvu̯ja] (#67), .i. LB *[wiːð]- > GT *[βuðʲ]- > GA [vu̯j]-.

§79 §79 (iii) Unstressed **ON *-ð***

§79 (iii) (a) ON *-ð* > [ɣ]: ON **Herað* sg. (or **Heruð* pl.) > ScG *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛrəɣ] (#254), cf. §85 (vi) (a) (β), or else ON *-ð* > ∅ with the fricative [ɣ] closing an open syllable in Gaelic (#132).

§79 (iii) (b) The medial syllables in ON **Kallaðarnes* yield a long vowel in Early Gaelic, via contraction, which shortens in Modern Gaelic to [a], i.e. > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪a̪ˌniʃ] #94; but [i] is found in a slender environment in ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪̊ər] #181.

§79 (iii) (c) ON *Sumarliði* yields EG *Soṁarliḋ* *[ˈs̪ɔ̃β̃əl̪iðʲ], which yields ScG *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə] (#311 (i), fn 733). Marstrander (1915, 48, 64 and especially 159) poses the question whether the fricative [β̃] in Early Gaelic arises from Old Norse, but it is highly likely that the Gaelic form of the man's name is the result of morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (e).

§8o §8o **ON *s***

ON double *ss* is treated as single *s* in Gaelic.

§8o (i) Initial **ON *s-***

§8o (i) (a) In stressed position

§8o (i) (a) (α) ON *s-* > ScG [s̪] /s/ˣ: ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɠʲ] #285 and ScG *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɠʲ] #286; ON **Sauð-fjall* > ScG *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] #303; ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (#303); ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; ON *Sumarliði* > ScG *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə] (#311 (i), fn 733); ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erʹə ˈsʊɪt] (#18o, fn 399).

§8o (i) (a) (β) ON *s-* > ScG [ʃ] /ʃ/ʹ: ON *sef* > ScG *siobh* *[ʃif] > *siobhag* [ˈʃifaɠ] (#288, fn 674); ON **Sef-sætr* > ScG *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃad̪̊ər] #288; ON **Seið-fjall* > ScG *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɬ̪] (#288, fn 674); ON **Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃelə̆ˌɾo] (#31 (i), fn 65); ON **Seljugjá* > ScG *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɠʲaɣ] (#281); ON **Síð(u)·fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪̊] (#113); ON **Sild-holm* acc. > ScG *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛ̝iɲ̊tʲæm] (#299); ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛ̝iɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #299; ON *síma* obl. > ScG **sìoma* > *sìoman* [ˈʃĩəman] (#223); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃiːnə] (#315 (i)); ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌbɔs̪̊t̪] #295; ON **Sætr* > ScG *Siadar* [ˈʃiad̪̊ər] #296.

§8o (i) (b) In weakly stressed position

§8o (i) (b) (α) ON *s-* > ScG [s̪] /s/ˣ: ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈvaɬ̪əˌməs̪] #61, with metathesis §4o (iii); ON **Galt-sund* > ScG *Gabhsann*

§79 §79 (iii) **SL *-ð*** neo-bheumte

§79 (iii) (a) SL *-ð* > [ɣ]: SL **Herað* sg. (no **Heruð* iol.) > GA *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛrəɣ] (#254), coim. §85 (vi) (a) (β), air neo SL *-ð* > ∅ agus an suathach [ɣ] a' dùnadh lide fhosgailte sa Ghàidhlig (#132).

§79 (iii) (b) Bheir na lidean meadhanach ann an SL **Kallaðarnes* fuaimreag fhada sa Ghàidhlig Thràth, le teannachadh, a ghiorraicheas san Nua-Ghàidhlig gu [a], .i. > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪aˌniʃ] #94; ach gheibhear [i] ann an suidheachadh caol ann an SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪̊ər] #181.

§79 (iii) (c) Thèid SL *Sumarliði* na GT *Soṁarliḋ* *[ˈs̪ɔ̃β̃əl̪iðʲ], a bheir GA *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə] (#311 (i), bn 733). Cuiridh Marstrander (1915, 48, 64 agus gu h-àraidh 159) a' cheist an èirich an suathach [β̃] sa Ghàidhlig Thràth às an Lochlannais, ach tha e ro-choltach gu bheil cruth Gàidhlig an ainme fireannaich air èirigh mar thoradh air ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (e).

§8o §8o **SL *s***

Dèiligear ri SL *ss* dhùbailte mar *s* shingilte sa Ghàidhlig.

§8o (i) **SL *s-*** thoisich

§8o (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§8o (i) (a) (α) SL *s-* > GA [s̪] /s/ˣ: SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɠʲ] #285 agus GA *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɠʲ] #286; SL **Sauð-fjall* > GA *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] #303; SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (#303); SL **Súlusker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; SL *Sumarliði* > GA *Somhairle* [ˈs̪ɔ̃-əl̪ə] (#311 (i), bn 733); SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erʹə ˈsʊɪt] (#18o, bn 399).

§8o (i) (a) (β) SL *s-* > GA [ʃ] /ʃ/ʹ: SL *sef* > GA *siobh* *[ʃif] > *siobhag* [ˈʃifaɠ] (#288, bn 674); SL **Sef-sætr* > GA *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃad̪̊ər] #288; SL **Seið-fjall* > GA *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɬ̪] (#288, bn 674); SL **Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃelə̆ˌɾo] (#31 (i), bn 65); SL **Seljugjá* > GA *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɠʲaɣ] (#281); SL **Síð(u)·fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪̊] (#113); SL **Sild-holm* cusp. > GA *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛ̝iɲ̊tʲæm] (#299); SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛ̝iɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #299; SL *síma* cl. > GA **sìoma* > *sìoman* [ˈʃĩəman] (#223); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃiːnə] (#315 (i)); SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌbɔs̪̊t̪] #295; SL **Sætr* > GA *Siadar* [ˈʃiad̪̊ər] #296.

§8o (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§8o (i) (b) (α) SL *s-* > GA [s̪] /s/,ˣ: SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈvaɬ̪əˌməs̪] #61, le eadar-chàradh §4o (iii); SL **Galt-sund* > GA *Gabhsann*

§80 [ˈgauˌsəɲ] #188; ON *Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈgraːsəˌviɣʲ] #218; ON *Hóp(s)sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌsəɲ] #335.

§80 (i) (b) (β) ON *s-* > ScG [ʃ] /ʃ/′: ON *Barrasætr* or *Vǫrðusætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔrɨˌʃad̪ər] #70; ON *Bozsætr* > ScG *Boiseadar* *[ˈbɔˌʃad̪ər] (#341); ON *Flat-sætr* > ScG *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃad̪ər] (#203) (Skye); ON *Geit-sætr* > ScG *Gèiseadar* [ˈgʲeːˌʃad̪ər] #203; ON *-sætr* > ScG *Glogaiseadar* [ˈgl̪ɔgəˌʃad̪ər] #215; ON *Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈgrʉ̃ɪm͡ʉ̃ɪˌʃad̪ər] #224; ON *Há-sætr* > ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃad̪ər] #324; ON *Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪ər] #181; ON *Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃad̪ər] #91; ON *Kofasætr* > ScG *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃad̪ər] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̪ər]) #92; ON *Konungssætr* > ScG *Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰănɪˌʃad̪ər] (#323); ON *Kví-sætr* > ScG *Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ər] (#292); ON *Kvíasætr* > ScG *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰʉ̥-iˌʃad̪ər], [ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ər] #162; ON *Lamb-sætr* > ScG *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃad̪ər] #232; ON *Lín-sætr* > ScG *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ˠĩːˌʃad̪ər] #236; ON *Manasætr* > ScG *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãniˌʃad̪ər] or ON *Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪ər] #244; ON *Sef-sætr* > ScG *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃad̪ər] #288; ON *Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃʉ̥ːliˌʃad̪ər] #301; ON *Þjórasætr* > ScG *Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾiˌʃad̪ər] (#147); ON *Vangssætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋgəˌʃad̪ər] #346; ON *Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbaːɾəˌʃad̪ər] #46; ON *Vin-sætr* > ScG *Uinseadar* *[ˈʉ̃ɪːˌʃad̪ər] (#67); ON *-sætr* > ScG *Eiliseadar* [ˈeliˌʃad̪ər] (#296, fn 703) (Skye).

§80 (i) (b) (γ) Following ON *r*, ON *s-* > ScG [ʂ] /ʁs/: ON *Ærsætr* > ScG *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑˌʂad̪ər] #225; ON *-sætr* > ScG *Eòrsadar* *[ˈjɔːˌʂad̪ər] (#141); ON *Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌʂad̪ər] #325; ON *Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌʂad̪ər] #327; ON *Þórðssætr* > ScG *Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌʂad̪ər] (#56).

§80 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-s***

§80 (ii) (a) In stressed position

§80 (ii) (a) (α) ON *-s* > ScG [ʂ] /s/ˣ: ON *Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːʂ(ə)məˌgʲɑɾɨ] #21; ON *Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛʂt̪əˌvaɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); ON *Hest(a)holm* > ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməl] (Benbecula) (#159); ON *Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌʂɔɖ] (#112); ON *Hreysa* > ScG *Rias* [ɾiaʂ] #279; ON *Hrís-á* > ScG *Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌʂaj] (#200); ON *Kas-gróf* > ScG *Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌʂkɾo] (#53); ON *Kross* > ScG *Cros* [kʰɾɔʂ] #155; ON *Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔʂəˌbɔʂt̪] #156; CSc. *Ræs-øy* > ScG *Reusa* *[ˈɾeːˌʂa] (#281, fn 650) (Argyll); ON *truss-* > ScG *trus* *[t̪ʰɾuʂ] (#31 (iii)).

[ˈgauˌʂəɲ] #188; SL *Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈgraːsəˌviɣʲ] #218; SL *Hóp(s)sund* > GA *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌsəɲ] #335. §80

§80 (i) (b) (β) SL *s-* > GA [ʃ] /ʃ/′: SL *Barrasætr* no *Vǫrðusætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈbɔrɨˌʃad̪ər] #70; SL *Bozsætr* > GA *Boiseadar* *[ˈbɔˌʃad̪ər] (#341); SL *Flat-sætr* > GA *Flaiseadar* [ˈfl̪aˌʃad̪ər] (#203) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL *Geit-sætr* > GA *Gèiseadar* [ˈgʲeːˌʃad̪ər] #203; SL *-sætr* > GA *Glogaiseadar* [ˈgl̪ɔgəˌʃad̪ər] #215; SL *Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈgrʉ̃ɪm͡ʉ̃ɪˌʃad̪ər] #224; SL *Há-sætr* > GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃad̪ər] #324; SL *Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪ər] #181; SL *Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃad̪ər] #91; SL *Kofasætr* > GA *Caithiseadar* [ˈkʰa-iˌʃad̪ər] (> [ˈkʰaiˌʃad̪ər]) #92; SL *Konungssætr* > GA *Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰănɪˌʃad̪ər] (#323); SL *Kví-sætr* > GA *Cuidhseadar* *[ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ər] (#292); SL *Kvíasætr* > GA *Cuidhiseadar* [ˈkʰʉ̥-iˌʃad̪ər], [ˈkʰəiˌʃad̪ər] #162; SL *Lamb-sætr* > GA *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃad̪ər] #232; SL *Lín-sætr* > GA *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ˠĩːˌʃad̪ər] #236; SL *Manasætr* > GA *Manaiseadar* [ˈmãniˌʃad̪ər] no SL *Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃad̪ər] #244; SL *Sef-sætr* > GA *Seiseadar* [ˈʃeˌʃad̪ər] #288; SL *Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃʉ̥ːliˌʃad̪ər] #301; SL *Þjórasætr* > GA *Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾiˌʃad̪ər] (#147); SL *Vangssætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋgəˌʃad̪ər] #346; SL *Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈbaːɾəˌʃad̪ər] #46; SL *Vin-sætr* > GA *Uinseadar* *[ˈʉ̃ɪːˌʃad̪ər] (#67); SL *-sætr* > GA *Eiliseadar* [ˈeliˌʃad̪ər] (#296, bn 703) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

§80 (i) (b) (γ) A' leantainn SL *r*, SL *s-* > GA [ʂ] /ʁs/: SL *Ærsætr* > GA *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑˌʂad̪ər] #225; SL *-sætr* > GA *Eòrsadar* *[ˈjɔːˌʂad̪ər] (#141); SL *Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌʂad̪ər] #325; SL *Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌʂad̪ər] #327; SL *Þórðssætr* > GA *Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌʂad̪ər] (#56).

§80 (ii) **SL *-s*** iar-bheumach

§80 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§80 (ii) (a) (α) SL *-s* > GA [ʂ] /s/ˣ: SL *Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːʂ(ə)məˌgʲɑɾɨ] #21; SL *Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛʂt̪əˌvaɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); SL *Hest(a)holm* > GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməl] (Beinn na Fadhla) (#159); SL *Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌʂɔɖ] (#112); SL *Hreysa* > GA *Rias* [ɾiaʂ] #279; SL *Hrís-á* > GA *Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌʂaj] (#200); SL *Kas-gróf* > GA *Casgro* *[ˈkʰaˌʂkɾo] (#53); SL *Kross* > GA *Cros* [kʰɾɔʂ] #155; SL *Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔʂəˌbɔʂt̪] #156; LB *Ræs-øy* > GA *Reusa* *[ˈɾeːˌʂa] (#281, bn 650) (Earra-Ghàidheal); SL *truss-* > GA *trus* *[t̪ʰɾuʂ] (#31 (iii)).

§80 §80 (ii) (a) (β) ON *-s* > ScG [ʃ] /ʃ/′: ON **Kross-stein* acc. > ScG **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240); ON **Ís-kinn* > ScG *Ìsginn* [ˈiːʃkʲiɲ] #227; ON **Geis-gil* > ScG *Gìsgil* *[ˈg̊ʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, fn 453) (Sutherland); ON **Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑʟ] (#4); ON **Kvísla* > ScG **Cùiseal* *[ˈkʰu̟ːʃəɬ̪] (#106) (gen. in [ˌkʲʰɑ̃ũn̪ ˈxu̟ːʃìɲ̊]).

§80 (ii) (a) (γ) In ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪̊ɔːʃ] (#63), it is likely that [ʃ] is the result of genitive inflection in Gaelic.

§80 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position:

§80 (ii) (b) (α) ON *-s* > ScG [s̪] /s/ˣ: ON **Káraóss* > ScG *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] #100; CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* [ˈb̥a͡rˌvas̪] #47; ON **Gróðuós* acc. > ScG *Griais* [g̊ɾʲiaʃ] (< [g̊ðias̪]) #220; ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. > ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmɑ̃ˌkaˌs̪t̪ə̬ɬ̪] (#125, fn 278).

§80 (ii) (b) (β) ON *-s* > ScG [ʃ] /ʃ/′: ON **Alpt-nes* > ScG *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #5; ON **Áranes* > ScG *Àranis* [ˈaːɾəˌniʃ] #19; ON **Breið-nes* > ScG *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈb̥u̟-u̟ˌniʃ] #89; ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̥ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10); ON **Fé-nes* > ScG **Fianis* *[ˈfĩ̞ãˌniʃ] (#281, fn 649); ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɬ̪aˌniʃ] #94; ON **Korn-nes* > ScG *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɲ̟iʃ] #99; ON **Kvíanes* > ScG *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰu̟(j)əˌniʃ] (#161); ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃ɬ̪əˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Ok-nes* > ScG *Aiginis* [ˈag̊ʲəˌniʃ] #4; ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰab̥əˌniʃ] (#340); ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃe̟iʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #299; ON **Skegg-nes* > ScG **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲeg̊ʲəˌniʃ] (#294); ON **Steð-nes* > ScG *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308; ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, fn 452); ON **Tanganes* > ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊əˌniʃ] #321; ON **Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336.

§80 (iii) Unstressed **ON** ***s***

ON *s* > ScG [s̪] /s/, only examples with ˣ: ON **Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, fn 563); ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaʎ̊tʲəs̪] (#63) (South Uist); ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪t̪ɔs̪] #63.

§80 (iv) **ON** genitive ***s***

§80 (iv) (a) The reflex of the sibilant depends on the quality of the first vowel or consonant of the following element:

§80 §80 (ii) (a) (β) SL *-s* > GA [ʃ] /ʃ/′: SL **Kross-stein* cusp. > GA **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240); SL **Ís-kinn* > GA *Ìsginn* [ˈiːʃkʲiɲ] #227; SL **Geis-gil* > GA *Gìsgil* *[ˈg̊ʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, bn 453) (Cataibh); SL **Esjufjall* > GA *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃɑʟ] (#4); SL **Kvísla* > GA **Cùiseal* *[ˈkʰu̟ːʃəɬ̪] (#106) (gin. ann an [ˌkʲʰɑ̃ũn̪ ˈxu̟ːʃìɲ̊]).

§80 (ii) (a) (γ) Ann an SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈl̪̊ɔːʃ] (#63), is coltach gur h-ann a tha [ʃ] mar thoradh air mùthadh ginideach sa Ghàidhlig.

§80 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte:

§80 (ii) (b) (α) SL *-s* > GA [s̪] /s/ˣ: SL **Káraóss* > GA *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] #100; LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* [ˈb̥a͡rˌvas̪] #47; SL **Gróðuós* cusp. > GA *Griais* [g̊ɾʲiaʃ](< [g̊ðias̪]) #220; SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. > GA *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] #79; SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmɑ̃ˌkaˌs̪t̪ə̬ɬ̪] (#125, bn 278).

§80 (ii) (b) (β) SL *-s* > GA [ʃ] /ʃ/′: SL **Alpt-nes* > GA *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #5; SL **Áranes* > GA *Àranis* [ˈaːɾəˌniʃ] #19; SL **Breið-nes* > GA *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲẽːˌniʃ] #77; SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈb̥u̟-u̟ˌniʃ] #89; SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̥ɾɔvəˌniʃ] (#10); SL **Fé-nes* > GA **Fianis* *[ˈfĩ̞ãˌniʃ] (#281, bn 649); SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɬ̪aˌniʃ] #94; SL **Korn-nes* > GA *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɲ̟iʃ] #99; SL **Kvíanes* > GA *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰu̟(j)əˌniʃ] (#161); SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃ɬ̪əˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Ok-nes* > GA *Aiginis* [ˈag̊ʲəˌniʃ] #4; SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰab̥əˌniʃ] (#340); SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃe̟iʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] #299; SL **Skegg-nes* > GA **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲeg̊ʲəˌniʃ] (#294); SL **Steð-nes* > GA *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308; SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, bn 452); SL **Tanganes* > GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊əˌniʃ] #321; SL **Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336.

§80 (iii) **SL** ***s*** neo-bheumte

SL *s* > GA [s̪] /s/, gun eisimpleirean ach ˣ: SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] (#244, bn 563); SL **Vatnleysa* > GA **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaʎ̊tʲəs̪] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas); SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪t̪ɔs̪] #63.

§80 (iv) **SL** ***s*** ghinideach

§80 (iv) (a) Crochaidh riochd an t-siabaich air feart ciad fhuaimreag no connrag na h-eileamaid na dhèidh:

§80 §80 (iv) (a) (α) ON *s* > ScG [s̪] /s/˟˚ (or before ON *gr* or *kl* before any vowel): CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ɛ̃nəˌs̪pa^{h}k] #50; ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲiə̯g̊əˌs̪pɔɬ̪] #222; ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌs̪pɾɔ^{h}k] (#311 (i)); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnas·dal* *[ˈt̪^{h}ãm͡ãnəˌs̪t̪əɬ̪] (#319); OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *[ˈn̪ũː^{h}pʂəˌd̪əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ũːs̪t̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#216, fn 476) (South Uist); ON **Vaðsgróf* > ScG **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, fn 404); ON **Klifsgróf* > ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈk^{h}liˌs̪kɾo] (#132); ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] #328; ON **Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑɬ̪əˌs̪kɾo] #291; ON **Kleifsholm-krek*> ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈk^{h}liaʂəmˌk^{h}ɾʲeg̊] (#131), contrast ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* [ˈk^{h}liʃam] (#132); ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə̯ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; CSc. **Vágsøy* > ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60; CSc. **Orfirisøy* > ScG *Orasaigh* *[ˈɔɾ̃-əs̪ɛj] > [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259; CSc. **Hvalsøy* > ScG *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪aj] #62; ON **Hópsøy* > ScG *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔːhpəsɛj] (#335) (North Uist); CSc. **Hjallsøy* > ScG *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑɬ̪əˌs̪aj] (#51); CSc. **Bergsøy* > ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̥ɛɾ̃ʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58; ON **Gilsá* > ScG *Giosladh* [ˈɡ̊ʲisɬ̪aɣ] #206.

§80 (iv) (a) (β) ON *s* > ScG [ʃ /ʃ/′: OWNorn **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪^{h}ʊ̃ɯ̃m͡ʊ̃ɯ̃ʃkʲɑɾi] #342; ON **Bergsgjá* > ScG *Beirghs·geadh* [ˈb̥øɾ̃ʲə̯ˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* [ˈk^{h}liʃam] (#132), contrast **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈk^{h}liaʂəmˌk^{h}ɾʲeg̊] (#131).

§80 (iv) (b) Before final ON *fjall*, where ON *sfj* becomes EG [ʃβʲ], which yields ScG [ʃv], with neutral [v] usually lost (#319, fn 775): ON **Bendilsfjall* > ScG *Beinnisbhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈb̥ɛ̃n̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#50); ON **Eiðsfjall* > ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑɬ̪] (#60); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *[ˈt̪^{h}ã̂mãnəʃˌvɑɬ̪] > *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪^{h}ã̂mãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈk^{h}u̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑɬ̪] #164; ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əʃˌvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > ScG *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203).

§80 (iv) (c) Final ON *fjǫrð* acc. yields ScG (len.) *phort*, with morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (a), hence the broad [s̪] in ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪̊] (#180, fn 399), from ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc.

§80 (iv) (d) With final ON *vágr*, ON s*v* gives EG [s̪β], which yields ScG [s̪v] with neutral [v]: ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsə̯ˌvaɣ] (#25) and ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑɬ̪əs̪ˌvaɣ] #322, both with epenthetic vowels §42 (i) (b).

§80 (iv) (e) With final ON *vík*, ON *sv* gives EG [ʃβʲ], which yields ScG [ʃv] with neutral [v]:

§80 §80 (iv) (a) (α) SL *s* > GA [s̪] /s/˟˚ (no ro SL *gr* no *kl* ro fhuaimreig sam bith): LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ɛ̃nəˌs̪pa^{h}k] #50; SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈɡ̊ɾʲiə̯g̊əˌs̪pɔɬ̪] #222; SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũãməˌs̪pɾɔ^{h}k] (#311 (i)); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnas·dal* *[ˈt̪^{h}ãm͡ãnəˌs̪t̪əɬ̪] (#319); SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *[ˈn̪ũː^{h}pʂəˌd̪əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ũːs̪t̪əˌb̥əɬ̪] (#216, bn 476) (Uibhist a Deas); SL **Vaðsgróf* > GA **Fàsgro* *[ˈfaːˌs̪kɾo] (#181, bn 404); SL **Klifsgróf* > GA *Cliosgro* [ˈk^{h}liˌs̪kɾo] (#132); SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] #328; SL **Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑɬ̪əˌs̪kɾo] #291; SL **Kleifsholm-krek*> GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈk^{h}liaʂəmˌk^{h}ɾʲeg̊] (#131), iomsgaraich SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* [ˈk^{h}liʃam] (#132); SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə̯ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; LB **Vágsøy* > GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60; LB **Orfirisøy* > GA *Orasaigh* *[ˈɔɾ̃-əs̪ɛj] > [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259; LB **Hvalsøy* > GA *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌs̪aj] #62; LB **Hópsøy* > GA *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔːhpəsɛj] (#335) (Uibhist a Tuath); LB **Hjallsøy* > GA *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑɬ̪əˌs̪aj] (#51); LB **Bergsøy* > GA *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̥ɛɾ̃ʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58; SL **Gilsá* > GA *Giosladh* [ˈɡ̊ʲisɬ̪aɣ] #206.

§80 (iv) (a) (β) SL *s* > GA [ʃ /ʃ/′: SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪^{h}ʊ̃ɯ̃m͡ʊ̃ɯ̃ʃkʲɑɾi] #342; SL **Bergsgjá* > GA *Beirghs·geadh* [ˈb̥øɾ̃ʲə̯ˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58); SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* [ˈk^{h}liʃam] (#132), iomsgaraich **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈk^{h}liaʂəmˌk^{h}ɾʲeg̊] (#131).

§80 (iv) (b) Ro SL *fjall* deiridh, far an tèid SL *sfj* na GT [ʃβʲ], a thèid na GA [ʃv], le [v] neo-fheartail a chaillear mar as trice (#319, bn 775): SL **Bendils·fjall* > GA *Beinnisbhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈb̥ɛ̃n̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#50); SL **Eiðsfjall* > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑɬ̪] (#60); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *[ˈt̪^{h}ã̂mãnəʃˌvɑɬ̪] > *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪^{h}ã̂mãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈk^{h}u̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑɬ̪] #164; SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əʃˌvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); SL **Rapts·fjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > GA *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃɑɬ̪] (#203).

§80 (iv) (c) Thèid SL *fjǫrð* cusp. deiridh na GA (sèimh.) *phort*, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (a), às a sin an [s̪] leathann ann an GA **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪̊] (#180, bn 399), à SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp.

§80 (iv) (d) Le SL *vágr* deiridh, thèid SL s*v* na GT [s̪β], a thèid na GA [s̪v] le [v] neo-fheartail: SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsə̯ˌvaɣ] (#25) agus SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰɑɬ̪əs̪ˌvaɣ] #322, na dhà le fuaimreagan còmhnaidh §42 (i) (b).

§80 (iv) (e) Le SL *vík* deiridh, thèid SL *sv* na GT [ʃβʲ], a thèid na GA [ʃv] le [v] neo-fheartail:

§80 §80 (iv) (e) (α) With epenthetic vowel §42 (i) (b): ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviᵹʲ] #302.

§80 (iv) (e) (β) With loss of [v]: (after *r*) ON **Þór(ð)svík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌʂiᵹʲ] /ˈhɔːˌʁsigˊ/ (#56, fn 110).

§80 (v) Initial **ON *sj-***

ON *sj-* > ScG [ʃ] /ʃ/ before a high back vowel: ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃuːliˌʃaⁿ̥dəɾ] #301.

§80 (vi) Initial **ON *sk-***

§80 (vi) (a) In stressed position

§80 (vi) (a) (α) ON *sk-* > ScG [s̪k] /sg/ˣ: ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kaːɫəˌvaɫ̪] (#257, fn 591); ON **Skarð-holm* acc. > ScG **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪kaːˌⁿ̥dam] (#330); ON *skarf* acc. > ScG *sgarbh* [ˈs̪kar̂av] §8; ON *skaut* > ScG *sgòd* [s̪kɔːˌⁿ̥d] (#7); ON **Skor* > ScG **Sgor* *[s̪kɔɾ] (the loan-name) (#201); ON *skor* > ScG *sgor* [s̪kɔɾ] (the loan-word) (#201).

§80 (vi) (a) (β) ON *sk-* > ScG [s̪kʲ] /sgˊ/ˊ: ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiᵹəˌʂt̪aj] #294; ON **Skegg-nes* > ScG **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲeᵹʲəˌniʃ] (#294); ON **Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑɫ̪əˌs̪kɾo] #291; ON **Skelludal* acc. > ScG *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲɑɫ̪əˌⁿ̥d̪əɫ̪] #290; ON *sker* > ScG *sgeir* [s̪kʲeɾʲ] (#292); ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩəniⁿ̥ʃtʲ] #293.

§80 (vi) (b) In weakly stressed position

§80 (vi) (b) (α) ON *sk-* > ScG [s̪k] /sg/ˣ: ON **Rauðaskarð* > ScG *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282.

§80 (vi) (b) (β) ON *sk-* > ScG [ʃkʲ] /ʃgˊ/ˊ: ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːbəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɫɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; ON *torf-skeri* > ScG *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337); ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§80 (vii) Initial **ON *sl-***

ON *sl-* > ScG [s̪ɫ] /sʟ/ˣ: ON **slǫkk* > ScG *sloc* (*slochd*) [s̪ɫɔxk] (#229, fn 517).

§80 (viii) Initial **ON *sm-***

ON *sm-* > ScG [s̪m] /sm/: ON **Smogsvík* > ScG *Smuaisibhig* [ˈs̪mũãʃəˌviᵹʲ] #302; ON **Smuga* > ScG *Smudha* *[ˈs̪mũ-ə] (#302).

§80 (ix) Initial **ON *st-***

§80 (ix) (a) In stressed position

§80 (ix) (a) (α) ON *st-* > ScG [s̪t̪] /sd/ˣ: ON **Stǫð* > ScG *Stoth* [s̪t̪oʰ] (#90).

§80 §80 (iv) (e) (α) Le fuaimreig còmhnaidh §42 (i) (b): SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈsmũãʃəˌviᵹʲ] #302.

§80 (iv) (e) (β) Le call [v]: (an dèidh *r*) SL **Þór(ð)svík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌʂiᵹʲ] /ˈhɔːˌʁsigˊ/ (#56, bn 110).

§80 (v) **SL *sj-*** thoisich

SL *sj-* > GA [ʃ] /ʃ/ ro fhuaimreig àird chùil: SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃuːliˌʃaⁿ̥dəɾ] #301.

§80 (vi) **SL *sk-*** thoisich

§80 (vi) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§80 (vi) (a) (α) SL *sk-* > GA [s̪k] /sg/ˣ: SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kaːɫəˌvaɫ̪] (#257, bn 591); SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. > GA **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪kaːˌⁿ̥dam] (#330); SL *skarf* cusp. > GA *sgarbh* [ˈs̪kar̂av] §8; SL *skaut* > GA *sgòd* [s̪kɔːˌⁿ̥d] (#7); SL **Skor* > GA **Sgor* *[s̪kɔɾ] (an t-ainm-iasaid) (#201); SL *skor* > GA *sgor* [s̪kɔɾ] (am facal-iasaid) (#201).

§80 (vi) (a) (β) SL *sk-* > GA [s̪kʲ] /sgˊ/ˊ: SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲiᵹəˌʂt̪aj] #294; SL **Skegg-nes* > GA **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲeᵹʲəˌniʃ] (#294); SL **Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲɑɫ̪əˌs̪kɾo] #291; SL **Skelludal* cusp. > GA *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲɑɫ̪əˌⁿ̥d̪əɫ̪] #290; SL *sker* > GA *sgeir* [s̪kʲeɾʲ] (#292); SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪kʲĩəniⁿ̥ʃtʲ] #293.

§80 (vi) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§80 (vi) (b) (α) SL *sk-* > GA [s̪k] /sg/ˣ: SL **Rauðaskarð* > GA *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌs̪kəɾʲ] #282.

§80 (vi) (b) (β) SL *sk-* > GA [ʃkʲ] /ʃgˊ/ˊ: SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːbəˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); SL **Súlasker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɫɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; SL *torf-skeri* > GA *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂aˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337); SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§80 (vii) **SL *sl-*** thoisich

SL *sl-* > GA [s̪ɫ] /sʟ/ˣ: SL **slǫkk* > GA *sloc* (*slochd*) [s̪ɫɔxk] (#229, bn 517).

§80 (viii) **SL *sm-*** thoisich

SL *sm-* > GA [s̪m] /sm/: SL **Smogsvík* > GA *Smuaisibhig* [ˈs̪mũãʃəˌviᵹʲ] #302; SL **Smuga* > GA *Smudha* *[ˈs̪mũ-ə] (#302).

§80 (ix) **SL *st-*** thoisich

§80 (ix) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§80 (ix) (a) (α) SL *st-* > GA [s̪t̪] /sd/ˣ: SL **Stǫð* > GA *Stoth* [s̪t̪oʰ] (#90).

§80 §80 (ix) (a) (β) ON *st-* > ScG [ʃtʲ] /ʃdʹ/ʹ: ON **Steð-nes* > ScG *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308; ON *stig* acc. > ScG *stiogha* [ˈʃtʲiɣə] (#80, fn 180); ON **Stím-árvág* acc. > ScG *Stìomrabhagh* (1) [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃mɾəˌvaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃məˌɾaɣ] #310.

§80 (ix) (b) In weakly stressed position

§80 (ix) (b) (α) ON *st-* > ScG [st̪] /sd/ˣ:
1. ON **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬ̪əˌst̪aɣ] #151; ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩə̃ɬ̪əˌst̪aɣ] #252; ON **Torfastað* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔr̃ˌst̪aj] #337; ON **Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃ˌst̪aɣ] #331; ON **Rokk-stainn* > ScG *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌst̪aɲ̪] (#48, fn 94); ON **Borg-stafn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈb̥ɔr̃-əˌst̪ɔn] #69; ON **Erjustǫð* > ScG *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌst̪aɣ] #180. (With metathesis §40 (iv) in Gaelic or syncope in Old Norn) OWNorn *Borg-sátr* (< ON **Borg-sætr*) > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̥ɔr̃(ɣ)əˌst̪əɾ] (#296, fn 701); OWNorn **Ofansátr* (ON *Fyrir ofan sætr*) > ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌst̪əɾ] (#296, fn 700); OWNorn **-sátr* (ON **-sætr*) > ScG *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌst̪əɾ] (#296, fn 703) and ScG *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːd̠ʲaˌst̪əɾ] (#296, fn 702).

2. Also, in the compound ON *bólstaðr*: ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔːˌst̪aɣ] #72, cf. > ScG *Bobhst* [b̥ɔust̪] (Coll) and > ScG *Bobhsta* [ˈb̥ɔust̪a] (#72, fn 160) (Skye); ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈg̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔst̪] #189; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔst̪] #219; ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔst̪] #315; ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈl̪̊u̟ːɾˌb̥ɔst̪] #239; ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̃ˌb̥ɔst̪] #93; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɟ̊ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔst̪] #125; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔst̪] #156; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪ɑːˌb̥ɔst̪] #229; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃l̪̃ˌb̥ɔst̪] #248; ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̪əˌb̥ɔst̪] #311; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔst̪] #295.

§80 (ix) (b) (β) ON *st-* > ScG [ʃtʲ] /ʃtʹ/ʹ: ON **Bugsstein* acc. > ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̥u̟ːˌʃtʲən] (#116); ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171); ON **Hvammsstein* acc. > ScG **Uamaistean* *[ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#311 (i)); ON **Krossstein* acc. > ScG **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240); ON **Austęin* or **Aystęin* > ScG *Ùisdean* [ˈu̟ːʃtʲan] (#171).

§80 (ix) (b) (γ) After ON *-r*, ON *st-* > ScG [ʂt̪] /ʁsd/: ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩə̃məˌʂt̪aɣ] #223; ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌʂt̪aɣ] #245; ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogar·*

§80 §80 (ix) (a) (β) SL *st-* > GA [ʃtʲ] /ʃdʹ/ʹ: SL **Steð-nes* > GA *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲẽːˌniʃ] #308; SL *stig* cusp. > GA *stiogha* [ˈʃtʲiɣə] (#80, bn 180); SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. > GA *Stìomrabhagh* (1) [ˈʃtʲĩːmɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃mɾəˌvaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩːməˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə̃məˌɾaɣ] #310.

§80 (ix) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§80 (ix) (b) (α) SL *st-* > GA [st̪] /sd/ˣ:
1. SL **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰɾauɬ̪əˌst̪aɣ] #151; SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩə̃ɬ̪əˌst̪aɣ] #252; SL **Torfastað* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔr̃ˌst̪aj] #337; SL **Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃ˌst̪aɣ] #331; SL **Rokk-stainn* > GA *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌst̪aɲ̪] (#48, bn 94); SL **Borg-stafn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̥ɔr̃-əˌst̪ɔn] #69; SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eirea·stadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌst̪aɣ] #180. (Le eadar-chàradh §40 (iv) sa Ghàidhlig no teasgadh meadhain san t-Seann Nòrn) SNòrnI *Borg-sátr* (< SL **Borg-sætr*) > GA *Borgh·astar* [ˈb̥ɔr̃(ɣ)əˌst̪əɾ] (#296, bn 701); SNòrnI **Ofansátr* (SL *Fyrir ofan sætr*) > GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌst̪əɾ] (#296, bn 700); SNòrnI **-sátr* (SL **-sætr*) > GA *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌst̪əɾ] (#296, bn 703) is GA *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːd̠ʲaˌst̪əɾ] (#296, bn 702).

2. Mar an ceudna, anns an fhillteach SL *bólstaðr*: SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔːˌst̪aɣ] #72, coim. > GA *Bobhst* [b̥ɔust̪] (Cola) agus > GA *Bobhsta* [ˈb̥ɔust̪a] (#72, bn 160) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Garða·bólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈg̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔst̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔst̪] #219; SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔst̪] #315; SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈl̪̊u̟ːɾˌb̥ɔst̪] #239; SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪̃ˌb̥ɔst̪] #93; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɟ̊ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔst̪] #125; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkʰɾɔs̪əˌb̥ɔst̪] #156; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪ɑːˌb̥ɔst̪] #229; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃l̪̃ˌb̥ɔst̪] #248; SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲ̪əˌb̥ɔst̪] #311; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔst̪] #295.

§80 (ix) (b) (β) SL *st-* > GA [ʃtʲ] /ʃtʹ/ʹ: SL **Bugsstein* cusp. > GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̥u̟ːˌʃtʲən] (#116); SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171); SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. > GA **Uamaistean* *[ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#311 (i)); SL **Krossstein* cusp. > GA **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240); SL **Austęin* no **Aystęin* > GA *Ùisdean* [ˈu̟ːʃtʲan] (#171).

§80 (ix) (b) (γ) An dèidh SL *-r*, SL *st-* > GA [ʂt̪] /ʁsd/: SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩə̃məˌʂt̪aɣ] #223; SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌʂt̪aɣ] #245; SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiog·*

§80 *staidh* [ˈsˌkʲiǧəˌʂʈaj] #294; ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG (**Tiongarstadh* >) (gen.) **Thiongarstaidh* [ˈhĩŋǧəˌʂʈaj] (#95); ON **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > ScG *Cabh·arstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌʂʈaj] #90.

§80 (x) Initial **ON *stj-***
ON *stj-* > ScG [ʃtʲ] /ʃdʼ/ before a (long) broad vowel: ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309.

§80 (xi) Initial **ON *str-***
ON *str-* > EG [ʂtɾ] /sr/ > ScG [ʂtɾ] /sdr/: ON *straum* acc. > ScG *sròm* f. [ʂtɾɔ̃ːm] (#7); ON **Straum*(*a*)*klett* acc. > ScG *Stròmacleit* *[ˈʂtɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); ON **Straum-óss* > ScG *Sròmas* [ˈʂtɾɔ̃ːˌmaʂ] #307; ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈʂtɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, fn 452).

§80 (xii) Initial **ON *sv-***

§80 (xii) (a) ON *sv-* > ∅: ON *svart-bak* acc. > ScG *arspag* [ˈɑʂpaǧ] (#311 (i)); for ScG *Rubha Sharspag*, see #311 (i), fn 731.

§80 (xii) (b) ON *sv-* > ScG [ʂ] /s/ + [u], the first element of the diphthong /uɑ/ or /uə/: ON *Svan-fjǫrð* acc. or *Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈʂũãnɑɾʂt̪] (#311 (iii)); ON **Svarð-dal* acc. > ScG *Suardal* [ˈʂuəˌd̪əɬ̪] #312; ON **Sveinafjall* or **Svínafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴˊəvaʟ] (#311); ON *Sveinn* > ScG *Suain* [ʂũãɲ̪] (#311 (i)); ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈʂũãɲ̪əˌb̪ɔsʈ̪] #311.

§81 §81 **ON *h***

§81 (i) Initial **ON *h-***
Initial ON *h* is treated in different ways in Scottish Gaelic over time (#315):

§81 (i) (a) In stressed position

§81 (i) (a) (α) ON *h-* > ∅: ON *h-* is lost in ON *hamar* acc. > ScG *amar* (*Amar na h-Èit*) [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːʂ(ə)məˌǧʲɑɾi] #21; ON *hóp* acc. > ScG *òb*, *òban* [ɔːb̪], [ˈɔːb̪an] (#315 (i)) §36 (iv) (also *tòb* §81 (i) (a) (γ)); CSc. **Hópsøy* > ScG *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔːhpəsɛj] (#335) (North Uist); ON **hylla* > ScG *iola* [ˈjuɫ̪ə] (*Iolairean* [ˈjuɫ̪əɾʲən] (#127)); ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); ON *hǫfða* obl. > ScG *obha* [ˈo-ə], [ˈo-o] (#281, fn 641) (also *tobha* §81 (i) (a) (γ)).

§81 (i) (a) (β) ON *h-* > ScG [h] /h/, as though it were aspiration after the Gaelic article: ON *haf* > ScG *na h-abh* [nə ˈ**h**af] (#281, fn 655);[8] ON **Herað* > ScG

8. In the form ScG *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪ʰaf] (#281, fn 655), the name has been normalised as consisting of a masculine singular noun.

arstaidh [ˈsˌkʲiǧəˌʂʈaj] #294; SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA (**Tiong·arstadh* >) (gin.) **Thiongarstaidh* [ˈhĩŋǧəˌʂʈaj] (#95); SL **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌʂʈaj] #90. §80

§80 (x) SL ***stj-*** thoisich
SL *stj-* > GA [ʃtʲ] /ʃdʼ/ ro fhuaimreig (fhada) leathainn: SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309.

§80 (xi) **SL *str-*** thoisich
SL *str-* > GT [ʂtɾ] /sr/ > GA [ʂtɾ] /sdr/: SL *straum* cusp. > GA *sròm* f. [ʂtɾɔ̃ːm] (#7); SL **Straum*(*a*)*klett* cusp. > GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈʂtɾɔ̃ːməˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); SL **Straum-óss* > GA *Sròmas* [ˈʂtɾɔ̃ːˌmaʂ] #307; SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈʂtɾẽːməˌniʃ] (#203, bn 452).

§80 (xii) **SL *sv-*** thoisich

§80 (xii) (a) SL *sv-* > ∅: SL *svart-bak* cusp. > GA *arspag* [ˈɑʂpaǧ] (#311 (i)); air·son GA *Rubha Sharspag*, faic #311 (i), bn 731.

§80 (xii) (b) SL *sv-* > GA [ʂ] /s/ + [u], ciad eileamaid an dà-fhoghair /uɑ/ no /uə/: SL *Svan-fjǫrð* cusp. no *Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* [ˈʂũãnɑɾʂt̪] (#311 (iii)); SL **Svarð-dal* cusp. > GA *Suardal* [ˈʂuəˌd̪əɬ̪] #312; SL **Sveinafjall* no **Svínafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴˊəvaʟ] (#311); SL *Sveinn* > GA *Suain* [ʂũãɲ̪] (#311 (i)); SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈʂũãɲ̪əˌb̪ɔsʈ̪] #311.

§81 **SL *h***

§81 (i) **SL *h-*** thoisich
Dèiligear ri SL *h* thoisich ann an atharrachadh dhòigh sa Ghàidhlig ri ùine (#315):

§81 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§81 (i) (a) (α) SL *h-* > ∅: Caillear SL *h-* ann an SL *hamar* cusp. > GA *amar* (*Amar na h-Èit*) [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːʂ(ə)məˌǧʲɑɾi] #21; SL *hóp* cusp. > GA *òb*, *òban* [ɔːb̪], [ˈɔːb̪an] (#315 (i)) §36 (iv) (cuideachd *tòb* §81 (i) (a) (γ)); LB **Hópsøy* > GA *Òpasaigh* (CB) [ɔːhpəsɛj] (#335) (Uibhist a Tuath); SL **hylla* > GA *iola* [ˈjuɫ̪ə] (*Iolairean* [ˈjuɫ̪əɾʲən] (#127)); SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); SL *hǫfða* cl. > GA *obha* [ˈo-ə], [ˈo-o] (#281, bn 641) (cuideachd *tobha* §81 (i) (a) (γ)).

§81 (i) (a) (β) SL *h-* > GA [h] /h/, mar gum b' e analachadh an dèidh an uilt Ghàidhlig a bh' ann: SL *haf* > GA *na h-abh* [nə ˈ**h**af] (#281, bn 655);[8] SL **Herað*

8. Sa chruth GA *an tabh* [ə ˈn̪ʰaf] (#281, bn 655), tha an t-ainm air àbhaisteachadh na ainmear singilte fireann.

§81 *Na h-Earadh* (*Na Hearadh*) [nə ˈhɛrəɣ] (#254);[9] ON **Hǫfn* > ScG *Na h-Amhn* (*Na Hamhn*) [nə ˈhãũn] (Eriskay and Mull), *Na Hamhnan* [nə ˈhãũnən] (Mull) and (*Port*) *na h-Abhann* [nə ˈhãvən] (Islay) (#315 (ii)).

§81 (i) (a) (γ) With delenition to a plosive in Gaelic, via back-formation §33:

1. ON *h-* > ScG [t̪ʰ] /t/ˣ: ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315;[10] ON *háf* acc. > ScG *tàbh, tàbhan* [ˈt̪ʰaːv(an)] (#315 (iii)); CSc. **Hafnarǫy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾæj] (#319); ON **Há-klett* acc. > ScG *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317; OWNorn **hamn* > ScG *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãn] (#315 (iii)); ON **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌvaɣ] #319; ON **Hamn·arvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌs̪t̪əɬ̪] (#319); ON **Hamn·arvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); ON **Harð-á* > ScG *Torr·aigh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] #338; ON **Hólar* > ScG *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːl̪əɾʲ] (#101); ON **Holm* acc. > ScG *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ːm] #330; ON *hóp* acc. > ScG *tòb* [t̪ʰɔːb̥] (#281, fn 641) (also *òb* §81 (i) (a) (α); ON **Hóp(s)sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪] #335; ON **hugl* > ScG *tùl* [t̪ʰuːl̪] (#315 (iii)); ON *hǫfða* obl. > ScG *tobha* [ˈt̪ʰo-ə], [ˈt̪ʰo-o] (#281, fn 641) (also *obha* §81 (i) (a) (α)).

2. ON *h-* > ScG [tʲʰ] /tʹ/ʹ: ON **Hekla* > ScG *Teacal* (*AFB*, s.v.) /tʲɛxgəl/ (< ScG *Theacal* (#315 (iv), fn 768) §81 (i) (a) (δ)) (South Uist); ON **Hest(a)holm* > ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʹesdəməl] (Benbecula) (#159); ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiḍ̪əˌb̥ɔɾ̃(ɣ)] #329.

§81 (i) (a) (δ) ON *h-* > ScG [h] /h/, accepting the fricative as a phoneme that could be used independently at the beginning of proper names in Gaelic:[11] ON **Hamar* acc. > ScG **Thamar* *[ˈhãməɾ], *[ˈhãməɾ] (#325); ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪aḍ̪əɾ] #325; ON **Há-sætr* > ScG *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃaḍ̪əɾ] #324; ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎ̟ə ˈhoː] (#172); ON **Hauka* > ScG **Thòg* *[hɔːg̊] (#129); ON **Heið-berg* acc. > ScG **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); ON **Heið-bergi* dat. > ScG *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲi] (#58); ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Hekla* > ScG *Theacal* (nMO) [hæxkəl] (#315 (iv), fn 768) (> ScG *Teacal* §81 (i) (a) (γ)) (South Uist); ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛs̪t̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎ̟ə ˈhɔːl̪ə] (#172); ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɠʲ] (#116).

9. But without inflection in the genitive, e.g. *Mol na Hearadh* [ˌmɔ̃ɬ̪ nə ˈhɛrəɣ].

10. ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] CDL was apparently earlier **Thàbost* *[ˈhaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], hence Eng. *Habost*.

11. Contrast, for example, Eng. *ham* > ScG *hama*, in which initial *h* in the appellative has been normalised.

§81 > GA *Na h-Earadh* (*Na Hearadh*) [nə ˈhɛrəɣ] (#254);[9] SL **Hǫfn* > GA *Na h-Amhn* (*Na Hamhn*) [nə ˈhãũn] (Èirisgeigh is Muile), *Na Hamhnan* [nə ˈhãũnən] (Muile) agus (*Port*) *na h-Abhann* [nə ˈhãvən] (Ìle) (#315 (ii)).

§81 (i) (a) (γ) Le dì-shèimheachadh na stadach sa Ghàidhlig, le cùl-chinntinn §33:

1. SL *h-* > GA [t̪ʰ] /t/ˣ: SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #315;[10] SL *háf* cusp. > GA *tàbh, tàbhan* [ˈt̪ʰaːv(an)] (#315 (iii)); LB **Hafnarǫy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾæj] (#319); SL **Há-klett* cusp. > GA *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317; SNòrnI **hamn* > GA *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãn] (#315 (iii)); SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌvaɣ] #319; SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌs̪t̪əɬ̪] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãm̃ãnəˌʃɑɬ̪] (#319); SL **Harð-á* > GA *Torraigh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] #338; SL **Hólar* > GA *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːl̪əɾʲ] (#101); SL **Holm* cusp. > GA *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ːm] #330; SL *hóp* cusp. > GA *tòb* [t̪ʰɔːb̥] (#281, bn 641 (cuideachd *òb* §81 (i) (a) (α)); SL **Hóp(s)sund* > GA *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪] #335; SL **hugl* > GA *tùl* [t̪ʰuːl̪] (#315 (iii)); SL *hǫfða* cl. > GA *tobha* [ˈt̪ʰo-ə], [ˈt̪ʰo-o] (#281, bn 641) (cuideachd *obha* §81 (i) (a) (α)).

2. SL *h-* > GA [tʲʰ] /tʹ/ʹ: SL **Hekla* > GA *Teacal* (*AFB*, s.v.) /tʲɛxgəl/ (< GA *Theacal* (#315 (iv), bn 768) §81 (i) (a) (δ)) (Uibhist a Deas); SL **Hest(a)holm* > GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʹesdəməl] (Beinn na Fadhla) (#159); SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiḍ̪əˌb̥ɔɾ̃(ɣ)] #329.

§81 (i) (a) (δ) SL *h-* > GA [h] /h/, a' gabhail ris an t-suathach mar fhuinneam a ghabhadh cleachdadh gu neo-eisimeileach aig toiseach ainmean sònraichte sa Ghàidhlig:[11] SL **Hamar* cusp. > GA **Thamar* *[ˈhãməɾ], *[ˈhãməɾ] (#325); SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪aḍ̪əɾ] #325; SL **Há-sætr* > GA *Thàiseadar* [ˈhaːˌʃaḍ̪əɾ] #324; SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩʎ̟ə ˈhoː] (#172); SL **Hauka* > GA **Thòg* *[hɔːg̊] (#129); SL **Heið-berg* cusp. > GA **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58); SL **Heið-bergi* tabh. > GA *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲi] (#58); SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Hekla* > GA *Theacal* (nMO) [hæxkəl] (#315 (iv), bn 768) (> GA *Teacal* §81 (i) (a) (γ)) (Uibhist a Deas); SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛs̪t̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#315 (iv)); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩʎ̟ə ˈhɔːl̪ə] (#172); SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* *[ˈhuːl̪əˌviɠʲ] (#116).

9. Ach gun mhùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach, m.e. *Mol na Hearadh* [ˌmɔ̃ɬ̪ nə ˈhɛrəɣ].

10. A rèir choltais, bha GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] CDL na **Thàbost* *[ˈhaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] na bu tràithe, às a sin Brl. *Habost*.

11. Iomsgaraich, mar eisimpleir, Brl. *ham* > GA *hama*, san deach *h* thoisich ann an ainmear bitheanta àbhaisteachadh.

§81 However, it appears that morphophonemic influence is still operative so that initial ScG *h* [h] is found delenited to *t* [t̪ʰ], via back-formation §33, e.g. ScG *Hearach* f. 'someone from *Na Hearadh* (Eng. *Harris*)' > *Tearach* (#254); *Hiort·ach* f. 'someone from *Hiort* (Eng. *St Kilda*)' > *Tiortach* (#315 (iii)); *Theacal* (the name of a mountain in South Uist) > *Teacal* (#315 (iv), fn 768).

§81 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position

§81 (ii) (a) (α) There is no remaining trace of ON *h* in ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235; ON **Arn-hol* > ScG *Àrnal* [ˈɑːɳəɬ̪] #20; ON **Lín-hól* acc. > ScG *Lìonal* [ˈl̪ʲĩənɑɬ̪], [ˈl̪ʲĩənɔɬ̪] #237; ON **Mark-hól* acc. > ScG **Marcol* *[ˈmãɻ̥kɔɬ̪] (#125, fn 278); ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑɬ̪] #339; ON **Geit-holm* acc. > ScG *Gèid·eam* [ˈg̊ʲeːˌd̥ʲam] (#203); ON **Grón-holm* acc. > ScG *Grèineam* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnam] (#219); ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰliəs̪əmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); ON **Krák-holm* acc. > ScG *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːg̊am] (#330); ON **Kró-holm-vík* > ScG *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌvig̊ʲ] #159; ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* [ˈkʰliʃam] (#132); **Sild-holm* acc. > ScG *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛi̯n̪̊tʲæm] (#299); ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪̊d̥əˌl̪̊am] (#67); ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈs̪̊kʲĩəniɲ̊tʲ] #293.

§81 (ii) (a) (β) No trace of ON *h* is expected in Gaelic in the development ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #181; the woman's name ON *Jórheiðr* was usually written *Jóreiðr* anyway (*NO*, s.v.).

§81 (ii) (a) (γ) A trace of ON *h* remains in the development ON **Skarð-holm* acc. > ScG **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪̊kɑːˌd̪̊am] /ˈsgɑːˌʁdɑm/ (#330), with ON *ðh* becoming a plosive in Gaelic.

§81 (iii) Initial **ON *hj-***
Initial ON *hj* is treated in different ways in Gaelic over time:

§81 (iii) (a) ON *hj* [ç] > ScG [ç] /ç/ delenited to [kʲʰ] /k´/, via back-formation §33: ON *hjall* acc. > ScG **ceall* *[**kʲʰ**auɬ̪] (*Na Ceallan* [nə ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑɬ̪ən] (#51)) (1843–82 *Teallan* §81 (iii) (b)); CSc. **Hjallsøy* > ScG *Ceallasaigh* [ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑɬ̪əˌs̪aj] (#51); CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn* > ScG **Ceartabhat* *[ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑʂt̪əˌvaʰt̪̊] (#121); CSc. **Hjart-øy* > ScG *Ceartaigh* [ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑˌʂt̪aj] #121.

§81 (iii) (b) ON *hj* [hj] ([j̥]) > ScG [hj] ([j̥]) /hj/ delenited to [tʲʰ] /t´/, via back-formation §33: ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈ**tʲʰ**ɑɬ̪əs̪ˌvaɣ] #322; cf. 1843–82 *Teallan,* today *Na Ceallan* (#51) §81 (iii) (a) (unless the map's form is a typesetting error).

Gidheadh, is lèir gu bheil buaidh chruth-fhuinn-eòlach fhathast ag obair agus gheibhear GA *h* [h] thoisich air a dì-sèimheachadh na *t* [t̪ʰ], le cùl-chinntinn §33, m.e. GA *Hearach* f. 'cuideigin às *Na Hearadh*' > *Tearach* (#254); *Hiortach* f. 'cuideigin à *Hiort*' > *Tiortach*; *Theacal* (ainm beinne ann an Uibhist a Deas) > *Teacal* (#315 (iv), bn 768). §81

§81 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§81 (ii) (a) (α) Chan eil lorg tuilleadh air SL *h* ann an SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235; SL **Arn-hol* > GA *Àrnal* [ˈɑːɳəɬ̪] #20; SL **Lín-hól* cusp. > GA *Lìonal* [ˈl̪ʲĩənɑɬ̪], [ˈl̪ʲĩənɔɬ̪] #237; SL **Mark-hól* cusp. > GA **Marcol* *[ˈmãɻ̥kɔɬ̪] (#125, bn 278); SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑɬ̪] #339; SL **Geit-holm* cusp. > GA *Gèid·eam* [ˈg̊ʲeːˌd̥ʲam] (#203); SL **Grón-holm* cusp. > GA *Grèineam* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnam] (#219); SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰliəs̪əmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131); SL **Krák-holm* cusp. > GA *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːg̊am] (#330); SL **Kró-holm-vík* > GA *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌvig̊ʲ] #159; SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* [ˈkʰliʃam] (#132); **Sild-holm* cusp. > GA *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛi̯n̪̊tʲæm] (#299); SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪̊d̥əˌl̪̊am] (#67); SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgian·ailt* [ˈs̪̊kʲĩəniɲ̊tʲ] #293.

§81 (ii) (a) (β) Cha shùilichte lorg air SL *h* sa Ghàidhlig anns an leasachadh SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #181; dheigheadh an t-ainm boireannaich SL *Jórheiðr* a sgrìobhadh *Jóreiðr* mar bu trice co-dhiù (*NO*, s.v.).

§81 (ii) (a) (γ) Tha lorg air SL *h* fhathast sa Ghàidhlig anns an leasachadh SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. > GA **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪̊kɑːˌd̪̊am] /ˈsgɑːˌʁdɑm/ (#330), agus SL *ðh* air a dhol na stadach sa Ghàidhlig.

§81 (iii) **SL *hj-*** thoisich
Dèiligear ri SL *hj* thoisich ann an atharrachadh dhòigh sa Ghàidhlig ri ùine:

§81 (iii) (a) SL *hj* [ç] > GA [ç] /ç/ air a dì-shèimheachadh na [kʲʰ] /k´/, le cùl-chinntinn §33: SL *hjall* cusp. > GA **ceall* *[**kʲʰ**auɬ̪] (*Na Ceallan* [nə ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑɬ̪ən] (#51)) (1843–82 *Teallan* §81 (iii) (b)); LB **Hjallsøy* > GA *Ceallasaigh* [ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑɬ̪əˌs̪aj] (#51); LB **Hjart(a)vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑʂt̪əˌvaʰt̪̊] (#121); LB **Hjart-øy* > GA *Ceartaigh* [ˈ**kʲʰ**ɑˌʂt̪aj] #121.

§81 (iii) (b) SL *hj* [hj] ([j̥]) > GA [hj] ([j̥]) /hj/ air a dì-shèimheachadh na [tʲʰ] /t´/, le cùl-chinntinn §33: SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈ**tʲʰ**ɑɬ̪əs̪ˌvaɣ] #322; coim. 1843–82 *Teallan,* an-diugh *Na Ceallan* (#51) §81 (iii) (a) (mana h-i mearachd clò-chumaidh a th' air a' mhapa).

§81 §81 (iii) (c) ON *hj* [hj] ([j̊]) > ScG [hj] ([j̊]) /hj/ delenited to [ʃ] /ʃ/, via back-formation §33: MNorn **Hjatland* (< ON **Hjaltland*) > ScG **Sealtann* > *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑl̪ʲtiɲ̟] §84 (x) (a) (γ).

§81 (iv) Initial **ON *hl-***

§81 (iv) (a) In stressed position: ON *hl-* > ScG [l̪̊] /l′/′: ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈl̪̊ʲuːɾˌb̥ɔsʲt̪] #239.

§81 (iv) (b) In weakly stressed position: ON *hl-* > ScG [l] /l′/′: ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > ScG *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰʲuːlə̥ˌt̪oʰt̪ʲəɾ] #163; ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > ScG *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃʲuːliˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #301.

§81 (v) Initial **ON *hr-***
Initial ON *hr-* is treated in different ways in Gaelic over time:

§81 (v) (a) ON *hr-* [xr] > ScG [xɾ] delenited to [kʰɾ] /kr/ˣ, via back-formation §33: CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈ**kʰ**ɾauɫ̪əˌs̪t̪ɑɣ] #151.

§81 (v) (b) ON *hr-* [ɾ̥] > ScG [ɾ] /ʀ/ (unlenited): ON *hraun* > ScG *ròn* [ɾɔ̃ːn] (#281); CSc. **Hraun-øy* > ScG *Ròn aigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj] #281; ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsə̪ˌvaɣ] (#25); ON **Hreysa* > ScG *Rias* [ɾias̪] #279; ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̪̊] (#112); ON **Hrís-á* > ScG **Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌs̪aj] (#200); ON *hrók* acc. > ScG *ròg* [ɾɔːg̊] (#107); ON *hrúga* > ScG **rùgha* *[ˈɾuːɣə] > *[ˈɾuː-ə] (> *rùghan* [ˈɾuː-an] (#175, fn 385)) and, perhaps, *hrúga* > ScG *rògh* [ɾɔː] (*An Rògh* [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, fn 385)).

§81 (vi) Initial **ON *hv-***
Initial ON *hv-* is treated in different ways in Gaelic over time (#47):

§81 (vi) (a) CSc. *hv-* [xw] > EG [x] > ScG [kʰ] /k/ˣ with delenition, via back-formation §33, or ON [kʰw]/[kʰʊ] > ScG [kʰ]: CSc. **hvarf* > ScG *carbh* [ˈ**kʰ**a͡ɾav], contrast ScG *parbh* §81 (vi) (b), below.

§81 (vi) (b) CSc. *hv-* [ʍ] > EG [ɸ] + rounding:

§81 (vi) (b) (α) > ScG [f] /f/: ON **Hvít-ey* > ScG *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːdʲæj] (#67, fn 148) (Barra).

§81 (vi) (b) (β) > ScG [f] > [pʰ] /p/ with delenition, via back-formation §33: CSc. **hvarf* > ScG *parbh* [ˈ**pʰ**a͡ɾav], contrast ScG *carbh* §81 (vi) (a), above.

§81 (vi) (b) (γ) ON *v* is vocalised in ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] #328, while the anticipated vowel ([ũã]) has become [õː] via morphemic substitution §37 (i) (f), perhaps through association with the man's name ScG *Tòmas*.

§81 §81 (iii) (c) SL *hj* [hj] ([j̊]) > GA [hj] ([j̊]) /hj/ air a dì-shèimheachadh na [ʃ] /ʃ/, le cùl-chinntinn §33: MNòrn **Hjatland* (< SL **Hjaltland*) > GA **Sealtann* > *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑl̪ʲtiɲ̟] §84 (x) (a) (γ).

§81 (iv) **SL *hl-*** thoisich

§81 (iv) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte: SL *hl-* > GA [l̪̊] /l′/′: SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈl̪̊ʲuːɾˌb̥ɔsʲt̪] #239.

§81 (iv) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SL *hl-* > GA [l] /l′/′: SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰʲuːlə̥ˌt̪oʰt̪ʲəɾ] #163; SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* > GA *Siùiliseadar* [ˈʃʲuːliˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #301.

§81 (v) **SL *hr-*** thoisich
Dèiligear ri SL *hr-* thoisich ann an atharrachadh dhòigh sa Ghàidhlig ri ùine:

§81 (v) (a) SL *hr-* [xr] > GA [xɾ] air a dì-shèimheachadh na [kʰɾ] /kr/ˣ, le cùl-chinntinn §33: LB **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈ**kʰ**ɾauɫ̪əˌs̪t̪ɑɣ] #151.

§81 (v) (b) SL *hr-* [ɾ̥] > GA [ɾ] /ʀ/ (neo-shèimhichte): SL *hraun* > GA *ròn* [ɾɔ̃ːn] (#281); LB **Hraun-øy* > GA *Ròn aigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj] #281; SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽːmsə̪ˌvaɣ] (#25); SL **Hreysa* > GA *Rias* [ɾias̪] #279; SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪ɔd̪̊] (#112); SL **Hrís-á* > GA **Rìosaigh* *[ˈɾiːˌs̪aj] (#200); SL *hrók* cusp. > GA *ròg* [ɾɔːg̊] (#107); SL *hrúga* > GA **rùgha* *[ˈɾuːɣə] > *[ˈɾuː-ə] (> *rùghan* [ˈɾuː-an] (#175, bn 385)) agus, is dòcha, *hrúga* > GA *rògh* [ɾɔː] (*An Rògh* [ə ˈɾɔː] (#175, bn 385)).

§81 (vi) **SL *hv-*** thoisich
Dèiligear ri SL *hv-* thoisich ann an atharrachadh dhòigh sa Ghàidhlig ri ùine (#47):

§81 (vi) (a) LB *hv-* [xw] > GT [x] > GA [kʰ] /k/ˣ le dì-shèimheachadh, le cùl-chinntinn §33, no SL [kʰw]/[kʰʊ] > GA [kʰ]: LB **hvarf* > GA *carbh* [ˈ**kʰ**a͡ɾav], iomsgaraich GA *parbh* §81 (vi) (b), shìos.

§81 (vi) (b) LB *hv-* [ʍ] > GT [ɸ] + cruinneachadh:

§81 (vi) (b) (α) > GA [f] /f/: SL **Hvít-ey* > GA *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːdʲæj] (#67, bn 148) (Barraigh).

§81 (vi) (b) (β) > GA [f] > [pʰ] /p/ le dì-shèimheachadh, le cùl-chinntinn §33: LB **hvarf* > GA *parbh* [ˈ**pʰ**a͡ɾav], iomsgaraich GA *carbh* §81 (vi) (a), shuas.

§81 (vi) (b) (γ) Thèid SL *v* fhuaimreagachadh ann an SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõːməˌs̪kɾo] #328, agus an fhuaimreag a shùilichte ([ũã]) air a dhol na [õː] le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (i) (f), is dòcha le ceangal ris an ainm fireannaich GA *Tòmas*.

§81 §81 (vi) (c) CSc. *hv-* [ʍ] > EG [β], with voicing, or *hv-* [w] (south-east Norway) > EG [β]

§81 (vi) (c) (α) > ScG [v] /v/: ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈvaɬ̪ə˩məs̪] #61; CSc. **Hvalsøy* > ScG *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvaɬ̪ə˩sɛj], [ˈvaɬ̪ə˩s̪aj] #62.

§81 (vi) (c) (β) > ScG [v] > [b̥] /b/ with delenition, via back-formation §33: CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* [ˈb̥aɾˠə˩vas̪] #47; CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ɛ̃nə˩s̪paʰk] #50.

§81 (vi) (c) (γ) ON *ν* is vocalised, hence the diphthong in ON **Hvamms·brokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũ̃amə˩spɾɔʰk] and ON **Hvammsstein* acc. > ScG **Uamaistean* *[ˈũ̃amɪ˩ʃtʲən] (#311 (i)).

§82 §82 **ON *n***

There were four *n* phonemes in Gaelic (unlenited broad [n̪] /ɴ/, lenited broad [ʀ] /n/; unlenited slender [n̪ʲ] /ɴ′/, lenited slender [ɲ] /n′/), before [ʀ] and [ɲ] fell together as [n] /n/.

§82 (i) Initial **ON *n-***

§82 (i) (a) In stressed position

§82 (i) (a) (α) ON *n-* > ScG [n̪] /ɴ/[×] (unlenited): OWNorn **Núp* acc. > ScG *Nùb* [n̪ˠũ:b̥] (#216, fn 476); OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *[ˈn̪ˠũ:ʰpsə˩d̥əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ˠũ:s̪tə˩b̥əɬ̪] (#216, fn 476) (South Uist).

§82 (i) (a) (β) ON *n-* > ScG [n̪ʲ] /ɴ′/ (unlenited): ON **Nes* > ScG *Nis* [n̪ʲĩʃ] §3 (i).

§82 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position

ON *n-* > ScG [n] /n′/:[12] ON **Alpt-nes* > ScG *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʲ̊t̪ʲə˩nɪʃ] #5; ON **Áranes* > ScG *Àranis* [ˈaːɾə˩nɪʃ] #19; ON **Breið-nes* > ScG *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲɛ̃ː˩nɪʃ] #77; ON **Búðanes* > ScG *Buthanis* [ˈb̥ʊ-ʊ˩nɪʃ] #89; ON **Drag-nes* > ScG **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̥ɾɔvə˩nɪʃ] (#10); ON **Fé-nes* > ScG **Fianis* *[ˈfĩə˩nɪʃ] (#281, fn 649); ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɬ̪a˩nɪʃ] #94; ON **Kvíanes* > ScG *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰʊ˞(j)ə˩nɪʃ] (#161); ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃ɬ̪ə˩nɪʃ] (#62); ON **Ok-nes* > ScG *Aiginis* [ˈaɡ̊ʲə˩nɪʃ] #4; ON **Papanes* > ScG **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰab̥ə˩nɪʃ] (#340); ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-a˩nɪʃ] #277; ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-ə˩nɪʃ] (#284); ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛ̝iʲ̊t̪ʲə˩nɪʃ] [ˈʃeiʲ̊t̪ʲə˩nɪʃ] #299; ON **Skegg-nes* > ScG **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲeg̊ʲə˩nɪʃ] (#294); ON **Steð-nes* > ScG *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲɛ̃ː˩nɪʃ] #308; ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃ːmə˩nɪʃ] (#203, fn 452); ON **Tanganes* > ScG *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊ə˩nɪʃ] #321; ON **Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾə˩nɪʃ] #336.

12. Earlier, > ScG [nʲ] /n′/, but which no longer survives in the dialect.

§81 §81 (vi) (c) LB *hv-* [ʍ] > GT [β], le guthachadh, no LB *hv-* [w] (ceann an ear-dheas Nirribhidh) > GT [β]

§81 (vi) (c) (α) > GA [v] /v/: SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈvaɬ̪ə˩məs̪] #61; LB **Hvalsøy* > GA *Bhalasaigh* [ˈvaɬ̪ə˩sɛj], [ˈvaɬ̪ə˩s̪aj] #62.

§81 (vi) (c) (β) > GA [v] > [b̥] /b/ le dì-shèimheachadh, le cùl-chinntinn §33: LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* [ˈb̥aɾˠə˩vas̪] #47; LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ɛ̃nə˩s̪paʰk] #50.

§81 (vi) (c) (γ) Thèid SL *ν* fhuaimreagachadh, às a sin an dà-fhoghar ann an SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũ̃amə˩spɾɔʰk] agus SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. > GA **Uamaistean* *[ˈũ̃amɪ˩ʃtʲən] (#311 (i)).

§82 §82 **SL *n***

Bha ceithir fuinneaman *n* sa Ghàidhlig ([n̪] /ɴ/ leathann neo-shèimhichte, [ʀ] /n/ leathann shèimhichte; [n̪ʲ] /ɴ′/ chaol neo-shèimhichte, [ɲ] /n′/ chaol shèimhichte), mus deach [ʀ] agus [ɲ] nan [n] /n/.

§82 (i) **SL *n-*** thoisich

§82 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§82 (i) (a) (α) SL *n-* > GA [n̪] /ɴ/[×] (neo-shèimhichte): SNòrnI **Núp* cusp. > GA *Nùb* [n̪ˠũ:b̥] (#216, bn 476); SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *[ˈn̪ˠũ:ʰpsə˩d̥əɬ̪] > *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ˠũ:s̪tə˩b̥əɬ̪] (#216, bn 476) (Uibhist a Deas).

§82 (i) (a) (β) SL *n-* > GA [n̪ʲ] /ɴ′/ (neo-shèimhichte): SL **Nes* > GA *Nis* [n̪ʲĩʃ] §3 (i).

§82 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

SL *n-* > GA [n] /n′/:[12] SL **Alpt-nes* > GA *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʲ̊t̪ʲə˩nɪʃ] #5; SL **Áranes* > GA *Àranis* [ˈaːɾə˩nɪʃ] #19; SL **Breið-nes* > GA *Brèinis* [ˈb̥ɾʲɛ̃ː˩nɪʃ] #77; SL **Búðanes* > GA *Buthanis* [ˈb̥ʊ-ʊ˩nɪʃ] #89; SL **Drag-nes* > GA **Drobhanis* *[ˈd̥ɾɔvə˩nɪʃ] (#10); SL **Fé-nes* > GA **Fianis* *[ˈfĩə˩nɪʃ] (#281, bn 649); SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑɬ̪a˩nɪʃ] #94; SL **Kvíanes* > GA *Cuidhinis* *[ˈkʰʊ˞(j)ə˩nɪʃ] (#161); SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃ɬ̪ə˩nɪʃ] (#62); SL **Ok-nes* > GA *Aiginis* [ˈaɡ̊ʲə˩nɪʃ] #4; SL **Papanes* > GA **Pabanis* *[ˈpʰab̥ə˩nɪʃ] (#340); SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-a˩nɪʃ] #277; SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-ə˩nɪʃ] (#284); SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛ̝iʲ̊t̪ʲə˩nɪʃ] [ˈʃeiʲ̊t̪ʲə˩nɪʃ] #299; SL **Skegg-nes* > GA **Sgeiginis* *[ˈs̪kʲeg̊ʲə˩nɪʃ] (#294); SL **Steð-nes* > GA *Stèinis* [ˈʃtʲɛ̃ː˩nɪʃ] #308; SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃ːmə˩nɪʃ] (#203, bn 452); SL **Tanganes* > GA *Tanganis* [ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊ə˩nɪʃ] #321; SL **Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾə˩nɪʃ] #336.

12. Na bu tràithe, > GA [nʲ] /n′/, ach nach mair tuilleadh san dualchainnt.

§82 §82 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-n***

§82 (ii) (a) In stressed position

§82 (ii) (a) (α) ON *-n* > EG [ʁ] /n/ > ScG [n] /n/ˣ: ON **Brynugil* > ScG *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾɯ̟̃ɪnəˌg̊ʲil] #84; ON *hraun* > ScG *ròn* [ɾɔ̃ːn] (#281); CSc. **Hraun-øy* > ScG *Ròn**a**igh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj] #281; ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̥əɾ] (#323).

§82 (ii) (a) (β) ON *-n* > EG [ɲ] /nˊ/ˊ:

1. > ScG [n] /n/ after a slender vowel: ON **Eini-klett* acc. > ScG *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ] #178; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; ON **Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvaɬ̪] (#219); ON **Grón-holm* acc. > ScG *Grèineam* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnam] (#219); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãmər ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪paʰk] #50; ON **Lín-hól* acc. > ScG *Lìonal* [ˈl̪ʲĩənɑɬ̪], [ˈl̪ʲĩənɔɬ̪] #237.

2. But vocalised with compensatory lengthening before [ʃ]: ON **Lín-sætr* > ScG *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ʲĩːˌʃad̥əɾ] #236; ON **Vin-sætr* > ScG **Uinseadar* *[ˈũ̟ːˌʃad̥əɾ] (#67).

3. > ScG [ɲ] /ɴˊ/ after a broad vowel: ON **Sveinafjall* or **Svínafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴˊəvaʟ] (#311); ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; contrast ON **Svan-fjǫrð* acc. or *Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɻs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (mainland Scotland).

§82 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *-n* > EG [ɲ] /nˊ/ > ScG [n] /n/: ON **Austęin* or **Aystęin* > ScG *Ùisdean* [ˈu̟ːʃtʲan] (#171); ON **Bugsstein* acc. > ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̥u̟ːˌʃtʲən] (#116); ON **Eiðsstein* acc. > ScG **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171); ON **Hvammsstein* acc. > ScG **Uamaistean* *[ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#311 (i)); ON **Kross-stein* acc. > ScG **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240).

§82 (iii) Unstressed **ON *-n***
The nasal may survive in the following example in the nasalisation of the stressed vowel (if the nasalisation did not arise spontaneously): OWNorn **Ofan-sátr* (ON *Fyrir ofan sætr*) > ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪ər] (#296, fn 700).

§82 (iv) Post-stress **ON *-nn*, *-nn-***

§82 (iv) (a) In stressed position
ON *-nn-* > ScG [ɲ̪] /ɴ/ˣ: ON **Grunnavatn* > ScG **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgɾuɴəvaht] (#182).

§82 (iv) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *-nn-* > ScG [ɲ] /ɴˊ/ˊ: ON **Ís-kinn* > ScG *Ìsginn* [ˈiːʃkʲiɲ] #227; ON **Rokk-*

§82 §82 (ii) **SL *-n*** iar-bheumach

§82 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§82 (ii) (a) (α) SL *-n* > GT [ʁ] /n/ > GA [n] /n/ˣ: SL **Brynugil* > GA *Bruinigil* [ˈb̥ɾɯ̟̃ɪnəˌg̊ʲil] #84; SL *hraun* > GA *ròn* [ɾɔ̃ːn] (#281); LB **Hraun-øy* > GA *Ròn·aigh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj] #281; SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̥əɾ] (#323).

§82 (ii) (a) (β) SL *-n* > GT [ɲ] /nˊ/ˊ:

1. > GA [n] /n/ an dèidh fuaimreige caoil: SL **Eini-klett* cusp. > GA *Èinicleit* [ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ] #178; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #219; SL **Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvaɬ̪] (#219); SL **Grón-holm* cusp. > GA *Grèineam* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnam] (#219); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãmər ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)); LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪paʰk] #50; SL **Lín-hól* cusp. > GA *Lìonal* [ˈl̪ʲĩənɑɬ̪], [ˈl̪ʲĩənɔɬ̪] #237.

2. Ach air a fuaimreagachadh le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh ro [ʃ]: SL **Lín-sætr* > GA *Lìnseadar* [ˈl̪ʲĩːˌʃad̥əɾ] #236; SL **Vin-sætr* > GA **Uinseadar* *[ˈũ̟ːˌʃad̥əɾ] (#67).

3. > GA [ɲ] /ɴˊ/ an dèidh fuaimreige leathainn: SL **Sveinafjall* no **Svínafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴˊəvaʟ] (#311); SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãɲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #311; iomsgaraich SL **Svan-fjǫrð* cusp. no *Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɻs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§82 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *-n* > GT [ɲ] /nˊ/ > GA [n] /n/: SL **Austęin* no **Aystęin* > GA *Ùisdean* [ˈu̟ːʃtʲan] (#171); SL **Bugsstein* cusp. > GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̥u̟ːˌʃtʲən] (#116); SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. > GA **Èistean* [ˈeːʃtʲan] (#171); SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. > GA **Uamaistean* *[ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] (#311 (i)); SL **Kross-stein* cusp. > GA **Croistean* *[ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən] (#240).

§82 (iii) **SL *-n*** neo-bheumte
Is dòcha gum mair an srònach san eisimpleir a leanas ann an srònachadh na fuaimreige beumte (man do dh'èirich an srònachadh air a cheann fhèin): SNòrnI **Ofansátr* (SL *Fyrir ofan sætr*) > GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪ər] (#296, bn 700).

§82 (iv) **SL *-nn*, *-nn-*** iar-bheumach

§82 (iv) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte
SL *-nn-* > GA [ɲ̪] /ɴ/ˣ: SL **Grunnavatn* > GA **Grunnabhat* (MO) *[ˈgɾuɴəvaht] (#182).

§82 (iv) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *-nn-* > GA [ɲ] /ɴˊ/ˊ: SL **Ís-kinn* > GA *Ìsginn* [ˈiːʃkʲiɲ] #227; SL **Rokk-stainn* > GA

§82 *stainn* > ScG *Rocastainn* *[ˈrɔʰkəˌstaɲ] (#48, fn 94); ON *Sveinn* > ScG *Suain* [ˌsũãɲ] (#311 (i)) (or perhaps ON **Rokk-stain* acc. and ON *Svein* acc., with palatalisation in the nasal preserved after a broad vowel §82 (ii) (a) (β) 3., above).

§82 (v) The suffixed article **ON *-n*, *-nn***

§82 (v) (a) Although no trace of the nasal remains in the following Modern Gaelic forms, it is understood to have been present: (nom. fem.) ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑrə ˈg̊l̥ɔ̃ũm] #48; ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erʼə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, fn 399); ON **Keldan Kalda* > ScG **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̥t̥ə ˈkʰɑl̥t̥ə] (#93, fn 207); ON **Kvín Ranga* > ScG *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, fn 342); (nom. masc.) ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔr̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãmər ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)).

§82 (v) (b) For ScG *cràigean* *[ˈkʰɾaːg̊ʲən] (#281, fn 647), cf. Norw. *kraken* (*krake* + the suffixed article); ON *krakin* acc. would yield ScG *[ˈkʰɾag̊ʲən] with a short stressed vowel, and it is likely that ScG *cràigean* was borrowed from MNorw. **krāken*, after lengthening of the stressed vowel in late Old Norse or in Middle Scandinavian (1250–1550).

§82 (vi) **ON *-nd***

§82 (vi) (a) In stressed position

§82 (vi) (a) (α) In a broad environment:

ON *-nd* > ScG [n̪d̪̊] /ɴd/, with lengthening of the stressed vowel in a heavy syllable: ON **Band(a)bergi* dat. > ScG *Banndabeirgh* [ˈb̥ãũn̪d̪̊əˌb̥ø̞ɾ̝j̊əj] (#58); ON **Lund-dal* acc. > ScG *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌd̪̊əl̪̊] #243, with a trace of the nasal surviving in the nasalisation of the stressed vowel; ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪d̪̊əˌviɠ̊ʲ] #285; ON **Sand-vík* > ScG *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪d̪̊iɠ̊ʲ] #286.

§82 (vi) (a) (β) In a slender environment:

1. In an older reflex, ON *-nd* > ScG [n̪d̪̊] /ɴd/: ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪d̪̊əˌl̪am] (#67).

2. ON *-nd* > ScG [n̪d̪̊ʲ] /ɴʹdʹ/, with lengthening of the stressed vowel in a heavy syllable: ON **Tindar* > ScG *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪d̪̊ʲəɾʲ] (#270); ON **Tind-land* > ScG **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪d̪̊ʲəˌl̪an] (#270).

3. ON *-nd* > ScG [n̪] /ɴʹ/, with assimilation: ON **Bendilsfjall* > ScG *Beinnisbhal* (> *Beinniseal*) [ˈb̥ẽĩn̪əˌʃɑl̪̊] (#50); ON *vindauga* > ScG *uinneag* [ˈu̟ĩn̪aɡ̊] (#67).

Rocastainn *[ˈrɔʰkəˌstaɲ] (#48, bn 94); SL *Sveinn* > GA *Suain* [ˌsũãɲ] (#311 (i)) (no is dòcha SL **Rokk-stain* cusp. agus SL *Svein* cusp., le càireanachadh san t-srònach air a ghleidheadh an dèidh fuaimreige leathainn §82 (ii) (a) (β) 3., shuas). §82

§82 (v) An t-alt iar-leasaichte **SL *-n*, *-nn***

§82 (v) (a) Ged nach eil lorg air an t-srònach anns na nua-chruthan Gàidhlig a leanas, tuigear gun robh e ann: (ainmn. boir.) SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑrə ˈg̊l̥ɔ̃ũm] #48; SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erʼə ˈsʊɪt] (#180, bn 399); SL **Keldan Kalda* > GA **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̥t̥ə ˈkʰɑl̥t̥ə] (#93, bn 207); SL **Kvín Ranga* > GA *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, bn 342); (ainmn. fir.) SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔr̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãmər ˈʃĩːnə] (#315 (i)).

§82 (v) (b) Airson GA *cràigean* *[ˈkʰɾaːg̊ʲən] (#281, bn 647), coim. Nirr. *kraken* (*krake* + an t-alt iar-shuidhichte); bheireadh SL *krakin* cusp. GA *[ˈkʰɾag̊ʲən] le fuaimreig bheumte ghoirid, agus is coltach gun deach > GA *cràigean* air iasad à MNirr. **krāken*, an dèidh fadachadh na fuaimreige beumte gu h-anmoch san t-Seann Lochlannais no sa Mheadhan-Lochlannais (1250–1550).

§82 (vi) **SL *-nd***

§82 (vi) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§82 (vi) (a) (α) Ann an àrainn leathainn:

SL *-nd* > GA [n̪d̪̊] /ɴd/, le fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ann an lide throim: SL **Band(a)bergi* tabh. > GA *Banndabeirgh* [ˈb̥ãũn̪d̪̊əˌb̥ø̞ɾ̝j̊əj] (#58); SL **Lund-dal* cusp. > GA *Lunndal* [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũˌd̪̊əl̪̊] #243, agus lorg air an t-srònach a’ mairsinn ann an srònachadh na fuaimreige beumte; SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndabhig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪d̪̊əˌviɠ̊ʲ] #285; SL **Sand-vík* > GA *Sanndaig* [ˈs̪ãũn̪d̪̊iɠ̊ʲ] #286.

§82 (vi) (a) (β) Ann an àrainn chaoil:

1. Ann an riochd nas sine, SL *-nd* > GA [n̪d̪̊] /ɴd/: SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA *Bhiondalam* [ˈvĩn̪d̪̊əˌl̪am] (#67).

2. SL *-nd* > GA [n̪d̪̊ʲ] /ɴʹdʹ/, le fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ann an lide throim: SL **Tindar* > GA *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪d̪̊ʲəɾʲ] (#270); SL **Tind-land* > GA **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪d̪̊ʲəˌl̪an] (#270).

3. SL *-nd* > GA [n̪] /ɴʹ/, le co-choslachadh: SL **Bendilsfjall* > GA *Beinnisbhal* (> *Beinniseal*) [ˈb̥ẽĩn̪əˌʃɑl̪̊] (#50); SL *vindauga* > GA *uinneag* [ˈu̟ĩn̪aɡ̊] (#67).

§82 §82 (vi) (b) In weakly stressed position:

§82 (vi) (b) (α) ON *-nd* > ScG [n̪n̪] /ɴ/ˣ:

1. ON **Galt-sund* > ScG *Gabhsann* [ˈg̊aus̪ən̪n̪] #188; ON **Hóp(s)sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪n̪] #335; but no trace of the cluster survives in ON **Grá-sund-vík* > ScG *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊raːs̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218.

2. It is likely that ScG *Sealtainn* [ˈʃal̪̊t̪iɲ̪] is a dative form of ScG **Sealtann* *[ˈʃal̪̊t̪ən̪n̪], from MNorn **Hjatland* (< ON **Hjaltland*) §84 (x) (a) (γ).

§82 (vi) (b) (β) ON *-nd* > ScG [n] /n/: ON **Tind-land* > ScG **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩɲ̪d̪ʲə ˌl̪an] (#270).

§82 (vi) (b) (γ) ON *-nd* > ScG [d̪̊] /d/: ON *Þormund* acc. > ScG *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂amɔd̪̊] (#93).

§82 (vii) **ON *-ng***

§82 (vii) (a) Post-stress **ON *-ng***

§82 (vii) (a) (α) ON *-ng* > ScG [ŋg̊]ˣ: ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋg̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; ON **Rang-gróf* > ScG **Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋg̊əˌɾo] (#59); ON **Tanga* obl. > ScG **Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊ə] (#320); ON *tanga* obl. > ScG *tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊ə] (#320); ON **Tangavarða* > ScG **Tangabhair* > (gen.) **Thangabhair* *[ˈhãŋg̊əˌvəɾʲ] (#74); ON **Tunga* > ScG *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋg̊ə] #343; ON **Vangssætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋg̊əˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #346; ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲi] (#95); ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95).

§82 (vii) (a) (β) ON *-ng* > ScG [ŋg̊]ˣ, which becomes ScG [ɣ] /ɣ/ (with nasalisation of the stressed vowel) as a result of further phonological nativisation: ON *langa* f. > ScG *langa* [ˈl̪ãɣə] (#343); ON *rǫng b.* > ScG *rang* [ɾãɣ] (#343); cf. > ScG *teanga* [ˈtʲʰẽɣə] (SG *tengae*).

§82 (vii) (b) Unstressed **ON *-ng***

§82 (vii) (b) (α) ON *-ng* > ScG [ɲ̪] /ɴ′/: ON *byrðing* acc. > ScG *birlinn* [ˈb̥iːl̪iɲ̪] (#184).

§82 (vii) (b) (β) ON *-ng* > ScG [n] /n/, with morphemic substitution §37 (i) (d) and the name form driven by folk etymology: ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̥eg̊nəˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #49.

§82 (vii) (b) (γ) ON *-ng* > ∅: ON **Konungssætr* > ScG **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#323).

§82 §82 (vi) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte:

§82 (vi) (b) (α) SL *-nd* > GA [n̪n̪] /ɴ/ˣ:

1. SL **Galt-sund* > GA *Gabhsann* [ˈg̊aus̪ən̪n̪] #188; SL **Hóp(s)sund* > GA *Tòpsann* [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪n̪] #335; ach cha mhair lorg air a' chòmhlan idir ann an SL **Grá-sund-vík* > GA *Gràsabhig* [ˈg̊raːs̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ] #218.

2. Is coltach gu bheil GA *Sealtainn* [ˈʃal̪̊t̪iɲ̪] na chruth tabhartach aig GA **Sealtann* *[ˈʃal̪̊t̪ən̪n̪], à MNòrn **Hjatland* (< SL **Hjaltland*) §84 (x) (a) (γ).

§82 (vi) (b) (β) SL *-nd* > GA [n] /n/: SL **Tind-land* > GA **Tinndealan* *[ˈtʲʰẽĩɲ̪d̪ʲə ˌl̪an].

§82 (vi) (b) (γ) SL *-nd* > GA [d̪̊] /d/: SL *Þormund* cusp. > GA *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂amɔd̪̊] (#93).

§82 (vii) **SL *-ng***

§82 (vii) (a) **SL *-ng*** iar-bheumach

§82 (vii) (a) (α) SL *-ng* > GA [ŋg̊]ˣ: SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋg̊əˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245; SL **Rang-gróf* > GA **Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋg̊əˌɾo] (#59); SL **Tanga* cl. > GA **Tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊ə] (#320); SL *tanga* cl. > GA *tanga* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋg̊ə] (#320); SL **Tangavarða* > GA **Tangabhair* > (gin.) **Thangabhair* *[ˈhãŋg̊əˌvəɾʲ] (#74); SL **Tunga* > GA *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋg̊ə] #343; SL **Vangssætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋg̊əˌʃad̪̊əɾ] #346; SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲi] (#95); SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95).

§82 (vii) (a) (β) SL *-ng* > GA [ŋg̊]ˣ, a thèid na GA [ɣ] /ɣ/ (le srònachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte) mar thoradh air tuilleadh dùthchasachaidh fhuinneòlaich: SL *langa* b. > GA *langa* [ˈl̪ãɣə] (#343); SL *rǫng b.* > GA *rang* [ɾãɣ] (#343); coim. > GA *teanga* [ˈtʲʰẽɣə] (SG *tengae*).

§82 (vii) (b) **SL *-ng*** neo-bheumte

§82 (vii) (b) (α) SL *-ng* > GA [ɲ̪] /ɴ′/: SL *byrðing* cusp. > GA *birlinn* [ˈb̥iːl̪iɲ̪] (#184).

§82 (vii) (b) (β) SL *-ng* > GA [n] /n/, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (i) (d) agus cruth an ainme air a threòrachadh le dinnsheanchas: SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̥eg̊nəˌg̊ʲɑɾi] #49.

§82 (vii) (b) (γ) SL *-ng* > ∅: SL **Konungssætr* > GA **Canaiseadar* *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾ] (#323).

§83 §83 **ON *m***

In Scottish Gaelic, EG *m* and EG *mm* are represented by single *m*, and there is no longer a distinction between broad EG [m] /m/ and slender EG [mʲ] /m′/, although a trace of the slenderisation in EG [mʲ] /m′/ remains before a broad vowel, e.g. in ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɫ̪̃ˌbɔsˌt̪] #248, where the semi-vowel [j] /j/ appears before [ɑ].

§83 (i) Initial **ON *m-***
ON *m-* > ScG [m] /m/

§83 (i) (a) In stressed position: ON *Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈ**m**ãːnəsˌ̪] (#244, fn 563); ON **Manasætr* > ScG *Manaiseadar* [ˈ**m**ãniˌʃad̪ər] or ON **Magnúsarsætr* > ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈ**m**ãːniˌʃad̪ər] #244; ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈ**m**ɑ̃ɫ̪əˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Malir* > ScG **Molair* *[ˈ**m**ɔɫ̪ər(ʲ)], *[ˈ**m**ɔ̃ɫ̪ər(ʲ)] (#273); ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈ**m**ãŋgəˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #245; ON **Maravík* > ScG *Marabhig* [ˈ**m**ãrəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #246; ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈ**m**ɑ̃ˌkaˌʂt̪əɫ̪] (#125, fn 278); ON **Mark-hól* acc. > ScG **Marcol* *[ˈ**m**ɑ̃ˌkɔɫ̪] (#125, fn 278); ON **Marsgil* > ScG *Morsgail* [ˈ**m**ɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] #257; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɫ̪̃ˌbɔsˌt̪] #248; ON *múla* acc. > ScG *mùla* [ˈ**m**ũːɫ̪(ə)] (#81, fn 185); ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈ**m**ĩãɫ̪əʃˌvaɫ̪] > [ˈ**m**ĩãɫ̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#252); ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈ**m**ĩãɫ̪əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #252; ON **Mæ-vǫk* > ScG *Miabhag* [ˈ**m**ĩãvəɣ̊] #251; ON *mǫl* > ScG *mol* [**m**ɔ̃ɫ̪] (#62, fn 124).

§83 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position: ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌ**m**ĩɲ̊ə ˈg̊ɑːɾi] (#172); ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌ**m**ĩɲ̊ə ˈhoː] (#172); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌ**m**ĩɲ̊ə ˈhɔːɫ̪ə] (#172); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌ**m**iɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃**m**iɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Reim-mór* > ScG *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌ**m**ɛrʲ] #278; (with metathesis §40 (i)) OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈb̥ɾoɫ̪ə**m**] #81; ON **-múla* acc. > ScG **Guidealum* *[ˈg̊u̥ʲd̥ʲəˌɫ̪ə**m**] (#81).

§83 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-m***
ON *-m* > ScG [m] /m/

§83 (ii) (a) In stressed position: ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩə**m**əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #223; ON *hamar* acc. > ScG *amar* [ˈã**m**əɾ] (#315 (i)); ON **Hamar* acc. > ScG **Thamar* *[ˈhã**m**ɔɾ], *[ˈhã**m**əɾ] (#325); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌã**m**əɾ ˈʃiːnə] (#315 (i)); ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhã**m**əˌsad̪ər] #325; ON **Hreimsvág* acc. > ScG **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽː**m**ʂəˌvaɣ] (#25); ON **Lómadal* (or **Lóm-dal*) acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ɑ̃ː**m**əˌd̪əl̪] #233; ON **Reim-mór* > ScG *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌ**m**ɛrʲ] #278; ON *síma* obl. > ScG (**sìoma* >) *sìoman* [ˈʃĩə**m**an] (#223); ON **Stím-árvág* acc. > ScG (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩː**m**ɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə**m**ɾəˌvaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩː**m**əˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə**m**əˌɾaɣ] #310; ON *straum*

§83 §83 **SL *m***

Ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, riochdaichear GT *m* agus GT *mm* le *m* shingilte, agus chan eil dealachadh tuilleadh eadar GT [m] /m/ leathann agus GT [mʲ] /m′/ chaol, ged a chithear lorg air a' chaolachadh ann an GT [mʲ] /m′/ ro fhuaimreig leathainn, m.e. ann an SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɫ̪̃ˌbɔsˌt̪] #248, far an nochd an leth-fhuaimreag [j] /j/ ro [ɑ].

§83 (i) **SL *m-*** thoisich
SL *m-* > GA [m] /m/

§83 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte: SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈ**m**ãːnəsˌ̪] (#244, bn 563); SL **Manasætr* > GA *Manaiseadar* [ˈ**m**ãniˌʃad̪ər] no SL **Magnúsarsætr* > GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈ**m**ãːniˌʃad̪ər] #244; SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈ**m**ɑ̃ɫ̪əˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Malir* > GA **Molair* *[ˈ**m**ɔɫ̪ər(ʲ)], *[ˈ**m**ɔ̃ɫ̪ər(ʲ)] (#273); SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈ**m**ãŋg̊əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #245; SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈ**m**ãrəˌviɣ̊ʲ] #246; SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈ**m**ɑ̃ˌkaˌʂt̪əɫ̪] (#125, bn 278); SL **Mark-hól* cusp. > GA **Marcol* *[ˈ**m**ɑ̃ˌkɔɫ̪] (#125, bn 278); SL **Marsgil* > GA *Morsgail* [ˈ**m**ɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] #257; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjɑ̃ɫ̪̃ˌbɔsˌt̪] #248; SL *múla* cusp. > GA *mùla* [ˈ**m**ũːɫ̪(ə)] (#81, bn 185); SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈ**m**ĩãɫ̪əʃˌvaɫ̪] > [ˈ**m**ĩãɫ̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#252); SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈ**m**ĩãɫ̪əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #252; SL **Mæ-vǫk* > GA *Miabhag* [ˈ**m**ĩãvəɣ̊] #251; SL *mǫl* > GA *mol* [**m**ɔ̃ɫ̪] (#62, bn 124).

§83 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌ**m**ĩɲ̊ə ˈg̊ɑːɾi] (#172); SL **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌ**m**ĩɲ̊ə ˈhoː] (#172); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌ**m**ĩɲ̊ə ˈhɔːɫ̪ə] (#172); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌ**m**iɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃**m**iɲ̊ə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Reim-mór* > GA *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌ**m**ɛrʲ] #278; (le eadar-chàradh §40 (i)) SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈb̥ɾoɫ̪ə**m**] #81; SL **-múla* cusp. > GA **Guidealum* *[ˈg̊u̥ʲd̥ʲəˌɫ̪ə**m**] (#81).

§83 (ii) **SL *-m*** iar-bheumach
SL *-m* > GA [m] /m/

§83 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte: SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩə**m**əˌʂt̪ɑɣ] #223; SL *hamar* cusp. > GA *amar* [ˈã**m**əɾ] (#315 (i)); SL **Hamar* cusp. > GA **Thamar* *[ˈhã**m**ɔɾ], *[ˈhã**m**əɾ] (#325); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌã**m**əɾ ˈʃiːnə] (#315 (i)); SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhã**m**əˌsad̪ər] #325; SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. > GA **Reumsabhagh* *[ˈɾẽː**m**ʂəˌvaɣ] (#25); SL **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈl̪ɑ̃ː**m**əˌd̪əl̪] #233; SL **Reim-mór* > GA *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌ**m**ɛrʲ] #278; SL *síma* cl. > GA **sìoma* > *sìoman* [ˈʃĩə**m**an] (#223); SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. > GA (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲĩː**m**ɾəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə**m**ɾəˌvaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲĩː**m**əˌɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩə**m**ə

§83 acc. > ScG *sròm* f. [sˌt̪ɾɔ̃ː**m**] (#7); ON **Straum*(*a*)*klett* acc. > ScG *Stròma·cleit* *[ˈsˌt̪ɾɔ̃ː**mə**ˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); ON **Straum-óss* > ScG *Sròmas* [ˈsˌt̪ɾɔ̃ːˌ**ma**sˌ] #307; ON **Streymanes* > ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈsˌt̪ɾɛ̃ː**mə**ˌniʃ] (#203, fn 452); for ON *Sumarliði* > ScG *Somhairle* [ˈsˌɔ̃-əl̪ə], see #311 (i), fn 733.

§83 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position: ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˌ⁽ᵊ⁾**mə**ˌɡʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [ˈval̪ə**ˌməs**ˌ] #61 §40; ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ˌẽː**m**ɾəˌvaɣ] #235.

§83 (iii) Post-stress **ON *-mm***
In stressed position, ON *-mm* > ScG [m] /m/: ON **Glumm* > ScG **Glom* *[ˈɡl̪ˌɔ̃ũ**m**] (#35); ON **Hvammsbrokka* > ScG **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũã**mə**ˌspɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõː**mə**ˌsˌkɾo] #328; ON **Hvammsstein* acc. > ScG **Uamaistean* *[ˈũã**m**ɪˌʃtʲən] (#311 (i)); ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌbɑɾə ˈɡl̪ˌɔ̃ũ**m**] #48.

§83 (iv) Post-stress **ON *-mb***
ON *-mb* becomes EG [mb], which yields [mm], which yields ScG [m] /m/: OWNorn **glǫmbar* (ON *klǫmbr*) > ScG *glomair* [ˈɡl̪ˌɔ̃**mə**ɾʲ] (#35); ON **Lamb-sætr* > ScG **Laidhmseadar* *[ˈl̪ãĩ**m**ˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] > *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩ**mə**ˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] #232, with epenthesis §42 (i) (b).

§83 (v) Post-stress **OWNorn *-mn***
In stressed position after a short vowel, ON *-mn* > ScG [m̃n], with epenthesis §42 (ii) (d): OWNorn **hamn* > ScG *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰã**m̃n**] (#315 (iii)); ON **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰã**m̃n**əˌvaɣ] #319; ON **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰa**m̃n**əˌst̪əl̪] (#319); ON **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰã**m̃n**əˌʃal̪] (#319).

§83 (vi) Post-stress **ON *-ms***
In stressed position after a short vowel, ON *-ms* > ScG [mˠʃ]′, with epenthesis §42 (ii) (e): ON **Gromssætr* > ScG *Gruimseadar* [ˈɡɾu̟**mˠu̟**ˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] #224; OWNorn **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰu̟**mˠu̟**ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

§84 §84 **ON *l***

§84 (i) Initial **ON *l-***

§84 (i) (a) In stressed position

§84 (i) (a) (α) ON *l-* > ScG [l̪] /ɭ/ˣ: ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̪ɑːˌbɔsˌt̪] #229; ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌbɔɾʲəj ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58); ON **Lamb-sætr* > ScG *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] #232; ON *langa* > ScG

ˌɾaɣ] #310; SL *straum* cusp. > GA *sròm* f. [sˌt̪ɾɔ̃ː**m**] (#7); SL **Straum*(*a*)*klett* cusp. > GA *Stròmacleit* *[ˈsˌt̪ɾɔ̃ː**mə**ˌkleʰtʲ] (#306); SL **Straum-óss* > GA *Sròmas* [ˈsˌt̪ɾɔ̃ːˌ**ma**sˌ] #307; SL **Streymanes* > GA *Srèiminis* [ˈsˌt̪ɾɛ̃ː**mə**ˌniʃ] (#203, bn 452); airson SL *Sumarliði* > GA *Somhairle* [ˈsˌɔ̃-əl̪ə], faic #311 (i), bn 733. §83

§83 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte: SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːsˌ⁽ᵊ⁾**mə**ˌɡʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [ˈval̪ə**ˌməs**ˌ] #61 §40; SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ˌẽː**m**ɾəˌvaɣ] #235.

§83 (iii) **SL *-mm*** iar-bheumach
Ann an suidheachadh beumte, SL *-mm* > GA [m] /m/: SL **Glumm* > GA **Glom* *[ˈɡl̪ˌɔ̃ũ**m**] (#35); SL **Hvammsbrokka* > GA **Uamasbroc* *[ˈũã**mə**ˌspɾɔʰk] (#311 (i)); SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [ˈhõː**mə**ˌsˌkɾo] #328; SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. > GA **Uamaistean* *[ˈũã**m**ɪˌʃtʲən] (#311 (i)); SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌbɑɾə ˈɡl̪ˌɔ̃ũ**m**] #48.

§83 (iv) **SL *-mb*** iar-bheumach
Thèid SL *-mb* na GT [mb], a thèid na [mm], a thèid na GA [m] /m/: SNòrnI **glǫmbar* (SL *klǫmbr*) > GA *glomair* [ˈɡl̪ˌɔ̃**mə**ɾʲ] (#35); SL **Lamb-sætr* > GA **Laidhmseadar* *[ˈl̪ãĩ**m**ˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] > *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩ**mə**ˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] #232, le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b).

§83 (v) **SNòrnI *-mn*** iar-bheumach
Ann an suidheachadh beumte an dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-mn* > GA [m̃n], le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (d): SNòrnI **hamn* > GA *tamn* [ˈt̪ʰã**m̃n**] (#315 (iii)); SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰã**m̃n**əˌvaɣ] #319; SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰa**m̃n**əˌst̪əl̪] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰã**m̃n**əˌʃal̪] (#319).

§83 (vi) **SL *-ms*** iar-bheumach
Ann an suidheachadh beumte an dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-ms* > GA [mˠʃ]′, le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (e): SL **Gromssætr* > GA *Gruimseadar* [ˈɡɾu̟**mˠu̟**ˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] #224; SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* (**Tumssonargerði*) > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰu̟**mˠu̟**ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

§84 §84 **SL *l***

§84 (i) **SL *l-*** thoisich

§84 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§84 (i) (a) (α) SL *l-* > GA [l̪] /ɭ/ˣ: SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̪ɑːˌbɔsˌt̪] #229; SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌbɔɾʲəj ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58); SL **Lamb-sætr* > GA *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩməˌʃaˌd̪ɑɾ] #232; SL *langa* > GA *langa* [ˈl̪ãɣə] §84

§84 *langa* [ˈɬãɣə] (#343); ON **Langavatn* > ScG *Langabhat* [ˈɬãŋgə̊ˌvaʰt̪] (#63); ON **Lax-á* > ScG *Lacasaigh* [ˈɬaʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG *Lacas·dal* [ˈɬaʰkəˌs̪t̪əɬ] #231; ON **Lómadal* (or **Lóm-dal*) acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈɬãːməˌd̪əɬ] #233; ON *lopt* > ScG *lobhta* [ˈɬo̞ʰt̪ə] (#5, fn 17); ON **Lund-dal* acc. > ScG *Lunndal* [ˈɬə̃ũˌd̪əɬ] #243.

§84 (i) (a) (β) ON *l-* > ScG [ɻ̊] /ʟ′/′: ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumra·bhagh* [ˈɻ̊ẽːmrəˌvaɣ] #235; ON **Lín-hól* acc. > ScG *Lìonal* [ˈɻ̊ĩənɑɬ], [ˈɻ̊ĩənɔɬ] #237; ON **Lín-sætr* > ScG *Lìnseadar* [ˈɻ̊ĩːˌʃaɖ̊əɾ] #236; ON **Vatnit Ljósa* > ScG **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈɻ̊ɔːʃ] (#63); ON **Lægð-á* > ScG **Leatha* *[ˈɻ̊æ-a], *[ˈɻ̊a-a] (#153).

§84 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position, following a dental

§84 (i) (b) (α) ON *l-* > ScG [ɬ̪] /ʟ/ˣ: (/*t*(*n*)_, with metathesis §40: [ɬ̪]) MNorn **Hjatland* > ScG **Sealtann* *[ˈʃɑɬ̪t̪ən̪] > *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑɬ̪t̪iŋ] §84 (x) (a) (γ); ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG **Bhatlos* *[ˈvɑʰt̪ɬ̪ɔs̪] > *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪t̪ɔs̪] #63; (/*nd*_, with epenthesis §42 (i) (b): [ɬ̪]) ON **Tind-land* > ScG **Tinndealan* *[ˈt̪ʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲə ɬ̪an] (#270).

§84 (i) (b) (β) ON *l-* > ScG [ɻ̊] /ʟ′/′: (/*t*(*n*)_, with metathesis §40: [ɻ̊]) ON **Vatnleysa* > ScG **Bhaitleas* *[ˈvatʲɻ̊as̪] > **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɻ̊t̪ʲəs̪] (#63) (South Uist) with reduction in the unstressed syllable.

§84 (ii) Post-stress **ON *-l***

§84 (ii) (a) In stressed position

§84 (ii) (a) (α) ON *-l* > ScG [ɬ̪] /ʟ/ˣ: ON *ból* > ScG *bòl* [b̥ɔːɬ̪] (#72); ON **Gilsá* > ScG **[ˈg̊ʲiɬ̪saɣ] > *Giosladh* [ˈg̊ʲisɬ̪aɣ] #206, with metathesis §40 (iii); ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃ɬ̪əˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Malir* > ScG **Molair* *[ˈmɔɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)] (#273); ON *múla* acc. > ScG *mùla* [ˈmũːɬ̪(ə)] (#81, fn 185); ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əʃˌvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; ON *mǫl* > ScG *mol* [mɔ̃ɬ̪] (#62, fn 124); ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kɑːɬ̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#257, fn 591); ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; ON **Þrælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [triɑʟəvɑʟ] (#295); ON **Þrælavatn* > ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɬ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296).

§84 (ii) (a) (β) ON *-l* > ∅ before ON *st*: ON **Bólstað* acc. > ScG *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ] #72, > ScG *Bobhst* [b̥ɔus̪t̪] (Coll) and > ScG *Bobhsta* [ˈb̥ɔus̪t̪a] (#72, fn 160) (Skye).

§84 (ii) (a) (γ) ON *-l* > ScG [l] /l′/′: ON **Dali* dat. (the loan-name) > ScG *Dail* [d̥al] #166; ON *dali* dat. (the loan-word) > ScG *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̥al(ə)] (#167);

(#343); SL **Langavatn* > GA *Langabhat* [ˈɬãŋgə̊ˌvaʰt̪] (#63); SL **Lax-á* > GA *Lacasaigh* [ˈɬaʰkəˌs̪aj] #230; SL **Lax-dal* cusp. > GA *Lacasdal* [ˈɬaʰkəˌs̪t̪əɬ] #231; SL **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈɬãːməˌd̪əɬ] #233; SL *lopt* > GA *lobhta* [ˈɬo̞ʰt̪ə] (#5, bn 17); SL **Lund-dal* cusp. > GA *Lunndal* [ˈɬə̃ũˌd̪əɬ] #243. §84

§84 (i) (a) (β) SL *l-* > GA [ɻ̊] /ʟ′/′: SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumra·bhagh* [ˈɻ̊ẽːmrəˌvaɣ] #235; SL **Lín-hól* cusp. > GA *Lìonal* [ˈɻ̊ĩənɑɬ], [ˈɻ̊ĩənɔɬ] #237; SL **Lín-sætr* > GA *Lìnseadar* [ˈɻ̊ĩːˌʃaɖ̊əɾ] #236; SL **Vatnit Ljósa* > GA **Bhata Leòis* *[ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈɻ̊ɔːʃ] (#63); SL **Lægð-á* > GA **Leatha* *[ˈɻ̊æ-a], *[ˈɻ̊a-a] (#153).

§84 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, an dèidh deudaich

§84 (i) (b) (α) SL *l-* > GA [ɬ̪] /ʟ/ˣ: (/*t*(*n*)_, le eadar-chàradh §40: [ɬ̪]) MNòrn **Hjatland* > GA **Sealtann* *[ˈʃɑɬ̪t̪ən̪] > *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑɬ̪t̪iŋ] §84 (x) (a) (γ); SL **Vatnlausa* > GA **Bhatlos* *[ˈvɑʰt̪ɬ̪ɔs̪] > *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑɬ̪t̪ɔs̪] #63; (/*nd*_, le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b): [ɬ̪]) SL **Tind-land* > GA **Tinndealan* *[ˈt̪ʲʰẽĩn̪d̪ʲə ɬ̪an] (#270).

§84 (i) (b) (β) SL *l-* > GA [ɻ̊] /ʟ′/′: (/*t*(*n*)_, le eadar-chàradh §40: [ɻ̊]) SL **Vatn·leysa* > GA **Bhaitleas* *[ˈvatʲɻ̊as̪] > **Bhailteas* *[ˈvaɻ̊t̪ʲəs̪] (#63) (Uibhist a Deas) le lùghdachadh san fhuaimreig neo-bheumte.

§84 (ii) **SL *-l*** iar-bheumach

§84 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§84 (ii) (a) (α) SL *-l* > GA [ɬ̪] /ʟ/ˣ: SL *ból* > GA *bòl* [b̥ɔːɬ̪] (#72); SL **Gilsá* > GA **[ˈg̊ʲiɬ̪saɣ] > *Giosladh* [ˈg̊ʲisɬ̪aɣ] #206, le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii); SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃ɬ̪əˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Malir* > GA **Molair* *[ˈmɔɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɬ̪əɾ(ʲ)] (#273); SL *múla* cusp. > GA *mùla* [ˈmũːɬ̪(ə)] (#81, bn 185); SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əʃˌvɑɬ̪] > [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252); SL **Mælis·staða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mialastadh* [ˈmĩãɬ̪əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #252; SL *mǫl* > GA *mol* [mɔ̃ɬ̪] (#62, bn 124); SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kɑːɬ̪əˌvɑɬ̪] (#257, bn 591); SL **Súlasker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [triɑʟəvɑʟ] (#295); SL **Þrælavatn* > GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɬ̪əˌvaʰt̪] (#296).

§84 (ii) (a) (β) SL *-l* > ∅ ro SL *st*: SL **Bólstað* cusp. > GA *Bòstadh* [ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ] #72, > GA *Bobhst* [b̥ɔus̪t̪] (Cola) agus > GA *Bobhsta* [ˈb̥ɔus̪t̪a] (#72, bn 160) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

§84 (ii) (a) (γ) SL *-l* > GA [l] /l′/′: SL **Dali* tabh. (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA *Dail* [d̥al] #166; SL *dali* tabh. (am facal-iasaid) > GA *dail*(*e*) *[ˈd̥al(ə)] (#167);

§84 ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌsklehtʲəɾʲ] #186, with epenthesis §42 (i) (b); ON *gil* > ScG *gil* [ɡʲil] (#204); ON **Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), fn 65); ON **Seljugjá* > ScG *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɡʲaɣ] (#281); ON **Fyljavarða* > ScG **Bhileabhair* *[ˈvilə̆ˌvəɾʲ] (#186, fn 430).

§84 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position

§84 (ii) (b) (α) ON *-l* > ScG *[l̥] > [l̥̃]ˣ (gen. [l] §31 (ii) (e)): ON **Gregusból* > ScG *Griogasbol* [ˈɡɾʲiɡə̆ˌsp̪ɔl̥̃] #222; CSc. **Diupadal* acc. > ScG *Dìobadal* [ˈʤʲiːbə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #168; ON **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪hãm͡ãnə̆ˌst̪əl̥̃] (#319); ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. > ScG *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #183; ON **Koppadal* acc. > ScG *Capadal* [ˈkhahpə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #97; ON **Lax-dal* acc. > ScG *Lacasdal* [ˈl̥ahkə̆ˌst̪əl̥̃] #231; ON **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) acc. > ScG *Làmadal* [ˈl̥ãːmə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #233; ON **Lund-dal* acc. > ScG *Lunndal* [ˈl̥ɔ̃ũˌd̪əl̥̃] #243; ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾkə̆ˌst̪əl̥̃] (#125, fn 278); OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc. > ScG *Nùstabal* (*[ˈn̪ũːhp̪sə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] >) [ˈn̪ũːst̪ə̆ˌbəl̥̃] (#216, fn 476) (ann an Uibhist a Deas); ON **Svarð-dal* acc. > ScG *Suardal* [ˈs̪uə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #312; ON **Arn-hol* > ScG *Àrnal* [ˈaːɳəl̥̃] #20; ON **Lín-hól* acc. > ScG *Lìonal* [ˈʎĩə̆nɑl̥̃], [ˈʎĩə̆nɔl̥̃] #237; ON **Mark-hól* acc. > ScG **Marcol* *[ˈmãɾkɔl̥̃] (#125, fn 278); ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪hɔhṭə̆ˌɾɔl̥̃], [ˈt̪hɔhṭə̆ˌɾɑl̥̃] #339; ON **-múla* acc. > ScG **Guidealum* *[ˈɡ̊ṵɪd̪ʲə̆ˌl̪əm] (#81) and OWNorn **Brumúla* acc. > ScG *Brolum* [ˈb̪ɾɔl̥̃əm] #81, with metathesis §40 (i).

§84 (ii) (b) (β) ON *-l* > ∅ before ON *st*: ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #189; ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #219; ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* [ˈt̪haː̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #315; ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈʎṵːɾ̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #239; ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲhiɾ̆ʲkʲjə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #125; ON **Krossabólstað* acc. > ScG *Crosabost* [ˈkhɾɔs̪ə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #156; ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Làbost* [ˈl̥aː̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #229; ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Mealbost* [ˈmjãɬ̃ãˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #248; ON **Svínabólstað* acc. > ScG *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãn̪ə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #311; ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #295.

§84 (ii) (b) (γ) ON *-l* > ScG [l] /lʲ/ʲ: ON **Brynugil* > ScG *Bruinigil* [ˈb̪ɾṵ̃ũnə̆ˌɡ̊ʲil] #84; ON **Geis-gil* > ScG *Gìsgil* *[ˈɡ̊ʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, fn 453) (Sutherland); ON **Marsgil* > ScG *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kɪl] #257.

§84 (iii) Unstressed **ON *-l***

§84 (iii) (a) ON *-l* > ScG [l̥̃] /ɪ/ˣ: ON **Kvísla* > ScG **Cùiseal* *[ˈkhṵːʃə̆l̥̃] (#106) (genitive in [ˌkʲhãũn̪ ˈxṵːʃiʎ̃]), with metathesis §40 (i).

§84 (iii) (b) ON *-l* > ScG [l] /lʲ/ʲ: ON **Papýli* (< **Papabýli*) > ScG *Pabail* [ˈphabə̆l] #261; ON *vaðil* acc. > ScG *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] (#67).

SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfiləˌsklehtʲəɾʲ] #186, le còmhnadh §42 (i) (b); SL *gil* > GA *gil* [ɡʲil] (#204); SL **Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), bn 65); SL **Seljugjá* > GA *Seiligeadh* [ˈʃeliˌɡʲaɣ] (#281); SL **Fyljavarða* > GA **Bhileabhair* *[ˈvilə̆ˌvəɾʲ] (#186, bn 430). §84

§84 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§84 (ii) (b) (α) SL *-l* > GA *[l̥] > [l̥̃]ˣ (gin. [l] §31 (ii) (e)): SL **Gregusból* > GA *Griogasbol* [ˈɡɾʲiɡə̆ˌsp̪ɔl̥̃] #222; LB **Diupadal* cusp. > GA *Dìobadal* [ˈʤʲiːbə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #168; SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪hãm͡ãnə̆ˌst̪əl̥̃] (#319); SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. > GA *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #183; SL **Koppadal* cusp. > GA *Capadal* [ˈkhahpə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #97; SL **Lax-dal* cusp. > GA *Lacasdal* [ˈl̥ahkə̆ˌst̪əl̥̃] #231; SL **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) cusp. > GA *Làmadal* [ˈl̥ãːmə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #233; SL **Lund-dal* cusp. > GA *Lunndal* [ˈl̥ɔ̃ũˌd̪əl̥̃] #243; SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾkə̆ˌst̪əl̥̃] (#125, bn 278); SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. > GA *Nùstabal* (*[ˈn̪ũːhp̪sə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] >) [ˈn̪ũːst̪ə̆ˌbəl̥̃] (#216, bn 476) (ann an Uibhist a Deas); SL **Svarð-dal* cusp. > GA *Suardal* [ˈs̪uə̆ˌd̪əl̥̃] #312; SL **Arn-hol* > GA *Àrnal* [ˈaːɳəl̥̃] #20; SL **Lín-hól* cusp. > GA *Lìonal* [ˈʎĩə̆nɑl̥̃], [ˈʎĩə̆nɔl̥̃] #237; SL **Mark-hól* cusp. > GA **Marcol* *[ˈmãɾkɔl̥̃] (#125, bn 278); SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪hɔhṭə̆ˌɾɔl̥̃], [ˈt̪hɔhṭə̆ˌɾɑl̥̃] #339; SL **-múla* cusp. > GA **Guidealum* *[ˈɡ̊ṵɪd̪ʲə̆ˌl̪əm] (#81) agus SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. > GA *Brolum* [ˈb̪ɾɔl̥̃əm] #81, le eadar-chàradh §40 (i).

§84 (ii) (b) (β) SL *-l* > ∅ ro SL *st*: SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡɑɾə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #189; SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* *[ˈɡ̊ɾʲẽːnə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #219; SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* [ˈt̪haː̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #315; SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈʎṵːɾ̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #239; SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲhiɾ̆ʲkʲjə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #125; SL **Krossabólstað* cusp. > GA *Crosabost* [ˈkhɾɔs̪ə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #156; SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Làbost* [ˈl̥aː̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #229; SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Mealbost* [ˈmjãɬ̃ãˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #248; SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. > GA *Suaineabost* [ˈs̪ũãn̪ə̆ˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #311; SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Siabost* [ˈʃiaˌb̪ɔs̪t̪] #295.

§84 (ii) (b) (γ) SL *-l* > GA [l] /lʲ/ʲ: SL **Brynugil* > GA *Bruinigil* [ˈb̪ɾṵ̃ũnə̆ˌɡ̊ʲil] #84; SL **Geis-gil* > GA *Gìsgil* *[ˈɡ̊ʲiːˌʃkʲil] (#203, bn 453) (Cataibh); SL **Marsgil* > GA *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kɪl] #257.

§84 (iii) **SL *-l*** neo-bheumte

§84 (iii) (a) SL *-l* > GA [l̥̃] /ɪ/ˣ: SL **Kvísla* > GA **Cùiseal* *[ˈkhṵːʃə̆l̥̃] (#106) (ginideach ann an [ˌkʲhãũn̪ ˈxṵːʃiʎ̃]), le eadar-chàradh §40 (i).

§84 (iii) (b) SL *-l* > GA [l] /lʲ/ʲ: SL **Papýli* (< **Papabýli*) > GA *Pabail* [ˈphabə̆l] #261; SL *vaðil* cusp. > GA *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] (#67).

§84 §84 (iii) (c) ON *-l* > ScG [ɲ] before *s′*, but now lost: ON **Bendilsfjall* > ScG *Beinnis·bhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈbʲẽɲəˌʃaɫ̪] (#50).

§84 (iv) Post-stress **ON -*ll***

§84 (iv) (a) In stressed position

ON *-l* > ScG [ɫ̪] /ʟ/ˣ: ON *hjall* acc. > ScG **ceall* *[kʲʰauɫ̪] (*Na Ceallan* [nəˈkʲʰaɫ̪ən] (#51)); ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰaɫ̪əsˌ̪vaɣ] #322; CSc. **Hjallsøy* > ScG *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰaɫ̪əˌ̪saj] (#51); ON *hylla* > ScG iola (*Iolairean*) [ˈjuɫ̪əɾʲən] (#127); ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰaɫ̪aˌniʃ] #94; ON *poll* acc. > ScG *poll* [pʰɔuɫ̪] (#272); ON **Skellsgróf* > ScG *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲaɫ̪əˌ̪skɾo] #291; ON **Skelludal* acc. > ScG *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲaɫ̪əˌd̥əɫ̪] #290.

§84 (iv) (b) In weakly stressed position

§84 (iv) (b) (α) **ON -*ll***

ON *-ll* > ScG [ɫ̪] /ʟ/ˣ (uninflected in the genitive §31 (ii) (f)):

1. ON **Bendilsfjall* > ScG *Beinnisbhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈbʲẽɲəˌʃaɫ̪] (#50); ON **Eiðsfjall* > ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃaɫ̪] (#60); ON **Esjufjall* > ScG *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃaʟ] (#4); ON **Grónafjall* > ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvaɫ̪] (#219); ON **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *[ˈt̪ʰa͡mãnəʃˌvaɫ̪] > *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰa͡mãnəˌʃaɫ̪] (#319); ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛs̪t̪əˌvaɫ̪] (#315 (iv)); ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvaɫ̪] (#98); OWNorn **Kjal-kváll* > ScG *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰaɫ̪əg̊ˌvɔɫ̪] #101; ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɫ̪] #164; ON **Mælisfjall* > ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɫ̪əʃˌvaɫ̪] > [ˈmĩãɫ̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#252); ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾaʃtʲaɫ̪] (#199); ON **Sauð-fjall* > ScG *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɫ̪] #303; ON **Sauðafjall* > ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɫ̪] (#303); ON **Seið-fjall* > ScG *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɫ̪] (#288, fn 674); ON **Svínafjall* or **Sveinafjall* > ScG *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴ´əvaʟ] (#311); ON **Skálafjall* > ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kaːɫ̪əˌvaɫ̪] (#257, fn 591); ON **Þrælafjall* > ScG *Trialabhal* (MO) [triaʟəvaʟ] (#295); ON **Ulf(a)poll* acc. > ScG *[ˈuɫ̪u(-ə)ˌb̥əɫ̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈuɫ̪əˌb̥əɫ̪] (#222, fn 494) (mainland Scotland); ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > ScG *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃaɫ̪] (#203).

2. And in ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌɬaɾʲi] (#95), although the lateral is lost in Gaelic in ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95), with syncope §44 (ii).

§84 (iv) (b) (β) **ON -*ll-***

ON *-ll-* > ScG [ɲ] /ʟ′/′: ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. > ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ͡ɔmiɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172); ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩɲ̊əˈg̊aːɾi] (#172); ON **Milli Hauga* > ScG **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩɲ̊əˈhoː] (#172); ON **Milli Hóla* > ScG **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩɲ̊əˈhɔːɫ̪ə] (#172); ON **Milli Vatna* > ScG **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§84 §84 (iii) (c) SL *-l* > GA [ɲ] ro *s′*, ach a-nis air chall: SL **Bendilsfjall* > GA *Beinnis·bhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈbʲẽɲəˌʃaɫ̪] (#50).

§84 (iv) **SL -*ll*** iar-bheumach

§84 (iv) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

SL *-l* > GA [ɫ̪] /ʟ/ˣ: SL *hjall* cusp. > GA **ceall* *[kʲʰauɫ̪] (*Na Ceallan* [nəˈkʲʰaɫ̪ən] (#51)); SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh* [ˈtʲʰaɫ̪əsˌ̪vaɣ] #322; LB **Hjallsøy* > GA *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰaɫ̪əˌ̪saj] (#51); SL *hylla* > GA *iola* (*Iolairean*) [ˈjuɫ̪əɾʲən] (#127); SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰaɫ̪aˌniʃ] #94; SL *poll* cusp. > GA *poll* [pʰɔuɫ̪] (#272); SL **Skellsgróf* > GA *Sgealasgro* [ˈs̪kʲaɫ̪əˌ̪skɾo] #291; SL **Skelludal* cusp. > GA *Sgealadal* [ˈs̪kʲaɫ̪əˌd̥əɫ̪] #290.

§84 (iv) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§84 (iv) (b) (α) **SL -*ll***

SL *-l* > GA [ɫ̪] /ʟ/ˣ (gun mhùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach §31 (ii) (f)):

1. SL **Bendilsfjall* > GA *Beinnisbhal* > *Beinniseal* [ˈbʲẽɲəˌʃaɫ̪] (#50); SL **Eiðsfjall* > GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃaɫ̪] (#60); SL **Esjufjall* > GA *Eiseal* (MO) [eʃaʟ] (#4); SL **Grónafjall* > GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌvaɫ̪] (#219); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *[ˈt̪ʰa͡mãnəʃˌvaɫ̪] > *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰa͡mãnəˌʃaɫ̪] (#319); SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* [ˈhɛs̪t̪əˌvaɫ̪] (#315 (iv)); SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvaɫ̪] (#98); SNòrnI **Kjal-kváll* > GA *Cealagbhol* [ˈkʲʰaɫ̪əg̊ˌvɔɫ̪] #101; SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɫ̪] #164; SL **Mælisfjall* > GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɫ̪əʃˌvaɫ̪] > [ˈmĩãɫ̪əˌʃaɫ̪] (#252); SL **Raptsfjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾaʃtʲaɫ̪] (#199); SL **Sauð-fjall* > GA *Sòbhal* [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɫ̪] #303; SL **Sauðafjall* > GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɫ̪] (#303); SL **Seið-fjall* > GA *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɫ̪] (#288, bn 674); SL **Svínafjall* no **Sveinafjall* > GA *Suaineabhal* (MO) [sũãɴ´əvaʟ] (#311); SL **Skálafjall* > GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈs̪kaːɫ̪əˌvaɫ̪] (#257, bn 591); SL **Þrælafjall* > GA *Trialabhal* (MO) [triaʟəvaʟ] (#295); SL **Ulf(a)poll* cusp. > GA *[ˈuɫ̪u(-ə)ˌb̥əɫ̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈuɫ̪əˌb̥əɫ̪] (#222, bn 494) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann); SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) > GA *Uiseal* [ˈu̟ˌʃaɫ̪] (#203).

2. Agus ann an SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌɬaɾʲi] (#95); ged a chaillear an taobhach sa Ghàidhlig ann an SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] (#95), le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii).

§84 (iv) (b) (β) **SL -*ll-***

SL *-ll-* > GA [ɲ] /ʟ′/′: SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. > GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ͡ɔmiɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172); SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩɲ̊əˈg̊aːɾi] (#172); LB **Milli Hauga* > GA **Mille Thò* *[ˌmĩɲ̊əˈhoː] (#172); SL **Milli Hóla* > GA **Mille Thòla* *[ˌmĩɲ̊əˈhɔːɫ̪ə] (#172); SL **Milli Vatna* > GA **Mille Bhat* *[ˌmiɲ̊əˈvaʰt̪] (#172).

§84 §84 (v) **ON *-ld***

§84 (v) (a) In a broad environment

§84 (v) (a) (α) ON *-ld* > ScG [l̪t̪] /ɪt/ˣ in stressed and weakly stressed position: ON **Keldan Kalda* > ScG **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪t̪ə ˈkʰɑl̪t̪ə] (#93, fn 207).

§84 (v) (a) (β) ON *-ld* > ScG [l̪] /ɪ/ˣ in unstressed position in the compounds in ON **Hróðvaldsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰraul̪ə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151 and ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəːˑəl̪] (#151).

§84 (v) (b) In a slender environment

ON *-ld* > ScG [ʎt̪ʲ] /ɪˊtˊ/ˊ in stressed position, with lengthening of the stressed vowel: ON **Sild-holm* acc. > ScG *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛiʎt̪ʲæm] (#299); ON **Sild-nes* > ScG *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛiʎt̪ʲəˌniʃ], [ˈʃeiʎt̪ʲəˌniʃ] #299.

§84 (vi) Post-stress **ON *-lf***
After a short vowel, > ScG [n̪v] ([n̪f] before a voiceless consonant) with epenthesis §42 (ii) (b), but

§84 (vi) (a) The fricative is lost before a consonant in ON **Þolfsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ɔf s̪t̪aɣ] > *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ɔ ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #331.

§84 (vi) (b) The fricative is replaced by hiatus before a vowel, before the vowel itself is lost through contraction: ON **Kalfabólstað* acc. > ScG *[ˈkʰɑl̪avəˌbɔs̪t̪] > *[ˈkʰɑl̪a-əˌbɔs̪t̪] > *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪aˌbɔs̪t̪] #93.

§84 (vi) (c) With further contraction, the epenthetic vowel is lost in ON **Ulf(a)-poll* acc. > ScG *[ˈul̪uvəˌbəl̪] > *[ˈul̪u-əˌbəl̪] > *[ˈul̪uˌbəl̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈul̪əˌbəl̪] (#222, fn 494) (mainland Scotland).

§84 (vii) Post-stress **ON *-lk***
ON *-lk* > ScG [l̪k]ˣ: ON *alka* > ScG *alc* [al̪k] (#204), with apocope §44 (iii) (for ScG *falc* [fal̪k], see §33 (iii)).

§84 (viii) Post-stress **ON *-lm***

§84 (viii) (a) In stressed position
After a short vowel, ON *-lm* > ScG [n̪m], with epenthesis §42 (ii) (c): ON **Holm* acc. > ScG *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ɔm] #330.

§84 (viii) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *-lm* > ScG [m] /m/ with compensatory lengthening and subsequent shortening of the vowel: ON **Geit-holm* acc. > ScG *Gèideam* [ˈɡʲeːˌd̪ʲam] (#203); ON **Grón-holm* acc. > ScG *Grèineam* [ˈgɾʲẽːnam] (#219); ON **Klifsholm* acc. > ScG *Cliseam* [ˈkʰliʃam] (#132); ON **Krák-holm* acc. > ScG *Càgam* [ˈkʰɾaːɡam] (#330);

§84 §84 (v) **SL *-ld***

§84 (v) (a) Ann an àrainn leathainn

§84 (v) (a) (α) SL *-ld* > GA [l̪t̪] /ɪt/ˣ ann an suidheachadh beumte is lag-bheumte: SL **Keldan Kalda* > GA **Cealta Calta* *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪t̪ə ˈkʰɑl̪t̪ə] (#93, bn 207).

§84 (v) (a) (β) SL *-ld* > GA [l̪] /ɪ/ˣ ann an suidheachadh neo-bheumte sna filltich ann an SL **Hróðvaldsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Crabhlastadh* [ˈkʰraul̪ə ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #151 agus SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəːˑəl̪] (#151).

§84 (v) (b) Ann an àrainn chaoil

SL *-ld* > GA [ʎt̪ʲ] /ɪˊtˊ/ˊ ann an suidheachadh beumte, le fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte: SL **Sild-holm* cusp. > GA *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛiʎt̪ʲæm] (#299); SL **Sild-nes* > GA *Silltinis* [ˈʃɛiʎt̪ʲəˌniʃ], [ˈʃeiʎt̪ʲəˌniʃ] #299.

§84 (vi) **SL *-lf*** iar-bheumach
An dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-lf* > GA [n̪v] ([n̪f] ro chonnraig neo-ghuthaichte) le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (b), ach

§84 (vi) (a) Caillear an suathach ro chonnraig ann an SL **Þolfsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ɔf s̪t̪aɣ] > *Tolstadh* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ɔ ˌs̪t̪aɣ] #331.

§84 (vi) (b) Thèid an suathach na bheàrnas ro fhuaimreig, mus caillear an fhuaimreag fhèin le teannachadh: SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp. > GA *[ˈkʰɑl̪avəˌbɔs̪t̪] > *[ˈkʰɑl̪a-əˌbɔs̪t̪] > *Calbost* [ˈkʰɑl̪aˌbɔs̪t̪] #93.

§84 (vi) (c) Le tuilleadh teannachaidh, caillear an fhuaimreag còmhnaidh ann an SL **Ulf(a)poll* cusp. > GA *[ˈul̪uvəˌbəl̪] > *[ˈul̪u-əˌbəl̪] > *[ˈul̪uˌbəl̪] > *Ulapul* [ˈul̪əˌbəl̪] (#222, bn 494) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§84 (vii) **SL *-lk*** iar-bheumach
SL *-lk* > GA [l̪k]ˣ: SL *alka* > GA *alc* [al̪k] (#204), le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii) (air-son GA *falc* [fal̪k], faic §33 (iii)).

§84 (viii) **SL *-lm*** iar-bheumach

§84 (viii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte
An dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-lm* > GA [n̪m], le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (c): SL **Holm* cusp. > GA *Tolm* [ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ɔm] #330.

§84 (viii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *-lm* > GA [m] /m/ le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh is giorrachadh an dèidh làimhe san fhuaimreig: SL **Geit-holm* cusp. > GA *Gèideam* [ˈɡʲeːˌd̪ʲam] (#203); SL **Grón-holm* cusp. > GA *Grèineam* [ˈgɾʲẽːnam] (#219); SL **Klifsholm* cusp. > GA *Cliseam* [ˈkʰliʃam] (#132); SL **Krák-holm* cusp. > GA *Càgam* [ˈkʰɾaːɡam]

§84 ON **Sild-holm* acc. > ScG *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛiʎ̊ʲæm] (#299); ON **Skarð-holm* acc. > ScG **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪kɑːˌd̪am] (#330); ON **Vind-holm* acc. > ScG **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪̊d̪əˌl̪am] (#67).

§84 (viii) (c) In unstressed position

§84 (viii) (c) (α) ON *-lm* > ScG [m] /m/:
ON **Kleifsholm-krek* > ScG *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰlias̪əmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131), with further reduction in the vowel.

§84 (viii) (c) (β) ON *-lm* > ScG [l̪] /ɭ/:
ON **Kró-holm-vík* (OWNorn **Krú-holm-vík*) > ScG **[ˈkʰɾuːl̪̊əmˌviɣ̊ʲ] > *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːl̪̊əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #159, with metathesis §40 (i), where the lateral is retained after the stressed vowel but where the nasal lost before ScG [v] /v/.

§84 (ix) Post-stress **ON *-lpt***
ON *-lpt* > ScG [ʎ̊ʲt] /ɭˊtˊ/ˊ: ON **Alpt-nes* > ScG *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʎ̊ʲtʲəˌniʃ] #5, where the lateral is devoiced before original ON *pt* §70 (v).

§84 (x) Post-stress **ON *-lt***

§84 (x) (a) In stressed position,[x]

§84 (x) (a) (α) ON *-lt* > ScG [l̪̊t] /ɭt/: ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erˊə ˈsʊɭt] (#180, fn 399); ON **Galtargil* > ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈg̊al̪̊tɾəˌg̊ʲil] (#188) (Skye); ON **Galt-gróf* or *Galtagróf* > ScG *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɭtəgro] (#188).

§84 (x) (a) (β) ON *-lt* is vocalised before *s*, with compensatory lengthening: ON **Galt-sund* > ScG *Gabhsann* [ˈg̊aus̪ən̪] #188.

§84 (x) (a) (γ) Although the name ScG *Sealtainn* [ˈʃal̪̊tiɲ] 'Shetland' goes back to ON **Hjaltland* (with the stem form of the noun ON *hjalt* nt. 'hilt' and ON *land* nt. 'land' (Jakobsen 1936, 127–28)), it is likely that the modern form derives from Middle Norn, e.g. **Hjatland*, cf. (1362, 1369) *Hiatland*, (1387) *Hietland* (ibid.), with metathesis of the medial cluster (cf. EG *attluġudˊ* > ScG *altachadh* [ˈaɬ̪̊xəɣ] (#63)), yielding ScG (nom.) **Sealtann* *[ˈʃal̪̊t̪ən̪], (dat.) *Sealtainn* [ˈʃal̪̊tiɲ], the dative normalised as the radical form over time, cf. ScG *Sasann* > *Sasainn* 'England', ScG *Breatann* > *Breatainn* 'Britain'.[13]

13. The nominative forms ScG *Lochlann* and *Lochlainn* 'Norway; Scandinavia' are found, but in this instance it is probable the normalisation happened the other way, with the nominative form *Lochlainn* (EG *Lothlainn*, *Laithlinn* (*DIL*)) yielding *Lochlann* after the pattern of (nom.) *Sasann* and *Breatann*. ScG *Lochlainn* is thought to originate in the name of the district ON *Hlaðir* (the plural form of ON *hlað* nt. 'place for loading boats'; *Lade*, in Trondheim, Norway), and that the rest of the name derives from EG *linn*

(#330); SL **Sild-holm* cusp. > GA *Sillteam* [ˈʃɛiʎ̊ʲæm] (#299); SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. > GA **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪kɑːˌd̪am] (#330); SL **Vind-holm* cusp. > GA **Bhiondalam* *[ˈvĩn̪̊d̪əˌl̪am] (#67). §84

§84 (viii) (c) Ann an suidheachadh neo-bheumte

§84 (viii) (c) (α) SL *-lm* > GA [m] /m/:
SL **Kleifsholm-krek* > GA *Cliasamcreag* [ˈkʰlias̪əmˌkʰɾʲeg̊] (#131), le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh san fhuaimreig.

§84 (viii) (c) (β) SL *-lm* > GA [l̪] /ɭ/:
SL **Kró-holm-vík* (SNòrnI **Krú-holm-vík*) > GA **[ˈkʰɾuːl̪̊əmˌviɣ̊ʲ] > *Crùlabhig* [ˈkʰɾuːl̪̊əˌviɣ̊ʲ] #159, le eadar-chàradh §40 (i), far an gleidhear an taobhach an dèidh fuaimreige beumte ach far an caillear an srònach ro GA [v] /v/.

§84 (ix) **SL *-lpt*** iar-bheumach
SL *-lpt* > GA [ʎ̊ʲt] /ɭˊtˊ/ˊ: SL **Alpt-nes* > GA *Ailltinis* [ˈaiʎ̊ʲtʲəˌniʃ] #5, far an tèid an taobhach a dhì-ghuthachadh ro SL *pt* thùsail §70 (v).

§84 (x) **SL *-lt*** iar-bheumach

§84 (x) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte,[x]

§84 (x) (a) (α) SL *-lt* > GA [l̪̊t] /ɭt/: SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [erˊə ˈsʊɭt] (#180, bn 399); SL **Galtargil* > GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈg̊al̪̊tɾəˌg̊ʲil] (#188) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Galt-gróf* no **Galtagróf* > GA *Galtagro* (MO) [gɑɭtəgro] (#188).

§84 (x) (a) (β) Thèid SL *-lt* fhuaimreagachadh ro *s*, le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh: SL **Galt-sund* > GA *Gabhsann* [ˈg̊aus̪ən̪] #188.

§84 (x) (a) (γ) Ged a thèid an t-ainm GA *Sealtainn* [ˈʃal̪̊tiɲ] air ais gu SL **Hjaltland* (le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *hjalt* n. 'dòrn claidhimh' agus SL *land* n. 'tir' (Jakobsen 1936, 127–28)), is coltach gun èirich a nua-chruth às a' Mheadhan-Nòrn, m.e. **Hjatland*, coim. (1362, 1369) *Hiatland*, (1387) *Hietland* (ibid.), leis a' chòmhlan mheadhain air eadar-chàradh (coim. GT *attluġudˊ* > GA *altachadh* [ˈaɬ̪̊xəɣ] (#63)), a' toirt GA (ainmn.) **Sealtann* *[ˈʃal̪̊t̪ən̪], (tabh.) *Sealtainn* [ˈʃal̪̊tiɲ], an cruth tabhartach air àbhaisteachadh na chruth bunasach ri ùine, coim. GA *Sasann* > *Sasainn*, > GA *Breatann* > *Breatainn*.[13]

13. Gheibhear na cruthan ainmneach GA *Lochlann* is *Lochlainn* 'Nirribhidh; tìr nan Lochlannach', ach an seo is iongantach mana do thachair an t-àbhaisteachadh an rathad eile, agus an cruth ainmneach tùsail *Lochlainn* (GT *Lothlainn*, *Laithlinn* (*DIL*)) a' dol na *Lochlann* an dèidh a' phàtrain aig (ainmn.) *Sasann* is *Breatann*. Thathas den bheachd gun tàrmaich GA *Lochlainn* ann an ainm na sgìre SL *Hlaðir* (an cruth iolra aig SL *hlað* n. 'àite luchdachadh bhàtaichean; *Lade*, ann an Trondheim, Nirribhidh), agus gun tàrmaich leth eile an ainme ann an GT *linn*

§84 §84 (x) (b) In weakly stressed position:
ON *-lt* > ScG [ɲ̊tʲ]′: ON **Skygn-holti* dat. > ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈsˌ̪kʲĩəniɲ̊tʲ] #293.

§85 §85 **ON *r***

§85 (i) Initial **ON** *r*-

§85 (i) (a) In stressed position

§85 (i) (a) (α) ON *r*- > ScG [ɾ] /ʁ/ (lenited as [ɾ] /r/):
ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; CSc. **Ræs-øy* > ScG *Reusa* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪a] (#281, fn 650) (Argyll); ON **Rang-gróf* > ScG **Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋg̊əˌɾo] (#59); ON **Raptsfjall* > ScG **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛrʲ] (#281, fn 650); ON *rauf* > ScG *rò* [ɾoː] (#59); ON **Reim-mór* > ScG *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278; ON *rifa* > ScG *riobh* [ɾɪf], [ɾuf] (#280); ON **Rófunes* > ScG **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, fn 94); ON **Rokk-stainn* > ScG *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌn̪̊staɲ̊] (#48, fn 94); ON *Rǫgnvald* > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɬ̪] (#151); ON *rǫng* > ScG *rang* [ɾãɣ] (#343).

§85 (i) (a) (β) In ON **Kvín Ranga* > ScG *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, fn 342), the specific in the loan-name may have been lenited as though it were an adjective following a dative (or radical feminine) noun in Gaelic.

§85 (i) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *r*- > ScG lenited [ɾ] /r/˟: ON **Sel-rauf* > ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), fn 65).

§85 (i) (c) In unstressed position
Initial ON *r*- in unstressed position in ON **Kú-risfjall* > ScG *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑɬ̪] #164 is treated as post-stress *r*, see below.

§85 (ii) Post-stress **ON** *-r*

§85 (ii) (a) In stressed position

§85 (ii) (a) (α) ON *-r* > ScG [ɾ] /r/ in a lenited broad environment: ON **Áranes* > ScG *Àranis* [ˈaːɾəˌniʃ] #19; ON **Herað* > ScG *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] (#254); ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈɲ̊u̟ːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; ON **Káraóss*

(> ScG *linn*(*e*) ‘sea loch, fjord’) (Etchingham 2007, 28; Wamers 1998, 66, fn 84). It might be that such a name would arise based on an Old Norse name, e.g. ON **Hlað-fjǫrð* (with the stem form of the specific and accusative of the noun ON *fjǫrðr* m. ‘fjord’, cf. ScG *Sùlabheinn* < ON **Súlufjall* ‘the mountain of the column’ and ScG *Blàbheinn* < ON **Bláfjall* ‘(the) blue mountain’ (with ScG (len.) *bheinn* f. ‘mountain’ in place of ON *fjall* nt.; Cox 2009a, 23–24)), but that the first element *Laith*- was then changed to *Loch*- via further morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (d).

§84 §84 (x) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte:
SL *-lt* > GA [ɲ̊tʲ]′: SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. > GA *Sgianailt* [ˈsˌ̪kʲĩəniɲ̊tʲ] #293.

§85 §85 **SL *r***

§85 (i) **SL** *r*- thoisich

§85 (i) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§85 (i) (a) (α) SL *r*- > GA [ɾ] /ʁ/ (air a sèimheachadh na [ɾ] /r/):
SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; LB **Ræs-øy* > GA *Reusa* *[ˈɾeːˌs̪a] (#281, bn 650) (Earra-Ghàidheal); SL **Rang-gróf* > GA **Rangaro* *[ˈɾãŋg̊əˌɾo] (#59); SL **Raptsfjall* > GA **Raisteal* *[ˈɾɑʃtʲɑɬ̪] (#199); LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛrʲ] (#281, bn 650); SL *rauf* > GA *rò* [ɾoː] (#59); SL **Reim-mór* > GA *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278; SL *rifa* > GA *riobh* [ɾɪf], [ɾuf] (#280); SL **Rófunes* > GA **Robhanis* *[ˈɾo-əˌniʃ] (#284); SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, bn 94); SL **Rokk-stainn* > GA *Rocastainn* *[ˈɾɔʰkəˌn̪̊staɲ̊] (#48, bn 94); SL *Rǫgnvald* > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɬ̪] (#151); SL *rǫng* > GA *rang* [ɾãɣ] (#343).

§85 (i) (a) (β) Ann an SL **Kvín Ranga* > GA *Cuidh Raing* [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲg̊ʲ] (#161, bn 342), is dòcha gun deach an sònraichear san ainm-iasaid a shèimheachadh mar gum b’ e buadhair a bh’ ann an dèidh ainmeir thabhartaich (no an dèidh ainmeir bhunasaich bhoireann) sa Ghàidhlig.

§85 (i) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *r*- > GA [ɾ] /r/˟ shèimhichte: SL **Sel-rauf* > GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] (#31 (i), bn 65).

§85 (i) (c) Ann an suidheachadh neo-bheumte
Thèid dèiligeadh ri SL *r*- thoisich ann an suidheachadh neo-bheumte ann an SL **Kú-risfjall* > GA *Cùiriseal* [ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃɑɬ̪] #164 mar *r* iar-bheumaich.

§85 (ii) **SL** *-r* iar-bheumach

§85 (ii) (a) Ann an suidheachadh beumte

§85 (ii) (a) (α) SL *-r* > GA [ɾ] /r/ ann an àrainn shèimhichte leathainn: SL **Áranes* > GA *Àranis* [ˈaːɾəˌniʃ] #19; SL **Herað* > GA *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] (#254); SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Liùrbost* [ˈɲ̊u̟ːɾˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #239; SL **Káraóss*

(> GA *linn*(*e*) ‘loch mara’) (Etchingham 2007, 28; Wamers 1998, 66, bn 84). Dh’fhaodadh e a bhith gun èireadh a leithid de dh’ainm ri GT *Laithlinn* stèidhichte air ainm Lochlannais, m.e. SL **Hlað-fjǫrð* (le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *fjǫrðr* f. ‘loch mara’, coim. GA *Sùlabheinn* < SL **Súlufjall* ‘beinn a’ chuilbh’ agus GA *Blàbheinn* < SL **Bláfjall* ‘(a’) bheinn ghorm’ (le GA (sèimh.) *bheinn* b. an àite SL *fjall* n.; Cox 2009a, 23–24)), ach gun deach a’ chiad eileamaid *Laith*- an uair sin a thionndadh na *Loch*- le tuilleadh ionadachaidh chruitheamaich §37 (ii) (d).

§85 > ScG *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔsˠ] #100; ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. > ScG *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲeːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235, with metathesis §40 (ii); ON **Maravík* > ScG *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɸʲ] #246; ON **Skor* (the loan-name) > ScG **Sgor* *[ˈsˠkɔɾ] (#201); ON *skor* (the loan-word) > ScG *sgor* [ˈsˠkɔɾ] (#201); ON **Þjórasætr* > ScG **Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾiˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] (#147); ON **Þórunes* > ScG *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336; ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̥aːɾəˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] #46.

§85 (ii) (a) (β) ON *-r* > ScG [ɾʲ] /rˊ/ in a lenited slender environment: ON **Erjustǫð* > ScG *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪ˠaɣ] #180; ON **Eyrará* > ScG **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊəraj̃] (#180, fn 399); ON **Kárasætr* > ScG *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] #91; ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʃʲiˌviɸʲ] #124; ON *sker* > ScG *sgeir* [ˈsˠkʲeɾʲ] (#292); ON **Ærklett* acc. > ScG **Èireacleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] (#296).

§85 (ii) (b) In weakly stressed position
ON *-r* > ScG [ɾʲ] /rˊ/ˊ (len.): ON **Eyrin Sǫltu* > ScG *Èire Solt* (nMO) [eɾˊə ˈsʊɫt] (#180, fn 399); ON **Reim-mór* > ScG *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278, with palatalisation; ON **Klýpusker* > ScG *Clibisgeir* [ˈkʰliːb̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); ON **Súlasker* > ScG *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɫɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§85 (iii) Unstressed **ON** *-r*
ON *-r* > ScG > [ɾ] /r/ˣ: ON **Hamar* acc. > ScG **Thamar* *[ˈhãmɔɾ], *[ˈhãməɾ] (#325); ON *hamar* acc. > ScG *amar* [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)); ON **Hamarinn Sýna* > ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃiːnə] (#315 (i)), with loss of the article, cf. §49 (iv) (e); ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̪ˠəɾ] #325; ON *Ívar* acc. > ScG *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ] (#142).

§85 (iv) Unstressed **ON** *-r* in morphemic endings

§85 (iv) (a) **ON** *-r* in plural endings
The final ON *-r* of plural endings survives as ScG [ɾ] /r/, which usually becomes [ɾʲ] /rˊ/ §13, in the following:

§85 (iv) (a) (α) ON *-ar*
(masc. *a*-stem) ON **Hólar* > ScG *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɫəɾʲ] (#101); ON **Klettar* > ScG *Cleitir* [ˈkʰleʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; ON **Fylsklettar* pl. > ScG *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə̥ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; ON **Tindar* > ScG *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪ˌd̪ʲəɾʲ] (#270); (fem. *ō*-stem) ON **Króar* pl. > ScG *Crothair* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ] #157; ON **Kvíar* pl. > ScG *Cuidhir* [ˈkʰɯ̟jˠ(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰɯ̟jˠ(ʰ)əɾʲ] #161; (fem. *jō*-stem) CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650), with metathesis §40 (iii).

§85 (iv) (a) (β) ON *-ir*
(fem. *i*-stem) ON **Grafir* > ScG *Grabhair* [ˈg̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌn̪ʰt̪əɾ] #160; ON **Malir* > ScG **Mol·*

§85 > GA *Càros* [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔsˠ] #100; SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. > GA *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲeːmɾəˌvaɣ] #235, le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii); SL **Maravík* > GA *Marabhig* [ˈmãɾəˌviɸʲ] #246; SL **Skor* (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA **Sgor* *[ˈsˠkɔɾ] (#201); SL *skor* (am facal-iasaid) > GA *sgor* [ˈsˠkɔɾ] (#201); SL **Þjórasætr* > GA **Theòraiseadar* *[ˈhjɔːɾiˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] (#147); SL **Þórunes* > GA *Tòranis* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɾəˌniʃ] #336; SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̥aːɾəˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] #46.

§85 (ii) (a) (β) SL *-r* > GA [ɾʲ] /rˊ/ ann an àrainn shèimhichte chaoil: SL **Erjustǫð* > GA *Eireastadh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪ˠaɣ] #180; SL **Eyrará* > GA **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊəraj̃] (#180, bn 399); SL **Kárasætr* > GA *Càiriseadar* [ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃad̪ˠəɾ] #91; SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʃʲiˌviɸʲ] #124; SL *sker* > GA *sgeir* [ˈsˠkʲeɾʲ] (#292); SL **Ærklett* cusp. > GA **Èireacleit* *[ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] (#296).

§85 (ii) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte
SL *-r* > GA [ɾʲ] /rˊ/ˊ (sèimh.): SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* > GA *Èire Solt* (nMO) [eɾˊə ˈsʊɫt] (#180, bn 399); SL **Reim-mór* > GA *Rèimeir* [ˈɾẽːˌmɛɾʲ] #278, le caolachadh; SL **Klýpusker* > GA *Clibisgeir* [ˈkʰliːb̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#296); SL **Súlasker* > GA *Sùlaisgeir* [ˈs̪uːɫɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #314; SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] #65.

§85 (iii) **SL** *-r* neo-bheumte
SL *-r* > GA > [ɾ] /r/ˣ: SL **Hamar* cusp. > GA **Thamar* *[ˈhãmɔɾ], *[ˈhãməɾ] (#325); SL *hamar* cusp. > GA *amar* [ˈãməɾ] (#315 (i)); SL **Hamarinn Sýna* > GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãməɾ ˈʃiːnə] (#315 (i)), le call an t-uilt, coim. §49 (iv) (e); SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̪ˠəɾ] #325; SL *Ívar* cusp. > GA *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ] (#142).

§85 (iv) **SL** *-r* neo-bheumte ann an dùnaidhean cruitheamach

§85 (iv) (a) **SL** *-r* ann an dùnaidhean iolra
Mairidh SL *-r* dheiridh aig dùnaidhean iolra na GA [ɾ] /r/, a thèid mar as trice na [ɾʲ] /rˊ/ §13, sna leanas:

§85 (iv) (a) (α) SL *-ar*
(bun-*a* fir.) SL **Hólar* > GA *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːɫəɾʲ] (#101); SL **Klettar* > GA *Cleitir* [ˈkʰleʰtʲəɾʲ] #130; SL **Fylsklettar* iol. > GA *Fileascleitir* [ˈfilə̥ˌs̪kleʰtʲəɾʲ] #186; SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* [ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ] #326; SL **Tindar* > GA *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪ˌd̪ʲəɾʲ] (#270); (bun-*ō* boir.) SL **Króar* iol. > GA *Crothair* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ] #157; SL **Kvíar* iol. > GA *Cuidhir* [ˈkʰɯ̟jˠ(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰɯ̟jˠ(ʰ)əɾʲ] #161; (bun-*jō* boir.) LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* > **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈɾɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650), le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii).

§85 (iv) (a) (β) SL *-ir*
(bun-*i* boir.) SL **Grafir* > GA *Grabhair* [ˈg̊ɾavəɾʲ] #217; SL **Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌn̪ʰt̪əɾ] #160; SL **Malir* > GA **Mol·*

§85 *air* *[ˈmɔɻəɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɻəɾ(ʲ)] (#273). ScG *Hiort* (*Hirt*) [ˈhiʂt] is taken to be from ON *Hirtir* nom. pl. (a masculine *u*-stem), e.g. by Oftedal 1980, 184; Cox 2009a, 23 (#315).

§85 (iv) (a) (γ) ON *-ur*
(fem. *ōn*-stem) ON **Brekkur* pl. > ScG *Breacair* [ˈbɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); ON **Brokkur* pl. > ScG *Brocair* [ˈbɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; ON **Púfur* pl. > ScG *Tùthair* [ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-əɾʲ], [ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-u̟ɾʲ] #344.

§85 (iv) (b) **ON** *-r* in genitive endings
The final ON *-r* of genitive endings survives as ScG [ɾ] /r/, which may become [ɾʲ] /r′/ §13, in the following:

§85 (iv) (b) (α) > ScG [ɾ] /r/ before a vowel or before original ON *h-* (which is lost),ˣ: (fem. *ō*-stem) CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > EG **Rásaráir* (> **Ráarsáir* > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈʀɑ-ɑʀ̪ʂɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650), with metathesis §40 (iii)); (fem. *ijo*-stem) ON **Eyrará* > ScG **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊərəɻ] (#180, fn 399); (fem. *i*-stem) ON **Toptarhól* acc. > ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə˛ɾɔɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə˛ɾɑɬ̪] #339; (masc. *u*-stem) CSc. **Bjarnarøy* > ScG *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳə˛ɾaj] #51; (fem. *u*-stem) CSc. **Hafnarøy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊ə˛ɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊ə˛ɾæj] (#319).

§85 (iv) (b) (β) ON *-r* before ON *s-* yields ScG [ʂ] /ʀs/: ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. pl. > ScG **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʲʰĩŋg̊ə˛ʂt̪aɣ] (#95); cf. ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊ə˛ʂt̪aɣ] #245, with syncope §44 (ii). For ScG *Ratharsair*, see §85 (iv) (b) (α).

§85 (iv) (b) (γ) ON *-r* survives as a result of metathesis §40 (ii): ON **Galtargil* > ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈg̊ɑɬ̪ɾə˛g̊ʲil] (#188) (Skye); ON **Stím-árvág* acc. > ScG (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲʲĩːmɾə˛vaɣ], [ˈʃtʲʲĩəmɾə˛vaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲʲĩːmə˛ɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲʲĩəmə˛ɾaɣ] #310; and *rnar* > *nnar* > *nnra* yields [ɾ] /ʀ/ in ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːrɪ˛g̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410).

§85 (iv) (b) (δ) But, assuming that the following reconstructions are correct, ON *-r* often does not survive, frequently as a result of syncope §44 (ii): ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-a˛g̊əɾʲ] #74; OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnə˛vaɣ] #319; OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. > ScG **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnə˛n̪̊t̪əɬ̪] (#319); OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* > ScG *Tamnaiseal* (*[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəʃ˛vaɬ̪] >) [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnə˛ʃaɬ̪] (#319); ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪⁽ᵊ⁾mə˛g̊ʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> ScG *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲi˛ʃaḍ̪əɾ] #181; ON **Kallaðarnes* > ScG *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊a˛niʃ] #94; ON **Kráargróf* > ScG *Crathagro* *[ˈkʰɾa-ə˛g̊ɾo] ((nMO) [ˈkʰɾɑ-ə˛kro]) (#157, fn 327); ON **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > ScG *Cùilea-*

air *[ˈmɔɻəɾ(ʲ)], *[ˈmɔ̃ɻəɾ(ʲ)] (#273). Bheirear (m.e. le Oftedal 1980, 184; Cox 2009a, 23) GA *Hiort* (*Hirt*) [ˈhiʂt] à SL *Hirtir* ainmn. iol. (na bhun-*u* fireann) (#315). §85

§85 (iv) (a) (γ) SL *-ur*
(bun-*ōn* boir.) SL **Brekkur* iol. > GA *Breacair* [ˈbɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ] (#80); SL **Brokkur* iol. > GA *Brocair* [ˈbɾɔʰkəɾʲ] #80; SL **Púfur* iol. > GA *Tùthair* [ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-əɾʲ], [ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-u̟ɾʲ] #344.

§85 (iv) (b) **SL** *-r* ann an dùnaidhean ginideach
Mairidh SL *-r* dheiridh aig dùnaidhean ginideach na GA [ɾ] /r/, a dh'fhaodas a bhith a' dol na [ɾʲ] /r′/ §13, sna leanas:

§85 (iv) (b) (α) > GA [ɾ] /r/ ro fhuaimreig no ro SL *h-* thùsail (a chaillear),ˣ: (bun-*ō* boir.) LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GT **Rásaráir* (> **Ráarsáir* > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈʀɑ-ɑʀ̪ʂɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650), le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii)); (bun-*ijo* boir.) SL **Eyrará* > GA **Èirearaigh* (MO) *[ˈeːrˊərəɻ] (#180, bn 399); (bun-*i* boir.) SL **Toptarhól* cusp. > GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə˛ɾɔɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə˛ɾɑɬ̪] #339; (bun-*u* fir.) LB **Bjarnarøy* > GA *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳə˛ɾaj] #51; (bun-*u* boir.) LB **Hafnarøy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊ə˛ɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪̊ə˛ɾæj] (#319).

§85 (iv) (b) (β) Bheir SL *-r* ro SL *s-* GA [ʂ] /ʀs/: SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. iol. > GA **Tiongarstadh* *[ˈtʲʲʰĩŋg̊ə˛ʂt̪aɣ] (#95); coim. SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊ə˛ʂt̪aɣ] #245, le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii). Airson GA *Ratharsair*, faic §85 (iv) (b) (α).

§85 (iv) (b) (γ) Mairidh SL *-r* le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii): SL **Galtargil* > GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈg̊ɑɬ̪ɾə˛g̊ʲil] (#188) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach); SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. > GA (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲʲĩːmɾə˛vaɣ], [ˈʃtʲʲĩəmɾə˛vaɣ], (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲʲĩːmə˛ɾaɣ], [ˈʃtʲʲĩəmə˛ɾaɣ] #310; is bheir *rnar* > *nnar* > *nnra* [ɾ] /ʀ/ ann an SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːrɪ˛g̊ʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410).

§85 (iv) (b) (δ) Ach, a' gabhail ris gu bheil na h-ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais a leanas ceart, cha mhair SL *-r* thùsail gu tric, gu minig mar thoradh air teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii): SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-a˛g̊əɾʲ] #74; SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnə˛vaɣ] #319; SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. > GA **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnə˛n̪̊t̪əɬ̪] (#319); SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* > GA *Tamnaiseal* (*[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəʃ˛vaɬ̪] >) [ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnə˛ʃaɬ̪] (#319); SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪⁽ᵊ⁾mə˛g̊ʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr* ?> GA *Eòiriseadar* [ˈjɔːɾʲi˛ʃaḍ̪əɾ] #181; SL **Kallaðarnes* > GA *Callanis* [ˈkʰɑl̪̊a˛niʃ] #94; SL **Kráargróf* > GA *Crathagro* *[ˈkʰɾa-ə˛g̊ɾo] ((nMO) [ˈkʰɾɑ-ə˛kro]) (#157, bn 327); SL **Kví-hlíð(ar)toptir* > GA *Cùileatotar* [ˈkʰu̟ːlə˛t̪oʰt̪əɾ] #163; SL

§85 *totar* [ˈkʰʉːlə ˌn̪oʰt̪ər] #163; ON **Kví-víkartoptir* > ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌn̪oʰt̪ər] #160; ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* [ˈmãl̪ˠəˌniʃ] (#62); ON **Ráarnes* > ScG *Rathanis* [ˈrɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; OWNorn **Tumsgerði* or **Tumssonargerði* > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟m͡ʉ̟ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

§85 (v) Post-stress **ON *-rr***

ON *-rr* > ScG [ɾ] /ʀ/: ON **Barrasætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾiˌʃad̪̊ər] #70; ON **Vatnit Kyrra* > ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124).

§85 (vi) **ON *-rð***

§85 (vi) (a) In post-stress position

§85 (vi) (a) (α) ON *-rð* > ScG [ɾ]:

1. CSc. **Barð-øy* > ScG *Barraigh* [ˈb̥ɑɾaj] (#314); ON **Garðabólstað* acc. > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈɡ̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; ON **Harð-á* > ScG *Torraigh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] #338; ON **Vǫrðusætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾiˌʃad̪̊ər] #70; ON *rð* + *d* > [d̥] /ʀd/: ON **Svarð-dal* acc. > ScG *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌd̥əɬ̪] #312.

2. With lengthening of the stressed vowel: ON *garð* acc. > ScG *gàrradh* [ˈɡ̊ɑːɾəɣ] (#182); ON **Milli Garða* > ScG *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈɡ̊ɑːɾi] (#172) §37 (ii) (c); ON *gerði* > ScG *geàrraidh* [ˈɡ̊ʲɑːɾi] (#192); ON **Jarð(ar)bý* > ScG *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̥i] #182; ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. > ScG *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əɬ̪] #183;

3. and where ON *rðs* gives ScG [s̪] /ʀs/: ON **Þórðssætr* > ScG **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪ad̪̊ər] (#56) and ON **Þórðsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɡ̊ʲ] (#56, fn 110).

4. However, ON *rð* before *h* becomes ScG [d̥] /ʀd/, with fortition: ON **Skarð-holm* acc. > ScG **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪kɑːˌd̥am] (#330).

§85 (vi) (a) (β) After a short vowel, ON *-rð* > ScG [ɾ̝ɣ], [ɾ̝ɣ], with epenthesis §42 (ii) (f): ON *urð* > ScG **urrdh* *[ˈuɾ̝ʉɣ] (#182, fn 413); ON **Gerða* > ScG **Geardha* *[ˈɡ̊ʲaɾ̝əɣə] (#191).

§85 (vi) (a) (γ) ON *rð* in ON *byrðing* acc. was a 'thick *l*', i.e. a slightly retroflex flapped *r*, corresponding with an allophone of *l*, hence ScG *birlinn* [ˈb̥iːɭ̆iɲ̟] (#184), with lengthening of the stressed vowel.

§85 (vi) (b) In weakly stressed position

§85 (vi) (b) (α) ON *gerði* retains its independent form in Gaelic (except for a short stressed vowel) in ON **Bygging-gerði* > ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̥eɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪ˠ(ə)məˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #21; ON **Kofagerði* > ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); ON **Króargerði* > ScG *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; OWNorn **Tumsgerði* > ScG *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟m͡ʉ̟ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

**Kví-víkartoptir* > GA *Cuidhbheatotar* [ˈkʰəivəˌn̪oʰt̪ər] #160; SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* [ˈmãl̪ˠəˌniʃ] (#62); SL **Ráarnes* > GA *Rathanis* [ˈrɑ-aˌniʃ] #277; SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* no **Tumssonargerði* > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟m͡ʉ̟ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342. §85

§85 (v) **SL *-rr*** iar-bheumach

SL *-rr* > GA [ɾ] /ʀ/: SL **Barrasætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾiˌʃad̪̊ər] #70; SL **Vatnit Kyrra* > GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] (#124).

§85 (vi) **SL *-rð***

§85 (vi) (a) Ann an suidheachadh iar-bheumach

§85 (vi) (a) (α) SL *-rð* > GA [ɾ]:

1. LB **Barð-øy* > GA *Barraigh* [ˈb̥ɑɾaj] (#314); SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. > GA *Garrabost* [ˈɡ̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #189; SL **Harð-á* > GA *Torraigh* [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] #338; SL **Vǫrðusætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔɾiˌʃad̪̊ər] #70; SL *rð* + *d* > [d̥] /ʀd/: SL **Svarð-dal* cusp. > GA *Suardal* [ˈs̪uəˌd̥əɬ̪] #312.

2. Le fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte: SL *garð* cusp. > GA *gàrradh* [ˈɡ̊ɑːɾəɣ] (#182); SL **Milli Garða* > GA *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎə ˈɡ̊ɑːɾi] (#172) §37 (ii) (c); SL *gerði* > GA *geàrraidh* [ˈɡ̊ʲɑːɾi] (#192); SL **Jarð(ar)bý* > GA *Eòrrabidh* [ˈjɔːɾəˌb̥i] #182; SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. > GA *Eòrradal* [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əɬ̪] #183;

3. agus far an toir SL *rðs* GA [s̪] /ʀs/: SL **Þórðssætr* > GA **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪ad̪̊ər] (#56) agus SL **Þórðsvík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɡ̊ʲ] (#56, bn 110).

4. Gidheadh, thèid SL *rð* ro *h* na GA [d̥] /ʀd/, le neartachadh: SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. > GA **Sgàrdam* [ˈs̪kɑːˌd̥am] (#330).

§85 (vi) (a) (β) An dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-rð* > GA [ɾ̝ɣ], [ɾ̝ɣ], le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (f): SL *urð* > GA **urrdh* *[ˈuɾ̝ʉɣ] (#182, bn 413); SL **Gerða* > GA **Geardha* *[ˈɡ̊ʲaɾ̝əɣə] (#191).

§85 (vi) (a) (γ) Bha SL *rð* ann an SL *byrðing* cusp. na '*l* thiugh', .i. *r* ghnogach a bha caran cùl-lùbach, a' co-fhreagradh ri eil-fhuinneam aig *l*, às a sin GA *birlinn* [ˈb̥iːɭ̆iɲ̟] (#184), le fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte.

§85 (vi) (b) Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte

§85 (vi) (b) (α) Cumaidh SL *gerði* a chruth neo-eisimeileach sa Ghàidhlig (ach le fuaimreig bheumte ghoirid) ann an SL **Bygging-gerði* > GA *Beagnaigearraidh* [ˈb̥eɡ̊nəˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #49; SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* [ˈaːs̪ˠ(ə)məˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #21; SL **Kofagerði* > GA **Cadhaigearraidh* *[ˈkʰa-iˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] (#253); SL **Króargerði* > GA *Crothairgearraidh* [ˈkʰɾɔ-əˌɡ̊ʲɑɾi] #158; SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* > GA *Tuimsgearraidh* [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟m͡ʉ̟ˌʃkʲɑɾi] #342.

§85 §85 (vi) (b) (β) But ON *gerði* becomes ScG [ˌgʲəɾʲ], with apocope §44 (iii), vowel reduction and [ɾʲ] /rˊ/, in ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰãːɾɪˌgʲəɾʲ] (#182, fn 410); cf. ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. > ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈbˠɾa-aˌgəɾʲ] #74; ON **Rauðaskarð* > ScG *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌsˠkəɾʲ] #282; ON **Tangavarða* > ScG **Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgˠəˌvəɾʲ] (#74); ON **Fyljavarða* > ScG **Bhileabhair* *[ˈviləˌvəɾʲ] (#186, fn 430).

§85 (vi) (b) (γ) ON **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* acc. (nom.) yields ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌgˠɔr̠miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172), via morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (b).

§85 (vi) (b) (δ) Also via morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (a), ON *-fjǫrð* acc. becomes ScG *-phort* (i.e. lenited *port*), i.e. -[fɔd̪] or, with loss of the initial, -[ɔd̪]: ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəsˠɔd̪] (#180, fn 399); ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌsˠɔd̪] (#112); ON **Síð(u)·fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪] (#113); ON **Ý-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Iuthort* *[ˈju-ɔd̪], also *[ˈjuhɔd̪] (#174); contrast ON **Svan-fjǫrð* or **Svín-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɾs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (mainland Scotland).

§85 (vii) Post-stress **ON *-rf***

§85 (vii) (a) After a short vowel, ON *-rf* > ScG [r̂v] /r̂v/ with epenthesis §42 (ii) (g) in position final: ON *karfa* acc. > ScG *carbh* [ˈkʰar̂av] (#47 (iii)), with apocope §44 (iii); CSc. **hvarf* > ScG *carbh* [ˈkʰar̂av] and *parbh* [pʰar̂av] (#47); ON *skarf* acc. > ScG *sgarbh* [ˈs̪kar̂av] §8.

§85 (vii) (b) Also before a weakly stressed vowel: CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* [ˈbˠar̂aˌvəs̪] #47; ON **Torf-á* > ScG **Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰar̂aˌvaj] (#115).

§85 (vii) (c) Also before a consonant (or [ɾ̂ʃ] /r̂ʃ/ before a voiceless consonant) before loss of the fricative: ON **Torfastað* acc. pl. > ScG *Torfhstaidh* [ˈt̪ʰɔr̂ˌs̪t̪aj] #337; ON *torf-skeri* > ScG *tarfhsgeir* [ˈt̪ʰar̂aˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337).

§85 (vii) (d) In CSc. **Orfirisøy* > ScG *[ˈɔr̂vəs̪æj] > *[ˈɔr̂-əs̪æj] > *Orasaigh* [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259, the fricative has yielded hiatus, which is now lost through syncope §44 (ii).

§85 (viii) **ON *-rg***

ON *rg* is represented in Gaelic in different ways. It is likely the cluster became EG (broad) [ɾɣ] /ʁɣ/, (slender) [ɾʲj] /ʁˊɣˊ/ first of all, then EG (broad) [ɾɣ] /rɣ/, (slender) [ɾʲj] /rˊɣˊ/, while the situation was more complex once stressed epenthesis (svarabhakti) §42 (ii) (h) emerged between *r* and *g* following short vowels in Gaelic during the 13th c.; in addition, the various reflexes were often weakened over time, especially in weakly stressed syllables.

§85 §85 (vi) (b) (β) Ach thèid SL *gerði* na GA [ˌgʲəɾʲ], le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii), lùghdachadh fuaimreige agus [ɾʲ] /rˊ/, ann an SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰãːɾɪˌgʲəɾʲ] (#182, bn 410); coim. SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. > GA *Bradhagair* [ˈbˠɾa-aˌgəɾʲ] #74; SL **Rauðaskarð* > GA *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌsˠkəɾʲ] #282; SL **Tangavarða* > GA **Tangabhair* *[ˈt̪ʰãŋgˠəˌvəɾʲ] (#74); SL **Fyljavarða* > GA **Bhileabhair* *[ˈviləˌvəɾʲ] (#186, bn 430).

§85 (vi) (b) (γ) Bheir SL **Garð(r)inn milli Vatna* cusp. (ainmn.) GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌgˠɔr̠miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] (#172), le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (b).

§85 (vi) (b) (δ) Cuideachd le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (a), thèid SL *-fjǫrð* cusp. na GA *-phort* (.i. *port* air a shèimheachadh), .i. -[fɔd̪] no, le call an toisich, -[ɔd̪]: SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Èireasort* *[ˈeːɾʲəsˠɔd̪] (#180, bn 399); SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* *[ˈɾeːˌsˠɔd̪] (#112); SL **Síð(u)·fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Sìophort* *[ˈʃiːˌfɔd̪] (#113); SL **Ý-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Iuthort* *[ˈju-ɔd̪], cuideachd *[ˈjuhɔd̪] (#174); iomsgaraich SL **Svan-fjǫrð* no **Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA *Suaineart* [ˈs̪ũãnɑɾs̪t̪] (#311 (iii)) (tìr-mòr na h-Albann).

§85 (vii) **SL *-rf*** iar-bheumach

§85 (vii) (a) An dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-rf* > GA [r̂v] /r̂v/ le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (g) ann an suidheachadh deiridh: SL *karfa* cusp. > GA *carbh* [ˈkʰar̂av] (#47 (iii)), le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii); LB **hvarf* > GA *carbh* [ˈkʰar̂av] agus *parbh* [pʰar̂av] (#47); SL *skarf* cusp. > GA *sgarbh* [ˈs̪kar̂av] §8.

§85 (vii) (b) Mar an ceudna ro fhuaimreig lag-bheumte: LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* [ˈbˠar̂aˌvəs̪] #47; SL **Torf-á* > GA **Tarbhaigh* *[ˈt̪ʰar̂aˌvaj] (#115).

§85 (vii) (c) Mar an ceudna ro chonnraig (no [ɾ̂ʃ] /r̂ʃ/ ro chonnraig neoghuthach) mus caillear an suathach: SL **Torfastað* cusp. iol. > GA *Torfhstaidh* > [ˈt̪ʰɔr̂ˌs̪t̪aj] #337; SL *torf-skeri* > GA *tarfhsgeir* > [ˈt̪ʰar̂aˌʃkʲəɾʲ] (#337).

§85 (vii) (d) Ann an LB **Orfirisøy* > GA *[ˈɔr̂vəs̪æj] > *[ˈɔr̂-əs̪æj] > *Orasaigh* [ˈɔɾəˌs̪æj] #259, tha an suathach air a dhol na bheàrnas, a tha a-nise air chall le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii).

§85 (viii) **SL *-rg***

Tha SL *rg* [rɣ] air a riochdachadh sa Ghàidhlig air atharrachadh dhòigh. Is coltach gun deach an còmhlan na GT (leathann) [ɾɣ] /ʁɣ/, (caol) [ɾʲj] /ʁˊɣˊ/ an toiseach, an uair sin na GT (leathann) [rɣ] /rɣ/, (caol) [rʲj] /rˊɣˊ/, agus bha an suidheachadh na bu toinnte nuair a dh'èirich còmhnadh beumte (svarabhakti) §42 (ii) (h) eadar *r* is *g* a' leantainn fhuaimreagan goirid sa Ghàidhlig san 13mh linn; a thuilleadh, chaidh an caochladh riochdan a lagachadh gu tric ri ùine, gu h-àraidh ann an lidean lag-bheumte.

§85 §85 (viii) (a) In a broad environment

§85 (viii) (a) (α) ON *-rg* > EG [ɾɣ] /ʀɣ/ > ScG [ɾ] /ʀ/: (in weakly stressed position) ON **Borgin á Glumm* > ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈg̊l̥ɔ̃ũm] #48, with reduction of the Old Norse article and preposition *á*; ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, fn 94).

§85 (viii) (a) (β) ON *-rg* > EG [ɾɣ] /rɣ/

1. > ScG [r͡ɣ] /r͡ɣ/: ON **Borg* > ScG *Borgh* [ˈb̥ɔr͡ɔɣ] #68; ON *dorg* > ScG *dorgh* [ˈd̥ɔr͡ɔɣ] (#47).

2. Before a vowel, hiatus may be found in place of the fricative: OWNorn **Borg-sátr* (< ON **Borg-sætr*) > ScG *Borghastar* [ˈb̥ɔr͡ɔ**(ɣ)**əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, fn 701); OWNorn **Borg-stamn* > ScG *Borghaston* [ˈb̥ɔr͡ɔ**(ɣ)**əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69.

3. In weakly stressed position, the fricative has a tendency to be lost: ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiḍ̥əˌb̥ɔr͡ɔ**(ɣ)**] #329. For ScG **Barabhat*, see §101 (iv) (i), fn 33.

4. If the reconstruction ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. is correct, ScG *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌg̊əɾʲ] #74 is the result of morphemic substitution §37 (i) (b).

§85 (viii) (b) In a slender environment
ON *-rg* > EG [ɾ͡ʲj] /rˊɣˊ/ > ScG **[ɾ͡ʲj] */rˊ͡ɣˊ/:

§85 (viii) (b) (α) In stressed syllables

1. The fricative is lost before a consonant: ON **Berg-rá* > ScG *Beirghro* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲeˌɾo] #59; ON **Bergsgjá* > ScG *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̥øɾ͡ʲøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58).

2. The fricative is replaced by hiatus before a vowel: ON **Bergsøy* > ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58.

3. The cluster ON *-rgi* in final position yields ScG [ɾ͡ʲj]: ON *bergi* dat. > ScG *beirgh* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲ**ej**] (#57).

§85 (viii) (b) (β) In weakly stressed syllables

1. The fricative is lost in final position: ON **Heið-berg* acc. > ScG **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58), with reduction of stress in the final syllable, cf. (3.), below.

2. The cluster ON *-rgi* in final position yields ScG [ɾ͡ʲj]: ON **Band(a)bergi* dat. > ScG *Banndabeirgh* [ˈb̥ãũn̪̊d̪əˌb̥øɾ͡ʲ**øj**] (#58) and (with loss of the Old Norse article) ON **Bergit Lága* > ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾ͡ʲ**øj** ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58);

3. although stressed epenthesis is lost through further reduction in ON **Heið-bergi* dat. > ScG *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥ᵊɾʲ**i**] (#58) and ON **Þingvall-ærgi* > ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲ**i**] (#95), cf. (1.), above.

§85 §85 (viii) (a) Ann an àrainn leathainn

§85 (viii) (a) (α) SL *-rg* > GT [ɾɣ] /ʀɣ/ > GA [ɾ] /ʀ/: (ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte) SL **Borgin á Glumm* > GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈg̊l̥ɔ̃ũm] #48, le lùghdachadh an uilt is an roimheir Lochlannais *á*; SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* [ˈɾɔʰkəˌb̥ɑɾə] (#48, bn 94).

§85 (viii) (a) (β) SL *-rg* > GT [ɾɣ] /rɣ/

1. > GA [r͡ɣ] /r͡ɣ/: SL **Borg* > GA *Borgh* [ˈb̥ɔr͡ɔɣ] #68; SL *dorg* > GA *dorgh* [ˈd̥ɔr͡ɔɣ] (#47).

2. Ro fhuaimreig, faodar beàrnas a lorg an àite an t-suathaich: SNòrnI **Borg-sátr* (< SL **Borg-sætr*) > GA *Borghastar* [ˈb̥ɔr͡ɔ**(ɣ)**əˌs̪t̪əɾ] (#296, bn 701); SNòrnI **Borg-stamn* > GA *Borghaston* [ˈb̥ɔr͡ɔ**(ɣ)**əˌs̪t̪ɔn] #69.

3. Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, is dual an suathach a chall: SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* [ˈtʲʰiḍ̥əˌb̥ɔr͡ɔ**(ɣ)**] #329. Airson GA **Barabhat*, faic §101 (iv) (i), bn 33.

4. Mas ceart an t-ath-dhèanamh SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp., is e ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (i) (b) as coireach ri GA *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌg̊əɾʲ] #74.

§85 (viii) (b) Ann an àrainn chaoil
SL *-rg* > GT [ɾ͡ʲj] /rˊ͡ɣˊ/ > GA **[ɾ͡ʲj] */rˊ͡ɣˊ/:

§85 (xiv) (b) (α) Ann an lidean beumte

1. Caillear an suathach ro chonnraig: SL **Berg-rá* > GA *Beirghro* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲeˌɾo] #59; SL **Bergsgjá* > GA *Beirghsgeadh* [ˈb̥øɾ͡ʲøˌʃkʲaɣ] (#58).

2. Cuirear beàrnas an àite an t-suathaich ro fhuaimreig: SL **Bergsøy* > GA *Beirgheasaigh* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲe-əˌs̪aj] #58.

3. Bheir an còmhlan SL *-rgi* ann an suidheachadh deiridh GA [ɾ͡ʲj]: SL *bergi* tabh. > GA *beirgh* [ˈb̥eɾ͡ʲ**ej**] (#57).

§85 (xiv) (b) (β) Ann an lidean lag-bheumte

1. Caillear an suathach ann an suidheachadh deiridh: SL **Heið-berg* cusp. > GA **Thèibeirgh* *[ˈheːˌb̥əɾʲə] (#58), le lùghdachadh ann am beum na fuaimreige deiridh, coim. (3.), shìos.

2. Bheir an còmhlan SL *-rgi* ann an suidheachadh deiridh GA [ɾ͡ʲj]: SL **Band(a)bergi* tabh. > GA *Banndabeirgh* [ˈb̥ãũn̪̊d̪əˌb̥øɾ͡ʲ**øj**] (#58) agus (le call an uilt Lochlannais) SL **Bergit Lága* > GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌb̥øɾ͡ʲ**øj** ˈl̪ɑːɣə] (#58);

3. ged a thèid còmhnadh beumte air chall le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh ann an SL **Heið-bergi* tabh. > GA *Thèibeiridh* [ˈheːˌb̥ᵊɾʲ**i**] (#58) agus SL **Þingvall-ærgi* > GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲ**i**] (#95), coim. (1.), shuas.

§85 §85 (ix) Post-stress **ON** ***-rk***

§85 (ix) (a) ON *-rk* > ScG [ɾ̥k] /rk/ˣ: ON **Korkavík* > ScG **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̥kəˌviɠʲ] (#88); ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc. > ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̥kaˌs̪t̪əɬ̪] (#125, fn 278); ON **Mark-hól* acc. > ScG **Marcol* *[ˈmãɾ̥kɔl̪̊] (#125, fn 278).

§85 (ix) (b) ON *-rk* > ScG [ɾ̥ʲkʲ] /rˊkˊ/ˊ: ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. > ScG *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɾ̥ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125.

§85 (x) Post-stress **ON** ***-rl***
ON *-rl* > ScG [l̪] /ʀl/ in all environments: ON **Karlafjall* > ScG *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvaɬ̪] (#98); ON **Karlavág* acc. > ScG *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; and in ON *Sumarliði* > ScG *Somhairle* [ˈs̪õ-əl̪ə] (#311 (i), fn 733), with morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (e).

§85 (xi) Post-stress **ON** ***-rm***
After a short vowel, ON *-rm* > ScG [m̂] /m̂/, with epenthesis §42 (ii) (i): ON *Þormund* acc. > ScG *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂amɔd̪̊] (#93).

§85 (xii) Post-stress **ON** ***-rn***
ON *-rn* > ScG [ɳ] /ʀn/, with lengthening of the stressed vowel: ON **Arn-hol* > ScG *Àrnal* [ˈɑːɳəɬ̪] #20; CSc. **Bjarnarøy* > ScG *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj] #51; ON **Korn-nes* > ScG *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɳiʃ] #99; ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. > ScG *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309; for ON **Tjarn·argerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰãːɾɪˌg̊ʲəɾʲ], see #182, fn 410.

§85 (xiii) Clusters with **ON** *r* + *s*:

§85 (xiii) (a) ON *-rs* > ScG [s̪] /ʀs/: ON *fors* > ScG *fors* [ˈfɔs̪] (*Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ ə ˈɸɔs̪ə]) (#180, fn 400); ON **Gjórsætr* > ScG *Giùrsadar* [ˈg̊ʲuːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #207; ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #325; ON **Ker*(*s*)*sætr* > ScG *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #120; ON **Þjór-sætr* > ScG *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #327; ON **Þórsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɠʲ] (#56, fn 110); ON *þurs* > ScG *turs*(*a*) [ˈt̪ʰus̪(ə)] (#31 (i)), with apocope §44 (iii); ON **Ærsætr* > ScG *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #225; contrast CSc. **Rásarøyjar* pl. > ScG *Ratharsair* [ˈʀɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, fn 650).

§85 (xiii) (b) ON *-rðs*(*s*) > ScG [s̪] /ʀs/: ON **Þórðssætr* > ScG **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] (#56); ON **Þórðsvík* > ScG **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɠʲ] (#56, fn 110).

§85 (xiii) (c) ON *-rsg*, *-rsk* > ScG [s̪k] /ʀsg/: ON **Marsgil* > ScG *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kɪl] #257; but ON *þorsk* acc. > ScG *trosg* [t̪ʰɾɔs̪k] (#31 (i)), with metathesis §40 (ii).

§85 (xiii) (d) ON *-r*(*s*)*st* > ScG [s̪t̪] /ʀsd/: ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩəməˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; ON **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > ScG *Cabh·arstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌs̪t̪aj] #90; ON **Mangarastaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245, with syncope §44 (ii); ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. > ScG *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲig̊əˌs̪t̪aj] #294.

§85 §85 (ix) **SL** ***-rk*** iar-bheumach

§85 (ix) (a) SL *-rk* > GA [ɾ̥k] /rk/ˣ: SL **Korkavík* > GA **Corcabhig* *[ˈkʰɔɾ̥kəˌviɠʲ] (#88); SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp. > GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾ̥kaˌs̪t̪əɬ̪] (#125, bn 278); SL **Mark-hól* cusp. > GA **Marcol* *[ˈmãɾ̥kɔl̪̊] (#125, bn 278).

§85 (ix) (b) SL *-rk* > GA [ɾ̥ʲkʲ] /rˊkˊ/ˊ: SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. > GA *Circeabost* [ˈkʲʰiɾ̥ʲkʲəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] #125.

§85 (x) **SL** ***-rl*** iar-bheumach
SL *-rl* > GA [l̪] /ʀl/ anns gach àrainn: SL **Karlafjall* > GA *Còrlabhal* [ˈkʰɔːl̪əˌvaɬ̪] (#98); SL **Karlavág* cusp. > GA *Càrlabhagh* [ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ] #98; is ann an SL *Sumarliði* > GA *Somhairle* [ˈs̪õ-əl̪ə] (#311 (i), bn 733), le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (e).

§85 (xi) **SL** ***-rm*** iar-bheumach
An dèidh fuaimreige goirid, SL *-rm* > GA [m̂] /m̂/, le còmhnadh §42 (ii) (i): SL *Þormund* cusp. > GA *Tormod* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂amɔd̪̊] (#93).

§85 (xii) **SL** ***-rn*** iar-bheumach
SL *-rn* > GA [ɳ] /ʀn/, le fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte: SL **Arn-hol* > GA *Àrnal* [ˈɑːɳəɬ̪] #20; LB **Bjarnarøy* > GA *Beàrnaraigh* [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj] #51; SL **Korn-nes* > GA *Càrnis* [ˈkʰɑːˌɳiʃ] #99; SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* *[ˈuːɳəˌvaɣ] (#117); SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. > GA *Steòrnabhagh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ] #309; airson SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰãːɾɪˌg̊ʲəɾʲ], faic #182, bn 410.

§85 (xiii) Còmhlain le **SL** *r* + *s*:

§85 (xiii) (a) SL *-rs* > GA [s̪] /ʀs/: SL *fors* > GA *fors* [ˈfɔs̪] (*Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ ə ˈɸɔs̪ə]) (#180, bn 400); SL **Gjórsætr* > GA *Giùrsadar* [ˈg̊ʲuːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #207; SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* [ˈhãməˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #325; SL **Ker*(*s*)*sætr* > GA *Cearsadar* [ˈkʲʰɑˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #120; SL **Þjór-sætr* > GA *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #327; SL **Þórsvík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɠʲ] (#56, bn 110); SL *þurs* > GA *turs*(*a*) [ˈt̪ʰus̪(ə)] (#31 (i)), le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii); SL **Ærsætr* > GA *Iarsadar* [ˈiɑˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] #225; iomsgaraich LB **Rásarøyjar* iol. > GA *Ratharsair* [ˈʀɑ-ɑɾs̪ɛɾʲ] (#281, bn 650).

§85 (xiii) (b) SL *-rðs*(*s*) > GA [s̪] /ʀs/: SL **Þórðssætr* > GA **Thòrsadar* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪ad̪̊əɾ] (#56); SL **Þórðsvík* > GA **Thòrsaig* *[ˈhɔːˌs̪iɠʲ] (#56, bn 110).

§85 (xiii) (c) SL *-rsg*, *-rsk* > GA [s̪k] /ʀsg/: SL **Marsgil* > GA *Morsgail* [ˈmɔ̃ˌs̪kɪl] #257; ach SL *þorsk* cusp. > GA *trosg* [t̪ʰɾɔs̪k] (#31 (i)), le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii).

§85 (xiii) (d) SL *-r*(*s*)*st* > GA [s̪t̪] /ʀsd/: SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈg̊ɾʲĩəməˌs̪t̪aɣ] #223; SL **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* > GA *Cabharstaidh* [ˈkʰavəˌs̪t̪aj] #90; SL **Mangarastaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Mangarstadh* [ˈmãŋg̊əˌs̪t̪aɣ] #245, le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii); SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. > GA *Sgiogarstaidh* [ˈs̪kʲig̊əˌs̪t̪aj] #294.

§85 §85 (xiv) Post-stress **ON *-rt***

§85 (xiv) (a) ON *-rt* > ScG [ʂt] /ʁsd/: CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn* > ScG **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂtəˌvaʰt̪] (#121); ON **Hjart-øy* > ScG *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌʂtaj] #121; ON *Hirtir* pl. > ScG *Hiort* [hiʂt] (#315).

§85 (xiv) (b) ON *-rt* + *b* > ScG [ʂp] /ʁsb/, with loss of the dental: ON *svart-bak* acc. > ScG *arspag* [ˈɑʂpaǧ] (#311 (i)).

§85 §85 (xiv) **SL *-rt*** iar-bheumach

§85 (xiv) (a) SL *-rt* > GA [ʂt] /ʁsd/: LB **Hjart(a)vatn* > GA **Ceartabhat* *[ˈkʲʰɑʂtəˌvaʰt̪] (#121); SL **Hjart-øy* > GA *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌʂtaj] #121; SL *Hirtir* iol. > GA *Hiort* [hiʂt] (#315).

§85 (xiv) (b) SL *-rt* + *b* > GA [ʂp] /ʁsb/, le call an deudaich: SL *svart-bak* cusp. > GA *arspag* [ˈɑʂpaǧ] (#311 (i)).

An account of the frequency and semantic range of place-name elements in the collection,[1] of both Gaelic elements and Old Norse elements in loan-names, is given in §86–§96 below. An account of loans found in the collection is given in §97–§98 and the question of translation in §99. Old Norse words are cited in their nominative case unless otherwise stated.

§86 Elements identifying natural features

§86 (i) Coastal

§86 (i) (a) Shoreline

ScG *tràigh* m. in the sense 'sandy shore' is found twice (*Tràigh an Teampaill* #340, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341) and ScG *mol* m. in the sense 'shingle, pebble beach' 4 times (*Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol na Hearadh* #254, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255, *Mol Truisg* #256).

In loan-names, ON *sjúr* m. 'sea'[2] (*Siùiliseadar* #301), ON *land* nt. 'shore' (**Tinndealan* (#270)) and perhaps ON *møl* m. 'shingle, pebble beach' (**Molair* (#273)) are found.

§86 (i) (b) Promontories

ScG *àird* f. 'headland' is the commonest element in this category, appearing 7 times as generic (*An Àird* #6, *Àird an t-Sròim* #7, *An Àird Bheag* #8, *Àird Dhail* #9, *Àird Drobhanis* #10, *Àird Thunga* #11, *Àird Ùig* #12), once as specific (*Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198); followed by ScG *rubha* m. 'promontory' (*Rubha an Tiompain* #283, *Rubha Robhanis* #284) and ScG *ceannmhor* m./f. 'anvil-shaped promontory' (*An Ceannmhor* #119, *A' Cheannmhor* #118) twice each, and ScG *ceann* m. 'headland' (*An Ceann Beag* #104), ScG *tiompan* m. 'high headland' (*Rubha an Tiompain* #283), ScG *gnìp* m. (*An Gnìp* #216) and ScG *beirgh* f. 'protruding promontory' (*A' Bheirgh* #57) once each.

In Old Norse loan-names, ON *nes* nt. is the commonest element in this category, appearing 15 times as generic (*Aiginis* #4, *Ailltinis* #5, *Àranis* #19, *Brèinis* #77, *Buthanis* #89, *Callanis* #94, *Càrnis* #99, **Drobhanis* (#10), *Rathanis* #277, **Robhanis* (#284), *Silltinis* #299–#300, *Stèinis* #308, *Tanganis* #321, *Tòranis* #336). Several other elements occur by semantic extension in the sense 'protruding promontory': ON *berg* nt. 'cliff' (*Beirgheasaigh* #58), ON *hyrna* f. 'axe-head' (**Ùrnabhagh* (#117)), ON *rófa* f. 'tail' (*Beirghro* #59), ON *stafn* (or OWNorn **stamn*) m. 'prow' (*Borghaston* #69), ON *tangi* f. 'tongue'

1. I.e. Excluding those in Appendix I.

2. For the sense 'freshwater loch', see ON *sær* m. §86 (ii) (h).

Gheibhear cunntas air tricead agus raon ciallachais nan eileamaidean ann an ainmean-àite a' cho-chruinneachaidh,[1] an dà chuid eileamaidean Gàidhlig agus eileamaidean Lochlannais ann an ainmean-iasaid, ann an §86–§96 shìos. Gheibhear cunntas air iasadan a lorgar sa cho-chruinneachadh ann an §97–§98 agus air ceist an eadar-theangachaidh ann an §99. Bheirear iomradh air facail Lochlannais nan tuiseal ainmneach ach far an tèid a chaochladh a ràdh.

§86 Eileamaidean a' sònrachadh fheartan nàdarra

§86 (i) Ris a' mhuir

§86 (i) (a) An cladach

Gheibhear GA *tràigh* b. san t-seagh 'cladach gainmhich' dà uair (*Tràigh an Teampaill* #340, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341) agus GA *mol* f. san t-seagh 'cladach mholagan' 4 uairean (*Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol na Hearadh* #254, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255, *Mol Truisg* #256).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid, gheibhear SL *sjúr* f. 'muir'[2] (*Siùiliseadar* #301), SL *land* n. 'cladach' (**Tinndealan* (#270)) agus is dòcha SL *møl* b. 'mol' (**Molair* (#273)).

§86 (i) (b) Rubhaichean

Is e GA *àird* b. an eileamaid as bitheanta san rang seo, a' nochdadh 7 uairean na seòrsaichear (*An Àird* #6, *Àird an t-Sròim* #7, *An Àird Bheag* #8, *Àird Dhail* #9, *Àird Drobhanis* #10, *Àird Thunga* #11, *Àird Ùig* #12), uair na sònraichear (*Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198); air a leantainn le GA *rubha* f. 'àird, rinn' (*Rubha an Tiompain* #283, *Rubha Robhanis* #284) agus GA *ceannmhor* f./b. 'rubha air chruth innein' (*An Ceannmhor* #119, *A' Cheannmhor* #118) dà uair an tè, agus GA *ceann* f. 'àird, rubha' (*An Ceann Beag* #104), GA *tiompan* f. 'rubha àrd' (*Rubha an Tiompain* #283), GA *gnìp* f. (*An Gnìp* #216) agus GA *beirgh* b. 'rubha stobach' (*A' Bheirgh* #57) uair an tè.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, is e SL *nes* n. an eileamaid as bitheanta san rang seo, a' nochdadh 15 uairean na seòrsaichear (*Aiginis* #4, *Ailltinis* #5, *Àranis* #19, *Brèinis* #77, *Buthanis* #89, *Callanis* #94, *Càrnis* #99, **Drobhanis* (#10), *Rathanis* #277, **Robhanis* (#284), *Silltinis* #299–#300, *Stèinis* #308, *Tanganis* #321, *Tòranis* #336). Gheibhear corra eileamaid eile le sìneadh ciallachais sa bhrìgh 'rubha stobach': SL *berg* n. 'clibh, bearradh' (*Beirgheasaigh* #58), SL *hyrna* b. 'ceann tuaighe' (**Ùrnabhagh* (#117)), SL *rófa* b. 'earball' (*Beirghro* #59), SL *stafn* (no SNòrnI **stamn*) m. 'toiseach-bàta' (*Borghaston* #69), SL *tangi*

1. .i. Às aonais na feadhna ann an Eàrr-sgrìobhadh I.

2. Airson na brìghe 'loch fìor-uisge', faic SL *sær* f. §86 (ii) (h).

§86 (*Tanganis* #321), ON *tindr* m. ‘tooth’ (**Tinndealan* (#270)), ON *tunga* f. ‘tongue’ (*Tunga* #343) and perhaps ON *skegg nt.* ‘beard’ (*Sgiogarstaidh* #294).

§86 (i) (c) Islands, rocks, ledges

The element ScG *eilean* m. occurs 5 times as generic (*Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, *Eilean Iuthort* #174, *Eilean nan Luchraban* #175, *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176, *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177), once as specific (*Caolas an Eilein* #95).

CSc. **øy* (ON *ey*) f. is the common word for ‘island’ in Old Norse loan-names ((9) *Beàrnaraigh* #51, *Beirgheasaigh* #58, *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Bhalasaigh* #62, **Bhuidhea* (#67), *Ceartaigh* #121, *Orasaigh* #259, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, *Ròmaigh* #281) but ON *holmr* m. ‘small island’ is found in *Tolm* #330 and perhaps in *Crùlabhig* #159.

ScG *sgeir* f. refers to a ‘rock in the sea’ (*Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292) – cf. the etymon ON *sker* nt. ‘skerry’ (*Bhataisgeir* #65, *Sùlaisgeir* #314) – and ScG *col m.* ‘hindrance’ is possibly found by extension in the sense ‘skerry, reef’ in *Col* #150. ON *hjallr* m. ‘ledge’ occurs in the loan-name *Teallasbhagh* #322.

§86 (i) (d) Bays

ScG *bàgh* m. ‘bay’ occurs 4 times (*Bàgh Ciaraich* #24, *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25, *Ceann a’ Bhàigh* #102–#103) but ScG *ceann* m. in the sense ‘bay head’ 12 times (*Ceann a’ Bhàigh* #102–#103, *Ceann Chrìonaig* #105, *Ceann Chùisil* #106, *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107, *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108, *Ceann na Caradh* #109, *Ceann Reusort* #112, *Ceann Shìophort* #113, *Ceann Tarbhaigh* #115, *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116, *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* #117). ScG *ùigean* m. is a ‘small bay’ (*Na h-Ùigean* #345) and ScG *linne* f. (*Àth an Linne* #22) and perhaps ScG *poll* m. (*Am Poll Dubh* #272) mean ‘tidal pool’.

In Old Norse loan-names, ON *vágr* m. is a ‘bay’ ((9) *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Càrlabhagh* #98, *Leumrabhagh* #235, **Reumsabhagh* (#25), *Steòrnabhagh* #309, *Stìomrabhagh* #310, *Tamnabhagh* #319, *Teallasbhagh* #322, **Ùrnabhagh* (#117)) and ON *fjǫrðr* m. a ‘deep sea loch or fiord’ ((3) **Iuthort* (#174), **Reusort* (#112), **Sìophort* (#113)). ON *vík* f. denotes a ‘bay or small bay’ ((14) *Ùig* (#12), *Brèibhig* #76, *Cirbhig* #124, **Corcabhig* (#88), *Crùlabhig* #159, ?*Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Fìbhig* #185, *Gràsabhig* #218, *Ìslibhig* #228, *Marabhig* #246, *Sanndabhig* #285, *Sanndaig* #286, *Smuaisibhig* #302, **Thùlabhig* (#116)) and ON *hópr* m. a ‘narrow bay’ (*Tòpsann* #335). Less common are ON *sumr* m. ‘bay or sound’ (*Bhalamus* #61), ON *kjóss* m. ‘small bay’ (*Ceòs* #123) and perhaps ON *vǫk* f. in the sense ‘small bay’ (*Miabhag* #251). ScG *ceann* in the sense ‘bay head’ has a parallel in ON *botn* m. (**Boiseadar* (#341)). ON *óss m.* ‘river mouth’ occurs 3 times (*Barbhas* #47, *Càros* #100, *Griais* #220).

b. ‘teanga’ (*Tanganis* #321), SL *tindr* f. ‘fiacal’ (**Tinndealan* (#270)), SL *tunga* b. ‘teanga’ (*Tunga* #343) agus is dòcha SL *skegg* n. ‘feusag’ (*Sgiogarstaidh* #294). §86

§86 (i) (c) Eileanan, sgeirean, pallaichean

Nochdaidh an eileamaid GA *eilean* f. 5 uairean na seòrsaichear (*Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, *Eilean Iuthort* #174, *Eilean nan Luchraban* #175, *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176, *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177), uair na sònraichear (*Caolas an Eilein* #95).

Is e LB **øy* (SL *ey*) b. am facal bitheanta airson ‘eilean’ ann an ainmeaniasaid Lochlannais ((9) *Beàrnaraigh* #51, *Beirgheasaigh* #58, *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Bhalasaigh* #62, **Bhuidhea* (#67), *Ceartaigh* #121, *Orasaigh* #259, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, *Ròmaigh* #281) ach tha SL *holmr* f. ‘eilean beag’ ri lorg ann an *Tolm* #330 agus is dòcha ann an *Crùlabhig* #159.

Tha GA *sgeir* b. na ‘chloich san t-sàl’ (*Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292) – coim. am freumh-fhacal SL *sker* n. ‘sgeir’ (*Bhataisgeir* #65, *Sùlaisgeir* #314) – agus is dòcha gum faighear GA *col* f. ‘bacadh’ le sìneadh sa bhrìgh ‘sgeir, bodha’ ann an *Col* #150. Nochdaidh SL *hjallr* f. ‘palla’ san ainm-iasaid *Teallasbhagh* #322.

§86 (i) (d) Bàghannan

Nochdaidh GA *bàgh* f. 4 uairean (*Bàgh Ciaraich* #24, *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25, *Ceann a’ Bhàigh* #102–#103) ach GA *ceann* f. sa bhrìgh ‘ceann bàigh’ 12 uair (*Ceann a’ Bhàigh* #102–#103, *Ceann Chrìonaig* #105, *Ceann Chùisil* #106, *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107, *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108, *Ceann na Caradh* #109, *Ceann Reusort* #112, *Ceann Shìophort* #113, *Ceann Tarbhaigh* #115, *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116, *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* #117). Tha GA *ùigean* f. na ‘bhàgh beag’ (*Na h-Ùigean* #345) agus is e ‘loch (mara) tràghaidh’ as ciall do GA *linne* b. (*Àth an Linne* #22) agus is dòcha GA *poll* f. (*Am Poll Dubh* #272).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha SL *vágr* f. na ‘bhàgh’ ((9) *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Càrlabhagh* #98, *Leumrabhagh* #235, **Reumsabhagh* (#25), *Steòrnabhagh* #309, *Stìomrabhagh* #310, *Tamnabhagh* #319, *Teallasbhagh* #322, **Ùrnabhagh* (#117)) agus SL *fjǫrðr* f. na ‘loch mara domhainn’ ((3) **Iuthort* (#174), **Reusort* (#112), **Sìophort* (#113)). Beanaidh SL *vík* b. ri ‘bàgh no bàgh beag’ ((14) *Ùig* (#12), *Brèibhig* #76, *Cirbhig* #124, **Corcabhig* (#88), *Crùlabhig* #159, ?*Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Fìbhig* #185, *Gràsabhig* #218, *Ìslibhig* #228, *Marabhig* #246, *Sanndabhig* #285, *Sanndaig* #286, *Smuaisibhig* #302, **Thùlabhig* (#116)) agus SL *hópr* f. ri ‘bàgh cumhang’ (*Tòpsann* #335). Nas ao-cumanta tha SL *sumr* f. ‘bàgh no caolas’ (*Bhalamus* #61), SL *kjóss* f. ‘bàgh beag’ (*Ceòs* #123) agus is dòcha SL *vǫk* b. sa bhrìgh ‘bàgh beag’ (*Miabhag* #251). Gheibhear an seise aig GA *ceann* sa bhrìgh ‘ceann bàigh’ ann an SL *botn* f. (**Boiseadar* (#341)). Lorgar SL *óss* f. ‘beul aibhne’ 3 uairean (*Barbhas* #47, *Càros* #100, *Griais* #220).

§86 (i) (e) Narrows, currents

ScG *caolas* m. 'narrows' is found twice (*Caolas an Eilein* #95, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96) and ScG *sròm* m. 'stream, current' once (*Àird an t-Sròim* #7, *An Sròm* #306). ON *orfiri* nt., a 'place that dries out at low tide', occurs in the Old Norse loan-name *Orasaigh* #259.

§86 (ii) Inland

§86 (ii) (a) Rocks

ScG *clach* f. is found once (*Buaile na Cloich* #87). In Old Norse loan-names, ON *steinn* m. 'stone, rock' ((2) **Croistean* (#240), **Èistean* (#171)), ON *hreysi* f. 'cairn or pile of stones' ((2) **Reusort* (#112), *Rias* #279), ON *hamarr* m. 'crag (< hammer)' (*Thamarsadar* #325) and ON *hraun* nt. 'rocky ground' (*Rònaigh* #281) occur.

§86 (ii) (b) Promontories

Only ScG **tangach* (*Tangaidh* #320) and ON *oddi* m. (*Adabroc* #3) are found in the sense 'promontory'.

§86 (ii) (c) Eminences, cliffs

In addition to the usual word ScG *beinn* f. 'mountain' for the highest features ((5) *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52, *Beinn Chasgro* #53, *Beinn na Dròbh* #54, *Beinn na Saighde* #55, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56), there is ScG *cleite* f./m. ((2) *An Cleit* #128, *Cleite Thòg* #129).

ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' is the commonest element at the next level ((15) *An Cnoc* #133–#134, *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135, *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136, *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Cnoc an Ruagain* #138, *Cnoc an t-Solais* #139, *An Cnoc Àrd* #140, *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141, *Cnoc Ìomhair* #142, *Cnoc Màiri* #143, *An Cnoc Mòr* #144, *Cnoc nan Gobhar* #145, *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147), but the diminutive ScG *cnocan* m. 'hillock' is also found once (*Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich* #38). ScG *càrnan* m. in *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136 probably means 'hill' rather than a 'pile of stones', and ScG *tom* m. ((3) *Tom an Fhuadain* #333, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Àirigh an Tuim* #15) and ScG *grianan* m. (*An Grianan* #221) denote less rocky hills. ScG *sìthean* m. 'hillock, hill' is most probably behind the name *Lite Sithinn* #238.

For high ground, the elements ScG *druim* m. 'ridge' (*Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169), ScG *mullach* m. 'summit' (*Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258) and ScG *bràigh* f. 'upland' (*Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75) occur once each. Only ScG *clibh* f. (*A' Chlibh* #132) occurs in the sense 'cliff'.

In Old Norse loan-names, for the highest features there are ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain' ((3) *Cùiriseal* #164, **Raisteal* (#199), *Sòbhal* #303), ON *klettr* m. 'mountain' ((8) *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79, *Cleitir* #130, *Èinicleit* #178–

§86 (i) (e) Caolasan, sruthan

Tha GA *caolas* f. ri lorg dà uair (*Caolas an Eilein* #95, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96) agus GA *sròm* f. uair (*Àird an t-Sròim* #7, *An Sròm* #306). Nochdaidh SL *orfiri* n. 'àite a thràigheas aig muir-tràigh' ann an *Orasaigh* #259.

§86 (ii) Air tìr

§86 (ii) (a) Creagan

Gheibhear GA *clach* b. an aon uair (*Buaile na Cloich* #87). Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *steinn* f. 'clach, creag' ((2) **Croistean* (#240), **Èistean* (#171)), SL *hreysi* b. 'càrn no meall chlachan' ((2) **Reusort* (#112), *Rias* #279), SL *hamarr* f. 'cnap (< òrd)' (*Thamarsadar* #325) agus SL *hraun* n. 'talamh creagach' (*Rònaigh* #281).

§86 (ii) (b) Rubhaichean

Cha lorgar sa bhrìgh 'rubha' ach GA **tangach* (*Tangaidh* #320) agus SL *oddi* f. (*Adabroc* #3).

§86 (ii) (c) Àirdean, bearraidhean

A thuilleadh air an fhacal àbhaisteach GA *beinn* b. airson nam feartan as àirde ((5) *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52, *Beinn Chasgro* #53, *Beinn na Dròbh* #54, *Beinn na Saighde* #55, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56), tha GA *cleite* b./f. ann ((2) *An Cleit* #128, *Cleite Thòg* #129).

Is e GA *cnoc* f. an eileamaid as bitheanta aig an ath ìre ((15) *An Cnoc* #133–#134, *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135, *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136, *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Cnoc an Ruagain* #138, *Cnoc an t-Solais* #139, *An Cnoc Àrd* #140, *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141, *Cnoc Ìomhair* #142, *Cnoc Màiri* #143, *An Cnoc Mòr* #144, *Cnoc nan Gobhar* #145, *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147), ach gheibhear am meanbhach GA *cnocan* f. uair cuideachd (*Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich* #38). Is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil GA *càrnan* f. ann an *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* #136 na 'chnoc' seach na 'mheall de chlachan', agus beanaidh GA *tom* f. ((3) *Tom an Fhuadain* #333, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Àirigh an Tuim* #15) agus GA *grianan* f. (*An Grianan* #221) ri àirdean nas mìne. Is iongantach mana h-eil GA *sìthean* f. 'creagan, tom' air cùl an ainme *Lite Sithinn* #238.

Airson talmhainn àirde, gheibhear na h-eileamaidean GA *druim* f. (*Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169), GA *mullach* f. (*Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258) agus GA *bràigh* b. (*Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75) uair an tè. Cha nochd ach GA *clibh* b. (*A' Chlibh* #132) sa bhrìgh 'creag, bearradh'.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, airson nam feartan as àirde, gheibhear SL *fjall* n. ((3) *Cùiriseal* #164, **Raisteal* (#199), *Sòbhal* #303), SL *klettr* f. ((8) *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79, *Cleitir* #130, *Èinicleit* #178–#179,

§86 #179, *Fileascleitir* #186, *Tàcleit* #317, *Thèicleitir* #326) and ON *múli* m. 'round headland, projecting mountain' (*Brolum* #81). At the next level, there are ON *hóll* m. (*Lìonal* #237, *Totarol* #339), OWNorn (or MWNorn) **kváll* m. 'hill, hillock, mound' (*Cealagbhol* #101), ON *holt* m. 'hill, rocky height' (*Sgianailt* #293) and ON **hugl* 'hill' (**Thùlabhig* (#116)). With more specialised senses, there are ON *berg* nt. 'rock, hill' (*Beirghro* #59), ON *kǫs* f. 'cairn, hill' (**Casgro* (#53)), ON *koppr* m. 'knob, rocky mound' (*Capadal* #97) and ON *þúfa* f. (or *þúfr* m.) 'mound, hill, peak' (*Tùthair* #344).

For high ground, the elements ON *áss* m. 'ridge' (*Britheascleit* #79), ON *ris* nt. 'summit; ridge' (?*Cùiriseal* #164), ON *kjǫlr* m. 'ridge, edge' (*Cealagbhol* #101), ON *heiðr* f. 'moor, upland, mountain plain' (*Thèicleitir* #326) and OWNorn **bru* 'brow' (?*Brolum* #81) are found.

§86 (ii) (d) Declivities

In addition to the usual word ScG *leathad* m. (*Leathad Oilibheir* #234) for 'slope', there are ScG *bac* m. (*Am Bac* #23) 'slope', ScG *bruthach* m. 'hillside' (*Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13) and ScG *bruach* f. in the sense 'river bank' (*Bruach Màiri* #83). The basic sense of the elements ScG *clèid* f. (*Clèid* #126) and ScG *clèidir* (*Clèidir* #127) is also 'slope', and ScG *ruagan* m. (*Cnoc an Ruagain* #138) may well mean 'steep slope'.

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *bakki* m. (*Beanasbac* #50), ON *brokka* f. (*Adabroc* #3, *Brocair* #80) and ON *hlíð* f. (?*Cùileatotar* #163, ?*Siùiliseadar* #301), all in the sense 'slope', while ON **kleif* nt. is a 'steep slope' (*Cliasgro* #131). By extension, there are ON *síða* f. 'side' (*Ceann Shìophort* #113), ON *kinn* f. 'cheek' (*Ìsginn* #227) and ON *hlýr* nt. 'cheek; the flat face of an axe; prow' (*Liùrbost* #239).

§86 (ii) (e) Plains, plateaux

Of Gaelic elements for 'plain', there are ScG *iomair* f. (*Iomair Sligeach* #226) and ScG *raon* m. (*Raon na Crèadha* #276).

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *svǫrðr* m. (*Suardal* #312–#313), ON *vangr* m. 'meadow, field, open area' (*Ungaiseadar* #346) and ON *mór* m. 'sandy plain' (?*Rèimeir* #278).

§86 (ii) (f) Depressions

In addition to the common element ScG *gleann* m. 'valley' ((5) *Gleann Cloidh* #209, *An Gleann Dubh* #210, *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211, *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, *An Gleann Ùr* #213), ScG *dail*(*e*) (*Na Dailean* #167) occurs and, by extension, ScG *cladh* m. 'grave' (*Gleann Cloidh* #209) in the sense 'long deep valley'. In addition, ScG *riobh* m. is found in the sense 'rent, rift' (*An Riobh* #280).

Fileascleitir #186, *Tàcleit* #317, *Thèicleitir* #326) agus SL *múli* f. 'àird chruinn, beinn a stobas a-mach' (*Brolum* #81). Aig an ath ìre, tha SL *hóll* f. (*Lìonal* #237, *Totarol* #339), SNòrnI (no MNòrnI) **kváll* f. 'cnoc, cnocan, meall' (*Cealagbhol* #101), SL *holt* f. 'cnoc, àirde chlachach' (*Sgianailt* #293) agus SL **hugl* 'cnoc' (**Thùlabhig* (#116)). A thuilleadh, le brìghean nas speisealaichte tha SL *berg* nt. 'creag, cnoc' (*Beirghro* #59), SL *kǫs* b. 'càrn, tòrr, cnoc' (**Casgro* (#53)), SL *koppr* f. 'cnap, meall cnocach' (*Capadal* #97) agus SL *þúfa* b. (no *þúfr* f.) 'meall, cnoc, binnean' (*Tùthair* #344). §86

Airson talmhainn àirde, gheibhear na h-eileamaidean SL *áss* f. 'druim' (*Britheascleit* #79), SL *ris* n. 'mullach, bàrr; druim' (?*Cùiriseal* #164), SL *kjǫlr* m. 'druim, oir' (*Cealagbhol* #101), SL *heiðr* b. 'mòinteach, bràigh, magh beinne' (*Thèicleitir* #326) agus SNòrnI **bru* 'mala' (?*Brolum* #81).

§86 (ii) (d) Leòidean

A thuilleadh air an fhacal àbhaisteach GA *leathad* f. (*Leathad Oilibheir* #234), tha GA *bac* f. (*Am Bac* #23) 'leathad', GA *bruthach* f. 'taobh cnuic' (*Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13) agus GA *bruach* b. sa bhrìgh 'bruach aibhne' (*Bruach Màiri* #83) ann. Is e 'leathad' bun-chiall nan eileamaidean GA *clèid* b. (*Clèid* #126) agus GA *clèidir* (*Clèidir* #127) mar an ceudna, agus is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'leathad cas' as ciall do GA *ruagan* f. (*Cnoc an Ruagain* #138).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *bakki* f. (*Beanasbac* #50), SL *brokka* b. (*Adabroc* #3, *Brocair* #80) agus SL *hlíð* b. (?*Cùileatotar* #163, ?*Siùiliseadar* #301), uile sa bhrìgh 'leathad', agus tha SL **kleif* n. (*Cliasgro* #131) na 'leathad cas'. Le sìneadh, tha SL *síða* b. 'cliathaich' (*Ceann Shìophort* #113), SL *kinn* b. 'gruaidh, lethcheann' (*Ìsginn* #227) agus SL *hlýr* n. 'gruaidh, lethcheann; aghaidh rèidh air lainn tuaighe; toiseach bàta' (*Liùrbost* #239) ann.

§86 (ii) (e) Maghannan

De dh'eileamaidean Gàidhlig airson 'magh', tha GA *iomair* b. (*Iomair Sligeach* #226) agus GA *raon* f. (*Raon na Crèadha* #276) ann.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *svǫrðr* f. (*Suardal* #312–#313), SL *vangr* f. 'lèana, achadh, àite fosgailte' (*Ungaiseadar* #346) agus SL *mór* f. 'raon gainmhich' (?*Rèimeir* #278).

§86 (ii) (f) Lagannan

A thuilleadh air an eileamaid bhitheanta GA *gleann* f. ((5) *Gleann Cloidh* #209, *An Gleann Dubh* #210, *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211, *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, *An Gleann Ùr* #213), tha GA *dail*(*e*) (*Na Dailean* #167) ann agus, le sìneadh, GA *cladh* f. (*Gleann Cloidh* #209) sa bhrìgh 'gleann fada domhainn'. A thuilleadh, gheibhear GA *riobh* f. sa bhrìgh 'sgoltadh, beàrn' (*An Riobh* #280).

§86 ON *dalr* m. is the commonest element in Old Norse loan-names ((10) *Capadal* #97, *Dail* #166, *Dìobadal* #168, *Eòrradal* #183, *Lacasdal* #231, *Làmadal* #233, *Lunndal* #243, *Sgealadal* #290, *Suardal* #312–#313). For smaller features, there are ON *gil* nt. 'ravine, gully' ((3) *Giosladh* #206, *Bruinigil* #84, *Morsgail* #257), ON *gjó* f. 'gully' (*Giùrsadar* #207–#208), ON **glumm* f. 'the deep narrow gloomy part of a gully or pass' (*Baile Glom* #35, *Barra Glom* #48), ON *grǫf* f. 'gully' (*Grabhair* #217) and, by extension, ON *kofr nt.* 'chest, coffer' (*Cabharstaidh* #90). ON *hol* nt. (*Àrnal* #20), ON *hvammr* m. (*Thòmasgro* #328) and ON *lægð* m. (*Crò Leatha* #153) denote 'hollow or basin', and EG *cáe* f. 'pass' may have been a loan-word in Old Norse (?*Caithiseadar* #92, ?**Cadhaigearraidh* (#253)).

§86 (ii) (g) Caves, recesses

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *rá* f. 'recess' (*Rathanis* #277), ON *skor* f. 'fissure' (**Sgor* (#201)) and ON **smug* (**smog*) nt. 'cave' (*Smuaisibhig* #302).

§86 (ii) (h) Water

For slow-moving water, there is ScG *loch* m. 'loch, lake' ((6) *Baile an Loch* #29, *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107, *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108, *Loch Croistean* #240, *Loch Gainmhich* #241, *Loch Shiadair* #242) and, in Old Norse loan-names, ON *sær* m. 'loch'[3] (*Siabost* #295).

For fast-moving water, ScG *abhainn* f. 'river' (*Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197) and a river name constructed with the suffix ScG *-ag* (**Crìonag* (#105)) occur. In addition, there is ScG *gil* f. 'gully → stream in a gully' (*Gil MhicPhàic* #204, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205).

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *á* f. 'river' ((8) *Giosladh* #206, *Lacasaigh* #230, *Lacasdal* #231, **Leatha* (#153), **Rìosaigh* (#200), *Sgiogarstaidh* #294, **Tarbhaigh* (#115), *Torraigh* #338) and a series of names constructed from feminine derivatives ((10) **Geardha* (#191), *Griais* #220, **Cùiseal* (#106), **Thòg* (#129), *Barbhas* #47, *Bruinigil* #84, *Eireastadh* #180, *Eòrradal* #183, *Sgealadal* #290, *Stìomrabhagh* #310). ON *gróf* f. is found in the sense 'stream' ((4) **Casgro* (#53), *Cliasgro* #131, *Sgealasgro* #291, *Thòmasgro* #328) and ON *straumr* m. in the sense 'fast-moving water' (*Sròmas* #307). ON *óss* m. 'river mouth' occurs in *Sròmas* #307.

§86 (ii) (i) Access: landing places, fords, passes etc.

ScG *port* m. meant 'landing place' before the sense 'man-made harbour' arose ((3) *Port Mholair* #273, *Port nan Giùran* #274, *Port Nis* #275). ScG *àth* m. (*Àth an Linne* #22) and ScG *fadhail* f. (*Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172) are 'places where one crosses water, and ScG *aoidh* f. (*Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75) is a 'neck of land between two lochs', although all three elements can have

3. For the sense 'sea, salt water', see ON *sjúr* m. §86 (i) (a).

§86 Is e SL *dalr* f. an eileamaid as bitheanta ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ((10) *Capadal* #97, *Dail* #166, *Dìobadal* #168, *Eòrradal* #183, *Lacasdal* #231, *Làmadal* #233, *Lunndal* #243, *Sgealadal* #290, *Suardal* #312–#313). Airson fheartan as lugha, tha SL *gil* n. 'gil, slugaid' ((3) *Giosladh* #206, *Bruinigil* #84, *Morsgail* #257), SL *gjó* b. 'slugaid' (*Giùrsadar* #207–#208), SL **glumm* b. 'pàirt domhainn caol gruamach de sgor no cadha' (*Baile Glom* #35, *Barra Glom* #48), SL *grǫf* b. 'slugaid' (*Grabhair* #217) ann agus, le sìneadh, SL *kofr* n. 'ciste' (*Cabharstaidh* #90). Beanaidh SL *hol* n. (*Àrnal* #20), SL *hvammr* f. (*Thòmasgro* #328) agus SL *lægð* f. (*Crò Leatha* #153) ri 'lag no miasaid', agus is dòcha gun robh GT *cáe* b. 'bealach' na fhacal-iasaid san Lochlannais (?*Caithiseadar* #92, ?**Cadhaigearraidh* (#253)).

§86 (ii) (g) Uaghannan, cùiltean

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *rá* b. 'cùil' (*Rathanis* #277), SL *skor* b. 'sgor, cùil' (**Sgor* (#201)) agus SL **smug* (**smog*) n. 'uagh' (*Smuaisibhig* #302).

§86 (ii) (h) Uisge

Airson uisge mhaill, nochdaidh GA *loch* f. ((6) *Baile an Loch* #29, *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107, *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108, *Loch Croistean* #240, *Loch Gainmhich* #241, *Loch Shiadair* #242) agus, ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, SL *sær* f. 'loch'[3] (*Siabost* #295).

Airson uisge bhrais, tha GA *abhainn* b. (*Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197) ann agus ainm aibhne air a dhèanamh leis an iar-leasachan GA *-ag* (**Crìonag* (#105)). A thuilleadh, tha GA *gil* b. 'slugaid → allt ann an slugaid' ann (*Gil MhicPhàic* #204, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *á* b. 'abhainn' ((8) *Giosladh* #206, *Lacasaigh* #230, *Lacasdal* #231, **Leatha* (#153), **Rìosaigh* (#200), *Sgiogarstaidh* #294, **Tarbhaigh* (#115), *Torraigh* #338) is sreath de dh'ainmean air an dèanamh à bunadairean boireann ((10) **Geardha* (#191), *Griais* #220, **Cùiseal* (#106), **Thòg* (#129), *Barbhas* #47, *Bruinigil* #84, *Eireastadh* #180, *Eòrradal* #183, *Sgealadal* #290, *Stiomrabhagh* #310). Nochdaidh SL *gróf* b. sa bhrìgh 'allt' (**Casgro* (#53), *Cliasgro* #131, *Sgealasgro* #291, *Thòmasgro* #328) is SL *straumr* f. sa bhrìgh 'uisge bras' (*Sròmas* #307). Lorgar SL *óss* f. 'òs, beul aibhne' ann an *Sròmas* #307.

§86 (ii) (i) Inntrigeadh: laimrigean, àthan, bealaich ⁊c

Is e 'laimrig' a bu chiall do GA *port* f. mus do dh'èirich a' bhrìgh 'cala fuadain' ((3) *Port Mholair* #273, *Port nan Giùran* #274, *Port Nis* #275). Is e 'àite far an tèidear thairis air uisge no sàl' a th' ann an GA *àth* f. (*Àth an Linne* #22) agus GA *fadhail* b. (*Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172), agus 's e 'amhach talmhainn eadar dà loch' a th' ann an GA *aoidh* b. (*Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75), ged a lorgar na trì ann am brìgh seach

3. Airson na brìghe 'sàl', faic SL *sjúr* f. §86 (i) (a).

§86 either sense in Lewis. ScG *sràid* f. 'street' occurs twice (*An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304, *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305).

In Old Norse loan-names, OWNorn **hamn* f. is found in the sense 'natural harbour' in *Tamnabhagh* #319 and, in the sense 'landing place', there are ON *stǫð* f. ((3) *Eireastadh* #180, ?*Cabharstaidh* #90, ?*Sgiogarstaidh* #294) and ON *sund* nt. ((2) *Tòpsann* #335, ?*Gràsabhig* #218, but contrast the alternative sense below). ON *eið* nt. probably occurs in the sense 'neck of land' in **Èistean* (#171), and ON *sund* nt. may occur in the sense 'ford' in *Gabhsann* #188 (but contrast the alternative sense above) and ON *drag* nt. (*drǫg* f.) in the sense 'portage' in **Drobhanis* (#10). In addition, there are ON *skarð* nt. 'pass' (*Rothasgair* #282), ON *kross* m. '?crossing place' ((2) *Cros* #155, *Crosabost* #156, but see §94), ON *brú* f. 'bridge' (*Brù* #82) and ON *kallaðr* m. a 'call (for a boat)' (*Callanis* #94).

§87 §87 Elements that describe or qualify natural features

§87 (i) Age

The only element in the collection denoting age is the adjective ScG *ùr* 'new' ((7) *Am Baile Ùr* #41–#45, *An Gleann Ùr* #213, *Am Margadh Ùr* #247).

§87 (ii) Colour

ScG *buidhe* (*An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193) is the only 'light' colour that occurs; the remainder are 'dark' colours: ScG *ciar* 'dark, black' (**Ciarach* (#24)), ScG *dubh* 'dark, black' (*An Gleann Dubh* #210, *Am Poll Dubh* #272),[4] ScG *flannach* 'red, the colour of blood' (*Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176) and ScG *gorm* 'the green of heather' (*Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195).[5]

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *grár* 'grey' (*Gràsabhig* #218), ON *grønn* 'green' (*Grèineabost* #219) and ON *rauðr* 'red' (*Rothasgair* #282).

§87 (iii) Shape and size

The following adjectives occur: ScG *mòr* 'large' ((8) *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198, *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2, *Crò Mòr* #154, *An Cnoc Mòr* #144, *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196, *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177), ScG *beag* 'little' ((3) *An Àird Bheag* #8, *Crò Beag* #152, *An Ceann Beag* #104, *Geardha Bheag* #191) and ScG *àrd* 'high' (*Am Baile Àrd* #32, *An Cnoc Àrd* #140).

In Old Norse loan-names, there are the adjectives ON *breiðr* 'broad' ((4) *Brèibhig* #76, *Brèinis* #77, *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79), ON *víðr* 'wide'

4. For *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318, see §94.

5. For the range of colours in place-names in Lewis and their senses, see Cox 2002a, 81–82. For the colour system in Gaelic, see Bateman and Purser 2020, 184–201).

brìgh ann an Leòdhas. Gheibhear GA *sràid* b. dà uair (*An t-Sràid a Tuath*, *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305). §86

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SNòrnI **hamn* b. sa bhrìgh 'cala nàdarra' ann an *Tamnabhagh* #319 agus, sa bhrìgh 'laimrig', gheibhear SL *stǫð* b. ((3) *Eireastadh* #180, ?*Cabharstaidh* #90, ?*Sgiogarstaidh* #294) agus SL *sund* n. ((2) *Tòpsann* #335, ?*Gràsabhig* #218, ach iomsgaraich a' bhrìgh eile shìos). Is math dh'fhaodte gun nochd SL *eið* n. sa bhrìgh 'amhach talmhainn' ann an **Èistean* (#171), agus is dòcha gun nochd SL *sund* n. sa bhrìgh 'àth' ann an *Gabhsann* #188 (ach iomsgaraich a' bhrìgh eile shuas) agus SL *drag* n. (*drǫg* b.) sa bhrìgh 'tairbeart' ann an **Drobhanis* (#10). A thuilleadh, gheibhear SL *skarð* n. 'bealach' (*Rothasgair* #282), SL *kross* f. '?crasg' ((2) *Cros* #155, *Crosabost* #156, ach faic §94), SL *brú* b. 'drochaid' (*Brù* #82) agus SL *kallaðr* f. 'èigh (air bàta)' (*Callanis* #94).

§87 Eileamaidean a bheir tuairisgeul air neo a leasaicheas feartan nàdarra §87

§87 (i) Aois

Cha lorgar na bheanas ri aois sa cho-chruinneachadh ach am buadhair GA *ùr* ((7) *Am Baile Ùr* #41–#45, *An Gleann Ùr* #213, *Am Margadh Ùr* #247).

§87 (ii) Dathan

Is e GA *buidhe* (*An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193) an t-aon dath 'bàn' a nochdas; tha an còrr nan dathan 'dorcha': GA *ciar* (**Ciarach* (#24)), GA *dubh* (*An Gleann Dubh* #210, *Am Poll Dubh* #272),[4] GA *flannach* 'dearg, dath na fala' (*Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176) agus GA *gorm* 'dath uaine an fhraoich' (*Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195).[5]

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha SL *grár* 'liath' (*Gràsabhig* #218), SL *grønn* 'glas' (*Grèineabost* #219) agus SL *rauðr* 'dearg' (*Rothasgair* #282).

§87 (iii) Cruth agus meud

Nochdaidh na buadhairean GA *mòr* ((8) *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198, *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2, *Crò Mòr* #154, *An Cnoc Mòr* #144, *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196, *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177), GA *beag* ((3) *An Àird Bheag* #8, *Crò Beag* #152, *An Ceann Beag* #104, *Geardha Bheag* #191) agus GA *àrd* (*Am Baile Àrd* #32, *An Cnoc Àrd* #140).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha na buadhairean SL *breiðr* 'leathann' ((4) *Brèibhig* #76, *Brèinis* #77, *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79), SL *víðr* 'farsaing'

4. Airson *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318, faic §94.

5. Airson raon nan dathan ann an ainmean-àite ann an Leòdhas agus am brìgh, faic Cox 2002a, 81–82. Airson rian nan dathan sa Ghàidhlig, faic Bateman agus Purser 2020, 184–201).

§87 (*Bhuidhea* (#67), *Fìbhig* #185), CSc. **diupr* 'deep' (*Dìobadal* #168) and ON *mær* 'narrow' (*Miabhag* #251). In addition, several nouns give an idea of the shape of the features they describe: (promontories) ON *ok* nt. 'yoke' (*Aiginis* #4), ON *rófa* f. 'tail' (**Robhanis* (#284)) and ON *steði* m. 'anvil' (*Stèinis* #308); (rivers) CSc. **hvarf* nt. 'bend' (*Barbhas* #47) and ON *kvísl* f. 'river fork, confluence' (**Cùiseal* (#106)); (bays) ON *stjarna* f. 'star' (*Steòrnabhagh* #309) and ON *vǫttr m.* 'glove' (*Bhataisgeir* #65).

§87 (iv) Relative location

Although only a few examples are recorded among the collection's head-names, adverbs are often used in citing place-names in order to compare the location of one feature with the location of another, and pairs are found such as ScG *uarach* 'upper' ~ *ìorach* 'lower' (*Pabail* #261), ScG [*shuas* 'upper' ~] *shìos* 'lower' (*An Ceann Shìos* #114) and ScG [*a-staigh* 'inner' ~] *a-muigh* 'outer' (*A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85). The points of the compass are also used in this way: ScG *a tuath* 'northern' ~ *a deas* 'southern' (*Siabost* #295) or ScG *fo thuath* 'northern' ~ *fo dheas* 'southern' (*Tolstadh* #332, *Dail* #166, *Gabhsann* #188), ScG *a tuath* 'northern' ~ *an ear* 'eastern' (*An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304, *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305) and ScG [(*a-*)*sear* 'eastern'] ~ (*a-*)*siar* 'western' (*A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268). See also the element *illé* 'over here' §15.

Several nouns are also used to indicate relative location: ScG *bun* m. 'base, foot' ((2) *Bun Chorcabhig* #88, *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52), ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' ((3) *An Ceann Shìos* #114, *Ceann na Còinnich* #110, *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111) and ScG *cùl* m. 'rear, back part' (*Cùl ri Grèin* #165); ScG *mìle* m. 'mile' (*Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14) appears to be used in the same way.

In Old Norse loan-names, there are only ON *hár* 'high' ((5) *Tàbost* #315–#316, *Tàcleit* #317, (*)*Thàiseadar* (#205), #324) and ON *lágr* 'low' (*Làbost* #229).

§87 (v) Nature of the terrain and weather

Only ScG *cruaidh* (*An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194) refers to the quality of land, but there are a number of words that refer to the type of ground: ScG *crèadh* m. 'clay' ((2) *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *Raon na Crèadha* #276), ScG *plastair* m. 'plaster' (?for lime) (*Achadh a' Phlastair* #1), ScG *gainmheach* f. 'sand' (*Loch Gainmhich* #241) and ScG *sligeach* 'full of shells' (*Iomair Sligeach* #226).

ScG *grian* f. (*Cùl ri Grèin* #165) gives an idea of the location's aspect;[6] and ScG *crìon* (**Crìonag* (#105)) suggests the river here may dry up in summer.

In Old Norse loan-names, there are the descriptive adjectives ON *harðr* 'hard' (*Torraigh* #338) and ON *illsligr* 'filthy' (regarding the rocky nature of the bay)' (*Ìslibhig* #228).

6. For ScG *grianan* m., see §86 (ii) (c).

§87 (*Bhuidhea* (#67), *Fìbhig* #185), LB **diupr* 'domhainn' (*Dìobadal* #168) agus SL *mær* 'cumhang' (*Miabhag* #251). A thuilleadh, bheir corra ainmear beachd air cruth nam feartan air an toir iad tuairisgeul: (rubhaichean) SL *ok* n. 'cuing' (*Aiginis* #4), SL *rófa* b. 'earball' (**Robhanis* (#284)) agus SL *steði* f. 'innean' (*Stèinis* #308); (aibhnichean) LB **hvarf* n. 'lùb' (*Barbhas* #47) agus SL *kvísl* b. 'gobhal aibhne, comar' (**Cùiseal* (#106)); (bàghannan) SL *stjarna* b. 'rionnag' (*Steòrnabhagh* #309) agus SL *vǫttr* f. 'miotag' (*Bhataisgeir* #65).

§87 (iv) Àite coimeasach

Ged nach tèid ach corra eisimpleir a chlàradh am measg ceann-ainmean a' cho-chruinneachaidh, cleachdar co-ghnìomhairean àiteil gu tric ann a bhith a' dèanamh iomradh air ainmean-àite gus àite an dàrna feirt a chur an coimeas ri àite an fhir eile, agus gheibhear càraidean a leithid GA *uarach* ~ *ìorach* (*Pabail* #261), GA [*shuas* ~] *shìos* (*An Ceann Shìos* #114) agus GA [*a-staigh* ~] *a-muigh* (*A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85). Cleachdar na h-àirdean gu tric air an aon dòigh: GA *a tuath* ~ *a deas* (*Siabost* #295) no GA *fo thuath* ~ *fo dheas* (*Tolstadh* #332, *Dail* #166, *Gabhsann* #188), GA *a tuath* ~ *an ear* (*An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304, *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305) agus GA [(*a-*)*sear*] ~ (*a-*)*siar* (*A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268). Faic cuideachd an eileamaid *illé* 'a-bhos' §15.

Cleachdar corra ainmear gus àite coimeasach a shònrachadh cuideachd: GA *bun* f. ((2) *Bun Chorcabhig* #88, *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52), GA *ceann* f. ((3) *An Ceann Shìos* #114, *Ceann na Còinnich* #110, *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111) agus GA *cùl* f. (*Cùl ri Grèin* #165); is coltach gun tèid GA *mìle* f. (*Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14) a chleachdadh air an aon dòigh.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, chan eil ann ach SL *hár* 'àrd' ((5) *Tàbost* #315–#316, *Tàcleit* #317, (*)*Thàiseadar* (#205), #324) agus SL *lágr* 'ìosal' (*Làbost* #229).

§87 (v) Gnè na tìre agus an t-sìde

A thaobh feabhas na talmhainn, chan eil ann ach GA *cruaidh* (*An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194), ach tha corra fhacal ann a tha co-cheangailte ri nàdar na talmhainn: GA *crèadh* f. ((2) *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *Raon na Crèadha* #276), GA *plastair* f. (?airson aoil) (*Achadh a' Phlastair* #1), GA *gainmheach* b. (*Loch Gainmhich* #241) agus GA *sligeach* (*Iomair Sligeach* #226).

Bheir GA *grian* b. (*Cùl ri Grèin* #165) beachd air feabhas an àite;[6] agus cuiridh GA *crìon* (**Crìonag* (#105)) air shùilibh gum faod an abhainn an sin tiormachadh as t-samhradh.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear na buadhairean tuairisgeulach SL *harðr* 'cruaidh' (*Torraigh* #338) agus SL *illsligr* 'salach (a thaobh nàdar creagach a' bhàigh)' (*Ìslibhig* #228).

6. Airson GA *grianan* f., faic §86 (ii) (c).

§87 ON *jǫrð* nt. refers to 'ground, earth' (*Eòrrabidh* #182, *Eòrradal* #183), and, indicating the type of ground, there are ON *leir* nt. 'clay' (*Leumrabhagh* #235), ON *melr* m. 'sand or gravel bank' (*Mealbost* #248–#250), ON *sandr* m. 'sand' (*Sanndabhig* #285, *Sanndaig* #286) and ON *torf* nt. 'turf; grassy area' (**Tarbhaigh* #115).

Denoting weather features are the adjectives ON *kyrr* 'calm' (*Cirbhig* #124) and ON *vatnlauss* 'waterless' (used nominally in *Bhaltos* #63–#64), and the nouns ON *íss* m. 'ice' (*Ìsginn* #227), ON *kári* m. 'gust of wind' (*Càros* #100) and ON *viðr* m. 'wood, timber' (*Fìbhig* #185) – the last suggesting the prevailing wind and the presence of driftwood. If the etymology is correct, ON *hásumar* nt. 'mid-summer' may belong here (*Àsmaigearraidh* #21, but see §90 (i)).

There are several river names that include elements that indicate the strength or sound of water: ON *erja* vb 'to plough' (*Eireastadh* #180), ON *haukr* m. 'hawk' (**Thòg* (#129)), CSc. **hvinr* m. 'shriek, sighing, rushing' (*Beanasbac* #50), ON *stíma* vb 'to roar, to struggle' (*Stìomrabhagh* #310), ON *skella* gn. 'to clash, bang, strike' (*Sgealadal* #290) and ON *skellr* m. 'clash, bang, blow' (*Sgealasgro* #291). ON *hreimr* m. 'shout, cry, scream' (**Reumsabhagh* (#25)) may refer to an echo.

§88 §88 Flora

Several elements describe vegetation: ScG *còinneach* f. 'moss' (*Ceann na Còinnich* #110), ScG *driseach* 'full of thorns' (*An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17) and ScG *fraoch* m. 'heather' (*Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich* #38).

In Old Norse loan-names, there are the plants ON *lín* f. 'flax' (*Lìnseadar* #236, *Lìonal* #237), ON *sef* nt. 'rush' (*Seiseadar* #288) and ON *korki* m. 'a type of lichen (*Ochrolechia tartarea*)' (**Corcabhig* (#88), but see §91 (v)), and several trees: ON *einir* f. 'juniper' (*Èinicleit* #178–#179), ON *hrís* nt. 'brushwood, thicket' (**Rìosaigh* (#200)), ON *lundr* m. 'grove' (*Lunndal* #243) and ON *ýr* m. 'yew' (**Iuthort* (#174)). It is not clear whether ON *raptr* m. 'tree trunk' (**Raisteal* (#199)) belongs to this category.

§89 §89 Animals etc.

There are the following Gaelic elements: (animals) ScG *biast* f. 'otter' (*Àirigh na Bèist* #18); (birds) ScG *iolaire* f. (*Baile na h-Iolaire* #37) and ScG *ròg* ?f. 'shag' (*Ceann Loch Ròg* #107); and (shellfish) ScG *giùran* m. 'barnacle' (*Port nan Giùran* #274).

In Old Norse loan-names, there are (animals) ON *hjǫrtr* m. 'stag' (*Ceartaigh* #121); (marine mammals) ON *hvalr* m. 'whale' (*Bhalamus* #61, *Bhalasaigh* #62); and (birds) ON *alpt* nt. 'swan' (*Ailltinis* #5), ON *lómr* m. 'red-throated diver' (*Làmadal* #233), ON *súla* f. 'solan goose' (*Sùlaisgeir* #314) and ON *ǫrn* f. 'eagle' (*Àrnal* #20).

Bheir SL *jǫrð* n. iomradh air 'talamh, ùir' (*Eòrrabidh* #182, *Eòrradal* #183), agus, a-mach air nàdar na talmhainn, tha SL *leir* n. 'crèadh' (*Leumrabhagh* #235), SL *melr* f. 'bruach gainmhich no mholagan' (*Mealbost* #248–#250), SL *sandr* f. 'gainmheach' (*Sanndabhig* #285, *Sanndaig* #286) agus SL *torf* nt. 'sgrath; glasach' (**Tarbhaigh* #115). §87

A' beantainn ri feartan na sìde, gheibhear na buadhairean SL *kyrr* 'ciùin' (*Cirbhig* #124) agus SL *vatnlauss* 'gun uisge' (air a chleachdadh na ainmear ann an *Bhaltos* #63–#64), agus na h-ainmearan SL *íss* f. 'dèigh' (*Ìsginn* #227), SL *kári* f. 'oiteag gaoithe' (*Càros* #100) agus SL *viðr* f. 'fiodh, maide' (*Fìbhig* #185) – am fear mu dheireadh a' cur air shùilibh taobh na gaoithe agus gum bu dual fiodh cladaich a bhith ann. Mas ceart an fhreumhachd, is dòcha gum buin SL *hásumar* n. 'meadhan-samhraidh' an seo (*Àsmaigearraidh* #21, ach faic §90 (i)).

Gheibhear corra ainm aibhne far an innis eileamaid mu lùths no fuaim an uisge: SL *erja* gn. 'treabhaich' (*Eireastadh* #180), SL *haukr* f. 'seabhag' (**Thòg* (#129)), LB **hvinr* f. 'sgreuch, osna, sluaisreadh' (*Beanasbac* #50), SL *stíma* gn. 'glaodhaich, strì' (*Stìomrabhagh* #310), SL *skella* gn. 'glaodhraich, brag, buail' (*Sgealadal* #290) agus SL *skellr* f. 'glaodhar, brag, builleʼ (*Sgealasgro* #291). Is dòcha gun dèan SL *hreimr* f. 'èigh, sgreuch' (**Reumsabhagh* (#25)) iomradh air mac-talla.

§88 §88 Lusrach

Innsidh corra eileamaid mun lusrach: GA *còinneach* b. (*Ceann na Còinnich* #110), GA *driseach* (*An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17) agus GA *fraoch* f. (*Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich* #38).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha na lusan SL *lín* b. 'lìon' (*Lìnseadar* #236, *Lìonal* #237), SL *sef* n. 'luachair' (*Seiseadar* #288) agus SL *korki* f. 'corcar, seòrsa crotail (*Ochrolechia tartarea*)' (**Corcabhig* (#88), ach faic §91 (v)), agus corra chraobh: SL *einir* b. 'staoin' (*Èinicleit* #178–#179), SL *hrís* n. 'pris, doire' (**Rìosaigh* (#200)), SL *lundr* f. 'daireag, coille bheag' (*Lunndal* #243) agus SL *ýr* f. 'iubhar' (**Iuthort* (#174)). Chan eil e soilleir am buin SL *raptr* f. 'stoc craoibhe' (**Raisteal* (#199)) dhan rang seo.

§89 §89 Ainmhidhean ⁊c

Tha na h-eileamaidean Gàidhlig a leanas ann: (beathaichean) GA *biast* b. 'biast-dhubh, dòbhran' (*Àirigh na Bèist* #18); (eòin) GA *iolaire* b. (*Baile na h-Iolaire* #37) agus GA *ròg* ?b. 'sgarbh an sgumain' (*Ceann Loch Ròg* #107); agus (maorach) GA *giùran* f. 'bàirneach' (*Port nan Giùran* #274).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear (beathaichean) SL *hjǫrtr* f. 'damh (fèidh)' (*Ceartaigh* #121); (sinich mara) SL *hvalr* f. 'muc-mhara' (*Bhalamus* #61, *Bhalasaigh* #62); agus (eòin) SL *alpt* n. 'eala' (*Ailltinis* #5), SL *lómr* f. 'learga ruadh' (*Làmadal* #233), SL *súla* b. 'sùlaire' (*Sùlaisgeir* #314) agus SL *ǫrn* b. 'iolaire' (*Àrnal* #20).

§90 §90 Anthroponymy

§90 (i) Personal names

Only one woman's name occurs: ScG *Màiri* f. (*Cnoc Màiri* #143, *Bruach Màiri* #83), but several men's names do: ScG *Ailean* m. (*Baile Ailein* #28), ScG *Dòmhnall* m. (*Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269), ScG *Ìomhar* m. (*Cnoc Ìomhair* #142), ScG *Neacal* m. (*Baile Neacail* #39) and ScG *Pàl* m. (*Baile Phàil* #40); in addition, ScG *Calum* m. occurs in the name of the saint (*Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173) and *Dòmhnall* in the name of the outlaw (*Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16). ScG *Oilibhear* (*Leathad Oilibheir* #234) and probably ScG *MacPhàic* (*Gil MhicPhàic* #204) are surnames.

In Old Norse loan-names, the women's names ON *Jóra* f. or *Jór(h)eiðr* f. (*Eòiriseadar* #181) and ON *Þóra* f. (*Tòranis* #336) occur, along with several men's names: ON *Bjǫrn* m. (*Beàrnaraigh* #51), ON **Gregus* m. (*Griogasbol* #222), ON *Grímr* m. (*Grìomarstadh* #223), ON *Gromr* m. (*Gruimseadar* #224), ON *Hámundr* m. (?*Àsmaigearraidh* #21, ?*Thòmasgro* #328), CSc. **Hróðvaldr* m. (?*Crabhlastadh* #151), ON *Kárinn* m. or *Kóri* m. (*Càiriseadar* #91), ON *Karli* m. (*Càrlabhagh* #98, but see §90 (iii), below), ON *Magnús* m. (*Manaiseadar* #244, but see §90 (iii), below), ON **Sveini* m. (?*Suaineabost* #311, but see §90 (iii), below, and §91 (vi)), ON *Torfi* m. (*Torfhstaidh* #337), (ON) **Tumr*/**Tomr* m. (*Tuimsgearraidh* #342), ON *Þolfr* m. (*Tolstadh* #331–#332) and ON *Þórðr* m. (**Thòrsadar* (#56)).

§90 (ii) Nicknames

The nickname ScG *cille* f. indicates the saint's association with the Church (*Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173), and the adjective ScG *cam* may indicate the outlaw was blind in one eye (*Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16). In addition, the specific in *Baile Geàrr* #33 may be a woman's nickname.

§90 (iii) Words for people

The following are uncertain: ON *kona* f. 'woman' (**Canaiseadar* (#323), but see §95), ON *karl* m. 'man, farmer' (*Càrlabhagh* #98, but see §90 (i), above), ON *man* nt. 'slave; female slave; woman' (*Manaiseadar* #244, but see §90 (i), above) and ON *sveinn* m. 'boy, youth' (*Suaineabost* #311, but see §90 (i), above, and §91 (vi)).

§91 §91 Settlement

§91 (i) Dwellings

ScG *taigh* m. in the sense 'residence' (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318) and ScG *dùn* m. in the sense 'fortification' (*An Dùn* #170, *Dùn Èistean* #171) occur.

In Old Norse loan-names, ON *heimr* m. may occur in the sense 'settlement' (*Leumrabhagh* #235), and the sense of ON *býli* f. in *Pabail* #261 is 'settlement or

§90 §90 Ainmean dhaoine

§90 (i) Ainmean pearsanta

Cha nochd ach an t-aon ainm boireannaich: GA *Màiri* b. (*Cnoc Màiri* #143, *Bruach Màiri* #83), ach tha corra ainm fireannaich ann: GA *Ailean* f. (*Baile Ailein* #28), GA *Dòmhnall* f. (*Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269), GA *Ìomhar* f. (*Cnoc Ìomhair* #142), GA *Neacal* f. (*Baile Neacail* #39) agus GA *Pàl* f. (*Baile Phàil* #40); a thuilleadh, nochdaidh GA *Calum* f. ann an ainm an naoimh (*Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173), agus *Dòmhnall* ann an ainm an fhòghar raich (*Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16). Tha GA *Oilibhear* (*Leathad Oilibheir* #234) agus is math dh'fhaodte GA *MacPhàic* (*Gil MhicPhàic* #204) nan ainmean sloinnidh.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, nochdaidh na h-ainmean boireannaich SL *Jóra* b. no *Jór(h)eiðr* b. (*Eòiriseadar* #181) agus SL *Þóra* b. (*Tòranis* #336), agus corra ainm fireannaich: SL *Bjǫrn* f. (*Beàrnaraigh* #51), SL **Gregus* f. (*Griogasbol* #222), SL *Grímr* f. (*Grìomarstadh* #223), SL *Gromr* f. (*Gruimseadar* #224), SL *Hámundr* f. (?*Àsmaigearraidh* #21, ?*Thòmasgro* #328), LB **Hróðvaldr* f. (?*Crabhlastadh* #151), SL *Kárinn* f. no *Kóri* f. (*Càiriseadar* #91), SL *Karli* f. (*Càrlabhagh* #98, ach faic §90 (iii), shìos), SL *Magnús* f. (*Manaiseadar* #244, ach faic §90 (iii), shìos), SL **Sveini* f. (?*Suaineabost* #311, ach faic §90 (iii), shìos, agus §91 (vi)), SL *Torfi* f. (*Torfhstaidh* #337), (SL) **Tumr*/**Tomr* f. (*Tuimsgearraidh* #342), SL *Þolfr* f. (*Tolstadh* #331–#332) agus SL *Þórðr* f. (**Thòrsadar* (#56)).

§90 (ii) Far-ainmean

Sònraichidh am far-ainm GA *cille* b. ceangal an naoimh ris an Eaglais (*Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173), agus am buadhair GA *cam* gur dòcha gun robh am fògarrach dall san dàrna sùil (*Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16). A thuilleadh, faodaidh an sònraichear ann am *Baile Geàrr* #33 a bhith na fhar-ainm boireannaich.

§90 (iii) Facail airson daoine

Tha na leanas mì-chinnteach: SL *kona* b. 'bean' (**Canaiseadar* (#323), ach faic §95), SL *karl* f. 'fireannach, neach-tuatha' (*Càrlabhagh* #98, ach faic §90 (i), shuas), SL *man* n. 'tràill; tràill bhoireann; boireannach' (*Manaiseadar* #244, ach faic §90 (i), shuas) agus SL *sveinn* f. 'gille, òganach' (*Suaineabost* #311, ach faic §90 (i), shuas, agus §91 (vi)).

§91 §91 Tuineachadh

§91 (i) Fàrdaichean

Nochdaidh GA *taigh* f. sa bhrìgh 'fàrdach, àite-fuirich' (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318), agus GA *dùn* f. sa bhrìgh 'daingneach' (*An Dùn* #170, *Dùn Èistean* #171).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, is dòcha gum faighear SL *heimr* f. (*Leumrabhagh* #235) sa bhrìgh 'tuineachadh' agus SL *býli* b. (*Pabail* #261) sa bhrìgh

§91 residence'. ON *topt* f. had several senses, viz 'house; house site; ruins of a house (*Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Cùileatotar* #163, *Totarol* #339). Lastly, ON *borg* f. was a 'fort, fortification, especially broch' (*Borgh* #68, *Barra Glom* #48, *Borghaston* #69, *Bradhagair* #74,[7] *Tiodaborgh* #329).

§91 (ii) Farms

The primary senses of ScG *baile* were originally 'place, settlement; piece of land, farm; farmstead', and 'farm' is probably the sense of the generic in (10) *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26, *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27, *Baile Ailein* #28, *Baile an Loch* #29, *Baile an Teampaill* #30, *Baile Geàrr* #33, *Baile na Cille* #36, *Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*, *Baile Neacail* #39 and *Baile Phàil* #40; however, the element is used in its modern sense 'village' in (10) *Baile an Truiseil* #31, *Am Baile Àrd* #32, *Baile Ghriais* #34, *Baile Glom* #35, *Baile na h-Iolaire* #37, *Am Baile Ùr* #41–#45. ScG *mainear* m. (*Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266) seems to represent the farm Eng. *Manor Farm*.

In Old Norse loan-names, 'farm' is probably the sense of the generics in the following, at least in the context of the place-names in which they appear: ON *ból* nt. 'farm, residence' (*Griogasbol* #222), ON *bólstaðr* m. 'farm' ((18) *Bòstadh* #71–#73, *Calbost* #93, *Circeabost* #125, *Crosabost* #156, *Garrabost* #189–#190, *Grèineabost* #219, *Làbost* #229, *Liùrbost* #239, *Mealbost* #248–#250, *Siabost* #295, *Suaineabost* #311, *Tàbost* #315–#316), ON *býr* m. 'farm' (*Eòrrabidh* #182) and ON *staðir* m. pl. 'residence → farm' ((9) *Crabhlastadh* #151, *Grìomarstadh* #223, *Mangarstadh* #245, *Mialastadh* #252, *Tolstadh* #331–#332, *Torfhstaidh* #337, and perhaps *Cabharstaidh* #90 and *Sgiogarstaidh* #294 (but see §86 (ii) (i))). The sense of ON *garðr* m. may be 'farm' in *Bradhagair* #74, but see §91 (iv). ON *bygning* f. 'farm building' (*Beagnaigearraidh* #49) might be included here.

§91 (iii) Division of land

ScG *gàrradh* m. most probably has the sense 'march dyke' in *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169. ScG *peighinn* f. 'penny' ((7) *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148–#149, *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug* #122) and ScG *feòirlig* f. 'farthing' (*An Fheòirlig* #184) indicate old land valuations. ScG *glìb* m. denotes a 'portion of land' given to the minister by the Church (*An Glìb* #214).

In Old Norse loan-names, ON *mælir* m. is a 'unit of measure, e.g. of corn' (*Mialastadh* #252). For ON *herað* nt. 'district, area', see §95.

7. In this case, ON *borg* may have become EG *bruġ* f. 'residence; fortified residence, castle'.

'tuineachadh no fàrdach'. Bha corra bhrìgh aig SL *topt* b., .i. 'taigh; àite air an seasadh taigh; seann taigh briste' (*Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Cùileatotar* #163, *Totarol* #339). Mu dheireadh, bha SL *borg* b. na 'dhùn, daingneach, gu h-àraidh borgh' (*Borgh* #68, *Barra Glom* #48, *Borghaston* #69, *Bradhagair* #74,[7] *Tiodaborgh* #329). §91

§91 (ii) Tuathanasan

B' e 'àite, àite-tuineachaidh; cuibhreann fearainn, tuathanas; aitreabh tuathanais' a bu phrìomh bhrìghean an fhacail GA *baile* (GT idem) bho thùs, agus is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'tuathanas' brìgh nan seòrsaichearan ann am (10) *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26, *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27, *Baile Ailein* #28, *Baile an Loch* #29, *Baile an Teampaill* #30, *Baile Geàrr* #33, *Baile na Cille* #36, *Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*, *Baile Neacail* #39 agus *Baile Phàil* #40; gidheadh, cleachdar an eileamaid na nua-bhrìgh 'clachan' ann am (10) *Baile an Truiseil* #31, *Am Baile Àrd* #32, *Baile Ghriais* #34, *Baile Glom* #35, *Baile na h-Iolaire* #37, *Am Baile Ùr* #41–#45. Is coltach gun riochdaich GA *mainear* f. (*Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266) an tuathanas Brl. *Manor Farm*.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'tuathanas' brìgh nan seòrsaichearan sna leanas, co-dhiù ann an co-theags nan ainmean-àite san nochd iad: SL *ból* n. 'tuathanas, àite-fuirich' (*Griogasbol* #222), SL *bólstaðr* f. 'tuathanas' ((18) *Bòstadh* #71–#73, *Calbost* #93, *Circeabost* #125, *Crosabost* #156, *Garrabost* #189–#190, *Grèineabost* #219, *Làbost* #229, *Liùrbost* #239, *Mealbost* #248–#250, *Siabost* #295, *Suaineabost* #311, *Tàbost* #315–#316), SL *býr* f. 'tuathanas' (*Eòrrabidh* #182) agus SL *staðir* f. iol. 'fàrdach → tuathanas' ((9) *Crabhlastadh* #151, *Grìomarstadh* #223, *Mangarstadh* #245, *Mialastadh* #252, *Tolstadh* #331–#332, *Torfhstaidh* #337, agus is dòcha *Cabharstaidh* #90 agus *Sgiogarstaidh* #294 (ach faic §86 (ii) (i))). Is dòcha gur h-e 'tuathanas' as brìgh do SL *garðr* f. ann am *Bradhagair* #74, ach faic §91 (iv). Dh'fhaodte SL *bygning* b. 'togalach tuathanais' (*Beagnaigearraidh* #49) a chur ris a seo.

§91 (iii) Roinn na talmhainn

Is iongantach mana h-e 'gàrradh crìche' as brìgh do GA *gàrradh* f. ann an *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169. A' sònrachadh seann luachaidhean an fhearainn, tha GA *peighinn* b. 'sgillinn' ann ((7) *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148–#149, *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug* #122) agus GA *feòirlig* b. 'cairteal na sgillinne, fàirdean' (*An Fheòirlig* #184). Beanaidh GA *glìb* f. ri 'cuibhreann fearainn' a thugte dhan mhinistear leis an Eaglais (*An Glìb* #214).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha SL *mælir* f. 'aonad meud, m.e. airson arbhair' (*Mialastadh* #252). Airson SL *herað* n. 'sgìre, ceàrnaidh', faic §95.

7. San t-seagh seo, is dòcha gun deach SL *borg* na GT *bruġ* b. 'fàrdach; fàrdach dhaingnichte, caisteal'.

§91 (iv) Enclosures

The traditional element for 'field', ScG *achadh* m., occurs twice (*Achadh a' Phlastair* #1, *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2). ScG *pàirc* f. 'field, park' occurs in (6) *A' Phàirc* #262–#265, *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266 and *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267; contrast the element's sense in the areal name A' Phàirc §3 (vii). More specialised, there is ScG *crò* f. 'pen, fold' (*Crò Leatha* #153) and ScG *buaile* f., which originally meant an 'enclosure for cattle' ((4) *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *Buaile na Cloich* #87, *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111), although the element is found today in the general sense 'field'. ScG *geàrraidh* m. probably means 'enclosure' in (8) *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193, *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194, *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196, *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 and *Na Geàrrannan* #202 – the meaning of ON *gerði* nt. itself – but the element seems to have the extended sense 'the ground around a building' in (4) *Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201 and *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198.

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosure' ((6) *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, *Beagnaigearraidh* #49, **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253), *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, **Geardha* (#191)), ON *kró* f. 'pen, fold' ((4) *Crò Beag* #152/*Crò Mòr* #154, *Crothair* #157, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Crùlabhig* #159) and ON *kví* f. 'cattle fold' ((4) *Cuidhir* #161, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, *Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Cùileatotar* #163); in addition, the sense of ON *garðr* m. in *Garrabost* #189–#190 is probably 'farmyard or dyke, fence' (but contrast *Bradhagair* §91 (ii)).

§91 (v) Crops

ON *korn* nt. 'corn' occurs in the loan-name *Càrnis* #99, and perhaps ON *korki* m. 'oats' in **Corcabhig* (#88) (but see §88).

§91 (vi) Animals

Of Gaelic elements, there is only ScG *gobhar* m. 'goat' (*Cnoc nan Gobhar* #145), but several words appear in Old Norse loan-names: ON *barri* m. 'ram' (*Borraiseadar* #70), ON *fyl* nt. 'colt' (*Fileascleitir* #186), ON *geit* f. 'goat' (*Gèiseadar* #203), ON *gǫltr* m., *galti* m. or *galtr* m. 'boar' (*Gabhsann* #188), ON *kalfr* m. 'calf' (*Calbost* #93), ON *kýr* f. 'cow' (?*Cùiriseal* #164), ON *lamb* nt. 'lamb' (*Laidhmiseadar* #232), ON *marr* m. 'horse' (*Marabhig* #246, *Morsgail* #257), ON *sauðr* m. 'sheep' (*Sòbhal* #303), ON *svín* nt. 'pig' (?*Suaineabost* #311, but see §90 (i) and §90 (iii)), ON *þjórr* m. 'bull' (**Theòraiseadar* (#147), *Theòrsadar* #327) and ON *ær* f. 'sheep' (*Iarsadar* #225).

§91 (vii) Temporary dwellings

In the examples we have in the collection, ScG *àirigh* f. seems to have the sense 'temporary dwelling' ((6) *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14,

§91 (iv) Leasan

Nochdaidh an eileamaid dhualchasach GA *achadh* f. dà uair (*Achadh a' Phlastair* #1, *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2). Nochdaidh GA *pàirc* b. 'achadh' ann am (6) *A' Phàirc* #262–#265, *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266 agus *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267; iomsgaraich brìgh na h-eileamaid ann an ainm na ceàrnaidh A' Phàirc §3 (vii). Nas spèisealaichte, tha GA *crò* b. ann (*Crò Leatha* #153) agus GA *buaile* b. dham bu bhrìgh 'leas airson cruidh' bho thùs ((4) *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *Buaile na Cloich* #87, *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111), ged a lorgar an-diugh e sa bhrìgh bhitheanta 'achadh'. Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'leas' as brìgh do GA *geàrraidh* f. ann an (8) *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193, *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194, *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196, *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 agus *Na Geàrrannan* #202 – a' bhrìgh a th' aig SL *gerði* n. fhèin – ach is coltach gur e a' bhrìgh shìnte 'an talamh timcheall air togalach' a th' aig an eileamaid ann an (4) *Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201 agus *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198.

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *gerði* n. 'leas' ((6) *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, *Beagnaigearraidh* #49, **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253), *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, **Geardha* (#191)), SL *kró* b. 'crò' ((4) *Crò Beag* #152/*Crò Mòr* #154, *Crothair* #157, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Crùlabhig* #159) agus SL *kví* b. 'buaile cruidh' ((4) *Cuidhir* #161, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, *Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Cùileatotar* #163); a thuilleadh, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'iodhlann no gàrradh, feansa' as brìgh do SL *garðr* f. ann an *Garrabost* #189–#190 (ach iomsgaraich *Bradhagair* §91 (ii)).

§91 (v) Bàrr

Nochdaidh SL *korn* n. 'arbhar' anns an ainm-iasaid *Càrnis* #99, agus is dòcha SL *korki* f. 'coirce' ann an **Corcabhig* (#88) (ach faic §88).

§91 (vi) Beathaichean

Chan fhaighear de dh'eileamaidean Gàidhlig ach GA *gobhar* f. (*Cnoc nan Gobhar* #145), ach nochdaidh corra fhacal ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais: SL *barri* f. rùd, rèithe' (*Borraiseadar* #70), SL *fyl* n. 'searrach' (*Fileascleitir* #186), SL *geit* b. 'gobhar' (*Gèiseadar* #203), SL *gǫltr* f., *galti* f. no *galtr* f. 'torc' (*Gabhsann* #188), SL *kalfr* f. 'laogh' (*Calbost* #93), SL *kýr* b. 'bò' (?*Cùiriseal* #164), SL *lamb* n. 'uan' (*Laidhmiseadar* #232), SL *marr* f. 'each' (*Marabhig* #246, *Morsgail* #257), SL *sauðr* f. 'caora' (*Sòbhal* #303),SL *svín* n. 'muc' (?*Suaineabost* #311, ach faic §90 (i) agus §90 (iii)), SL *þjórr* f. 'tarbh' (**Theòraiseadar* (#147), *Theòrsadar* #327) agus SL *ær* b. 'caora' (*Iarsadar* #225).

§91 (vii) Fàrdaichean sealach

Sna h-eisimpleirean a th' againn sa cho-chruinneachadh, is coltach gur h-e 'fàrdach sealach' as ciall do GA *àirigh* b. ((6) *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, *Àirigh an Dà*

§91 *Àirigh an Tuim* #15, *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16, *An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17, *Àirigh na Bèist* #18), as opposed to 'milking place', the element's original sense.

In Old Norse loan-names, there is ON *búð* f. 'bothy; dwelling' (*Buthanis* #89), and ON *kofi* m. 'bothy, hut' may occur in *Caithiseadar* #92 and **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253) (but see §86 (ii) (f)). ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling' is more plentiful, although some of the following may have denoted a farm or some may have become farms over time: (34) *Bàraiseadar* #46, **Boiseadar* (#341), *Borraiseadar* #70, *Càiriseadar* #91, *Caithiseadar* #92, **Canaiseadar* (#323), *Cearsadar* #120, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, **Cuidhseadar* (#292), *Eòiriseadar* #181, **Eòrsadar* (#141), *Gèiseadar* #203, *Giùrsadar* #207–#208, *Glogaiseadar* #215, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Iarsadar* #225, *Laidhmiseadar* #232, *Lìnseadar* #236, *Manaiseadar* #244, *Seiseadar* #288, *Siadar* #296–#298, **Siadar* (#242), (#334), *Siùiliseadar* #301, *Thàiseadar* #324, **Thàiseadar* (#205), *Thamarsadar* #325, **Theòraiseadar* (#147), *Theòrsadar* #327, **Thòrsadar* (#56), *Ungaiseadar* #346.

§91 (viii) Other words relating to animal husbandry

Milking is implied in *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135, sending cattle to the drove in *Beinn na Dròbh* #54 and to the market in *Am Margadh Ùr* #247. In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *reim* f. 'leash' (?*Rèimeir* #278) and ON *skygna* f. 'view, look', i.e. to look for stock (*Sgianailt* #293).

§92 §92 Hunting and fishing

ScG *sealg* f. 'hunt, hunting' (*Ceann Loch Shealg* #108) probably refers to deer hunting, and ScG *sgapraid* ?b. (*Sgapraid* #289) may also be connected with hunting. Connected with fishing, there are the elements ScG *caraidh* f. 'fishing weir' (*Ceann na Caradh* #109) and ScG *trosg* m. 'cod' (*Mol Truisg* #256).

In Old Norse loan-names, ON *ker* nt. 'fishing weir' (*Cearsadar* #120), ON *lax* m. 'salmon' (*Lacasaigh* #230, *Lacasdal* #231) and ON *sild* f. 'herring' (*Silltinis* #299–#300) occur, and ON *ár* f. 'oar' (*Àranis* #19) might be included in this category.

§93 §93 Occupations

Several occupations are referred to: ScG *fleisear* m. 'butcher' (*Na Fleisearan* #187), ScG *gobha* m. 'smith' (*Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26), ScG *greusaiche* m. 'cobbler' (*Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27), ScG *bàrd* m. 'poet' (*Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192) and ScG *cailleach-dhubh* f. 'nun' (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318), and ScG *fuadan* m. in the sense 'wanderer, vagrant' (*Tom an Fhuadain* #333) might be included here.

In Old Norse loan-names, there are ON *mangari* m. 'peddlar' (*Mangarstadh* #245) and ON *papi* m. '(religious) hermit, monk' (*Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, *Pabail* #261). For ON *konungr* m. 'king', see §95.

Mhìle #14, *Àirigh an Tuim* #15, *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16, *An Àirigh Dhriseach* #17, *Àirigh na Bèist* #18), seach 'àite-bleoghain', brìgh thùsail na h-eileamaid. §91

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha SL *búð* b. 'bothan; fàrdach' (*Buthanis* #89), agus is dòcha gun nochd SL *kofi* f. 'both, bothan, seada' ann an *Caithiseadar* #92 agus **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253) (ach faic §86 (ii) (f)). Nas pailte, tha SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh', ged as math dh'fhaodte gun robh cuid de na leanas nan tuathanasan air neo gun deach cuid dhiubh nan tuathanasan ri ùine: ((34) *Bàraiseadar* #46, **Boiseadar* (#341), *Borraiseadar* #70, *Càiriseadar* #91, *Caithiseadar* #92, **Canaiseadar* (#323), *Cearsadar* #120, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, **Cuidhseadar* (#292), *Eòiriseadar* #181, **Eòrsadar* (#141), *Gèiseadar* #203, *Giùrsadar* #207–#208, *Glogaiseadar* #215, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Iarsadar* #225, *Laidhmiseadar* #232, *Lìnseadar* #236, *Manaiseadar* #244, *Seiseadar* #288, *Siadar* #296–#298, **Siadar* (#242), (#334), *Siùiliseadar* #301, *Thàiseadar* #324, **Thàiseadar* (#205), *Thamarsadar* #325, **Theòraiseadar* (#147), *Theòrsadar* #327, **Thòrsadar* (#56), *Ungaiseadar* #346).

§91 (viii) Facail eile co-cheangailte ri tuathanachas bheathaichean

Tha a bhith a' bleoghan ri thuigsinn ann an *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* #135, a bhith a' cur a' chruidh chun na dròbh ann am *Beinn na Dròbh* #54 agus chun a' mhargaidh anns *Am Margadh Ùr* #247. Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha SL *reim* b. 'iall, teadhar' (?*Rèimeir* #278) agus SL *skygna* b. 'amharc, sealladh', .i. airson beathaichean a lorg (*Sgianailt* #293).

§92 §92 An t-sealg agus an t-iasgach

Is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil GA *sealg* b. (*Ceann Loch Shealg* #108) a-mach air sealg nam fiadh, agus is dòcha gu bheil GA *sgapraid* ?b. (*Sgapraid* #289) ceangailte ris an t-seilg mar an ceudna. Co-cheangailte ris an iasgaich, tha na h-eileamaidean GA *caraidh* b. (*Ceann na Caradh* #109) agus GA *trosg* f. (*Mol Truisg* #256) ann. §92

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *ker* n. 'caraidh' (*Cearsadar* #120), SL *lax* f. 'bradan' (*Lacasaigh* #230, *Lacasdal* #231) agus SL *sild* b. 'sgadan' (*Silltinis* #299–#300), agus dh'fhaodte SL *ár* b. 'ràmh' (*Àranis* #19) a chur ris an rang seo.

§93 §93 Dreuchdan

Thèid corra dhreuchd ainmeachadh: GA *fleisear* f. 'bùidsear' (*Na Fleisearan* #187), GA *gobha* f. (*Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26), GA *greusaiche* f. (*Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27), GA *bàrd* f. (*Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192) agus GA *cailleach-dhubh* b. (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318), agus dh'fhaodte GA *fuadan* f. sa bhrìgh 'falbhanach, siùbhlach' (*Tom an Fhuadain* #333) a chur an seo. §93

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, gheibhear SL *mangari* f. 'ceannaiche-siubhail' (*Mangarstadh* #245) agus SL *papi* f. 'aonaran (cràbhaidh), manach' (*Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, *Pabail* #261). Airson SL *konungr* f. 'rìgh', faic §95.

§94 §94 Oral tradition and religion

Several elements from oral tradition survive in settlement names: ScG *luchraban* m. 'pigmy, dwarf' (*Eilean nan Luchraban* #175) and, in reference to the largest standing stone in Lewis, ScG *truiseal* m. 'tramping' (*Baile an Truiseil* #31), and perhaps ScG *saighead* f. 'arrow' (*Beinn na Saighde* #55)[8] and, in spite of the story of weavers' lights, ScG *solas* m. 'light' (*Cnoc an t-Solais* #139). In addition, the name *Lite Sithinn* #238 probably originates in some oral tradition or other.

Religious buildings are implied by ScG *cille* f. 'church' (*Baile na Cille* #36 and abstractly in the nickname in *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173), ScG *teampall* m. 'church' (*Baile an Teampaill* #30, *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323, *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340) and, although it is doubtful whether there was ever a nunnery at the location, ScG *cailleach-dhubh* f. (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318).

In Old Norse loan-names, ON *várar* f. pl. 'promise of fidelity' (*Bàraiseadar* #46) may be based on some oral tradition of a promise once made at the sheiling here, and ON *kirkja* f. 'church' occurs in *Circeabost* #125, ON *papi* m. '(religious) hermit, monk' in *Pabaigh* (#260) and *Pabail* #261, and ON *kross* m., possibly in the sense 'religious cross', in **Croistean* (#240), *Cros* #155 and *Crosabost* #156 (but see §86 (ii) (i)).

§95 §95 Political institutions

ON *herað* nt. 'district or area' in *Na Hearadh* (#254) very likely has an administrative significance, with *Na Hearadh* itself (Eng. *Harris*) recognised as a separate administrative area. ON *konungr* f. 'king' may be the specific in **Canaiseadar* (#323) (but see §90 (iii)); if so, the significance of the term here is unknown.

Tiodaborgh #329 might have a political significance, if ON *hiti* m. 'heat, warmth' (by extension 'fire; signal fire') were behind it, but the derivation is highly conjectural.

§96 §96 Commemorative names

Am Poileagan #271 has some sort of association with the First World War.

§97 §97 Old Norse Loan-names

Out of the 346 names in the main collection,

§97 (i) There are 167 names that consist of Old Norse loan-names: *Adabroc* #3, *Aiginis* #4, *Ailltinis* #5, *Àranis* #19, *Àrnal* #20, *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, *Bàraiseadar* #46, *Barbhas* #47, *Barra Glom* #48, *Beagnaigearraidh* #49, *Beanasbac* #50, *Beàrnaraigh*

8. For example, the fairy arrow (#318, fn 771).

§94 §94 Beul-aithris agus creideamh

Mairidh corra eileamaid beul-aithrise ann an ainmean tuineachaidh: GA *luchraban* f. 'duine beag, troich' (*Eilean nan Luchraban* #175) agus, le iomradh air a' ghallan as motha ann an Leòdhas, GA *truiseal* f. 'a' coiseachd le ceum trom' (*Baile an Truiseil* #31), agus is dòcha GA *saighead* b. (*Beinn na Saighde* #55)[8] agus, a dh'aindeoin na sgeulachd mu sholais nam breabadairean, GA *solas* f. (*Cnoc an t-Solais* #139). A thuilleadh, is math dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich an t-ainm *Lite Sithinn* #238 ann am beul-aithris air choreigin.

Gheibhear iomradh air togalaichean diadhaidh ann an GA *cille* b. (*Baile na Cille* #36 agus gu h-eas-cruthach san fhar-ainm ann an *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173), GA *teampall* f. 'eaglais' (*Baile an Teampaill* #30, *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323, *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340) agus, ged a tha teagamh ann an robh an t-àite a-riamh na mhanachainn do mhnathan cràbhaidh, GA *cailleach-dhubh* b. (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318).

Ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, is dòcha gu bheil SL *várar* b. iol. 'gealladh dìlseachd' (*Bàraiseadar* #46) stèidhichte air beul-aithris air choreigin mu ghealladh a rinneadh air an àirigh seo uair, agus nochdaidh SL *kirkja* b. 'eaglais' ann an *Circeabost* #125, SL *papi* f. 'aonaran (cràbhaidh), manach' ann am *Pabaigh* (#260) agus *Pabail* #261, agus, is dòcha sa bhrìgh 'crois dhiadhaidh', SL *kross* f. ann an **Croistean* (#240), *Cros* #155 agus *Crosabost* #156 (ach faic §86 (ii) (i)).

§95 §95 Stèidheachdan poileataigeach

Is ro-choltach gur h-i brìgh rianachdail a th' aig SL *herað* n. 'sgìre no roinn' anns *Na Hearadh* (#254), agus *Na Hearadh* fhèin air aithneachadh mar sgìre fa leth a thaobh rianachd. Is dòcha gur h-e SL *konungr* f. 'rìgh' an sònraichear ann an **Canaiseadar* (#323) (ach faic §90 (iii)); mas e, chan aithnichear brìgh a' bhriathair san t-seagh seo.

Dh'fhaodadh brìgh phoileataigeach a bhith aig *Tiodaborgh* #329, nam b' e SL *hiti* f. 'teas, blàths' (le sìneadh 'teine; tùrlach no teine sanais') a bh' air a chùlaibh, ach tha am bunachas gu math tuairmseach.

§96 §96 Cuimhneachain

Tha ceangal air choreigin aig an ainm *Am Poileagan* #271 ris a' Chiad Chogadh.

§97 §97 Ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais

Às na 346 ainmean sa phrìomh cho-chruinneachadh,

§97 (i) Tha 167 nan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais: *Adabroc* #3, *Aiginis* #4, *Ailltinis* #5, *Àranis* #19, *Àrnal* #20, *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, *Bàraiseadar* #46, *Barbhas* #47, *Barra Glom* #48, *Beagnaigearraidh* #49, *Beanasbac* #50, *Beàrnaraigh* #51,

8. Mar eisimpleir, an t-saighead shìth (#318, bn 771).

§97 #51, *Beirgheasaigh* #58, *Beirghro* #59, *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Bhalamus* #61, *Bhalasaigh* #62, *Bhaltos* #63–#64, *Bhataisgeir* #65, *Bhinndeam* #66, *Borgh* #68, *Borghaston* #69, *Borraiseadar* #70, *Bòstadh* #71–#73, *Bradhagair* #74, *Brèibhig* #76, *Brèinis* #77, *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79, *Brocair* #80, *Brolum* #81, *Brù* #82, *Bruinigil* #84, *Buthanis* #89, *Cabharstaidh* #90, *Càiriseadar* #91, *Caithiseadar* #92, *Calbost* #93, *Callanis* #94, *Capadal* #97, *Càrlabhagh* #98, *Càrnis* #99, *Càros* #100, *Cealagbhol* #101, *Cearsadar* #120, *Ceartaigh* #121, *Ceòs* #123, *Cirbhig* #124, *Circeabost* #125, *Cleitir* #130, *Cliasgro* #131, *Crabhlastadh* #151, *Cros* #155, *Crosabost* #156, *Crothair* #157, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Crùlabhig* #159, *Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Cuidhir* #161, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, *Cùileatotar* #163, *Cùiriseal* #164, *Dail* #166, *Dìobadal* #168, *Èinicleit* #178–#179, *Eireastadh* #180, *Eòiriseadar* #181, *Eòrrabidh* #182, *Eòrradal* #183, *Fìbhig* #185, *Fileascleitir* #186, *Gabhsann* #188, *Garrabost* #189–#190, *Gèiseadar*, *Giosladh* #206, *Giùrsadar* #207–#208, *Glogaiseadar* #215, *Grabhair* #217, *Gràsabhig* #218, *Grèineabost* #219, *Griais* #220, *Griogasbol* #222, *Grìomarstadh* #223, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Iarsadar* #225, *Ìsginn* #227, *Ìslibhig* #228, *Làbost* #229, *Lacasaigh* #230, *Lacasdal* #231, *Laidhmiseadar* #232, *Làmadal* #233, *Leumrabhagh* #235, *Lìnseadar* #236, *Lìonal* #237, *Liùrbost* #239, *Lunndal* #243, *Manaiseadar* #244, *Mangarstadh* #245, *Marabhig* #246, *Mealbost* #248–#250, *Miabhag* #251, *Mialastadh* #252, *Morsgail* #257, *Orasaigh* #259, *Pabail* #261, *Rathanis* #277, *Rèimeir* #278, *Rias* #279, *Rònaigh* #281, *Rothasgair* #282, *Sanndabhig* #285, *Sanndaig* #286, *Seiseadar* #288, *Sgealadal* #290, *Sgealasgro* #291, *Sgianailt* #293, *Sgiogarstaidh* #294, *Siabost* #295, *Siadar* #296–#298, *Silltinis* #299–#300, *Siùiliseadar* #301, *Smuaisibhig* #302, *Sòbhal* #303, *Sròmas* #307, *Stèinis* #308, *Steòrnabhagh* #309, *Stìomrabhagh* #310, *Suaineabost* #311, *Suardal* #312–#313, *Sùlaisgeir* #314, *Tàbost* #315–#316, *Tàcleit* #317, *Tamnabhagh* #319, *Tanganis* #321, *Teallasbhagh* #322, *Thàiseadar* #324, *Thamarsadar* #325, *Thèicleitir* #326, *Theòrsadar* #327, *Thòmasgro* #328, *Tiodaborgh* #329, *Tolm* #330, *Tolstadh* #331–#332, *Tòpsann* #335, *Tòranis* #336, *Torfhstaidh* #337, *Torraigh* #338, *Totarol* #339, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, *Tunga* #343, *Tùthair* #344, *Ungaiseadar* #346.

§97 (ii) There are 5 with an Old Norse loan-name as generic: *Geardha Bheag* #191, *Bhuidhea Mhòr*, *Crò Beag* #152, *Crò Mòr* #154, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260.

§97 (iii) There are 44 with an Old Norse loan-names as specific: *Àird Dhail* #9, *Àird Drobhanis* #10, *Àird Thunga* #11, *Àird Ùig* #12, *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25, *Baile Ghriais* #34, *Baile Glom* #35, *Beinn Chasgro* #53, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56, *Bun Chorcabhig* #88, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96, *Ceann Chùisil* #106, *Ceann Reusort* #112, *Ceann Shìophort* #113, *Ceann Tarbhaigh* #115, *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116, *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* #117, *Cleite Thòg* #129, *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141, *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147, *Crò Leatha* #153, *Dùn Èistean* #171,

§97 *Beirgheasaigh* #58, *Beirghro* #59, *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Bhalamus* #61, *Bhalasaigh* #62, *Bhaltos* #63–#64, *Bhataisgeir* #65, *Bhinndeam* #66, *Borgh* #68, *Borghaston* #69, *Borraiseadar* #70, *Bòstadh* #71–#73, *Bradhagair* #74, *Brèibhig* #76, *Brèinis* #77, *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79, *Brocair* #80, *Brolum* #81, *Brù* #82, *Bruinigil* #84, *Buthanis* #89, *Cabharstaidh* #90, *Càiriseadar* #91, *Caithiseadar* #92, *Calbost* #93, *Callanis* #94, *Capadal* #97, *Càrlabhagh* #98, *Càrnis* #99, *Càros* #100, *Cealagbhol* #101, *Cearsadar* #120, *Ceartaigh* #121, *Ceòs* #123, *Cirbhig* #124, *Circeabost* #125, *Cleitir* #130, *Cliasgro* #131, *Crabhlastadh* #151, *Cros* #155, *Crosabost* #156, *Crothair* #157, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Crùlabhig* #159, *Cuidhbheatotar* #160, *Cuidhir* #161, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, *Cùileatotar* #163, *Cùiriseal* #164, *Dail* #166, *Dìobadal* #168, *Èinicleit* #178–#179, *Eireastadh* #180, *Eòiriseadar* #181, *Eòrrabidh* #182, *Eòrradal* #183, *Fìbhig* #185, *Fileascleitir* #186, *Gabhsann* #188, *Garrabost* #189–#190, *Gèiseadar*, *Giosladh* #206, *Giùrsadar* #207–#208, *Glogaiseadar* #215, *Grabhair* #217, *Gràsabhig* #218, *Grèineabost* #219, *Griais* #220, *Griogasbol* #222, *Grìomarstadh* #223, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Iarsadar* #225, *Ìsginn* #227, *Ìslibhig* #228, *Làbost* #229, *Lacasaigh* #230, *Lacasdal* #231, *Laidhmiseadar* #232, *Làmadal* #233, *Leumrabhagh* #235, *Lìnseadar* #236, *Lìonal* #237, *Liùrbost* #239, *Lunndal* #243, *Manaiseadar* #244, *Mangarstadh* #245, *Marabhig* #246, *Mealbost* #248–#250, *Miabhag* #251, *Mialastadh* #252, *Morsgail* #257, *Orasaigh* #259, *Pabail* #261, *Rathanis* #277, *Rèimeir* #278, *Rias* #279, *Rònaigh* #281, *Rothasgair* #282, *Sanndabhig* #285, *Sanndaig* #286, *Seiseadar* #288, *Sgealadal* #290, *Sgealasgro* #291, *Sgianailt* #293, *Sgiogarstaidh* #294, *Siabost* #295, *Siadar* #296–#298, *Silltinis* #299–#300, *Siùiliseadar* #301, *Smuaisibhig* #302, *Sòbhal* #303, *Sròmas* #307, *Stèinis* #308, *Steòrnabhagh* #309, *Stìomrabhagh* #310, *Suaineabost* #311, *Suardal* #312–#313, *Sùlaisgeir* #314, *Tàbost* #315–#316, *Tàcleit* #317, *Tamnabhagh* #319, *Tanganis* #321, *Teallasbhagh* #322, *Thàiseadar* #324, *Thamarsadar* #325, *Thèicleitir* #326, *Theòrsadar* #327, *Thòmasgro* #328, *Tiodaborgh* #329, *Tolm* #330, *Tolstadh* #331–#332, *Tòpsann* #335, *Tòranis* #336, *Torfhstaidh* #337, *Torraigh* #338, *Totarol* #339, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, *Tunga* #343, *Tùthair* #344, *Ungaiseadar* #346.

§97 (ii) Tha 5 nan ainmean sa bheil ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na sheòrsaichear: *Geardha Bheag* #191, *Bhuidhea Mhòr*, *Crò Beag* #152, *Crò Mòr* #154, *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260.

§97 (iii) Tha 44 nan ainmean sa bheil ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na shònraichear: *Àird Dhail* #9, *Àird Drobhanis* #10, *Àird Thunga* #11, *Àird Ùig* #12, *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25, *Baile Ghriais* #34, *Baile Glom* #35, *Beinn Chasgro* #53, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56, *Bun Chorcabhig* #88, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96, *Ceann Chùisil* #106, *Ceann Reusort* #112, *Ceann Shìophort* #113, *Ceann Tarbhaigh* #115, *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116, *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* #117, *Cleite Thòg* #129, *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141, *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147, *Crò Leatha* #153, *Dùn Èistean* #171,

§97 *Eilean Iuthort, Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205, *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211, *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, *Loch Croistean* #240, *Loch Shiadair* #242, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol na Hearadh* #254, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Port Mholair* #273, *Port Nis* #275, *Rubha Robhanis* #284, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341.

§98 §98 Loan-words

§98 (i) Old Norse loan-words
There are 20 Old Norse loan-words represented over 42 names:

§98 (i) (a) Coastal
ScG *bàgh* m. 'bay' < ON *vág* acc. m. (*Bàgh Ciaraich* #24, *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25, *Ceann a' Bhàigh* #102–#103); ScG *beirgh* f. 'sheer protruding promontory' < ON *bergi* dat. nt. (*A' Bheirgh* #57); ScG *mol* m. 'shingle' < ON *mǫl* f. (*Mol Truisg* #256, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol na Hearadh* #254, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255); ScG *poll* m. 'pool; small round bay' < ON *poll* acc. m. (*Am Poll Dubh* #272); ScG *sgeir* f. 'skerry' < ON *sker* nt. (*Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292); ScG *sròm* m. 'stream, current' < ON *straum* acc. m. (*Àird an t-Sròim* #7, *An Sròm* #306); and ScG *ùig* 'bay' < ON *vík* f. (*Na h-Ùigean* #345).

§98 (i) (b) Inland
ScG *aoidh* f. 'isthmus, ford' < CSc. **aið* nt. (*Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75); ScG *bac* m. 'leathad' < ON *bakka* obl. m. (*Am Bac* #23); ScG *cleite* f./m. 'mountain, hill' < ON *klett* (*kletti*) acc. (dat.) m. (*An Cleit* #128, *Cleite Thòg* #129); ScG *clibh* f. 'cliff' < ON *klif* nt. (*A' Chlibh* #132); ScG *dail*(*e*) ?m. 'valley' < ON *dali* dat. m. (*Na Dailean* #167); ScG *fadhail* f. 'ford, isthmus' < ON *vaðil* acc. m. (*Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172); ScG *gil* f. 'gully; stream' < ON *gil* nt. (*Gil MhicPhàic* #204, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205); ScG *riobh* f. 'rift' < ON *rifa* f. (*An Riobh* #280); and ScG *tanga* 'promontory' < ON *tanga* obl. m. (*Tangaidh* #320).

§98 (i) (c) Farming etc.
ScG *gàrradh* m. 'dyke' < ON *garð* acc. m. (*Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169); ScG *geàrraidh* m. < ON *gerði* nt. ('enclosure' ?in *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193, *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194, *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196, *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 and *Na Geàrrannan* #202; 'the land around a building' ?in *Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201 and *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198); ScG *margadh* m. < ON *markað* acc. m. (*Am Margadh Ùr* #247).

§97 *Eilean Iuthort, Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205, *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211, *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, *Loch Croistean* #240, *Loch Shiadair* #242, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol na Hearadh* #254, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Port Mholair* #273, *Port Nis* #275, *Rubha Robhanis* #284, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341.

§98 Facail-iasaid

§98 (i) Facail-iasaid Lochlannais
Tha 20 facal-iasaid Lochlannais air an riochdachadh thairis air 42 ainm:

§98 (i) (a) Ris a' mhuir
GA *bàgh* f. < SL *vág* cusp. f. (*Bàgh Ciaraich* #24, *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25, *Ceann a' Bhàigh* #102–#103); GA *beirgh* b. 'rubha cas stobach' < SL *bergi* tabh. n. (*A' Bheirgh* #57); GA *mol* f. < SL *mǫl* b. (*Mol Truisg* #256, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Mol na Hearadh* #254, *Mol Shanndabhig* #255); GA *poll* f. 'linne; bàgh beag cruinn' < SL *poll* cusp. f. (*Am Poll Dubh* #272); GA *sgeir* b. < SL *sker* n. (*Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292); GA *sròm* f. < SL *straum* cusp. f. (*Àird an t-Sròim* #7, *An Sròm* #306); agus GA *ùig* 'bàgh' < SL *vík* b. (*Na h-Ùigean* #345).

§98 (i) (b) Air tìr
GA *aoidh* b. 'tairbeart, àth' < LB **aið* n. (*Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75); GA *bac* f. 'leathad' < SL *bakka* cl. f. (*Am Bac* #23); GA *cleite* b./f. 'beinn, cnoc' < SL *klett* (*kletti*) cusp. (tabh.) f. (*An Cleit* #128, *Cleite Thòg* #129); GA *clibh* b. 'creag, bearradh' < SL *klif* n. (*A' Chlibh* #132); GA *dail*(*e*) ?f. 'gleann' < SL *dali* tabh. f. (*Na Dailean* #167); GA *fadhail* b. 'àth, aoidh' < SL *vaðil* cusp. f. (*Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172); GA *gil* b. 'slugaid; allt' < SL *gil* n. (*Gil MhicPhàic* #204, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205); GA *riobh* b. 'sgàineadh' < SL *rifa* b. (*An Riobh* #280); agus GA *tanga* 'àird, rubha' < SL *tanga* cl. f. (*Tangaidh* #320).

§98 (i) (c) Tuathanachas 7c
GA *gàrradh* f. 'balla' < SL *garð* cusp. f. (*Druim a' Ghàrraidh* #169); GA *geàrraidh* m. < SL *gerði* n. ('leas' ?ann an *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137, *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* #193, *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194, *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195, *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196, *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 agus *Na Geàrrannan* #202; 'an talamh timcheall air togalach' ?ann an *Geàrraidh Raisteal* #199, *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, *Geàrraidh Sgoir* #201 agus *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198); GA *margadh* f. < SL *markað* cusp. f. (*Am Margadh Ùr* #247).

§98 (i) (d) Other

ScG **trus* vb 'to tramp' < ON **trussa* (*Baile an Truiseil* #31); ScG *ròg* ?m. < ON *hrók* acc. m. (*Ceann Loch Ròg* #107).

§98 (ii) English/Scots loan-words

Altogether, 7 English or Scots loan-words are represented over 16 names:

§98 (ii) (a) Coastal

ScG *gnìp* m. < Scots *kneep* (*An Gnìp* #216).

§98 (ii) (b) Farming etc.

ScG *dròbh* f. < Scots *drove* (*Beinn na Dròbh* #54); ScG *feòirling* f. 'farthing' < OEng. *fēorþling* (*An Fheòirlig* #184); ScG *fleisear* < Scots *fleschar* 'butcher' (*Na Fleisearan* #187); ScG *glìb* m. < Scots *glebe* (*An Glìb* #214); ScG *pàirc* f. < Scots *park, parrok* (*Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266, *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, *A' Phàirc* #262–#265); ScG *peighinn* f. 'penny' < OEng. *penning* (*A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148–#149, *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287, *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug*).

§98 (iii) Latin loan-words

Altogether, 8 Latin loan-words are represented over 12 names: ScG *biast* f. 'beast' (here 'otter') < Lat. *bēstia* (*Àirigh na Bèist* #18); ScG *cailleach* f. 'old woman' (here 'nun'), based on EG *caille* 'veil' < Lat. *pallium* (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318); ScG *cille* f. 'church' < Lat. *cella* (*Baile na Cille* #36); ScG *mìle* m. 'mile' < Lat. (pl.) *mīlia* (*Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14); ScG *port* m. 'landing place' < Lat. *portus* (*Port Mholair* #273, *Port nan Giùran* #274, *Port Nis* #275); ScG *saighead* f. 'arrow' < Lat. *sagitta* (*Beinn na Saighde* #55); ScG *sràid* f. 'street' < Lat. *strāta* (*An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304, *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305); ScG *teampall* m. 'church' (pre-reformation) < Lat. *templum* (*Baile an Teampaill* #30, *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340; *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323); ScG *tiompan* m. 'hill' < Lat. *tympanum* (*Rubha an Tiompain* #283).

§98 (iv) Gaelic loan-words in Old Norse loan-names

Although there are other examples of Old Norse loan-names that probably contain Gaelic loan-words (see for example #253), only two loan-words occur in the collection itself: ScG **Cadhaigearraidh*, ?with a loan from EG *cáe* m. 'pass' (*Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, see also *Caithiseadar* #92), and ScG **Corcabhig*, ?with a loan from OG *corcur* 'a type of lichen' or OG *corca, coirce* 'oats' (*Bun Chorcabhig* #88).

§98 (v) Personal names

§98 (v) (a) Old Norse personal names: ScG *Ìomhar* m. < ON *Ívar* acc. m. (*Cnoc Ìomhair* #142); see also *Gil MhicPhàic* #204.

§98 (i) (d) Eile

GA **trus* gn. 'coisich le ceum trom' < SL **trussa* (*Baile an Truiseil* #31); GA *ròg* ?f. < SL *hrók* cusp. f. (*Ceann Loch Ròg* #107).

§98 (ii) Facail-iasaid Bheurla/Albais

Tha 7 facail-iasaid Bheurla no Albais air an riochdachadh thairis air 16 ainmean:

§98 (ii) (a) Ris a' mhuir

GA *gnìp* f. < Alb. *kneep* (*An Gnìp* #216).

§98 (ii) (b) Tuathanachas 7c

GA *dròbh* b. < Alb. *drove* (*Beinn na Dròbh* #54); GA *feòirling* b. < SBrl. *fēorþling* (*An Fheòirlig* #184); GA *fleisear* < Alb. *fleschar* (*Na Fleisearan* #187); GA *glìb* f. < Alb. *glebe* (*An Glìb* #214); GA *pàirc* b. < Alb. *park, parrok* (*Pàirc a' Mhaineir* #266, *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, *A' Phàirc* #262–#265); GA *peighinn* b. 'sgillinn' < SBrl. *penning* (*A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148–#149, *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287, *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug*).

§98 (iii) Facail-iasaid Laidinn

Tha 8 facail-iasaid Laidinn air an riochdachadh thairis air 12 ainm: GA *biast* b. < Laid. *bēstia* (*Àirigh na Bèist* #18); GA *cailleach* b., air a bhonntachadh air GT *caille* 'sgàil, brat-gnùise' < Laid. *pallium* (*Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318); GA *cille* b. < Laid. *cella* (*Baile na Cille* #36); GA *mìle* f. < Laid. (iol.) *mīlia* (*Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* #14); GA *port* f. < Laid. *portus* (*Port Mholair* #273, *Port nan Giùran* #274, *Port Nis* #275); GA *saighead* b. < Laid. *sagitta* (*Beinn na Saighde* #55); GA *sràid* b. < Laid. *strāta* (*An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304, *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305); GA *teampall* f. < Laid. *templum* (*Baile an Teampaill* #30, *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340; *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323); GA *tiompan* f. < Laid. *tympanum* (*Rubha an Tiompain* #283).

§98 (iv) Facail-iasaid Ghàidhlig ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais

Ged a tha barrachd eisimpleirean de dh'ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ann far am math dh'fhaodte gum faighear facail-iasaid Ghàidhlig (faic mar eisimpleir #253), cha nochd ach dà fhacal-iasaid sa cho-chruinneachadh fhèin: GA **Cadhaigearraidh*, ?le iasad à GT *cáe* f. 'cadha' (*Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, faic cuideachd *Caithiseadar* #92), agus GA **Corcabhig*, ?le iasad à SG *corcur* 'seòrsa crotail' no SG *corca, coirce* 'coirce' (*Bun Chorcabhig* #88).

§98 (v) Ainmean pearsanta

§98 (v) (a) Ainmean pearsanta Lochlannais: GA *Ìomhar* f. < SL *Ívar* cusp. f. (*Cnoc Ìomhair* #142); faic cuideachd *Gil MhicPhàic* #204.

§98 §98 (v) (b) English personal names: ScG *Màiri* f. < Eng. *Mary* (*Bruach Màiri* #83, *Cnoc Màiri* #143); and the surname *Oilibhear* < Eng. *Oliver* (*Leathad Oilibheir* #234); see also *Gil MhicPhàic* #204.

§98 (v) (c) Latin personal names: ScG *Neacal* m. < Lat. *Nicolas* (*Baile Neacail* #39); ScG *Pàl* < Lat. *Paulus* (*Baile Phàil* #40); see also *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173.

§99 §99 Translations

English loan-names do not seem to occur in the collection as Old Norse loan-names do.[9] The influence of English is discernible, however.

The occurrence of ScG *Tong* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ũŋg̊] beside ScG *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋg̊ə] (< ON **Tunga* #343) in Gaelic is probably due to the pronunciation Eng. *Tong* [tʌŋ].

There are examples where it is likely a particular Gaelic name was created at the same time as its English parallel, after the initiation of some change or development, e.g. ScG *Am Baile Ùr* : Eng. *New Tolsta* #44 and ScG *A' Phàirc* : Eng. *New Shawbost* #265, but there are several examples where it is likely that a Gaelic name is a translation from English – or vice versa.

§99 (i) Translated from English

§99 (i) (a) ScG *Ceann na Còinnich* < Eng. *Mossend* #110; ScG *Am Margadh Ùr* < Eng. *Newmarket* #247; ScG *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* < Eng. *Manor Park* #266. In addition, ScG *Cnoc Màiri* < Eng. *Maryhill* #143, if it is the case the place was named after the wife of Sir James Matheson, and perhaps ScG *Bruach Màiri* < Eng. *Marybank* #83 for the same reason.

§99 (i) (b) However, there may be examples of translations where the original English no longer survives, e.g. ScG *Na Fleisearan* #187, perhaps from Scots **The Fleschars*.

§99 (i) (c) In the following, the English names themselves are probably based on Gaelic names: ScG *Baile na h-Iolaire* < Eng. *Eagleton* < ScG *Cnoc na h-Iolaire* #37; and ScG *Achadh a' Phlastair* < Eng. *Plasterfield* ?< ScG **Achadh an Aoil* or similar #1 (see also ScG *Raon na Crèadha* #276).

§99 (ii) Translated from Gaelic

ScG *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* → Eng. *Clay Park Road* #86; ScG *Buaile na Cloich* → Eng. *Stony Field* #87; ScG *Ceann nam Buailtean* → Eng. *Park End* #111; ScG *Cnoc nan*

9. Unless ScG *Am Poileagan* #271 < Eng. **The Polygon* is an example.

§98 §98 (v) (b) Ainmean pearsanta Beurla: GA *Màiri* b. < Brl. *Mary* (*Bruach Màiri* #83, *Cnoc Màiri* #143); agus an sloinneadh *Oilibhear* < Brl. *Oliver* (*Leathad Oilibheir* #234); faic cuideachd *Gil MhicPhàic* #204.

§98 (v) (c) Ainmean pearsanta Laidinn: GA *Neacal* f. < Laid. *Nicolas* (*Baile Neacail* #39); GA *Pàl* < Laid. *Paulus* (*Baile Phàil* #40); faic cuideachd *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173.

§99 §99 Eadar-theangachaidhean

Cha choltach gu bheil ainmean-iasaid Beurla sa phrìomh cho-chruinneachadh mar a tha ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais.[9] Tha buaidh na Beurla ri faicinn, ge-tà.

Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann a chionn an fhuaimneachaidh Brl. *Tong* [tʌŋ] agus a chluinnear GA *Tong* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ũŋg̊] cho math ri GA *Tunga* [ˈt̪ʰũŋg̊ə] (< SL **Tunga* #343) sa Ghàidhlig.

Tha eisimpleirean ann far an coltach gun deach ainm Gàidhlig àraidh a chruthachadh aig an aon àm 's a chaidh a sheise Beurla, an dèidh do dh'atharrachadh no leasachadh air choreigin tachairt, m.e. GA *Am Baile Ùr* : Brl. *New Tolsta* #44 agus GA *A' Phàirc* : Brl. *New Shawbost* #265, ach tha corra eisimpleir ann far an coltach gu bheil ainm Gàidhlig na thionndadh bhon Bheurla – no a chaochladh.

§99 (i) Air eadar-theangachadh bhon Bheurla

§99 (i) (a) GA *Ceann na Còinnich* < Brl. *Mossend* #110; GA *Am Margadh Ùr* < Brl. *Newmarket* #247; GA *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* < Brl. *Manor Park* #266. A thuilleadh, GA *Cnoc Màiri* < Brl. *Maryhill* #143, mas e 's gun deach an t-àite ainmeachadh sa Bheurla air mnaoi an Ridire Seumas MacMhathain, agus is dòcha GA *Bruach Màiri* < Brl. *Marybank* #83 air an aon adhbhar.

§99 (i) (b) Gidheadh, is dòcha gu bheil eisimpleirean de dh'eadar-theangachaidhean ann far nach lorgar an tùs Beurla tuilleadh, m.e. GA *Na Fleisearan*, is dòcha à Alb. **The Fleschars*.

§99 (i) (c) Anns na leanas, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann a tha na h-ainmean Beurla fhèin stèidhichte air ainmean Gàidhlig: GA *Baile na h-Iolaire* < Brl. *Eagleton* < GA *Cnoc na h-Iolaire* #37; agus GA *Achadh a' Phlastair* < Brl. *Plasterfield* ?< GA **Achadh an Aoil* no a leithid #1 (faic cuideachd GA *Raon na Crèadha* #276).

§99 (ii) Air eadar-theangachadh bhon Ghàidhlig

GA *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* → Brl. *Clay Park Road* #86; GA *Buaile na Cloich* → Brl. *Stony Field* #87; GA *Ceann nam Buailtean* → Brl. *Park End* #111; GA *Cnoc nan*

9. Mana h-eil GA *Am Poileagan* #271 < Brl. **The Polygon* na eisimpleir.

§99 *Gobhar* → Eng. *Goat Hill* #145; ScG *Iomair Sligeach* → Eng. *Shell Street* #226.

§99 (iii) Translated from English or from Gaelic
In the pair ScG *An Gleann Ùr* : Eng. *Newvalley* #213, it is not certain which way the translation went.

§99 (iv) Nativisation
While translation is a form of nativisation, the name ScG *A' Bhuaile* is possibly an example where a Gaelic name, *A' Phàirc* #264, has itself been nativised.

Gobhar → Brl. *Goat Hill* #145; GA *Iomair Sligeach* → Brl. *Shell Street* #226. §99

§99 (iii) Air eadar-theangachadh bhon Bheurla no bhon Ghàidhlig
Sa chàraid GA *An Gleann Ùr* : Brl. *Newvalley* #213, cha chinnteach cò an rathad a chaidh an t-eadar-theangachadh.

§99 (iv) Dùthchasachadh
Fhad 's a tha eadar-theangachadh na nàdar de dhùthchasachadh, is dòcha gu bheil an t-ainm GA *A' Bhuaile* na eisimpleir far an deach ainm Gàidhlig, *A' Phàirc* #264, e fhèin a dhùthchasachadh.

9 Chronology

§100 §100 Introduction

The Norse are said to have begun settling in Scotland about 800 CE (e.g. Oftedal 1983a, 98); this concurs with the date of the early Norse raids: AU 794 *Uastatio omnium insolarum Britannię a gentilibus* ('Devastation of all the islands of Britain (i.e. the Hebrides[1]) by heathens'); AU 795 *Loscadh Rechrainne o geinntiḃ ⁊ Sci do* [*cho*]*scradh ⁊ do lomradh* ('The burning of Rathlin and Skye was slaughtered and laid waste');[2] AI 795 *Orcain Iae Coluim Chille …* ('The devastation of Iona of Colmcille …'); AU 798 *… innreḋa mara doaiḃ cene eit*er *Erinn ⁊ Albain …* ('[the heathens] also made great incursions both in Ireland and Scotland'); AU 802 *I Columbę Cille a gentibus combusta est* ('Iona was burnt by heathens'); AU 806 *Familia Iae occisa est a gentilibus, id est .lxuiii* ('The community of Iona, i.e. 68 [people], was burnt by heathens').[3]

§101 §101 The Old Norse element

It is assumed that the Norse language was spoken (in Lewis) at least until the Treaty of Perth in 1266 and so Fraser (1984, 40) is able to write that '[b]y about 1250, Gaelic was beginning to be the language of new onomastic coinage in Lewis', although Oftedal (ibid., 99) places this later, with Norse only dying out during the 15th century or a little earlier.[4]

It should be noted that the Norse language spoken in Lewis, as well as the Gaelic language (and the Pictish language if it still survived), would have been changing over the 500 years or more involved. For Norse, this period is split into two large sections with about 1050 marking the division between Common Scandinavian (c.550–c.1050) and Old Norse (c.1050–c.1350). It should also be noted that the date a name was created and the date a name was borrowed do not need to be the same.

It will be apparent that a relative chronology – where something is placed

1. Bremner 1923, 21: 'which means the Sudreys or Hebrides'; Stiùbhart 2005, 34: all the islands of Scotland.

2. Regarding doubt over this raid on Skye, cf. the accounts of other annals in Anderson 1922 I, 255–56.

3. AU texts based on Mac Airt and Mac Niocaill 1983; the AI text on <https://celt.ucc.ie//published/G100004/index.html>.

4. For discussion of the chronology of place-names in Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh (§3), see Cox 2002a, 111–24; for approaches to establishing a chronology of the Norse element, see ibid., 111–14, and Cox 2010c.

9 Ùineadaireachd

§100 §100 Ro-ràdh

Canar gun do thòisich na Lochlannaich air tuineachadh ann an Albainn mu 800 LC (m.e. Oftedal 1983a, 98); co-aontaichidh seo ri àm ionnsaighean tràtha nan Lochlannach: AU 794 *Uastatio omnium insolarum Britannię a gentilibus* ('Lèirsgrios eileanan uile Bhreatainn (.i. Innse Gall[1]) le pàganaich'); AU 795 *Loscadh Rechrainne o geinntiḃ ⁊ Sci do* [*cho*]*scradh ⁊ do lomradh* ('Losgadh Reachrainn le pàganaich ⁊ chaidh an t-Eilean Sgitheanach a chasgradh ⁊ a lomradh');[2] AI 795 *Orcain Iae Coluim Chille …* ('Orgain Ì Chaluim Chille …'); AU 798 *… innreḋa mara doaiḃ cene eit*er *Erinn ⁊ Albain* ('… rinn [na pàganaich] ionnsaighean mòra cuideachd an dà chuid ann an Èirinn ⁊ ann an Albainn'); AU 802 *I Columbę Cille a gentibus combusta est* ('Chaidh Ì a losgadh le pàganaich'); AU 806 *Familia Iae occisa est a gentilibus, id est .lxuiii* ('Chaidh muinntir Idhe, .i. 68 [daoine], a losgadh le pàganaich').[3]

§101 §101 An eileamaid Lochlannais

Thathas an dùil gum bruidhinnte cànan nan Lochlannach (ann an Leòdhas) aig a' char a bu lugha suas ri Cunnradh Pheairt ann an 1266 agus, a chionn seo, faodaidh Fraser (1984, 40) a sgrìobhadh gun robhas air tòiseachadh air a' Ghàidhlig a chleachdadh ann a bhith a' cruthachadh ainmean ùra ann an Leòdhas ro mu 1250, ged a chuireas Oftedal (ibid., 99) nas anmoiche e agus nach robh an Lochlannais a' sìoladh às gus am feadh na 15mh linn no beagan na bu tràithe.[4]

Bu chòir a thoirt fa-near gum biodh cànan nan Lochlannach a bhathas a' bruidhinn ann an Leòdhas, cho math ri cànan nan Gàidheal (agus cànan nan Cruithneach nan robh i fhathast air mhaireann), air a bhith ag atharrachadh thairis air a' 500 bliadhna no barrachd a tha san dealbh. Bho thaobh na Lochlannais, thèid an linn seo a roinn na dà chuibhreann mhòr agus mu 1050 na comharra crìche eadar An Lochlannais Bhitheanta (c.550–c.1050) agus An t-Seann Lochlannais (c.1050–c.1350). Bu chòir a mhothachadh cuideachd nach fheum an uair a chaidh ainm a chruthachadh agus an uair a chaidh e air iasad a bhith co-ionann.

Is i ùineadaireachd choimeasach, sam bi rudeigin nas tràithe no nas anmoiche

1. Bremner 1923, 21: 'which means the Sudreys or Hebrides'; Stiùbhart 2005, 34: 'eileanan na h-Alba gu lèir'.

2. A thaobh teagaimh a bhith san ionnsaigh seo air an Eilean Sgitheanach, coim. cunntas annalaidhean eile ann an Anderson 1922 I, 255–56.

3. Teagsaichean AU air am bonntachadh air Mac Airt agus Mac Niocaill 1983; teags AI air <https://celt.ucc.ie//published/G100004/index.html>.

4. Airson deasbaid air ùineadaireachd nan ainmean-àite ann an Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh, faic Cox 2002a, 111–24; airson dhòighean-obrach gus ùineadaireachd na h-eileamaid Lochlannais a stèidheachadh, faic ibid., 111–14, agus Cox 2010c.

§101 earlier or later than something else – is used below in dealing with the Norse element rather than an absolute chronology where a specific date is known.

As there are no external chronological criteria, the following deals with internal criteria only, including aspects of structure, lexis, morphology, phonology and distribution.

Note also that the following deals principally with names from the main collection and that, as a result, conclusions about the chronology of the Norse element here will be similarly restricted.

Out of the 346 names in the collection, there are 167 simple names that consist of an Old Norse loan-name, e.g. ScG *Adabroc* #3, and there are 50 complex names that contain an Old Norse loan-name either as generic (5), e.g. *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, or as specific (45), e.g. *Àird Dhail* #9, i.e. 217 all together.[5] There are another 30 names that include a Norse element in the form of a loan-word[6] and so there are 247 names all together in the collection that contain some form of Norse element.[7]

MacBain (1922, 70, 167) puts the number of Old Norse loan-names compared with the number of Gaelic-origin only names in Lewis at 80%. Of all the names in the collection, 247 have an Old Norse element, i.e. 71.39%; in Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh, including non-settlement names the figure is 43.63% (Cox 2002a, 112).[8]

§101 (i) Structure

For the most part, there is nothing unusual in the structure of Old Norse reconstructions in the collection except perhaps ON **Borgin á Glumm* 'the fort beside the gully' > ScG *Barra Glom* #48 (with stress on the second element), a phrasal name with the preposition ON *á* (+ dat.) in the senses 'at, beside, on etc.'. Comparison may be made with names in Orkney, such as Eng. *Queenabreckan* < ON **Kvín á Brekkunni* 'the enclosure on the slope' (Marwick 1970, 95) and *Queenamoan* < ON **Kvín á Móinn* 'the enclosure on the moor' (Marwick 1952, 113).

5. Of the 217 Old Norse loan-names, 10 are found in both simple names and as elements in complex names, meaning that there are 207 individual Old Norse names in the collection. There are about 250 individual Old Norse names in Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh (Cox 2002a, 112) and, if one can extrapolate from this figure to include all of Lewis, there are about 3,000 individual Old Norse names in the island today.

6. Of complex names whose specific is an Old Norse loan-name, there are 9 whose generic is an Old Norse loan-word.

7. One might include names that contain the Old English loan-words *peighinn* (6) or *feòirlig* (1), which belong to a land valuation system introduced by the Norse (#269, fn 615).

8. Of a total of 2934 names in Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh §3, only 1280 contain an Old Norse element.

na rudeigin eile, a chleachdar shìos ann a bhith a' dèiligeadh ris an eileamaid Lochlannais seach ùineadaireachd dhearbhach sam bi àm àraidh aithnichte. §101

Seach nach eil lorg air slatan-tomhais ùineadaireachd bhon taobh a-muigh ann, dèiligear anns na leanas ri slatan-tomhais bhon taobh a-staigh a-mhàin, a' gabhail a-steach feartan co-chuir, eòlas-bhriathar, cruith-eòlais, fuinn-eòlais is sgaoileadh.

Mothaich cuideachd gun dèiligear anns na leanas ri ainmean a' phrìomh cho-chruinneachaidh gu h-àraidh agus gum bi, a chionn sin, co-dhùnaidhean air ùineadaireachd na h-eileamaid Lochlannais an seo air an cuingealachadh dha rèir.

Às na 346 ainmean anns a' cho-chruinneachadh, tha 167 ainmean sìmplidh ann a tha nan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, m.e. GA *Adabroc* #3, agus tha 50 ainm casta ann anns am faighear ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a tha aon chuid na sheòrsaichear (5), m.e. *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, no na shònraichear (45), m.e. *Àird Dhail* #9, .i. 217 uile-gu-lèir.[5] Tha 30 ainm eile ann anns am faighear eileamaid Lochlannais air chruth facail-iasaid[6] agus mar sin tha 247 ainmean uile-gu-lèir anns a' cho-chruinneachadh aig a bheil eileamaid Lochlannais air choreigin.[7]

Cuiridh MacBain (1922, 70, 167) àireamh nan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais an coimeas ri àireimh nan ainmean aig nach eil ach tùs Gàidhlig ann an Leòdhas aig 80%. Às na h-ainmean uile anns a' cho-chruinneachadh, tha 247 ainmean aig a bheil eileamaid Lochlannais, .i. 71.39%; ann an Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh, a' gabhail a-steach ainmean neo-thuineachaidh tha am figear seo aig 43.63% (Cox 2002a, 112).[8]

§101 (i) Co-chur

Airson na mòr-chuid, chan eil lorg air annas ann an co-chur nan àth-dhèanamhan Lochlannais sa cho-chruinneachadh ach is dòcha ann an SL **Borgin á Glumm* 'an dùn ri taobh an sgoir' > GA *Barra Glom* #48 (le beum air an dàrna h-eileamaid), ainm abairteach leis an roimhear SL *á* (+ tabh.) sa bhrìgh 'aig, ri taobh, air ᵀc'. Faodar coimeas a dhèanamh ri ainmean ann an Arcaibh, a leithid Brl. *Queenabreckan* < SL **Kvín á Brekkunni* 'a' bhuaile air an leathad' (Marwick 1970, 95) agus *Queenamoan* < SL **Kvín á Móinn* 'a' bhuaile air a' mhòintich' (Marwick 1952,

5. Às na 217 ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha 10 an dà chuid nan ainmean sìmplidh agus nan eileamaidean ann an ainmean casta, a' ciallachadh gu bheil 207 ainmean Lochlannnais fa leth anns a' cho-chruinneachadh. Tha mu 250 ainm Lochlannnais fa leth air mhaireann ann an Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh (Cox 2002a, 112) agus, mas urrainnear am figear seo a chleachdadh gus Leòdhas air fad a thoirt a-steach, tha mu 3,000 ainm Lochlannais fa leth air mhaireann san eilean an-diugh.

6. Às na h-ainmean casta aig a bheil ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na shònraichear, tha 9 a tha an seòrsaichear na fhacal-iasaid Lochlannais.

7. Dh'fhaodte a chur ris an àireimh seo ainmean sam faighear na facail-iasaid Shean-Bheurla *peighinn* (6) no *feòirlig* (1), a bheanas ri siostam luachaidh talmhainn a thugadh a-steach leis na Lochlannaich (#269, bn 615).

8. À suim iomlain de dh'2934 ainmean-àite ann an Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh §3, cha lorgar eileamaid Lochlannais ach ann an 1280.

§101 Matras (1963, 145–46) says this structure is found in the Faroes by the thousand, explaining that the sources only show they were common two centuries ago but that he would think that the oldest go back to the Middle Ages, some of them to the Viking Age.[9]

§101 (ii) Lexis

Occasionally, the distribution of an element is informative, e.g. Oftedal (=1954, 375–76) writes that 'ON *sætr* and *setr* names are very frequent in Norway, especially in the northwest.[10] They are not found in Iceland but abound in the Orkneys, Shetland and Caithness, as well as in the Hebrides. This indicates that most of these names §91 (vii) are older than the colonisation of Iceland.'[11]

Oftedal (=ibid., 382) also explains that 'names in ON *-klettr* are among the less frequent in Norway and are seldom if ever met with in Iceland – Landnámabók records none. They are frequent, however, in the Scottish islands and abound in the Hebrides,' e.g. ON **Breið-klett* acc. > ScG *Briacleit* #78. The distribution of this element in the Western Isles, then, probably represents a later development.

Variation in an element's form sometimes seems to be significant. As Oftedal (1954, 378–79) says, it is usually accepted that the man's name ON *Þolfr* is a relatively late form of *Þórolfr* (see *Tolstadh* #331); it does not occur in Iceland and is not attested in Norway before 1300. If the derivation is correct, Oftedal suggests the name was borrowed into Gaelic very late on.

The by-form ON *brokka* rather than *brekka* was apparently usually used in Lewis (*Brocair* #80), suggesting again that such names are in general later rather than earlier.

If the first element in ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253) and *Caithiseadar* #92 is a Gaelic loan-word (cf. EG *cáe* 'pass'), the Old Norse loan-names were created after the element was itself borrowed into Old Norse.[12]

9. For more on this structire, see Sandnes 1997 and Cox 2007c. It is likely the structure found in ON *Bergit Lága* 'the low promontory' > ScG **Beirgh Làgha* (#58), with the syntax generic + specific (rather than specific + generic) is relatively late also, but note that this is the syntax found in CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* (#63), a name that is relatively old (§101 (iv) (a), fn 16, below).

10. Note that in the Western Isles, *pace* Oftedal, this relates to ON *sætr* rather than *setr* (#296).

11. Indeed, it is likely ScG *Amhastar*, *Borghastar*, *Cùideastar* and *Eileastar* represent a still later development (#296 + fnn 700–703).

12. For further examples of Gaelic loan-words in Old Norse loan-names, see #253.

§101 113). Canaidh Matras (1963, 145–46) gum faighear an co-chur seo sna Fàrothan nam mìltean, a' mìneachadh nach seall na tobraichean ach gun robh e bitheanta bho chionn dà cheud bliadhna ach gun saoileadh e gun tèid an fheadhainn as sine air ais chun nam Meadhan-Aoisean, cuid dhiubh gu Linn nan Ùiginneach.[9]

§101 (ii) Eòlas-bhriathar

Air uairean, tha sgeul ri innse aig mar a thèid eileamaid a sgaoileadh, m.e. sgrìobhaidh Oftedal (1954, 375–76) gu bheil ainmean ann an SL *sætr* agus SL *setr* glè bhitheanta ann an Nirribhidh, gu h-àraidh air an taobh an iar-thuath. Chan eil lorg orra ann an Innis Tìle ach tha iad lìonmhor ann an Arcaibh, Sealtainn agus Gallaibh, cho math ris na h-Eileanan Siar.[10] Sònraichidh seo gu bheil a' chuid as motha de na h-ainmean seo §91 (vii) nas sine na tuineachadh Innis Tìle.[11]

Mar an ceudna, mìnichidh Oftedal (1954, 382) nach eil ainmean ann an SL *-klettr* bitheanta ann an Nirribhidh agus gur gann a chithear iad ann an Innis Tìle, nach nochd iad idir ann an Landnámabók, ach gu bheil iad pailt ann an eileanan na h-Albann, gu h-àraidh ann an Innse Gall, m.e. SL **Breið-klett* cusp. > GA *Briacleit* #78. Is math dh'fhaodte, a-rèist, gun riochdaich sgaoileadh na h-eileamaid seo ann an Innse Gall leasachadh nas anmoiche.

Corra uair, is coltach gu bheil an t-eugsamhlachadh anns a' chruth a th' aig eileamaid cudromach. Mar a chanas Oftedal (1954, 378–79), gabhar ris am bitheantas gur h-e lùghdachadh coimeasach anmoch de SL *Þólfr* a th' anns an ainm fireannaich SL *Þolfr* (faic *Tolstadh* #331); cha nochd e idir ann an Innis Tìle agus chan eil teist air ann an Nirribhidh ro 1300. Mas ceart am bunachas, cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh gun deach an t-ainm air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig gu math anmoch.

Is e am frith-riochd SL *brokka* seach *brekka* a bu trice a chleachdte ann an Leòdhas, a rèir choltais (*Brocair* #80), a' cur air shùilibh a-rithist gu bheil ainmean dha leithid nas anmoiche seach nas tràithe san fharsaingeachd.

Mas e 's gu bheil a' chiad eileamaid ann an GA **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253) agus *Caithiseadar* #92 na facal-iasaid Gàidhlig (coim. GT *cáe* 'cadha'), tha na h-ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais nas anmoiche na iasad an fhacail fhèin dhan Lochlannais.[12]

9. Airson tuilleadh air a' cho-chur seo, faic Sandnes 1997 is Cox 2007c. Is coltach gu bheil an co-chur a gheibhear ann an SL **Bergit Lága* 'an rubha ìosal' > GA *Beirgh Làgha* (#58), leis a' cho-rèir seòrsaichear + sònraichear (seach sònraichear + seòrsaichear) coimeasach anmoch cuideachd (Cox ibid.), ach mothaich gur h-e seo a' cho-rèir a gheibhear ann an LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* (#63), ainm a tha coimeasach sean (§101 (iv) (a), bn 16, shìos).

10. Bruidhinnear, *pace* Oftedal, air SL *sætr* seach *setr* anns na h-Eileanan Siar (#296).

11. Gu deimhinn, is coltach gu bheil na h-ainmean GA *Amhastar*, *Borghastar*, *Cùideastar* agus *Eileastar* a' riochdachadh leasachadh nas anmoiche fhathast (#296 + bnn 700–703).

12. Airson eisimpleirean eile de dh'fhacail-iasaid Ghàidhlig ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, faic #253.

§101 §101 (iii) Morphology

Genitive *s* in ON **Kleifsgróf* > ScG *Cliasgro* #131 indicates a derivation from ON **kleif* nt.[13] rather than the usual feminine form; ScG *Cirbhig* #124 goes back to ON **Kyr-vík*, with **kyr-* the stem form of the adjective ON *kyrr* rather than the usual stem form *kyrr-*.[14] These two cases suggest the Old Norse loan-names may have been created later than earlier.[15]

§101 (iv) Phonology

§101 (iv) (a) ON *iu* > *jú*

The diphthong LB *iu* yields *jú* through stress shift between c. 850–1000 (Gordon 1981, 274–75), and it is likely ScG *Dìobadal* #168 was borrowed from LB **Diupadal* acc. sometime before the beginning of the 11th century.[16]

§101 (iv) (b) CSc. **øy* > ON *ey*

It is likely that CSc. **øy* 'island' rather than ON *ey* occurs in the loan-names ScG *Beàrnaraigh* #51, *Beirgheasaigh* #58, *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Bhalasaigh* #62, *Ceartaigh* #121, *Orasaigh* #259 agus *Rònaigh* #281, which suggests that the names of these islands were borrowed into Gaelic earlier than the middle of the 11th century.[17]

§101 (iv) (c) Nasal vowels

Nasal vowels were merging with oral vowels by 1050 in Denmark, although they were still being used in Iceland c. 1150 and probably much later in Norwegian and Swedish dialects (Haugen 1976, 199). However, that does not explain when ScG *Cnoc Ìomhair* #142 itself, a name whose specfic derives from the man's name ON *Ívar* acc. (with nasal *í*), was created.[18]

§101 (iv) (d) ON *fn* > *mn*

ON *fn* became *mn* in Old East Scandinavian about 1200, perhaps a little earlier,

13. Cf. ScG *Cliasamcreag* and *Cliasbroc* (#131).

14. Contrast ScG *Bhata Ciorra* < ON **Vatnit Kyrra* (#124).

15. It is more likely that ScG *Am Bac* (#23) is an apocopated form §44 (iii) of ON *bakka*, the accusative of ON *bakki*, rather than from ON **bakk*, accusative of unattested ON **bakkr*. But for an example of variation between weak and strong nouns, cf. cG *palla* (ibid.).

16. The borrowing of CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* > ScG **Bhatan Dìob* would be placed at the end of that period of change if it is the case that **Vatnit Diupa* represents a new development in syntax (§101 (i), fn 9). Contrast the later loan in ScG **Diùbaig* < ON **Djúp-vík* (#168) (Skye).

17. Contrast ScG *Fùideigh* < ON **Hvít-ey* (#67, fn 148).

18. Cf. ScG *Amhlaigh* < CSc **Án laif* acc. (> ON *Óláf* acc.) (#13).

§101 §101 (iii) Cruith-eòlas

Sònraichidh *s*-ghinideach ann an SL **Kleifsgróf* > GA *Cliasgro* #131 bunachas à SL **kleif* n.[13] seach an cruth boireann àbhaisteach; thèid GA *Cirbhig* #124 air ais gu SL **Kyr-vík*, le **kyr-* na bhun-riochd aig a' bhuadhair SL *kyrr* seach am bun-riochd àbhaisteach *kyrr-*.[14] Cuiridh an dà chùis seo air shùilibh gur dòcha gun deach na h-ainmean Lochlannais a chruthachadh na b' anmoiche seach na bu tràithe.[15]

§101 (iv) Fuinn-eòlas

§101 (iv) (a) SL *iu* > *jú*

Chaidh an dà-fhoghar LB *iu* na *jú* le gluasad beuma eadar c. 850–1000 (Gordon 1981, 274–75), agus is coltach gun deach GA *Dìobadal* #168 air iasad à LB **Diupadal* cusp. uaireigin ro thoiseach na 11mh linne.[16]

§101 (iv) (b) LB **øy* > SL *ey*

Is coltach gur h-e LB **øy* 'eilean' seach SL *ey* a gheibhear anns na h-ainmean-iasaid GA *Beàrnaraigh* #51, *Beirgheasaigh* #58, *Bhàcasaigh* #60, *Bhalasaigh* #62, *Ceartaigh* #121, *Orasaigh* #259 agus *Rònaigh* #281, a chuireas air shùilibh gun deach ainmean nan eilean seo air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na bu tràithe na meadhan na h-11mh linne.[17]

§101 (iv) (c) Fuaimreagan srònach

Bha fuaimreagan srònach a' co-mheasgachadh ri fuaimreagan beòil ro 1050 san Danmhairc, ged a bha iad fhathast gan cleachdadh ann an Innis Tìle c. 1150 agus is math dh'fhaodte mòran na b' anmoiche ann an dualchainntean Nirribhidh agus na Suaine (Haugen 1976, 199). Gidheadh, chan innis sin cuin a chaidh GA *Cnoc Ìomhair* #142 fhèin, ainm a tha a shònraichear às an ainm fireannaich SL *Ívar* cusp. (le *í* shrònaich), a chruthachadh.[18]

§101 (iv) (d) SL *fn* > *mn*

Chaidh SL *fn* na *mn* anns an t-Seann Lochlannais an Ear mu 1200, is dòcha

13. Coim. GA *Cliasamcreag* agus *Cliasbroc* (#131).

14. Iomsgaraich GA *Bhata Ciorra* < SL **Vatnit Kyrra* (#124).

15. Is coltaiche gu bheil GA *Am Bac* (#23) na chruth teasgaichte §44 (iii) aig SL *bakka*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *bakki*, seach à SL **bakk*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL **bakkr* a tha gun teist. Ach airson eisimpleir de dh'eugsamhlachadh eadar ainmearan laga agus ainmearan làidir, coim. GA *palla* (ibid.).

16. Chuirte an t-iasad LB **Vatnit Diupa* > GA **Bhatan Dìob* aig deireadh àm an atharrachaidh sin mas e 's gun riochdaich **Vatnit Diupa* leasachadh ùr ann an co-rèir (§101 (i), bn 9). Iomsgaraich an t-iasad nas anmoiche ann an GA **Diùbaig* < SL **Djúp-vík* (#168) (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach).

17. Iomsgaraich GA *Fùideigh* < SL **Hvít-ey* (#67, bn 148).

18. Coim. GA *Amhlaigh* < LB **Án laif* cusp. (> SL *Óláf* cusp.) (#13).

§101 and, according to the Gaelic reflexes of all the ON *hǫfn*-names on the west of Scotland (Cox 2008a), it is likely that ScG *Tamnabhagh* (< ON **Hamnarvág* acc.) was borrowed later than ScG *Tamhnaraigh* (< CSc. **Hafnarøy*) #319.

§101 (iv) (e) The Gaelic reflexes of initial ON *h-*

As initial /h/- was not an independent phoneme in Early Gaelic, initial ON *h-* was dropped in the first instance: ON **Hásumar-gerði* > ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, ON **Hyrnuvág* acc. > ScG **Ùrnabhagh* (#117);[19] this followed what was happening in Ireland (Marstrander 1915, 102–04), but there was a tendency in Scotland to nativise ON *h-* by preceding it with a Gaelic plural morpheme: *Mol na Hearadh* #254.[20] Over time, however, particularly within a bilingual milieu, initial *h-* began to be retained in Gaelic: ON **Há-sætr* > ScG *Thàiseadar* #324, ON **Hamarssætr* > ScG *Thamarsadar* #325, ON **Hauka* > ScG **Thòg* (#129), ON **Heið-klettar* pl. > ScG *Thèicleitir* #326, ON **Huglavík* > ScG **Thùlabhig* (#116).[21] There must always have been some pressure, however, to delenite [h]- to *s-* or, from the 12th century when EG /θ/ became /h/ (Thurneysen 1975, 76–77), to *t-*: ON **Há-bólstað* acc. > ScG *Tàbost* #315, ON **Há-klett* acc. > ScG *Tàcleit* #317, ON **Hamnarvág* acc. > ScG *Tamnabhagh* #319, ON **Harð-á* > ScG *Torraigh* #338, ON **Hitaborg* > ScG *Tiodaborgh* #329, ON **Holm* acc. > ScG *Tolm* #330, ON **Hóp*(*s*)*sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* #335.[22] However, the English forms *Habost* (ScG *Tàbost*) and *Holm* (ScG *Tolm*) suggest this delenition did not take place immediately. Before they were delenited, the Gaelic names must have been borrowed into English, sometime after 1400 (once Scots had become the administrative language of Scotland) and sometime before the end of the 16th century when information for Blaeu's map (1654: *Haboſt* [CDL], *Holm Ocrach*/*Holm Ycrach*) was being collected by Timothy Pont (§15).

§101 (iv) (f) The Gaelic reflexes of initial ON *hj-*

It is likely that CSc. **Hjallsøy* was borrowed into Gaelic (ScG *Ceallasaigh*) while CSc. *hj-* was still [ç]; the loan ON **Hjallsvág* acc. > ScG *Teallasbhagh*[23] #322 must be later, however, after [ç] weakened, perhaps during the 11th century.

19. Cf. ON *hamar* acc. > ScG *amar*, ON *hóp* acc. > ScG *òb*, *òban* etc. (#315 (i)).
20. Cf. ON *haf* > ScG *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf] etc. (#281).
21. Cf. ON **Hamar* acc. > ScG **Thamar*, ON **Hestafjall* > ScG *Theastabhal* etc.
22. Cf. CSc. **Hafnarøy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* (#319), ON **Hólar* > ScG *Tòlair* etc. (#101).
23. Cf. MNorn **Hjatland* (< ON *Hjaltland*) > ScG (**Sealtann* >) *Sealtainn* §45 (ii) (a) (ð).

§101 beagan na bu tràithe agus, a rèir riochdan Gàidhlig nan ainmean ann an SL *hǫfn* uile air taobh an iar na h-Albann (Cox 2008a), is coltach gun deach GA *Tamnabhagh* (< SL **Hamnarvág* cusp.) air iasad na b' anmoiche na GA *Tamhnaraigh* (< LB **Hafnarøy*) #319.

§101 (iv) (e) Na riochdan Gàidhlig aig SL *h-* thoisich

A chionn 's nach robh /h/- thoisich na fuinneam neo-eisimeileach sa Ghàidhlig Thràth, chailleadh SL *h-* thoisich sa chiad char: SL **Hásumar-gerði* > GA *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, SL **Hyrnuvág* cusp. > GA **Ùrnabhagh* (#117);[19] bha seo a' dol leis na bha a' tachairt ann an Èirinn (Marstrander 1915, 102–04), ach bhathas dualtach ann an Albainn a bhith a' dùthchasachadh SL *h-* le bhith a' cur cruitheam iolra Gàidhlig air thoiseach oirre: *Mol na Hearadh* #254.[20] Ach, ri ùine, gu h-àraidh ann an suidheachadh dà-chànanach, thòisich *h-* thoisich air seasamh sa Ghàidhlig: SL **Há-sætr* > GA *Thàiseadar* #324, SL **Hamarssætr* > GA *Thamarsadar* #325, SL **Hauka* > GA **Thòg* (#129), SL **Heið-klettar* iol. > GA *Thèicleitir* #326, SL **Huglavík* > GA **Thùlabhig* (#116).[21] Feumar gu bheil brùthadh air a bhith an-còmhnaidh ann, ge-tà, [h]- a dhì-shèimheachadh aon chuid na *s-* no, bhon 12ra linn nuair a chaidh GT /θ/ na /h/ (Thurneysen 1975, 76–77), na *t-*: SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. > GA *Tàbost* #315, SL **Há-klett* cusp. > GA *Tàcleit* #317, SL **Hamnarvág* cusp. > GA *Tamnabhagh* #319, SL **Harð-á* > GA *Torraigh* #338, SL **Hitaborg* > GA *Tiodaborgh* #329, SL **Holm* cusp. > GA *Tolm* #330, SL **Hóp*(*s*)*sund* > GA *Tòpsann* #335.[22] Gidheadh, cuiridh na cruthan Beurla *Habost* (GA *Tàbost*) agus *Holm* (GA *Tolm*) air shùilibh nach do thòisich an dì-shèimheachadh seo anns a' bhad. Mus deach an dì-shèimheachadh, feumar gun deach na h-ainmean Gàidhlig air iasad dhan Bheurla, uaireigin an dèidh 1400 (aon uair 's gun deach an Albais na cànan rianachd ann an Albainn) agus uaireigin ro dheireadh na 16mh linne nuair a chaidh fiosrachadh airson mapa Bhlaeu (1654: *Haboſt* [CDL], *Holm Ocrach*/*Holm Ycrach*) a chruinneachadh le Timothy Pont (§15).

§101 (iv) (f) Na riochdan Gàidhlig aig SL *hj-* thoisich

Is coltach gun deach LB **Hjallsøy* air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig (GA *Ceallasaigh*) fhad 's a bha LB *hj-* fhathast na [ç]; feumaidh an t-iasad SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. > GA *Teallasbhagh*[23] #322 a bhith nas anmoiche, ge-tà, an dèidh do [ç] lagachadh, is dòcha anns an 11mh linn.

19. Coim. SL *hamar* cusp. > GA *amar*, SL *hóp* cusp. > GA *òb*, *òban* ꝛc (#315 (i)).
20. Coim. SL *haf* > GA *na h-abh* [nə ˈhaf] ꝛc (#281).
21. Coim. SL **Hamar* cusp. > GA **Thamar*, SL **Hestafjall* > GA *Theastabhal* ꝛc.
22. Coim. LB **Hafnarøy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* (#319), SL **Hólar* > GA *Tòlair* ꝛc (#101).
23. Coim. MNòrn **Hjatland* (< SL *Hjaltland*) > GA (**Sealtann* >) *Sealtainn* §45 (ii) (a) (ð).

§101

§101 (iv) (g) The Gaelic reflexes of initial ON *hv-*

ON **Hvammsgróf* > ScG *Thòmasgro* [h]- #328, which retains the aspirate from *hv-*,[24] may have been borrowed into Gaelic before ON **Hvalasum* acc. > ScG *Bhalamus* [v]- #61, CSc. **Hvalsøy* > ScG *Bhalasaigh* #62, CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc. > ScG *Barbhas* [ˌ] #47 and CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. > ScG *Beanasbac* #50, which do not.[25]

ScG (Lewis) *carbh* [kʰ]- (< *hvarf* (#47 (i))) may represent an early borrowing from CSc. [xw]- (+ delenition) or a late borrowing from ON [kʰw]-.

It is worth considering whether there is a connection between the devoiced Gaelic forms ([v]-, [ˌ]- and ∅) and the dialect of south-east Norway, where CSc. [kw]- became [w]- in the first instance, as opposed to [ʍ].

§101 (iv) (h) The Gaelic reflexes of ON *-rð*

As far as when they were borrowed is concerned, the names ScG *Borraiseadar* #70 < ON **Vǫrðusætr*, *Garrabost* #189 < ON **Garðabólstað* acc. and *Torraigh* #338 < ON **Harð-á*[26] are earlier than *Eòrrabidh* #182 < ON **Jarð(ar)bý*, *Eòrradal* #183 < ON **Jǫrðudal* acc. and **Thòrsadar* (#56) < ON **Þórðssætr*,[27] in which the stressed vowel has been lengthened before loss of *ð* (as happened in the loan-words *gàrradh* < ON *garð* acc. (#182) and *geàrraidh* < ON *gerði* (#192)). With an epenthetic vowel, ScG **Geardha*[28] (#191) < ON **Gerða* is later still (after c. 1200).[29]

In weakly stressed position, ScG *Beagnaigearraidh* #49 < ON **Bygging*/*Bygning-gerði*, **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253) < ON **Kofagerði*, *Crothairgearraidh* #158 < ON **Króargerði* and *Tuimsgearraidh* #342 < SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* occur on the one hand, and (with further reduction) ScG *Bradhagair* #74 < ON **Borg-árgarð* acc. and *Rothasgair* #282 < ON **Rauðaskarð* on the other,[30] but it is unlikely the difference between them is significant in terms of when they were borrowed into Gaelic.

Finally, ScG **Iuthort* (#174), **Reusort* (#112) and **Sìophort* (#113) probably represent a still later stage of borrowing, with ON *-fjǫrðr* yielding, in the first instance, ScG *-phort* (i.e. lenited *port*) via morphemic substitution (Cox 2007b).

24. Further development can be seen in Gaelic in ON **Hvít-ey* > ScG *Fùideigh* [f]- (Barra) and CSc. **hvarf* > ScG *parbh* [pʰ]-, with delenition.

25. With the devoicing and/or delenition taking place in Gaelic.

26. Also *Gormille Bhat* (#172).

27. Also **Sgàrdam* (#330).

28. Also **urrdh* (#182, fn 413).

29. For ScG *birlinn* < ON *byrðing* acc., see #184.

30. Also **Bhileabhair* (#186, fn 430), **Tangabhair* (#74) and *Teànnraigir* (#295).

§101

§101 (iv) (g) Na riochdan Gàidhlig aig SL *hv-* thoisich

Is dòcha gun deach SL **Hvammsgróf* > GA *Thòmasgro* [h]- #328, a ghleidheas an t-analachadh à *hv-*,[24] air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig mus deach SL **Hvalasum* cusp. > GA *Bhalamus* [v]- #61, LB **Hvalsøy* > GA *Bhalasaigh* #62, LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp. > GA *Barbhas* [ˌ] #47 agus LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. > GA *Beanasbac* #50, nach glèidh.[25]

Chan eil e cinnteach an riochdaich GA (Leòdhas) *carbh* [kʰ]- (< *hvarf* (#47 (i))) iasad tràth à LB [xw]- (+ dì-shèimheachadh) no iasad anmoch à SL [kʰw]-.

B' fhiach beachdachadh a bheil buntanas aig riochdan Gàidhlig dì-ghuthaichte ([v]-, [ˌ]- agus ∅) ri dualchainnt ceann an ear-dheas Nirribhidh, far an deach LB [kw]- na [w]- sa chiad àite, seach [ʍ].

§101 (iv) (h) Na riochdan Gàidhlig aig SL *-rð*

A thaobh cuin a chaidh iad air iasad, tha na h-ainmean GA *Borraiseadar* #70 < SL **Vǫrðusætr*, *Garrabost* #189 < SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. agus *Torraigh* #338 < SL **Harð-á*[26] nas tràithe na *Eòrrabidh* #182 < SL **Jarð(ar)bý*, *Eòrradal* #183 < SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp. agus **Thòrsadar* (#56) < SL **Þórðssætr*,[27] san deach an fhuaimreag bheumte a shìneadh mus do chailleadh an *ð* (mar a thachair sna facail-iasaid *gàrradh* < SL *garð* cusp. (#182) agus *geàrraidh* < SL *gerði* (#192)). Le fhuaimreig còmhnaidh, tha GA **Geardha*[28] (#191) < SL **Gerða* nas anmoiche fhathast (an dèidh c. 1200).[29]

Ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, gheibhear air an dàrna làimh GA *Beagnaigearraidh* #49 < SL **Bygging*/*Bygning-gerði*, **Cadhaigearraidh* (#253) < SL **Kofagerði*, *Crothairgearraidh* #158 < SL **Króargerði* agus *Tuimsgearraidh* #342 < SNòrnI **Tumsgerði*, agus air an làimh eile (le tuilleadh lùghdachaidh) GA *Bradhagair* #74 < SL **Borg-árgarð* cusp. agus *Rothasgair* #282 < SL **Rauðaskarð*,[30] ach cha choltach gu bheil an diofar eatarra cudromach a thaobh cuin a chaidh na h-ainmean air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig.

Mu dheireadh, is math dh'fhaodte gun riochdaich GA **Iuthort* (#174), **Reusort* (#112) agus **Sìophort* (#113) ìre nas anmoiche fhathast de dh'iasad, agus SL *-fjǫrðr* air a dhol, sa chiad àite, na GA *-phort* (.i. *port* air a shèimheachadh) le ionadachadh cruitheamach (Cox 2007b).

24. Chithear tuilleadh leasachaidh sa Ghàidhlig ann an SL **Hvít-ey* > GA *Fùideigh* [f]- (Barraigh) agus LB **hvarf* > GA *parbh* [pʰ]-, le dì-shèimheachadh.

25. Agus an dì-ghuthachadh agus/no dì-shèimheachadh a' tachairt sa Ghàidhlig.

26. Cuideachd *Gormille Bhat* (#172).

27. Cuideachd **Sgàrdam* (#330).

28. Cuideachd **urrdh* (#182, bn 413).

29. Airson GA *birlinn* < SL *byrðing* cusp., faic #184.

30. Cuideachd **Bhileabhair* (#186, bn 430), **Tangabhair* (#74) agus *Teànnraigir* (#295).

§101

§101 (iv) (i) The Gaelic reflexes of ON *-rg*

ScG *Barra Glom* #48 < ON **Borgin á Glumm* may have been borrowed earlier than 1200, before stressed epenthesis §42 (ii) (h) developed in Gaelic,[31] but ScG *Borgh* #68 < ON *Borg*, *Borghaston* #69 < OWNorn **Borg-stamn* and *Tiodaborgh* #329 < ON **Hitaborg*,[32] as well as ScG *beirgh* (#57) < ON *bergi* dat., *Beirgheasaigh* #58 < CSc. **Bergsøy* and *Beirghro* #59 < ON **Berg-rá* date from after 1200.[33]

§101 (iv) (j) The Gaelic reflexes of ON *v-*

ON **Vangssætr* > ScG *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋɡə̯ˌʃaɖ̪ə̯ɾ] #346, ON **Vík* (the loan-name) > ScG *Ùig* [ˈu̥ːɡ̊ʲ] and ON *vík* (the loan-word) > ScG *ùig* *[ˈu̥ːɡ̊ʲ] (*Na h-Ùigean*) (#12), with initial rounding, may have been borrowed while CSc. *v-* was still [w] and earlier than CSc. **Víð-øy* > ScG **Bhuidhea* *[ˈvu̥ja] (#67), ON **Vágsøy* > ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌn̪sɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌn̪saj] #60, ON **Vatnlausa* > ScG *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑl̪̊t̪ɔs̪] #63, LB **Vazøy* > ScG *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌn̪saj] (#65, fn 137) and ON **Vattasker* > ScG *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] #65, which have an initial fricative. The devoicing of the initial in ON **Víð-vík* no **Við-vík* > ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #185 and the delenition in ON **Várasætr* > ScG *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̥aːɾəˌʃaɖ̪ə̯ɾ] #46 and ON **Vǫrðusætr* > ScG *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔʁiˌʃaɖ̪ə̯ɾ] #70 took place after they were borrowed into Gaelic.

§101 (v) Distribution

Nicolaisen (1976, 87–96; 2001, 112–24) demonstrates that the development of Norse settlement in Scotland can be seen in the distribution of the three settlement elements ON *staðr*, *setr*/*sætr* and *bólstaðr*: names in *staðr* provide a picture of what Norse settlement was like before and up to the middle of the ninth century; names in *setr*/*sætr* show the consolidation and expansion of that settlement into the second half of that century; while names in *bólstaðr* show that settlement as its most extensive.

However, the evidence provided by Gaelic phonology shows that only ON *sætr* (as opposed to both *setr* and *sætr*) is represented in place-names in the west of Scotland,[34] and that the *bólstaðr* examples used by Nicolaisen

31. Also ON **Rokk-borg* > ScG *Rocabarra* (#48, fn 94).

32. Also *Borghastar* (#296, fn 701) and *dorgh* (#68, fn 151). For ON **Borg-árgarð* > ScG *Bradhagair*, see #74.

33. Also *Banndabeirgh*, *Beirgh Làgha* (#58), **Thèibeirgh* (#58), *Thèibeiridh* and **Tiongalairidh* (#13). The loan-name ScG **Barabhat* (#338) is probably a contraction of ScG **Barghabhat* (< ON **Borg-vatn*) – cf. ScG *Orasaigh* #259 for **Orfhasaigh* < CSc. **Orfirisøy* – and later as a result.

34. #296; Cox 1990b, 95–97.

§101

§101 (iv) (i) Na riochdan Gàidhlig aig SL *-rg*

Is dòcha gun deach GA *Barra Glom* #48 air iasad à SL **Borgin á Glumm* nas tràithe na 1200, mus do dh'fhàs còmhnadh beumte §42 (ii) (h) sa Ghàidhlig,[31] ach buinidh GA *Borgh* #68 < SL **Borg*, *Borghaston* #69 < SNòrnI **Borg-stamn* agus *Tiodaborgh* #329 < SL **Hitaborg*,[32] cho math ri GA *beirgh* (#57) < SL *bergi* tabh., *Beirgheasaigh* #58 < LB **Bergsøy* agus *Beirghro* #59 < SL **Berg-rá*, do an dèidh 1200.[33]

§101 (iv) (j) Na riochdan Gàidhlig aig SL *v-*

Is dòcha gun deach SL **Vangssætr* > GA *Ungaiseadar* [ˈũũŋɡə̯ˌʃaɖ̪ə̯ɾ] #346, SL **Vík* (an t-ainm-iasaid) > GA *Ùig* [ˈu̥ːɡ̊ʲ] agus SL *vík* (am facal-iasaid) > GA *ùig* *[ˈu̥ːɡ̊ʲ] (*Na h-Ùigean*) (#12), aig a bheil cruinneachadh toisich, air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig fhad 's a bha LB *v-* fhathast na [w] agus na bu tràithe na chaidh LB **Víð-øy* > GA **Bhuidhea* *[ˈvu̥ja] (#67), SL **Vágsøy* > GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌn̪sɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌn̪saj] #60, SL **Vatnlausa* > GA *Bhaltos* [ˈvɑl̪̊t̪ɔs̪] #63, LB **Vazøy* > GA *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌn̪saj] (#65, bn 137) agus SL **Vattasker* > GA *Bhataisgeir* [ˈvaʰt̪əˌ ʃkʲəɾʲ] #65 aig a bheil suathach toisich. Thachair dì-ghuthachadh an toisich ann an SL **Víð-vík* no **Við-vík* > GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɡ̊ʲ] #185 agus an dì-shèimheachadh ann an SL **Várasætr* > GA *Bàraiseadar* [ˈb̥aːɾəˌʃaɖ̪ə̯ɾ] #46 agus SL **Vǫrðusætr* > GA *Borraiseadar* [ˈb̥ɔʁiˌʃaɖ̪ə̯ɾ] #70 an dèidh dhaibh a dhol air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig.

§101 (v) Sgaoileadh

Mìnichidh Nicolaisen (1976, 87–96; 2001, 112–24) gum faicear fàs tuineachadh nan Lochlannach ann an Albainn ann an sgaoileadh nan trì eileamaidean tuineachaidh SL *staðr*, *setr*/*sætr* agus *bólstaðr*: togaidh ainmean ann an *staðr* dealbh de choltas tuineachadh nan Lochlannach ro agus suas gu meadhan na naoidheamh linne; seallaidh ainmean ann an *setr*/*sætr* mar a chaidh an tuineachadh ud a dhaingneachadh agus a shìneadh do dhàrna leth na linne sin; agus seallaidh ainmean ann am *bólstaðr* nuair a bu mhotha a bha leud an tuineachaidh ud.

Gidheadh, seallaidh fianais fuinn-eòlas na Gàidhlig nach tèid ach SL *sætr* (seach an dà chuid *setr* agus *sætr*) a riochdachadh ann an ainmean-àite air taobh an iar na h-Albann,[34] agus gun tàrmaich na h-eisimpleirean *bólstaðr* a chaidh

31. Cuideachd SL **Rokk-borg* > GA *Rocabarra* (#48, bn 94).

32. Cuideachd *Borghastar* (#296, bn 701) agus *dorgh* (#68, bn 151). Airson SL **Borg-árgarð* > GA *Bradhagair*, faic #74.

33. Cuideachd *Banndabeirgh*, *Beirgh Làgha* (#58), **Thèibeirgh* (#58), *Thèibeiridh* agus **Tiongalairidh* (#13). Is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil an t-ainm-iasaid GA **Barabhat* (#338) na theannachadh air GA **Barghabhat* (< SL **Borg-vatn*) – coim. GA *Orasaigh* #259 airson **Orfhasaigh* < LB **Orfirisøy* – agus nas anmoiche a chionn sin.

34. #296; Cox 1990b, 95–97.

§101 derive from several different elements; as a result, it may be said that the development of Norse settlement in Gaelic Scotland was more serial than previously thought.[35] In addition, if it is accepted that *sætr* would have been first used in the sense 'temporary dwelling' and later in some places in the sense 'permanent dwelling', the element's distribution suggests that at least some *sætr* names may belong to a slightly later stratum than *bólstaðr* names.[36]

The evidence of the geographical distribution in Lewis of these three elements (Maps 18–20) does not provide a definitive view of the chronological distribution of Norse settlement there, but it tends to support the conclusion that, with the consolidation and extension of Norse settlement, *bólstaðr*-names grow more numerous than *staðr*-names, while the fullest extent of that settlement is likely indicated by *sætr*-names, most of which were probably temporary dwellings, initially at least.

§102 §102 The chronology of other names

Minus simple names consisting of Old Norse loan-names, there are 179 names in the collection.

Some names are given a relative chronology, e.g. *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195 (later than *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*), *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107 and *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108 (later than *Loch Ròg* and *Loch Shealg*, respectively) and *Geardha Bheag* #191 and *Àird Dhail* #9 (later than **Geardha* and *Dail*). *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173 must post-date the saint's period, but there is nothing to indicate more precisely when the name was created (although the element ScG *eilean* as opposed to ScG *innis* suggests it is later rather than earlier). A distinction can also be made between names in ScG *àirigh* whose sense was 'milking place' – although there are probably no instances in the collection – and those whose sense was 'sheiling' (e.g. *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13), or names in ScG *geàrraidh* that meant 'enclosure' (e.g. *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192) and those that meant 'land around a building' (e.g. *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198).

It is usually difficult to be more specific about when a name or type of name was borrowed. *Clèid* #126, *Clèidir* #127, *Col* #150, *Sgapraid* #289 and *Tangaidh* #320 probably represent the earliest structure; indeed, Watson (1906, 360) places simple names constructed from suffixes such as *Clèid*, *Clèidir*, *Sgapraid* and *Tangaidh* as a type sometime before 1200.

35. Cox 1994; Gammeltoft 2000; Cox 2002b.

36. Cox 1990b, 108–12.

a chleachdadh le Nicolaisen ann an corra eileamaid eadar-dhealaichte; mar §101
thoradh air a sin, faodar a ràdh gun robh fàs tuineachadh nan Lochlannach air a' Ghàidhealtachd na bu sreathaich na bhathas an dùil.[35] A thuilleadh, ma ghabhar ris gun cleachdte *sætr* an toiseach sa bhrìgh 'fàrdach shealach' agus na b' fhaide air adhart ann an corra àite sa bhrìgh 'fàrdach bhuan', cuiridh sgaoileadh na h-eileamaid air shùilibh gur dòcha gum buin co-dhiù cuid de dh'ainmean ann an *sætr* do shrian a bha beagan na b' anmoiche na an fheadhainn ann am *bólstaðr*.[36]

Cha toir fianais sgaoileadh àiteil nan trì eileamaidean seo ann an Leòdhas (Mapaichean 18–20) dealbh cinnteach de sgaoileadh tuineachadh nan Lochlannach ri ùine an sin, ach is dual dhi a taic a chur ris a' cho-dhùnadh gum fàs, le daingneachadh agus sìneadh tuineachadh nan Lochlannach, ainmean ann am *bólstaðr* nas pailte na ainmean ann an *staðr*, agus gun tèid meud as motha an tuineachaidh sin a chomharrachadh le ainmean ann an *sætr*, a bha an cuid a bu mhotha, is coltach, nam fàrdaichean sealach, sa chiad char co-dhiù.

§102 Ùineadaireachd nan ainmean eile §102

Às aonais ainmean sìmplidh a tha nan ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, tha 179 ainmean sa cho-chruinneachadh.

Bheirear ùineadaireachd choimeasach do dh'ainmean a leithid *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195 (nas anmoiche na *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*), *Ceann Loch Ròg* #107 agus *Ceann Loch Shealg* #108 (nas anmoiche na *Loch Ròg* agus *Loch Shealg*, fa leth) agus *Geardha Bheag* #191 agus *Àird Dhail* #9 (nas anmoiche na **Geardha* agus *Dail*). Feumar gu bheil *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173 nas anmoiche na linn an naoimh fhèin, ach chan eil dad a dh'innseas nas mionaidiche cuin a chaidh an t-ainm a chruthachadh (ged a chuireas an eileamaid GA *eilean* seach GA *innis* air shùilibh gu bheil e nas anmoiche seach nas tràithe). Dh'fhaodte cuideachd sgaradh a dhèanamh eadar ainmean ann an GA *àirigh* dham bu chiall 'àite-bleoghain' – ged as math dh'fhaodte nach eil gin sa cho-chruinneachadh – agus an fheadhainn dham bu chiall 'taigh-samhraidh' (m.e. *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13), no ainmean ann an GA *geàrraidh* dham bu chiall 'leas' (m.e. *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192) agus an fheadhainn dham bu chiall 'talamh timcheall air togalach' (m.e. *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* #198).

Mar as trice, tha e doirbh a bhith nas mionaidiche a thaobh cuin a chaidh ainm no seòrsa de dh'ainm a chruthachadh. Is math dh'fhaodte gun riochdaich *Clèid* #126, *Clèidir* #127, *Col* #150, *Sgapraid* #289 agus *Tangaidh* #320 an co-chur as tràithe; gu deimhinn, cuiridh Watson (1906, 360) ainmean sìmplidh air an dèanamh à iar-leasachain mar a tha *Clèid*, *Clèidir*, *Sgapraid* agus *Tangaidh* mar sheòrsa air ais gu

35. Cox 1994; Gammeltoft 2000; Cox 2002b.

36. Cox 1990b, 108–12.

§102 As a type, they are earlier than names such as *An Àird* #6, *An Ceannmhor* #119, *An Cnoc* #133 and *An Dùn* #170 which contain the article; similarly, the likes of *Ceann Chrìonaig* #105, *Gleann Cloidh* #209, *Bàgh Ciaraich* #24 and *Mol Truisg* #256 without the article are earlier as a type than *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, *Àth an Linne* #22, *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26 and *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52 with the article.

It is difficult to estimate when the plural ending *-an* found in *Na Dailean* #167 (as opposed to the vocalic ending found in **Daile Beaga* and **Daile Mòra*) spread within the language. It appears in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (written between 1512–1542), although it occurs to some extent already in Old Gaelic. But it is likely the vocalic ending disappeared due to the rise in forms based on inflectional stems (*-anna-*, *-acha-*). Although it is not cetain, it might be said that **Daile Beaga* and **Daile Mòra* are earlier than, but *Na Dailean* later than, c. 1500 (a chronology that would fit (1654) *Dallenillé*, surveyed btween c. 1583–c. 1614, if it represents *(*Na*) *Dailean i leth* §15) (Cox 2002a, 116–17).

Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug #122, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148–#149, *An Fheòirlig* #184, *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270 and *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287 refer to a land valuation system used during the Middle Ages, from the second half of the 12th century at the latest (Easson 1986, 109, 121).

If the derivation is correct, ScG *Tangaidh* #320 (now -[i]) goes back to **Tangaigh* -[iɟ] (genitive of **Tangach*), before -[ɟ] /ɣ′/ became -[ç] /x′/ before the 13th century (Cox 2002a, 116 + fn 5; O'Rahilly 1976, 53–57), cf. Watson 1904, xxxiv–xxxv.

The names *Baile an Teampaill* #30 and *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340 probably arose sometime after the Reformation (1560), distancing those who coined them from sites that retained an association with the Catholic Church; *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323 also, if it ever had an association with a church. *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16 probably stems from late in the 16th or early in the 17th century, while Dòmhnall Cam was on the run.

The forms (1654) *Kadlowa oc.* (i.e. ScG **Càrlabhagh Uachdrach*) and (1718) *Upper Carloway* suggest that the village may have been named ScG *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258 sometime after the beginning of the 18th century. *An Glìb* #214 may belong to the 18th century also as *Ceòs* manse (#123) was built there between 1725–1726.[37]

More information is available for the 19th century. It is likely the name *Beinn na Dròbh* #54 was created sometime around the beginning of the 19th century, when the drove was moved from *Loch Àirigh na Lice* NB401341

37. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/crofts-and-residences/5238>.

uaireigin ro 1200. Mar sheòrsa, tha iad nas tràithe na ainmean a leithid *An Àird* #6, *An Ceannmhor* #119, *An Cnoc* #133 agus *An Dùn* #170 san nochd an t-alt; mar an ceudna, tha a leithid *Ceann Chrìonaig* #105, *Gleann Cloidh* #209, *Bàgh Ciaraich* #24 agus *Mol Truisg* #256 gun an t-alt nas tràithe mar sheòrsa na *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, *Àth an Linne* #22, *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26 agus *Beinn a' Bhuna* #52 leis an alt. §102

Tha e duilich a thomhas cuin a chaidh an dùnadh iolra *-an* a gheibhear anns *Na Dailean* #167 (seach an dùnadh fuaimreagach a gheibhear ann an **Daile Beaga* agus **Daile Mòra*) a sgaoileadh sa chànan. Nochdaidh e ann an Leabhar Deadhan Lios Mòir (air a sgrìobhadh eadar 1512–1542) ged a gheibhear gu ìre bhig mar-thà e san t-Sean Ghàidhlig. Ach is coltach gun do thòisich an dùnadh fuaimreagach air sìoladh às le èirigh chruthan air am bonntachadh air bunan mùthaidh (*-anna-*, *-acha-*). Ged nach eil cinnt ann, is dòcha gum b' urrainnear a ràdh gu bheil **Daile Beaga* agus **Daile Mòra* nas tràithe na, ach *Na Dailean* nas anmoiche na, c. 1500 (ùineadaireachd a fhreagradh ri (1654) *Dallenillé*, air a rannsachadh eadar c. 1583–c. 1614, mas e *(*Na*) *Dailean i leth* §15 a tha ga riochdachadh) (Cox 2002a, 116–17).

Bheir *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug* #122, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148–#149, *An Fheòirlig* #184, *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270 agus *Na Seachd Peighinnean* #287 iomradh air siostam luachaidh talmhainn a bha ga chleachdadh ri linn nam Meadhan-Aoisean, bho dhàrna leth na 12ra linne aig a' char as anmoiche (Easson 1986, 109, 121).

Mas ceart am bunachas, thèid GA *Tangaidh* #320 (a-nise -[i]) air ais gu **Tangaigh* -[iɟ] (an tuiseal ginideach aig **Tangach*), mus deach -[ɟ] /ɣ′/ na -[ç] /x′/ ron 13mh linn (Cox 2002a, 116 + bn 5; O'Rahilly 1976, 53–57), coim. Watson 1904, xxxiv–xxxv.

Is math dh'fhaodte gun do dh'èirich na h-ainmean *Baile an Teampaill* #30 agus *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340 uaireigin an dèidh an Ath-Leasachaidh (1560), ainmean a chuireadh astar eadar an fheadhainn a thug na h-ainmean ùra agus na làraichean a ghlèidh ceangal ris an Eaglais Chaitligich; is dòcha *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323 cuideachd, nan robh co-cheangal ri eaglais an sin idir. Is math dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16 gu h-anmoch san t-16mh no tràth san 17mh linn agus Dòmhnall Cam air theicheadh.

Cuiridh na cruthan (1654) *Kadlowa oc.* (.i. GA **Càrlabhagh Uachdrach*) agus (1718) *Upper Carloway* air shùilibh gur dòcha gun deach an cruth GA *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258 air a' bhaile sin uaireigin an dèidh toiseach na 18mh linne. Is dòcha gum buin *An Glìb* #214 dhan 18mh linn cuideachd air sgàth 's gun deach mansa *Cheòis* (#123) a thogail ann eadar 1725–1726.[37]

Tha barrachd fiosrachaidh ri làimh airson na 19mh linne. Is coltach gun deach an t-ainm *Beinn na Dròbh* #54 a chruthachadh uaireigin mu thimcheall toiseach na 19mh linne, nuair a chaidh an dròbh a ghluasad à *Loch Àirigh na Lice* NB401341

37. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/crofts-and-residences/5238>.

§102 (Macdonald 1978, 84). Due to 19th-century changes in land use and sometimes evictions, an increase in the number and size of settlements is discernible, e.g. (?early in the century) *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2, *Baile Geàrr* #33, *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111, *A' Phàirc* CLA #262, (1820s) *An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304 and *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305, (1830s) *Baile Ghriais* #34, (1840s) *Am Baile Ùr* NIS #43, (1850) *Baile an Truiseil* #31, (?1850s) *An Gleann Ùr* #213, *Leathad Oilibheir* #234, *A' Phàirc* TSR #263 (in *Britheascleit* #79 and in *Càrlabhagh* #98), *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, (1850–51) *A' Phàirc* TSR #265 (in *Siabost* #295), (1851) *Am Baile Àrd* #32, (1871) *Am Baile Ùr* RBH #45, (?late in the century) *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, and (late in the century or at the beginning of the 20th century) *Am Baile Ùr* CTL #41 and perhaps *Na Fleisearan* #187. *Bruach Màiri* #83 and *Cnoc Màiri* #143 may belong to this century also, if they are associated with the wife of Sir James Matheson, who bought Lewis in 1844.

The effect of development and expansion can also be seen in the 20th century: (after 1918) *Am Poileagan* #271, (1922) *Am Baile Ùr* BAC #44, (?early in the century) *An Ceann Shìos* #114, (1934) *Am Baile Ùr* CDL #42 and (later in the century) *Baile na h-Iolaire* #37, *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1 and *Raon na Crèadha* #276 and (?in the 21st century) *Ceann na Còinnich* #110 and *Am Margadh Ùr* #247.

(Macdonald 1978, 84). A chionn atharrachaidhean ann an cleachdadh na talmhainn §102 agus air uairean fuadaichean san 19mh linn, chithear fàs ann an àireimh agus meud nan tuineachaidhean, m.e. (?tràth san linn) *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2, *Baile Geàrr* #33, *Ceann nam Buailtean* #111, *A' Phàirc* CLA #262, (1820an) *An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304 agus *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305, (1830an) *Baile Ghriais* #34, (1840an) *Am Baile Ùr* NIS #43, (1850) *Baile an Truiseil* #31, (?1850an) *An Gleann Ùr* #213, *Leathad Oilibheir* #234, *A' Phàirc* TSR #263 (ann am *Britheascleit* #79 agus ann an *Càrlabhagh* #98), *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267, (1850–51) *A' Phàirc* TSR #265 (ann an *Siabost* #295), (1851) *Am Baile Àrd* #32, (1871) *Am Baile Ùr* RBH #45, (?gu h-anmoch san linn) *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212, agus (gu h-anmoch san linn no aig toiseach na 20mh linne) *Am Baile Ùr* CTL #41 agus is dòcha *Na Fleisearan* #187. Is dòcha gum buin *Bruach Màiri* #83 agus *Cnoc Màiri* #143 dhan linn seo cuideachd, ma tha gnothach aca ri ainm bean an Ridire Seumas MacMhathain, a cheannaich Leòdhas ann an 1844.

Chithear buaidh aig leasachadh agus meudachadh san 20mh linn mar an ceudna: (an dèidh 1918) *Am Poileagan* #271, (1922) *Am Baile Ùr* BAC #44, (?tràth san linn) *An Ceann Shìos* #114, (1934) *Am Baile Ùr* CDL #42 agus (na b' fhaide den linn) *Baile na h-Iolaire* #37, *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1 agus *Raon na Crèadha* #276 agus (?san 21mh linn) *Ceann na Còinnich* #110 agus *Am Margadh Ùr* #247.

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4: Ainmean-àite/Place-names

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☜ 4

Ainmean Tuineachaidh Leòdhais

The Settlement Names of Lewis

II

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Richard A.V. Cox

Clann Tuirc

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The Settlement Names of Lewis
by Richard A.V. Cox

Published for the first time in Scotland in 2022 by
Clann Tuirc, Tigh a' Mhaide, Brig o' Turk, Perthshire FK17 8HT

Printed in Wales by Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul

ISBN 978-0-9562490-1-2 Vols I-II
ISBN 978-0-9562490-2-9 Vol. I
ISBN 978-0-9562490-3-6 Vol. II

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The Gaelic Books Council helped the publisher with the costs of this book.

<www.clanntuirc.co.uk>

Ainmean Tuineachaidh Leòdhais
le Richard A.V. Cox

Air fhoillseachadh airson na ciad uarach ann an Albainn ann an 2022 le
Clann Tuirc, Tigh a' Mhaide, Ceann Drochaid, Siorrachd Pheairt FK17 8HT

Air a chlò-bhualadh sa Chuimrigh le Gwasg Gomer, Llandysul

ISBN 978-0-9562490-1-2 Leabh. I-II
ISBN 978-0-9562490-2-9 Leabh. I
ISBN 978-0-9562490-3-6 Leabh. II

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Guide

Articles below may have the following elements:

1. The name's reference number used in this book.
2. The head-name §12, §16.
3. The abbreviation of the local area name Map 4, §3 (plus the English form of the head-name §16).
4. The phonetic transcription (in square brackets ([ ])) §13, §17–§23.
5. The National Grid Reference.[1]
6. A selection of documentary forms §15.
7. Magne Oftedal's article §4.
8. A brief description of the location.
9. An analysis of the name.

#1 *Achadh a' Phlastair* STN (Eng. *Plasterfield*)
[ˌaxəɣ əˈfl̪ɑs̪t̪əɾʲ], (gen.) idem.; NB440331. 2007 *Raon na Crèadha*‖*Plasterfield*; 2016 *Plasterfield*; road sign *Achadh a Phlasdair*‖*Plasterfield*.

The name of part of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309, with ScG *achadh* m. 'field' (#2) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the loan-word ScG *plastair* m., from Eng. *plaster*.

As well as the name *Achadh a' Phlastair* 'the field of the plaster', ScG *Raon na Crèadha* 'the field of the clay' #276 is occasionally used in Gaelic of the same place.

It is possible that ScG **Achadh an Aoil* 'the field of the lime' or similar was translated as Eng. *Plasterfield* – something that has happened several times in the environs of *Steòrnabhagh* §99 (ii). Traditionally, plaster was usually made with lime and names occur such as *Cnoc an Aoil* 'the hill of the lime' (e.g. NB250468, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295)) and *Tom an Aoil* 'the hill of the lime' (e.g. NB262477,[2] in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295)). Without evidence to say where the English name *Plasterfield* originated, an attempt appears to have been made to translate it into Gaelic – once it was thought politic to do so – hence ScG *Achadh a' Phlastair*, with the English word as a loan-word, and later ScG *Raon na Crèadha* (perhaps as a more authentic name), perhaps under the influence of the name *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, in *Garrabost* #189.

1. For information about the National Grid: <https://getoutside.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/guides/beginners-guide-to-grid-references/>. To find locations on a modern map: <https://gridreferencefinder.com/os.php>. For the first six-inch-to-the-mile Board of Ordnance map (1843–82): <https://maps.nls.uk>: (a) Click on 'Ordnance Survey maps', (b) under 'Six-inch to the mile', click on 'Ordnance Survey, Six-inch to the mile, 1st edition – 1843–1882', and (c) click on 'As a seamless zoomable overlay layer on modern Google and OS maps'.

2. 1843–82 *Cnoc an Aoil*.

Stiùireadh

Faodaidh na h-eileamaidean a leanas a bhith aig na h-uilt shìos:

1. Àireamh bratha an ainme air a cleachdadh anns an leabhar seo.
2. An ceann-ainm §12, §16.
3. An giorrachadh air ainm na ceàrnaidh Mapa 4, §3.
4. An tras-sgrìobhadh fuaim-eòlach (ann an camagan ceàrnach ([ ])) §13, §17–§23.
5. Am Brath Clèithe Nàiseanta.[1]
6. Taghadh de chruthan sgrìobhainne §15.
7. Alt Mhagne Oftedal §4.
8. Geàrr-chunntas air an àite.
9. Sgrùdadh air an ainm.

#1 *Achadh a' Phlastair* STN
[ˌaxəɣ əˈfl̪ɑs̪t̪əɾʲ], (gin.) idem.; NB440331. 2007 *Raon na Crèadha*‖*Plasterfield*; 2016 *Plasterfield*; soighne rathaid *Achadh a Phlasdair*‖*Plasterfield*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309, le GA *achadh* f. 'blàr, lèana' (#2) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an fhacail-iasaid GA *plastair* f., à Brl. *plaster*.

A thuilleadh air an ainm *Achadh a' Phlastair*, thèid GA *Raon na Crèadha* #276 a chleachdadh air uairean sa Ghàidhlig air an aon àite.

Dh'fhaodte gur h-e tionndadh bho GA **Achadh an Aoil* no a leithid a th' ann am Brl. *Plasterfield* – rud a thachair corra uair air àrainn *Steòrnabhaigh* §99 (ii). Gu dualchasach, b' e an rud a bu bhitheanta às an dèante plastair a bh' ann an aol is tha ainmean ann mar *Cnoc an Aoil* (m.e. NB250468, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295)) agus *Tom an Aoil* (m.e. NB262477,[2] ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295)). Gun fhianais air cò às a dh'èirich an t-ainm Beurla *Plasterfield* bho thùs, is coltach gun do rinneadh oidhirp air Gàidhlig a chur air – nuair a shaoilte gum bu ghlic a dhèanamh – às a sin GA *Achadh a' Phlastair*, agus am facal Beurla na fhacal-iasaid ann, agus a-rithist GA *Raon na Crèadha* (is dòcha mar ainm nas ùghdarrasaile), is dòcha fo bhuaidh an ainme *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, ann an *Garrabost* #189.

1. Airson fiosrachaidh mun Chlèith Nàiseanta: <https://getoutside.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/guides/beginners-guide-to-grid-references/>. Gus àitichean a lorg air nuadh-mhapa: <https://gridreferencefinder.com/os.php>. Airson ciad mhapa sia-òirlich-am-mìle Bhòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82): <https://maps.nls.uk>: (a) Brùth air 'Ordnance Survey maps', (b) fo 'Six-inch to the mile', brùth air 'Ordnance Survey, Six-inch to the mile, 1st edition – 1843–1882', agus (c) brùth air 'As a seamless zoomable overlay layer on modern Google and OS maps'.

2. 1843–82 *Cnoc an Aoil*.

#2 *An t-Achadh Mòr* CTL (Eng. *Achmore*)
[ə ˌn̪(t̪ʰ)axə ˈmoːr], (gen.) *An Acha' Mhòir*[3] [ə ˌn̪axə ˈvoːrʲ]; alias *An t-Ach'* [ə ˌn̪(t̪ʰ)ax], (gen.) *An Ach'* [ə ˌn̪ax]; NB309294. 1809, 1822 *Auchmore*; 1843–82 *Ath Mhor*; 1934, 4 *Achamor*; 1974 *Achmore*; 2007 *Acha Mòr* (*An Ach*)‖*Achmore*; 2016 *Acha Mòr*‖*Achamore*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Achmore** [(ə) ɴhɑxə ˈmoːr], ordinarily called only [(ə) ɴhɑx], is ScG *An t-Acha Mòr* "the big field".'

The name of a village in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, created for those evicted from *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, in Ùig, in the 1820s (Lawson 2011, 147); with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *achadh* m. 'field, meadow' + the adjective ScG *mòr* 'large, big' (EG *mór*, *már*). ScG *achadh* is from EG *achaḋ* m. and is frequently apocopated to *acha'* or even *ach'*. The element essentially means 'expanse of ground; pasture, field' (*DIL*) but, after some places with *achadh*-names became farms or villages, its sense was extended and it is now a common settlement element throughout Scotland (Nicolaisen 2001, 180–83).

The element *achadh* is commonly used of meadows, pastures etc., e.g. ScG *Acha' na Caraidh* 'the field of the (fishing) weir' NB1937, *Acha' nan Gèadh* 'the field of the geese' NB1938 and *Acha' nan Seicheannan* 'the field of the hides (skins)' NB2037, all in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).

Although the name *An t-Achadh Mòr* is found (in several guises) from 1809 onwards, a settlement called ScG (*An*) *Àth Mhòr* NB308290 on the first six-inch map (1843–82 *Ath Mhor*) was located near the north end of ScG *Loch na h-Àtha* – a name with genitive of ScG *àth* f. 'kiln' as specific. The village *An t-Achadh Mòr* today lies further north, at the main road; the loch is called Eng. *Loch Achmore* on the first one-inch map (1885–1900).

#3 *Adabroc* NIS (Eng. *Adabrock*)
[ˈad̥ə ˌb̥ɾɔʰk], (gen.) idem;[4] NB531625. 1843–82 *Adabroc a Stigh*, *Adabroc a Muigh*; 2007 *Adabroc*‖*Adabrok* [*sic*]; 2016 *Adabroc*‖*Adabrock*.

The name of a township in Nis; a loan-name in ON **-brokka* f. 'slope'. Regarding the specific, one thinks of ON *otr* m. 'otter', but as the *r* is part of the stem of the word that is out of the question.

3. Rather than the formal genitive **An Achaidh Mhòir*.

4. Occasionally, the name is pronounced locally (Lewis Murray, *Tàbost* #315) [ˈab̥ə ˌd̥ɾɔʰk] (PN 1966-9-A, 2.04), with metathesis; this is mentioned in CnES 2019. Taylor (2011, s.v. *Adabrock*) writes ScG *Adabrog*, as though the name were pronounced *[ˈad̥ə ˌb̥ɾɔg̊] or *[ˈad̥ə ˌb̥ɾɔk].

#2 *An t-Achadh Mòr* CTL
[ə ˌn̪(t̪ʰ)axə ˈmoːr], (gin.) *An Acha' Mhòir*[3] [ə ˌn̪axə ˈvoːrʲ]; no *An t-Ach'* [ə ˌn̪(t̪ʰ)ax], (gin.) *An Ach'* [ə ˌn̪ax]; NB309294. 1809, 1822 *Auchmore*; 1843–82 *Ath Mhor*; 1934, 4 *Achamor*; 1974 *Achmore*; 2007 *Acha Mòr* (*An Ach*)‖*Achmore*; 2016 *Acha Mòr*‖*Achamore*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: 'S e GA *An t-Acha Mòr* 'am blàr mòr' a th' ann an **Achmore**: [(ə) ɴhɑxə ˈmoːr], mar as trice [(ə) ɴhɑx] a-mhàin.

An t-ainm air baile ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, a chaidh a chruthachadh do dhaoine a chaidh fhuadach à *Peighinn Thinndealan* #270, ann an Ùig, sna 1820an (Lawson 2011, 147); leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *achadh* f. 'blàr, lèana' + a' bhuadhair GA *mòr* (GT *mór*, *már*). 'S ann à GT *achaḋ* f. a tha GA *achadh*, a thèid a theasgadh gu tric gu *acha'* no fiù 's *ach'*. B' e 'raon talmhainn; ionaltradh, lèana' a bu chiall dhan eileamaid aig bun (*DIL*) ach, an dèidh do chuid de dh'àitichean air an robh *achadh* mar ainm a dhol nan tuathanasan no nam bailtean, chaidh a brìgh a shìneadh agus tha i a-nis na h-eileamaid tuineachaidh bhitheanta air feadh na h-Albann (Nicolaisen 2001, 180–83).

Thèid an eileamaid *achadh* a chleachdadh gu cumanta air lèantaichean, àitichean ionaltraidh ↄc, m.e. GA *Acha' na Caraidh* NB1937, *Acha' nan Gèadh* NB1938 agus *Acha' nan Seicheannan* NB2037, uile ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).

Ged a chithear an t-ainm *An t-Achadh Mòr* (ann an caochladh chruth) bho 1809 air adhart, 's ann a bha tuineachadh air ainmeachadh GA (*An*) *Àth Mhòr* NB308290 air a' chiad mhapa shia-òirlich (1843–82 *Ath Mhor*) air a shuidheachadh faisg air ceann a tuath GA *Loch na h-Àtha* – ainm le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *àth* b. na shònraichear. Tha am baile *An t-Achadh Mòr* an-diugh nas fhaide a tuath, ris an rathad mhòr; 's e Brl. *Loch Achmore* a th' air an loch air a' chiad mhapa aon-òirlich (1885–1900).

#3 *Adabroc* NIS
[ˈad̥ə ˌb̥ɾɔʰk], (gin.) idem;[4] NB531625. 1843–82 *Adabroc a Stigh*, *Adabroc a Muigh*; 2007 *Adabroc*‖*Adabrok* [*sic*]; 2016 *Adabroc*‖*Adabrock*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis; ainm-iasaid ann an SL **-brokka* b. 'leathad'. A thaobh an t-sònraicheir, smaoinichear air SL *otr* f. 'dòbhran', ach tha an *r* na pàirt de bhun-riochd an fhacail agus cha ghabh e a bhith sa cheist.

3. Seach an tuiseal ginideach foirmeil **An Achaidh Mhòir*.

4. Corra uair, thèid an t-ainm fhuaimneachadh gu h-ionadail (Lewis Murray, *Tàbost* #315) [ˈab̥ə ˌd̥ɾɔʰk] (PN 1966-9-A, 2.04), le eadar-chàradh; thèid seo a thogail ann an CnES 2019. Sgrìobhaidh Taylor (2011, s.v. *Adabrock*) GA *Adabrog*, mar gur h-e [ˈad̥ə ˌb̥ɾɔg̊] no [ˈad̥ə ˌb̥ɾɔk] a chante.

ON **Oddabrokka* '(the) slope of the point', with genitive of the noun ON *oddi* m. 'spit of land, point, headland' and ON **brokka*, would yield ScG *Adabroc* regularly[5] – the Norse name in this case denoting the high ground on which the village is situated. ON *oddi* is found frequently in place-names in Norway, e.g. *Oddan* and *Odden* (*NG* XIV, 90, 231), in Sør-Trøndelag.

For ON **brokka*, see *Brocair* #80.

#4 *Aiginis* RBH (Eng. *Aignish*)
[ˈaʝʲəˌniʃ], [ˈæʝʲəˌniʃ], [ˈɛʝʲəˌniʃ], (gen.) idem; NB489326. 1654 *Eggeneß*; 1703 *Eggineſs*; 1714 *Egenes*, *Eggines*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Agnes*; 1821 *Aiguish* [*sic*]; 1843–82, 1845 *Agnish*; 1934, 78 *Aignis*; 2007, 2016 *Aiginis*‖*Aignish*; road sign *Aiginis*.

Oftedal 1954, 394–95: '**Aignish** [ɑgˈəniʃ] or [ɑgˈəɴˈiʃ] (pronunciation quoted from memory)[6] may be ON **Egg-nes* "(the) ridge-promontory", from *egg* f. "earthen ridge".[7] (It might be **Eggjarnes*, with the genitive of *egg*, but *rn* usually gives [ṇ].) The main part of the village is located along the slope of a natural mound or ridge; another part is on a promontory. It is noteworthy, however, that the ridge, beginning some distance inland, reaches the sea almost half a mile away from the promontory, which itself is a fairly level plateau bordered by low cliffs. The associative connection between the *egg* and the *nes* is, accordingly, not self-evident, and, if the [name] really contains the element *egg*, it is hardly the generic term, but the name of a well-known locality, e.g. a farm. **Aignish** would then mean "the promontory of **Egg*", and **Egg* would be the original name of the present village.

Phonetically, this interpretation presents certain difficulties. ON initial short *e* results in ScG [e] in my fairly certain example ScG *Eiseal* [eʃɑɪ].[8] This is the name of a hill near *Torfhstaidh* #337, from ON **Esjufjall*.[9] It seems curious that the initial vowel of **Egg-nes* should result in ScG [ɑ], especially before a palatal consonant. It is true that Irish Gaelic, as shown by Marstrander (1915, 62 ff.), has *a* resulting from ON *e*, provided that the *e* sound was an umlaut product of an older

5. ScG *oitir* f. (< EG **ad-tír* (MacBain 1911, 268)) has nothing to do with ON *oddi* m. or ON *oddr* m. (*pace* Macaulay 1972, 317).

6. (nMO) [ɑɟəniʃ], ?[ɑɟən̪iʃ] (quoted from memory); [eˇgˈənĩʃ], ?[ɛˇgˈənĩʃ].

7. With the stem form of the noun and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i).

8. (nMO) [eʃɑɬ], [eʃɑɻ].

9. I.e. '(the) mountain of the soapstone', with genitive of ON *esja* f. 'soapstone' and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain'.

Bheireadh SL **Oddabrokka* 'leathad na sròine', le cruth ginideach an ainmeir SL *oddi* f. 'sròn talmhainn, rubha, àird' agus SL **brokka*, GA *Adabroc* gu riaghailteach[5] – an t-ainm Lochlannais san t-seagh seo a' sònrachadh na talmhainn àirde no bràigh air a bheil am baile. Gheibhear SL *oddi* gu tric ann an ainmean-àite an Nirribhidh, m.e. *Oddan* is *Odden* (*NG* XIV, 90, 231), ann an Sør-Trøndelag.

Airson SL **brokka*, faic *Brocair* #80.

#4 *Aiginis* RBH
[ˈaʝʲəˌniʃ], [ˈæʝʲəˌniʃ], [ˈɛʝʲəˌniʃ], (gin.) idem; NB489326. 1654 *Eggeneß*; 1703 *Eggineſs*; 1714 *Egenes*, *Eggines*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Agnes*; 1821 *Aiguish* [*sic*]; 1843–82, 1845 *Agnish*; 1934, 78 *Aignis*; 2007, 2016 *Aiginis*‖*Aignish*; soighne rathaid *Aiginis*.

Oftedal 1954, 394–95: '**Aignish** [ɑgˈəniʃ] no [ɑgˈəɴˈiʃ] (am fuaimneachadh bho chuimhne);[6] is dòcha à SL **Egg-nes* '(an) druim-rubha', à SL *egg* b. 'druim talmhainn'.[7] (Dh'fhaodte à SL **Eggjarnes*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig *egg*, ach bheir *rn* mar as trice [ṇ].) Tha prìomh chuibhreann a' bhaile air leathad tuim no droma nàdarra; tha cuibhreann eile air rubha. Tha e ri mhothachadh, ge-tà, gun ruig an druim (a thòisicheas astar math a-muigh) am muir faisg air leth-mhìle bhon rubha, a tha e fhèin na rèidhlean cuibheasach còmhnard air a chuairteachadh le creagan ìosal. A rèir sin, chan eil an ceangal eadar an t-*egg* agus an *nes* follaiseach, agus, mas i an eileamaid *egg* a tha san ainm ann an da-rìribh, cha mhòr gur h-e am briathar seòrsachaidh a bhios ann, ach an t-ainm air àite a bha glè aithnichte, m.e. tuathanas. Bhiodh **Aignish** a' ciallachadh 'rubha an **Egg*', a-rèist, agus b' e **Egg* ainm tùsail baile an latha an-diugh.

A thaobh an fhuaim-eòlais, tha corra dhuilgheadas aig a' mhìneachadh seo. Bheir SL *e* ghoirid thoisich GA [e] san eisimpleir cuibheasach cinnteach agam GA *Eiseal* [eʃɑɪ].[8] 'S e ainm cnuic faisg air *Torfhstaidh* #337 a tha seo, à SL **Esjufjall*.[9] Is neònach gun toireadh fuaimreag thoisich **Egg-nes* GA [ɑ], gu h-àraidh air thoiseach air connraig chàireanaich. Is fìor, mar a sheallas Marstrander (1915, 62 7a), gu bheil *a* aig Gàidhlig na h-Èireann à SL *e*, a' gabhail ris gur h-ann mar thoradh air mùthadh fuaim-

5. Chan eil gnothach aig GA *oitir* b. (< GT **ad-tír* (MacBain 1911, 268)) ri SL *oddi* f. no SL *oddr* f. (*pace* Macaulay 1972, 317).

6. (nMO) [ɑɟəniʃ], ?[ɑɟən̪iʃ] (bho chuimhne); [eˇgˈənĩʃ], ?[ɛˇgˈənĩʃ].

7. Le bun-riochd an ainmeir agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i).

8. (nMO) [eʃɑɬ], [eʃɑɻ].

9. .i. 'beinn na cloich-siabainn', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *esja* b. 'clach-shiabainn' agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn'.

a, and that the loan was made earlier than the late 9th century (OG *Caittil* from CSc. **Kaⁱtilʀ* (later ON *Ketill*) 856 AD, but OG *Eloir* from CSc. **Heløri* 885 AD). It may further be noted that ON *e* as the first component of a diphthong has developed into a back vowel in the Lewis Gaelic word *aoidh* f. [ui], [əi], from ON *eið* nt. "isthmus".[10] But, until other examples of a development from ON *e* to ScG [ɑ] have been found, the identification of **Aignish** with ON **Egg-nes* remains doubtful.

A solution which, at the present stage of our knowledge, seems more acceptable is ON **Akr-nes* "(the) (corn)field-promontory".[11] The medial *r* would become lost early in a three-consonant cluster, and the resulting *kn* would regularly develop into [gʹɴʹ] or [gʹnʹ][12] before a front vowel. Topographically, the name is well justified: the greater part of the promontory is arable land. *Åkernes*, from ON **Akr-nes*, is the name of several Norwegian farms, see *NG* IX, 136, XIII, 109, XIV, 14 and 23.[13]'

The name of a township in An Rubha.

As regards an origin from ON **Egg-nes* '(the) ridge-promontory', though the Norse form suited the modern Gaelic pronunciation, as Oftedal explains the topography does not suit its primary meaning very well, although there is a ridge some distance from the promontory.

Even though it were accepted that ON *r* before half-stressed *-nes* in ON **Akr-nes* might not survive in Gaelic (cf. ScG *Callanis* #94 < ON **Kallaðarnes*), *pace* Oftedal it would be difficult to explain palatal ScG [ǧʲ] as one might expect a development such as ON **Akr-nes* > EG **[ˈagəɾ(ʲ) ˌnʲiʃ] > ScG **[ˈaǧə ˌniʃ], with a non-palatal velar plosive.

There is a third possibility: ON **Ok-nes* '(the) yoke-promontory' or 'cross-piece-promontory', with the stem form of the strong noun ON *ok* nt. 'yoke' or the weak noun ON *oki* m. 'cross-piece (e.g. in a gate)'; cf. *Oken* in Hordaland, in Norway (*NG* XI, 127). ON **Ok-nes* would yield EG **[ˈɔgʲ ˌnʲiʃ], with palatalisation of the plosive before the nasal,[14] which would yield ScG [ˈaǧʲəˌniʃ], with *o* ~ *a* alternation in the stressed vowel in Gaelic §43 (i), and

10. But ScG *aoidh* derives from CSc. **aið* rather than ON *eið*; see #75.

11. With the stem form of ON *akr* m. 'field; cornfield'.

12. Regarding [nʹ], see the following discussion.

13. *Åknes* (*NG* IX, 136) is hardly an old name, although the editor postulates ON **Akranes*. *NG* XIII, 109, and XIV, 14, are certainly from Old Norse, but whether from **Akr-nes* or **Akranes* is not evident. *Åkerneset* (*NG* XIV, 23) is no doubt a young name and should be excluded here. (My thanks to Tom Schmidt for this analysis.)

14. The palatal lenited phoneme EG /nʹ/ ([nʲ]) has since become ScG /n/ ([n]) (Cox 2017, 35 + fn 81).

reige ann an *a* na bu shine a bha sin agus gun deach a h-iasadachadh na bu tràithe na gu h-anmoch san 9mh linn (SG *Caittil* à LB **Kaⁱtilʀ* (na b' anmoiche SL *Ketill*) 856 AD, ach SG *Eloir* à LB **Heløri* 885 AD). Mothaichear fhathast gu bheil SL *e* mar a' chiad eileamaid ann an dà-fhoghar air a dhol na fhuaimreig chùil san fhacal Ghàidhlig Leòdhasach *aoidh* b. [ui], [əi], à SL *eið* n. 'tairbeart'.[10] Ach, gu 'n lorgar eisimpleirean eile den leasachadh SL *e* gu GA [ɑ], cha cheanglar **Aignish** ri SL **Egg-nes* gun teagamh.

'S e SL **Akr-nes* '(an) gart-rubha'[11] am fuasgladh as fhasa gabhail ris, a rèir ìre ar n-eòlais aig an àm sa. Chaillte an *r* mheadhanach tràth ann an còmhlan trì-chonnragach, agus dheigheadh a' bhuil *kn* na [gʹɴʹ] no [gʹnʹ][12] gu riaghailteach air thoiseach air fuaimreig thoisich. A rèir cruth na tìre, tha deagh adhbhar dhan ainm: tha a' mhòr-chuid den rubha na thalamh àitich. 'S e *Åkernes*, à SL **Akr-nes*, an t-ainm air corra thuathanasan ann an Nirribhidh, faic *NG* IX, 136, XIII, 109, XIV, 14 agus 23.[13]

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha.

A thaobh bunachais à SL **Egg-nes* '(an) druim-rubha', ged a fhreagradh an cruth Lochlannais ris an fhuaimneachadh Nua-Ghàidhlig, mar a mhìnicheas Oftedal cha fhreagair cruth na tìre ro mhath ris a' phrìomh chèill aige, ged a tha druim ann astar math bhon rubha.

Ged a ghabhte ris gur dòcha nach maireadh SL *r* ann an SL **Akr-nes* ann am beul nan Gàidheal (coim. GA *Callanis* #94 < SL **Kallaðarnes*), *pace* Oftedal bhiodh e duilich GA [ǧʲ] chàireanach a mhìneachadh a chionn 's gum faodte a bhith an dùil ri leasachadh na bu choltaiche ri SL **Akr-nes* > GT **[ˈagəɾ(ʲ) ˌnʲiʃ] > GA **[ˈaǧəˌniʃ], le stadach sgannach neo-chàireanach.

Tha an treas fuasgladh ann: SL **Ok-nes* '(an) cuing-rubha' no 'tarsannan-rubha', le bun-riochd an ainmeir làidir SL *ok* n. 'cuing' no an ainmeir laig SL *oki* f. 'tarsannan no crann-tarsainn (m.e. ann an geata)'; coim. *Oken* an Hordaland, ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* XI, 127). Bheireadh SL **Ok-nes* GT **[ˈɔgʲ ˌnʲiʃ], le càireanachadh san stadach ron t-srònach,[14] a bheireadh GA [ˈaǧʲəˌniʃ], le iomlaid *o* ~ *a* san

10. Ach 's ann ann an LB **aið* seach SL *eið* a thàrmaichas GA *aoidh*; faic #75.

11. Leis a' bhun-riochd aig SL *akr* f. 'achadh; gart, achadh arbh'.

12. A thaobh [nʹ], faic an deasbaireachd a leanas.

13. Cha mhòr gu bheil *Åknes* (*NG* IX, 136) na sheann ainm, ged a chuireas am fear-deasachaidh SL **Akranes* air shùilibh. Is cinnteach gur h-ann às an Lochlannais a tha *NG* XIII, 109, agus XIV, 14, ged nach eil e follaiseach an ann à SL **Akr-nes* no **Akranes* a tha iad. Chan eil teagamh nach e ainm òg a th' ann an *Åkerneset* (*NG* XIV, 23) agus b' fheàrr a chur an dàrna taobh an seo. (Mo thaing do Thom Schmidt airson an sgrùdaidh seo.)

14. Bhon uair sin, tha am fuinneam càireanach sèimhichte GT /nʹ/ ([nʲ]) air a dhol na GA /n/ ([n]) (Cox 2017, 35 + bn 81).

[ˈæɡʲəˌniʃ], [ˈɛɡʲəˌniʃ], with vowel affection before the palatal (cf. ScG *cat* [kʰaʰt̪] ‘cat’, (gen.) *cait* [kʰɛʰtʲ]).

Such a name might have arisen due to the shape of the promontory, which has – so-to-speak – a bend at each of two ends of a cross-piece.

#5 ***Ailltinis*** PRC
[ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ],[15] (gen.) idem; NB367087. 1843–82 *Aillteni*s, *Rudh’ Aillteni*s, *Sloc Aillteni*s; 1934, 61 *Ailtnis*;[16] 2016 *Rubha Ailltinis*.

The name of a small settlement on the east side of A’ Phàirc, which was cleared of its inhabitants in 1826 (Lawson 2011, 187).

MacIver (1934, 61) suggests ON **Hallt-nes* [*sic*] ‘(the) slope-promontory’ for the derivation of this name, but ON *hallr* m. ‘slope’ is the element in question, i.e. ON **Hall-nes*, with the stem form of the word, which would not yield ScG [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] with its medial cluster [ʎ̊tʲ].

If it is the same name, Watson (1904, 270; so Henderson 1910, 346) gives ScG *Altanish*, which he derives from *alft*, i.e. ON *alpt* f. (also *ǫlpt*) ‘swan’, which was pronounced with the bilabial fricative [ɸ] rather than the bilabial plosive [p],[17] and ON *nes* nt. ‘promontory’ §3 (i).

However, regarding ScG [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ], ON **Alpt-nes* ‘(the) swan-promontory’ (with the stem form of the specific) is not impossible: with regressive palatalisation, as found in *Laidhmiseadar* #232, one would get [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] regularly.

Perhaps there are two traditions here, then: that ON **Alpt-nes* ‘(the) swan-promontory’ yielded (1) ScG *[ˈɑl̪̊t̪ˠˌnʲiʃ] > *[ˈɑl̪̊t̪ˠniʃ], which became [ˈɑl̪̊t̪əˌniʃ], with an epenthetic vowel as a secondary development, and (2) ScG [ˈɑl̪̊t̪ˠˌnʲiʃ], which became [ˈaiʎ̊tʲˌnʲiʃ], with regressive palatalisation, then [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ], with an epenthetic vowel. If that is correct, tradition (1) is scarcer today; perhaps MacIver’s form (*Ail*[*l*]*tnish*) represents a middle point in tradition (2).

#6 ***An Àird*** RBH (Eng. *Aird*)
[əˈn̪ɑːɖ̊], (gen.) *Na h-Àirde* [nəˈhɑːɖ̊ə]; NB560360. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807, 1843–82, 1846, 1846JW *Aird*; 2007 *An Àird*‖*Aird*; 2016, road sign *Aird*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: ‘**Aird** [?],[18] ScG *àird* f. “promontory”.’

15. The pronunciation [ˈɑl̪̊t̪əˌniʃ] was recorded once.

16. But Contents (p. vii): *Ailtanis*.

17. Hence the written form *alft*; cf. ON *lopt* nt. > ScG *lobhta* f. [ˈl̪̊oʰt̪ə] ‘high place or floor, platform’; ON *topt* f. > ScG *tobhta* f. [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] ‘ruin of house etc.’ (#339); ON *þopta* f. > ScG *tobhta* f. [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] ‘thwart, bench in a boat’.

18. (nMO) [ˈnʾɑːɖ̊].

fhuaimreig bheumte sa Ghàidhlig §43 (i), agus [ˈæɡʲəˌniʃ], [ˈɛɡʲəˌniʃ], le mùthadh san fhuaimreig ron chàireanach (coim. GA *cat* [kʰaʰt̪], (gin.) *cait* [kʰɛʰtʲ]).

Dh’fhaodte gun do dh’èirich a leithid de dh’ainm a chionn cruth an rubha, aig a bheil – mas fhìor – lùb aig dà cheann crainn-tarsainn.

#5 ***Ailltinis*** PRC
[ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ],[15] (gin.) idem; NB367087. 1843–82 *Aillteni*s, *Rudh’ Aillteni*s, *Sloc Aillteni*s; 1934, 61 *Ailtnis*;[16] 2016 *Rubha Ailltinis*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag air taobh an ear Na Pàirce, às an deach a mhuinntir fhuadach ann an 1826 (Lawson 2011, 187).

Molaidh MacIver (1934, 61) SL **Hallt-nes* [*sic*] ‘(an) leathad-rubha’ airson bunachas an ainm-iasaid seo, ach ’s e SL *hallr* f. ‘leathad’ an eileamaid a bha a dhìth, .i. SL **Hall-nes*, le bun-riochd an fhacail, nach toireadh GA [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] le a chòmhlan meadhain [ʎ̊tʲ].

Mas e an t-aon ainm a th’ ann, ’s e GA *Altanish* a th’ aig Watson (1904, 270; mar sin Henderson 1910, 346), a thàrmaicheas e ann an *alft*, .i. SL *alpt* b. (cuid-eachd *ǫlpt*) ‘eala’, a bha air fhuaimneachadh leis an t-suathach dhà-bhileach [ɸ] seach leis an stadach bhileach [p],[17] agus SL *nes* n. ‘rubha’ §3 (i).

Gidheadh, a thaobh GA [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ], chan eil SL **Alpt-nes* ‘(an) eala-rubha’ (le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir) do-dhèanta: le ais-chàireanachadh, mar a lorgar ann an *Laidhmiseadar* #232, gheibhte [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ] gu riaghailteach.

Is dòcha gu bheil dà dhualchas an seo, a-rèist: gun tug SL **Alpt-nes* ‘(an) eala-rubha’ (1) GA *[ˈɑl̪̊t̪ˠˌnʲiʃ] > *[ˈɑl̪̊t̪ˠniʃ], a chaidh na [ˈɑl̪̊t̪əˌniʃ], le fuaimreig còmhnaidh mar dhàrnacha leasachadh, agus (2) GA *[ˈɑl̪̊t̪ˠˌnʲiʃ], a chaidh na *[ˈaiʎ̊tʲˌnʲiʃ], le ais-chàireanachadh, an uair sin [ˈaiʎ̊tʲəˌniʃ], le fuaimreig còmhnaidh. Mas ceart sin, tha dualchas (1) nas gainne an-diugh; is dòcha gun riochdaich cruth MhacIver (*Ail*[*l*]*tnish*) puing mheadhanach ann an dualchas (2).

#6 ***An Àird*** RBH
[əˈn̪ɑːɖ̊], (gin.) *Na h-Àirde* [nəˈhɑːɖ̊ə]; NB560360. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807, 1843–82, 1846, 1846JW *Aird*; 2007 *An Àird*‖*Aird*; 2016, soighne rathaid *Aird*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: **Aird** [?],[18] GA *àird* b. ‘rubha’.

15. Chlàraicheadh am fuaimneachadh [ˈɑl̪̊t̪əˌniʃ] an aon uair.

16. Ach Clàr-innse (d. vii): *Ailtanis*.

17. Às a sin an cruth sgrìobhaidh *alft*; coim. SL *lopt* n. > GA *lobhta* f. [ˈl̪̊oʰt̪ə] ‘àite no làr àrd, àrd-ùrlar’; SL *topt* b. > GA *tobhta* b. [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] ‘làrach taighe ⁊c’ (#339); SL *þopta* b. > GA *tobhta* b. [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə] ‘being ann am bàta’.

18. (nMO) [ˈnʾɑːɖ̊].

The name of a township at the north end of An Rubha. With the feminine Gaelic article + ScG *àird* f. 'point, headland' (EG *ardae*, *aird*). The element ScG *àird* is common throughout Lewis both on the coast and on freshwater lochs; generally equivalent in meaning to ScG *rubha* m. §3 (iv).

#7 ***Àird an t-Sròim*** TLS (Eng. *Aird an Troim*)
[ˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾãĩm], [ˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾəĩm], (gen.) idem; or *Baile Àird an t-Sròim* [ˌb̥alˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾãĩm], (gen.) *Bhaile Àird an t-Sròim* [ˌvalˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾãĩm]; NB237153. 1821 *Ard·endruime*; 1843–82 *Baile Aird an Tròim*, *Aird an Troim*; 1934, 59 *Ard an t-sruim*; 2016 *Àird an Troim*.

The name of a deserted settlement in Taobh Loch Shìophort, named after the large headland at the north-west end of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), i.e. *Àird an t-Sròim* 'the headland of the stream', with ScG *àird* f. (#6) and genitive of the noun ScG *sròm* m. 'stream', a loan-word from ON *straum*, accusative of ON *straumr* m.; ScG *Sruth Shìophort* 'the stream of *Sìophort*' is the name of the narrows through which this stream runs. Cf. ScG *Port an t-Sròim* 'the landing place of *An Sròm* (Eng. *Stromeferry*)' NG865346, in Loch Carron, and ScG *Sròm na Circeadh* (nMO) [strɔm nə kʲirʲkʲəɣ] 'the stream of the hen' NF7746, in South Uist.

ON *au* develops into ScG [ɔː] regularly; cf. ScG *sgòd* m. 'the corner of a sail' < ON *skaut* nt. (cf. ScG *sgòidean*, Cox 2002a, 297) and ScG *Rònaigh* < CSc. **Hraun-øy* #281. In the genitive, *sròm* – consisting of a heavy syllable with a long vowel before final *m* (Cox 2017, 13–14) – has become [s̪ʈ̪ɾãĩm], via phonemic interchange, as occurs in the dialect, cf. ScG *àm* [ãũm] > [ãĩm] 'time', ScG *cam* [kʰãũm] > [kʰãĩm] 'crooked', ScG *trom* [t̪ʰɾɔ̃ũm] > [t̪ʰɾãĩm] 'heavy'.

The element **Sròm* in ScG *Sròm Mòr*, *Sròm Meadhanach* and *Sròm Carann·ach* 'the large, the middle and the Carron **Sròm*' in Loch Carron (Watson 1904, 194; Iain Lom: *Loch Carann agus Stròm* [*sic*] in Mackenzie 1964, 124, ll. 1582–83) is a loan-name from ON **Straum* acc. '(the) stream'. As a second element, cf. ScG *Creagastrom* (nMO) [krʲegəstrəm], [kʻrʲegəˀstrəm̩] NF857481 and *Lìodastrom* (nMO) [ʟʲiːd̪ʲəstrəm̩] NF836508,[19] in Benbecula.

#8 ***An Àird Bheag*** ÙIG
[əˌn̪ɑ·d̪ˠ ˈveɣ̊],[20] (gen.) *Na h-Àirde Bige* [nəˌhɑ·d̪ə ˈb̥iɠ̊ʲə]; NB033194. 1843–82 *Aird Bheag*.

The name of a deserted settlement situated on a promontory on the south side of *Loch Thamnabhaigh* (#319), in Ùig, with the feminine Gaelic article + the

19. *LASID* IV, 247, gives [lɪːdəsʈ̪ɾəm], [lyːd]-, but initial unlenited [ɬ̪] is expected here.
20. (nMO) [ˌɴʾɑːd̪ˠ ˈveɣ̊].

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ceann a tuath An Rubha. Leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + GA *àird* b. 'rubha, tiompan' (GT *ardae*, *aird*). Tha an eileamaid GA *àird* bitheanta am feadh Leòdhais an dà chuid ris a' mhuir agus air lochan fìor-uisge; co-ionann ri GA *rubha* f. san fharsaingeachd a thaobh brìghe §3 (iv).

#7 ***Àird an t-Sròim*** TLS
[ˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾãĩm], [ˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾəĩm], (gin.) idem; no *Baile Àird an t-Sròim* [ˌb̥alˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾãĩm], (gin.) *Bhaile Àird an t-Sròim* [ˌvalˌɑ·ʈ̪ə ˈn̪ʰɾãĩm]; NB237153. 1821 *Ard·endruime*; 1843–82 *Baile Aird an Tròim*, *Aird an Troim*; 1934, 59 *Ard an t-sruim*; 2016 *Àird an Troim*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air Taobh Loch Shìophort, a chaidh ainmeachadh air an àird mhòir aig ceann an iar-thuath *Loch Shìophort* (#113), .i. *Àird an t-Sròim* 'rubha an t-sruith', le GA *àird* b. (#6) agus a' chruth ghinideach aig GA *sròm* f. 'sruth', a tha na fhacal-iasaid à SL *straum*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *straumr* f.; 's e GA *Sruth Shìophort* an t-ainm a th' air a' chaolas trom bi an sròm seo a' ruith. Coim. GA *Port an t-Sròim* NG865346 'àite dol air tìr aig *An t-Sròm* (Brl. *Stromeferry*)', ann an Loch Carann, agus GA *Sròm na Circeadh* (nMO) [strɔm nə kʲirʲkʲəɣ] NF7746, ann an Uibhist a Deas.

Thèid SL *au* na GA [ɔː] gu riaghailteach; coim. GA *sgòd* f. 'oisean siùil' < SL *skaut* n. (coim. GA *sgòidean*, Cox 2002a, 297) agus GA *Rònaigh* < LB **Hraun-øy* #281. San tuiseal ghinideach, tha *sròm* – na lide throim le fuaimreig fhada ro *m* dheiridh (Cox 2017, 13–14) – air a dhol na [s̪ʈ̪ɾãĩm], le iomlaid fhuinneamaich, mar a gheibhear san dualchainnt, coim. GA *àm* [ãũm] > [ãĩm], GA *cam* [kʰãũm] > [kʰãĩm], GA *trom* [t̪ʰɾɔ̃ũm] > [t̪ʰɾãĩm].

Tha an eileamaid **Sròm* ann an GA *Sròm Mòr*, *Sròm Meadhanach* agus *Sròm Carannach* ann an Loch Carann (Watson 1904, 194; Iain Lom: *Loch Carann agus Stròm* [*sic*] ann am Mackenzie 1964, 124, ss. 1582–83) na h-ainm-iasaid à SL **Straum* cusp. '(an) sruth'. Mar dhàrna h-eileamaid, coim. GA *Creagastrom* (nMO) [krʲegəstrəm], [kʻrʲegəˀstrəm̩] NF857481 agus *Lìodastrom* (nMO) [ʟʲiːd̪ʲəstrəm̩] NF836508,[19] ann am Beinn na Fadhla.

#8 ***An Àird Bheag*** ÙIG
[əˌn̪ɑ·d̪ˠ ˈveɣ̊],[20] (gin.) *Na h-Àirde Bige* [nəˌhɑ·d̪ə ˈb̥iɠ̊ʲə]; NB033194. 1843–82, 1860 *Aird Bheag*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs, ann an Ùig, air a shuidheachadh air rubha air taobh a deas *Loch Thamnabhaigh* (#319), leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an

19. Bheir *LASID* IV, 247, [lɪːdəsʈ̪ɾəm], [lyːd]-, ach sùilichear [ɬ̪] thoisich neo-shèimhichte an seo.
20. (nMO) [ˌɴʾɑːd̪ˠ ˈveɣ̊].

noun ScG *àird* f. (#6) + the adjective ScG *beag* 'small' in the sense 'lesser' (OG *bec*(*c*)).

The name of the village was taken from the name of the headland, one of two headlands – the other is ScG *An Àird Mhòr* 'the large(r) headland' (#198) – partially encircling *Loch Theallasbhaigh* (#322).

#9 ***Àird Dhail*** NIS (Eng. *Aird Dell*)
[ˌɑ·d̪ˠ ˈɣal], (gen.) idem, or *An Àird* [əˈn̪ɑːd̪ˠ], (gen.) *Na h-Àirde* [nəˈhɑːɟə]; NB478619. 1843–82 *Aird Dhail*; 2007 *Àird Dhail*, *An Àird*‖*Aird Dell*; 2016 =.

The name of part of the township *Dail fo Dheas*, in Nis, that acquired its name from the headland to the north-west; from ScG *àird* f. 'headland' (#6) + the genitive of *Dail* #166.

#10 ***Àird Drobhanis*** BRN
[ˌɑ·d̪ˠˈd̪̊ɾɔvəˌniʃ], or *Àird Dhrobhanis* [ˌɑ·d̪ˠˈɣɾɔvəˌniʃ], (gen.) idem; NB143322. 1821, 1822 *Dravernish*; 1843–82 *Aird Drobhinish*, *Amhuinn Drobhinish*, *Beinn Drobhinish*, *Loch Drobhinish*; 1846 *Dravernish*; 1934, 39 *Drovanish*.

The name of a long, narrow promontory, in Ùig, joined to the Lewis mainland by an isthmus broken by a channel that floods at high tide; there was a settlement at the southern end of the promontory, overlooking the isthmus. A Gaelic name, borrowed from an Old Norse name in ON *-nes* nt. 'promontory, headland' or its dative form *-nesi*.

For the specific, Watson (1904, 270) proposes ON *drǫfn* in the sense 'spotty', cf. Ice. *dröfn* 'spots' (Cleasby, s.v.), but that would probably yield ScG *[ˈd̪̊ɾɔ̃ũn]-, cf. CSc. *Hafnarøy* > ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪̊ʰãũnəˌɾaj] (#319).

It might be worth considering ON **Drag-nes* '(the) isthmus-promontory', with the stem form of the noun ON *drag* nt. (or *drǫg* f.) in the sense 'somewhere boats are drawn over a neck of land' (Rygh 1898, 47; Særheim 2007, 47, s.v.). In Norn, cf. *draw* sb. in the same sense, from Eng. *draw* but earlier from ON *drag*, and Norn ¹*drag*, ¹*drog* vb. 'to pull', from ON *draga* vb. (Jakobsen 1928, s.vv.).[21]

Regarding ON *g* [ɣ] yielding ScG [v], cf. ON *dorg* f. > ScG *dorgh* [d̪̊ɔɾ̃ɣ] but

21. Craigie (1894, 164, in de Vries 1962, s.v. ²*draga*) suggests that ScG *dragh* vb 'to pull; drag' is from ON *draga* vb, a connection MacBain (1911, s.v. *dragh*) also makes, but, although ScG *dragh* /drəː/ 'to stretch' reminds Oftedal (1956, 86: 'stretch!'†) of ON *draga*, he notes that a long vowel would not be expected from ON *draga* in Gaelic; however, ScG *dragh* vb [d̪̊ɾəː] (and the verbal noun *draghadh* m. [d̪̊ɾə-əɣ]) may have developed under the influence of Scots *draw* [drɑː] etc., cf. Norn *draw*, above. †In Gaelic, the form used to identify a regular verb and its 2nd person singular imperative form are identical.

ainmear GA *àird* b. (#6) + a' bhuadhair GA *beag* 'meanbh' sa bhrìgh 'nas lugha' (SG *bec*(*c*)).

Thugadh ainm a' bhaile bho ainm na h-àirde, tè de dhà àird – 's e GA *An Àird Mhòr* a th' air an tè eile (#198) – a bhios a' leth-chuairteachadh *Loch Theallasbhaigh* (#322).

#9 ***Àird Dhail*** NIS
[ˌɑ·d̪ˠ ˈɣal], (gin.) idem, no *An Àird* [əˈn̪ɑːd̪ˠ], (gin.) *Na h-Àirde* [nəˈhɑːɟə]; NB478619. 1843–82 *Aird Dhail*; 2007 *Àird Dhail*, *An Àird*‖*Aird Dell*; 2016 =.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Dail fo Dheas*, ann an Nis, a fhuair a ainm bhon àird san iar-thuath; à GA *àird* b. 'rubha' (#6) + an tuiseal ghinideach aig *Dail* #166.

#10 ***Àird Drobhanis*** BRN
[ˌɑ·d̪ˠˈd̪̊ɾɔvəˌniʃ], no *Àird Dhrobhanis* [ˌɑ·d̪ˠˈɣɾɔvəˌniʃ], (gin.) idem; NB143322. 1821, 1822 *Dravernish*; 1843–82 *Aird Drobhinish*, *Amhuinn Drobhinish*, *Beinn Drobhinish*, *Loch Drobhinish*; 1846 *Dravernish*; 1934, 39 *Drovanish*.

An t-ainm air rubha fada caol, ann an Ùig, air a cheangal ri tìr-mòr Leòdhais le tairbeart air a bhriseadh le cladhan caol a lìonas aig muir-làn; bha tuineachadh aig ceann a deas an rubha, bhos cionn an tairbeirt. Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à ainm Lochlannais ann an SL *-nes* n. 'rubha, àird' no a chruth tabhartach *-nesi*.

Airson an t-sònraicheir, cuiridh Watson (1904, 270) air adhart SL *drǫfn* sa bhrìgh 'breac, ballach', coim. Tìl. *dröfn* 'guireanan, spotaichean' (Cleasby, s.v.), ach is iongantach mana toireadh sin GA *[ˈd̪̊ɾɔ̃ũn]-, coim. LB **Hafnarøy* > GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪̊ʰãũnəˌɾaj] (#319).

Is dòcha gum b' fhiach beachdachadh air SL **Drag-nes* '(an) tairbeart-rubha', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *drag* n. (no *drǫg* b.) sa bhrìgh 'àite far an tèid eathar a tharraing a-null air amhaich talmhainn, tairbeart' (Rygh 1898, 47; Særheim 2007, 47, s.v.). Anns an Nòrn, coim. *draw* ainm. san aon bhrìgh, à Brl. *draw* ach na bu tràithe à SL *drag*, agus Nòrn ¹*drag*, ¹*drog* gn. 'tarraing', à SL *draga* gn. (Jakobsen 1928, s.vv.).[21]

A thaobh SL *g* [ɣ] a bhith a' dol na GA [v], coim. SL *dorg* b. > GA *dorgh*

21. Cuiridh Craigie (1894, 164, ann an de Vries 1962, s.v. ²*draga*) air shùilibh gur h-ann à SL *draga* gn. a tha GA *dragh* gn. 'tarraing; slaod', ceangal a nì MacBain (1911, s.v. *dragh*) mar an ceudna, ach, ged a chuireas GA *dragh* /drəː/ 'sìn' SL *draga* air chuimhne do dh'Oftedal (1956, 86: 'stretch!'†), canaidh e nach sùilichte fuaimreag fhada sa Ghàidhlig à SL *draga*; gidheadh, is dòcha gu bheil GA *dragh* gn. [d̪̊ɾəː] (agus an t-ainmear gnìomhaireach *draghadh* f. [d̪̊ɾə-əɣ]) air fàs fo bhuaidh Alb. *draw* [drɑː] ꝛc, coim. Nòrn *draw*, shuas. †Sa Ghàidhlig, is ionann an cruth a chleachdar gus gnìomhair riaghailteach a shònrachadh agus an cruth àithneach 2ra pearsa singilte aige.

[d̪ɔɾ̃ɔv] in Wester Ross (#47) and ScG *saoghal* 'world' (EG *saíġul*), which is sometimes /suːvəʟ/ in Lewis (rather than /suː-əʟ/) (Oftedal 1956, 82); in addition, cf. ScG (Lewis) *eubhachd* [ˈeːvɔxk] (for *èigheachd*) 'shouting, calling' and *leubhadh* [ˈl̪̊eːvəɣ] (for *leughadh*) 'reading' (Gillies 1997).

Although the solution is not certain, the development ON **Drag-nes* > EG *[ˈd̪ɾaɣᵊˌnʲeʃ] > ScG *[ˈd̪̊ɾavəˌniʃ] > [ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ], with alternation of *a* ~ *o* §43 (ii), might be correct: the topography supports such a derivation; it is also possible that stressed ScG [o] (rather than [ɔ]) would occur were the bilabial [v] original.[22] Folk etymology in ScG *dròbh* 'drove' might be behind the development §37 (i) (e).

#11 *Àird Thunga* BAC (Eng. *Aird Tong*)
[ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈhũŋɡ̊ə], (gen.) idem; or *Àird Thung* [ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈhɔ̃ũŋɡ̊];[23] NB459366. 1821, 1822 *Ard of Tong*; 1843–82 *Aird Thūnga, Aird of Tong*; 1845 *Aird of Tong*; 2007, 2016 *Àird Thunga*‖*Aird Tong*; road sign *Aird Thunga*‖*Aird Tong*.

The name of a village situated on a headland or promontory, in Sgìre a' Bhac, with the loan-name ScG *Tunga* #343 used as specific after the generic ScG *àird* f. 'headland' (#6). The form *Àird Thung* is apparently derived via the English form of Gaelic *Tunga*: Eng. *Tong* [tʌŋ] > ScG *Tong* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ũŋɡ̊], > ScG *Àird Thung* [ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈhɔ̃ũŋɡ̊].

#12 *Àird Ùig* ÙIG (Eng. *Aird*)
[ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈu̪ːɡ̊ʲ], (gen.) idem; or *An Àird* [əˈn̪̊aːd̪̊],[24] (gen.) *Na h-Àirde* [nəˈhaːd̪̊ə]; NB048378. 1843–82 *Aird Uige*; cf. 1790 [misplaced], 1797, 1845 *Uig*; 2007 *Àird Uig*‖*Aird*; 2016 *Àird Uig*; road sign *Aird Uig*, *Aird, Uig* [*sic*].

> Oftedal 1954, 388: '**Aird Uig** "*Ùig* promontory" ... **Uig** [uːgʲ][25] is ON **Vík* "(the) bay, cove". The name refers to the present *Camas Ùig*, a broad bay at which the village is situated. *Ùig* also the name of the parish. *Ùig* has nothing to do with MG *uaiġ* "sea-cave, cave-like indentation in cliffs on the coast", as has been suggested by some. That word is represented in

22. Of the name **Drobhanis*, MacIver (1934, 39) notes that it ought to be '*Grofum-nes* "peat-cutting promontory"' and, of ScG *Loch Crabhadail* [ˌl̪̊ɔx ˈkʰɾavəˌd̪̊əl] NB014136, in Harris, he notes (p. 49), '*L. Cravadal*: the lake of the peat dale; *grafum*, peat digging'. Although ON *grafa* vb means 'to dig', what Old Norse form MacIver intended is not clear.

23. Locally, (MM) [ˌɔ·d̪̊ˈhəũŋɡ̊] is also heard.

24. (nMO) [ɴ̥ˈɑːd̪̊], with aphaeresis.

25. (nMO) [uːɟ].

[d̪̊ɔɾ̃ɔɣ] ach [d̪̊ɔɾ̃ɔv] ann an Ros an Iar (#47) agus GA *saoghal* (GT *saíġul*), a tha na /suːvəʟ/ (seach /suː-əʟ/) air uairean ann an Leòdhas (Oftedal 1956, 82); a thuilleadh, coim. GA (Leòdhas) *eubhachd* [ˈeːvɔxk] (airson *èigheachd*) agus *leubhadh* [ˈl̪̊eːvəɣ] (airson *leughadh*) (Gillies 1997).

Ged nach eil am fuasgladh cinnteach, dh'fhaodadh an leasachadh SL **Drag-nes* > GT *[ˈd̪ɾaɣᵊˌnʲeʃ] > GA *[ˈd̪̊ɾavəˌniʃ] > [ˈd̪ɾɔvəˌniʃ], le iomlaid *a* ~ *o* §43 (ii), a bhith fìor: cuiridh cruth na tìre a thaic ris a' bhunachas sin; cuideachd, is dòcha gum faighte GA [o] bheumte (seach [ɔ]) nan robh an dà-bhileach [v] tùsail.[22] Dh'fhaodte gu bheil dinnsheanchas ann an GA *dròbh* air cùl an leasachaidh §37 (i) (e).

#11 *Àird Thunga* BAC
[ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈhũŋɡ̊ə], (gin.) idem; no *Àird Thung* [ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈhɔ̃ũŋɡ̊];[23] NB459366. 1821, 1822 *Ard of Tong*; 1843–82 *Aird Thūnga, Aird of Tong*; 1845 *Aird of Tong*; 2007, 2016 *Àird Thunga*‖*Aird Tong*; soighne rathaid *Aird Thunga*‖*Aird Tong*.

An t-ainm air baile air a shuidheachadh air àird no rubha, ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, agus an t-ainm-iasaid GA *Tunga* #343 ga chleachdadh na shònraichear an dèidh an t-seòrsaicheir GA *àird* b. 'rubha' (#6). Tha an cruth *Àird Thung* air a bhonntachadh, a rèir choltais, air a' chruth Bheurla aig GA *Tunga*: Brl. *Tong* [tʌŋ] > GA *Tong* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ũŋɡ̊], > GA *Àird Thung* [ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈhɔ̃ũŋɡ̊].

#12 *Àird Ùig* ÙIG
[ˌɑ·d̪̊ˈu̪ːɡ̊ʲ], (gin.) idem; no *An Àird* [əˈn̪̊aːd̪̊],[24] (gin.) *Na h-Àirde* [nəˈhaːd̪̊ə]; NB048378. 1843–82 *Aird Uige*; coim. 1790 [às àite], 1797, 1845 *Uig*; 2007 *Àird Uig*‖*Aird*; 2016 *Àird Uig*; soighne rathaid *Aird Uig*, *Aird, Uig* [*sic*].

> Oftedal 1954, 388: **Aird Uig** 'rubha *Ùig*' ... 'S e SL **Vík* '(am) bàgh' a th' ann an **Uig** [uːgʲ][25]. Beanaidh an t-ainm ri *Camas Ùig* an latha an-diugh, bàgh leathann ris a bheil am baile air a shuidheachadh. 'S e *Ùig* ainm na sgìre mar an ceudna. Chan eil gnothach aig *Ùig* ri MG *uaiġ* 'uamh mara, sloc uamhach ann an creagan ris a' mhuir', mar a chaidh a chur air shùilibh le cuid. Tha am facal sin air a riochdachadh ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais le

22. Mun ainm **Drobhanis*, canaidh MacIver (1934, 39) gum bu chòir dha a bhith na '**Grofum-nes* "peat-cutting promontory"' agus, mu GA *Loch Crabhadail* [ˌl̪̊ɔx ˈkʰɾavəˌd̪̊əl] NB014136, sna Hearadh, canaidh e (d. 49), '*L. Cravadal*: the lake of the peat dale; *grafum*, peat digging'. Ged as e 'cladhaich' as ciall do SL *grafa* gn., chan eil e soilleir cò an cruth Lochlannais air an robh MacIver ag amas.

23. Gu h-ionadail, cluinnear (MM) [ˌɔ·d̪̊ˈhəũŋɡ̊] mar an ceudna.

24. (nMO) [ɴ̥ˈɑːd̪̊], le teasgadh toisich.

25. (nMO) [uːɟ].

Lewis Gaelic by *uaigh* [uəj] "grave",[26] recorded by Borgstrøm (1940) in *Beàrnaraigh* #51 and by myself in *Liùrbost* #239.

The development of initial ON *ví* – a bilabial fricative or semi-vowel followed by long *í* – to ScG *u* plus palatality in the next consonant is not surprising (cf. Marstrander 1915, 109–10). The shifting of the vowel length from *i* to *u* is merely a way of preserving the old quantity.

**Vík* is a very common farm name in Norway and is also met with in Iceland and the other Norse colonies. *Ùig* is the name of two localities in Skye.'

The name of a township on a promontory, in Ùig, with ScG *àird* f. 'promontory' (#6) and the Norse loan-name *Ùig* in genitive position, which originally denoted the large bay called ScG *Camas Ùig* 'the bay of *Ùig*' today.

ON **Vík* f. '(the) bay' must have been borrowed into Gaelic by the 13th century, i.e. before ON initial *v* [w] (Oftedal's [β] or [u̯], above) became [ʊ]. As Oftedal explains, from the consonant + close high front vowel in Old Norse, rounding and fronting have been reorganised in Gaelic, so that rounding today falls on the stressed vowel, i.e. ScG [ʊ̯ː], and palatal quality on the following consonant, i.e. ScG [ʊ̯ʲ].[27]

ON *vík* is also represented in loan-names: *Rubh' Ùig* NB182436 (but 1843–82 *Rudha Thaoig*), in *Borghaston* #69; in Skye: *Ùig* (*Ùige*) NG395632, *Ùiginis* NG240482, *Ùigiseadar* NG430464 and NG378489 (Cox 1990b, 107); in Coll: *Ùig* NM169545; and in Islay: *Loch Ùigeadail* NR407504;[28] and is a loan-word in Lewis: *Na h-Ùigean* #345; in Skye: '*An d-Uig*, *An Uig* (locally), in Snizort' (Forbes 1923, 440[29]); and Ross-shire: *An Ùig* (Watson 1904, 78).

26. In Lewis, the words ScG *uagh* f. [ũaɣ] 'cave' (as opposed to *uamh* [ũav]) (from EG *úamh* (*úaimh*) f. 'cave, pit etc.') and ScG *uaigh* f. [uəj] (from EG *úag* (*úaig*) f. 'grave') are found.

27. Cf. the development in ScG *uinneag* f. 'window' < ON *vindauga* nt. (Cox 2000).

28. The Old Norse word *vík* had several senses and, in Gaeldom, apart from the sense 'bay' we see for example 'bend in a river' in *Ùigiseadar* NG430464 and 'bend in a range of mountains' in *Ùigiseadar* NG378489.

29. Forbes (ibid.) mentions the sense 'nook' (cf. Henderson 1910, 218: 'nook, cove'; Dwelly, s.v.: 'nook, retired or solitary hollow, cave or den'); if ScG *ùig* f. 'nook' and *ùig* 'bay' are from the same source – and it is likely they are – we are dealing with semantic extension from 'bay' → 'nook'. It seems the same word is found in Mx *ooig* (e.g. *PNIM* I, 147; written *uaig* by Kelly 1866, s.v.), while it is likely that Mx *ough* (*oghe*) is identical to ScG *uagh*, above (Cox 1998c, 442).

uaigh [uəj] 'cladh',[26] air a chlàradh le Borgstrøm (1940) ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51 agus leam fhìn ann an *Liùrbost* #239.

Chan eil fàs SL *ví* thoisich – suathach dà-bhileach no leth-fhuaimreag air a leantainn le *í* fhada – na GA *u* agus càireanachadh san ath chonnraig na iongnadh (coim. Marstrander 1915, 109–10). Thèid an sean mheud a ghleidheadh le bhith a' gluasad an fhaid fhuaimreagaich bho *i* gu *u*.

'S e ainm tuathanais bitheanta a th' ann an **Vík* ann an Nirribhidh agus thèid a lorg ann an Innis Tìle agus sna h-eilthirean Lochlannach eile. 'S e *Ùig* an t-ainm air dà àite san Eilean Sgitheanach.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air rubha, ann an Ùig, le GA *àird* b. 'rubha' (#6) agus an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais *Ùig* ann an suidheachadh ginideach, a bheanadh bho thùs ris a' bhàgh mhòr air a bheil GA *Camas Ùig* an-diugh.

Feumaidh e bhith gun deach SL **Vík* b. '(am) bàgh' air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig ron 13mh linn, .i. mus deach SL *v* [w] thoisich ([β] no [u̯] Oftedal, shuas) na [ʊ]. Mar a mhìnicheas Oftedal, bhon chonnraig + fuaimreig thoisich àird dhùinte san Lochlannais, chaidh an cruinneachadh agus an t-adhartachadh ath-riarachadh sa Ghàidhlig, gus am bi cruinneachadh an-diugh air an fhuaimreig bheumte, .i. GA [ʊ̯ː], agus feart càireanach air a' chonnraig a leanas, .i. GA [ʊ̯ʲ].[27]

Tha SL *vík* air a riochdachadh ann an ainmean-iasaid cuideachd: *Rubha Ùig* NB182436 (ach 1843–82 *Rudha Thaoig*), ann am *Borghaston* #69; san Eilean Sgitheanach: *Ùig* (*Ùige*) NG395632, *Ùiginis* NG240482, *Ùigiseadar* NG430464 is NG378489 (Cox 1990b, 107); ann an Cola: *Ùig* NM169545; agus ann an Ìle: *Loch Ùigeadail* NR407504;[28] agus tha e na fhacal-iasaid ann an Leòdhas: *Na h-Ùigean* #345; san Eilean Sgitheanach: '*An d-Uig*, *An Uig* (locally), in Snizort [Snìosort]' (Forbes 1923, 440[29]); agus ann an Siorrachd Rois: *An Ùig* (Watson 1904, 78).

26. Ann an Leòdhas, gheibhear na facail GA *uagh* b. [ũaɣ] 'fosgladh ann an creig' (seach *uamh* [ũav]) (à GT *úamh* (*úaimh*) b. 'uamh, slochd ᒣc') agus GA *uaigh* b. [uəj] (à GT *úag* (*úaig*) b. 'cladh').

27. Coim. am fàs ann an GA *uinneag* b. à SL *vindauga* n. (Cox 2000).

28. Bha corra bhrìgh aig an fhacal SL *vík* agus, air a' Ghàidhealtachd, a bharrachd air 'bàgh' chithear mar eisimpleir 'lùb ann an abhainn' ann an *Ùigiseadar* NG430464 agus 'lùb ann an sreath de bheanntan' ann an *Ùigiseadar* NG378489.

29. Nì Forbes (ibid.) iomradh air a' bhrìgh 'cùil' (coim. Henderson 1910, 218: 'nook, cove'; Dwelly, s.v.: 'nook, retired or solitary hollow, cave or den'); mas ann às an aon tùs a tha GA *ùig* b. 'cùil' agus *ùig* 'bàgh' – agus is coltach gur h-ann – thathas a' dèiligeadh ris an t-sìneadh brìghe 'bàgh → 'cùil'. Is coltach gu bheil an t-aon fhacal ri lorg ann an GM *ooig* (m.e. *PNIM* I, 147; air a sgrìobhadh *uaig* le Kelly 1866, s.v.), fhad 's as coltach gur h-ionann GM *ough* (*oghe*) agus GA *uagh*, shuas (Cox 1998c, 442).

#13 *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* CTL (Eng. *Arivruach*)
[ˌaˑɾʲi ˈvrʊ̯-iç], (gen.) idem; NB238173. 1821 *Arrievruich*; 1843–82 *Airidh Bhrúthach*; 2007 *Airidh a Bhruaich‖Arivruach*; 2016 *Airidh a Bhruaich*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Aribruach** is a Gaelic name containing ScG *àirigh* f. "sheiling". I shall not attempt to identify its second component, as the only note I made of the pronunciation seems to contain a slip of the pen.'

The name of a township on a hillside above *Tòb Cheann Tarbhaigh* 'the inlet of *Cheann Tarbhaigh*' (#115), in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *àirigh* f. (formerly spelt *àiridh*) 'summer pasture; summer bothy' (EG *áirġe*) + genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *bruthach* m. 'hillside, slope' (EG *bruäch* (disyllabic)).[30]

In Lewis, place-names in ScG *àirigh* are found throughout the moor where people once grazed their animals for several months during the summer, away from the cultivated land of the village; but the original meaning of the word was 'milking place', and that may be the sense of the word in place-names found near villages, e.g. ScG *Druim Àirigh mhic Amhlaigh* NB277468, in *Bradhagair* #74, with genitive of the man's name ScG *Amhlaigh* [ˈãũl̪̃aj] (Eng. *Aulay*),[31] a loan from CSc. **Án laif* acc. (> ON *Óláf* acc. (*Óláfr* nom. m.)) (Cox 2007d, 141).

EG *áirġe* */ˈɑːrʼɣʼə/ *[ˈaːɾʲjə] was borrowed into Old Norse in the form *ærgi* nt. and examples of the Norse element in use in Scotland can be seen in (Lewis) ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊ə l̪̃arʲi] approx. NB193379, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), from ON **Þingvall-ærgi* '(the) assembly-site-sheiling', with the stem form of the compound ON *þingvǫllr* m. 'assembly-site, parliament' (Cox 1992, 139; 2002a, 220); (South Uist) ScG *Seafairidh* (nMO) [ʃɛfɑrʲi] NF789454, from ON **Sef-ærgi*, with the stem form of the noun ON *sef* nt. 'rush';[32]

30. ScG *bruthach* m. (or f.) 'slope' and ScG *bruach* f. 'edge, (river) bank' (#83) are distinct, although they apparently derive from the same word; it seems that EG *bruach* was both disyllablic (i.e. *bruäch* > ScG *bruthach*) and monosyllabic (i.e. *brúach* > ScG *bruach*).

31. (1843–82) *Druim Airidh Mhic Aulaidh*; unless it contains the surname ScG *Mac·Amhlaigh* (Eng. *MacAulay*).

32. In his note on this name, Oftedal suggests a derivation from ON *Sef-ærgin*, i.e. with the neuter plural suffixed article. This is based on ON *Ásgrímsærgin 'Ásgrímr*'s (the man's name) sheiling', mentioned in the Orkneyinga saga (Flateyjarbók II, 508–09; modern *Assery* ND065620, Caithness), and which is explained as containing a neuter plural form, with the suffixed article (Matras 1956, 58–59; Marwick 1929, xvi; *NO*, s.v. *-ærgin*), and on those place-names in the Faroes containing EG *áirġe* as a loan-word (Matras 1982, 103–04; Matras 1956). It is accepted that ON *ærgi* was a neuter *ija*-stem noun: (the stem form) *ærg-*, (nom. sg.) *ærgi*, (gen.) *ærgis*, (dat.) *ærgi*, (acc.) *ærgi*, (nom. pl.) *ærgir* (with secondary *r*), (gen.) *ærgja*, (dat.) *ærgjum*, (acc.) *ærgir* (with secondary *r*).

#13 *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* CTL
[ˌaˑɾʲi ˈvrʊ̯-iç], (gin.) idem; NB238173. 1821 *Arrievruich*; 1843–82 *Airidh Bhrúthach*; 2007 *Airidh a Bhruaich‖Arivruach*; 2016 *Airidh a Bhruaich*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: 'S e ainm Gàidhlig anns a bheil GA *àirigh* b. a th' ann an **Aribruach**. Chan fheuch mi ris an dàrna h-eileamaid aige a shònrachadh, seach gur coltach gu bheil mearachd pinn san aon nota a rinn mi den fhuaimneachadh.

An t-ainm a th' air baile fearainn air leathad bhos cionn *Thòb Cheann Tarbhaigh* (#115), ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *àirigh* b. (na bu tràithe air a litreachadh *àiridh*) 'innis samhraidh; taigh-samhraidh' (GT *áirġe*) + tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + cruth ginideach an ainmeir GA *bruthach* f. 'taobh beinne, leathad' (GT *bruäch* (dà-lideach)).[30]

Ann an Leòdhas, gheibhear ainmean-àite le GA *àirigh* air feadh na mòintich far am biodh daoine uair ag ionaltradh nam beathaichean aca fad corra mhìos rè an t-samhraidh, air falbh bho thalamh àitich a' bhaile; ach 's e 'àite-bleoghain' a bu chiall thùsail an fhacail, agus is dòcha gur h-e sin a' bhrìgh a th' aig an fhacal sna h-ainmean a lorgar faisg air bailtean, m.e. GA *Druim Àirigh mhic Amhlaigh* NB277468, ann am *Bradhagair* #74, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Amhlaigh* [ˈãũl̪̃aj],[31] a tha na iasad à LB **Án laif* cusp. (> SL *Óláf* cusp. (*Óláfr* ainmn. f.)) (Cox 2007d, 141).

Thugadh GT *áirġe* */ˈɑːrʼɣʼə/ *[ˈaːɾʲjə] air iasad dhan Lochlannais sa chruth *ærgi* n. agus chithear eisimpleirean den eileamaid Lochlannais ga cleachdadh ann an Albainn ann an (Leòdhas) GA**Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊ə l̪̃arʲi] mu NB193379, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), à SL **Þingvall-ærgi* '(an) tional-làrach-àirigh', le bun-riochd an fhilltich SL *þingvǫllr* f. 'tional-làrach, pàrlamaid' (Cox 1992, 139; 2002a, 220); (Uibhist a Deas) GA *Seafairidh* (nMO) [ʃɛfɑrʲi] NF789454, à SL **Sef-ærgi*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sef* n. 'luachair';[32]

30. Chan ionann GA *bruthach* f. (no b.) 'leathad' agus GA *bruach* b. 'oir, bòrd (aibhne)' (#83), ged as coltach gun tàrmaich na dhà anns an aon fhacal; a rèir choltais, bha GT *bruach* an dà chuid dà-lideach (.i. *bruäch* > GA *bruthach*) agus aon-lideach (.i. *brúach* > GA *bruach*).

31. (1843–82) *Druim Airidh Mhic Aulaidh*; mana h-e an sloinneadh GA *MacAmhlaigh* a th' ann.

32. Na nota air an ainm seo, molaidh Oftedal bunachas à SL **Sef-ærgin*, .i. leis an alt iar-leasaichte neodrach iolra. Tha seo stèidhichte air SL *Ásgrímsærgin* 'an àirigh aig *Ásgrímr* (ainm fireannaich)', air an dèanar iomradh san Orkneyinga saga (Flateyjarbók II, 508–09; nuadh *Assery* ND065620, Gallaibh), is a thèid a mhìneachadh mar chruth neodrach iolra, leis an alt iar-leasaichte (Matras 1956, 58–59; Marwick 1929, xvi; *NO*, s.v. *-ærgin*), agus air na gheibhear de dh'ainmean-àite sna Fàrothan sam bi GT *áirġe* a' nochdadh mar fhacal-iasaid (Matras 1982, 103–04; Matras 1956). Thathas a' gabhail ris gun robh SL *ærgi* na bhun-*ija* neodrach: (bun-riochd) *ærg-*, (ainmn. sg.) *ærgi*, (gin.) *ærgis*, (tabh.) *ærgi*, (cusp.) *ærgi*, (ainmn. iol.) *ærgir* (le dàrnacha *r*), (gin.) *ærgja*, (tabh.) *ærgjum*, (cusp.) *ærgir* (le dàrnacha *r*).

(Barra) ScG *Sgallairidh* *[ˈsˠkaɫˠaɾʲi] NL695995, from ON **Skollærgi*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Skolli* m. (cf. Borgstrøm 1936, 293–94); (Orkney) Eng. *Airy* (Marwick 1952, 6, 23, 38), Eng. *Airafea* (ibid., 6, 23), with ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain', and, with suffixed article, Eng. *Arian* (ibid., 165); (Shetland) Eng. *De Hill o' Āria* and Eng. *Benisergj*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Beinir* m. (Jakobsen 1936, 181–83); (The Faroes) Far. *Argir*, a plural form (see fn 32, above), Far. *Ergisá*, with ON *á* f. 'river', and Far. *Ergibyrgi*, with ON *byrgi* nt. 'enclosure' (Matras 1982, 103–04).[33]

#14 *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* STN
[ˌaːɾʲi ə ˌn̪ˠd̪aː ˈvĩːlə], (gen.) idem; NB380323. 1821 *Arrie dahe vile or two mile sheal*; 1843–82 *Airidh an da Mhile*.

The name of a deserted settlement north of *Abhainn Ghrìoda*[34] (Lawson 2011, 61). A Gaelic name, with ScG *àirigh* f. 'sheiling' (#13) and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + the numeric adjective ScG *dà*^{L} 'two' + the noun ScG *mìle* m. 'mile' (< OG *míle* f. < Lat. (pl.) *mīlia* (*DIL*)). It is not certain how this place got its name but it lies about two miles south-west of *Drochaid Loch Àirigh na Lice* 'the bridge of the loch of the sheiling of the flagstone', by the *Cnoc Màiri* #143 boundary.

#15 *Àirigh an Tuim* CLA (Eng. *Airidhantuim*)
[ˌaːɾʲi ə ˈn̪ˠtʰə̃ĩm], (gen.) idem; NB398545. 1843–88 *Airidh an Tuim*; 2007 *Airidhantuim*‖*Airidhantuim*; road sign *Airidh an Tuim*.

The name of a small settlement on the north side of the township *Siadar Ìorach* (#296), in Sgìre a' Chladaich, named after a school (1877–2012[35]) – shown on maps from 1895–1896 onwards – that acquired its name from the hill (NB397545) beside it; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *àirigh* f. 'sheiling' (#13) and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *tom* m. 'hill, hillock' (EG idem).

#16 *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* PRC
[ˌaːɾʲiˌɣõ-iʎˈxãĩm], (gen.) idem; NB242147. 1843–82 *Airidh Dhomhnuill Cháim*; 1845 *Ari Dhhoil Chaim* [*sic*].

The name of a deserted settlement on the east side of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in A' Phàirc; a Gaelic name, with ScG *àirigh* f. 'sheiling' (#13) and genitive of the man's name ScG *Dòmhnall* (Eng. *Donald*) (< OG *Doṁnall*) + the adjective ScG *cam* 'blind

33. For further dicussion, see Lockwood 1978, 125; Fellows-Jensen 1984, 162–65; Fellows-Jensen 1985, 73–74.

34. For the Old Norse loan-name ScG **Grìoda*, see #261, fn 601.

35. Airidhantuim Community Council.

(Barraigh) GA *Sgallairidh* *[ˈsˠkaɫˠaɾʲi] NL695995, à SL **Skollærgi*, le cruth ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Skolli* f. (coim. Borgstrøm 1936, 293–94); (Arcaibh) Brl. *Airy* (Marwick 1952, 6, 23, 38), Brl. *Airafea* (ibid., 6, 23), le SL *fjall* n. 'beinn', agus, leis an alt iar-leasaichte, Brl. *Arian* (ibid., 165); (Sealtainn) *De Hill o' Āria* agus *Benisergj*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Beinir* f. (Jakobsen 1936, 181–83); (Na Fàrothan) Fàr. *Argir*, le cruth iolra (faic bn 32, shuas), Fàr. *Ergisá*, le SL *á* b. 'abhainn', agus Fàr. *Ergibyrgi*, le SL *byrgi* n. 'leas' (Matras 1982, 103–04).[33]

#14 *Àirigh an Dà Mhìle* STN
[ˌaːɾʲi ə ˌn̪ˠd̪aː ˈvĩːlə], (gin.) idem; NB380323. 1821 *Arrie dahe vile or two mile sheal*; 1843–82 *Airidh an da Mhile*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs tuath air *Abhainn Ghrìoda*[34] (Lawson 2011, 61). Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *àirigh* b. (#13) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + a' bhuadhair àireamhail GA *dà*^{S} + an ainmeir GA *mìle* f. (< SG *míle* b. < Laid. (iol.) *mīlia* (*DIL*)). Chan eil cinnt ciamar a fhuair an t-àite seo a ainm ach tha e mu dhà mhìle an iar-dheas air *Drochaid Loch Àirigh na Lice*, aig crìch *Chnoc Màiri* #143.

#15 *Àirigh an Tuim* CLA
[ˌaːɾʲi ə ˈn̪ˠtʰə̃ĩm], (gin.) idem; NB398545. 1843–88 *Airidh an Tuim*; 2007 *Airidhantuim*‖*Airidhantuim*; soighne rathaid *Airidh an Tuim*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag air taobh a tuath a' bhaile fearainn *Siadar Ìorach* (#296), ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich, air ainmeachadh air sgoil (1877–2012[35]) – a nochdas air mapaichean bho 1895–1896 air adhart – a chaidh ainmeachadh air a' chnoc (NB397545) ri taobh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *àirigh* b. (#13) agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *tom* f. (GT idem).

#16 *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* PRC
[ˌaːɾʲiˌɣõ-iʎˈxãĩm], (gin.) idem; NB242147. 1843–82 *Airidh Dhomhnuill Cháim*; 1845 *Ari Dhhoil Chaim* [*sic*].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh an ear *Loch Shìophort* (#113), anns A' Phàirc; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *àirigh* b. (#13) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Dòmhnall* (Brl. *Donald*) (< SG *Doṁnall*) + a' bhuadhair GA *cam*

33. Airson tuilleadh fiosrachaidh, faic Lockwood 1978, 125; Fellows-Jensen 1984, 162–65; Fellows-Jensen 1985, 73–74.

34. Airson an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA **Grìoda*, faic #261, bn 601.

35. Comhairle Coimhearsnachd Àirigh an Tuim.

in one eye' (EG *camm*). According to tradition, this sheiling was probably where Dòmhnall Cam (of the MacAulays of Ùig) stayed while on the run (Macdonald 1967, 23–25: 24).

See *Beirgheasaigh* #58.

#17 *An Àirigh Dhriseach* CDL
[əˌn̪aˑɾʲi ˈɣɾʲiʃɔx], (gen.) *Na h-Àirigh Drisich* [nəˌhaˑɾʲi ˈd̪ɾiʃiç]; NB380152. 1843–82 *Airidh Dhriseach*, *Sithean na h-Airidh Drisich*.

The name of a settlement on the south side of *Abhainn Cheann Loch Odhairn* that is now a part of the township *Grabhair* #217, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name meaning 'the brambly sheiling', with the feminine article + the noun ScG *àirigh* f. (#13) + the adjective ScG *driseach* 'full of brambles'. Cf. *Am Port Driseach* 'the brambly landing place' NR991738, north of Tighnabruaich in Argyllshire; also, *Àirigh Driseig* (1843–82 *Airidh-drishaig*) 'the sheiling of—' NG768368, in Skye, and *Àird Driseig* (Eng. *Ardrishaig*) 'the headland of—' NR848853, on the west side of Loch Gilp in Argyllshire, which contain an onomastic unit from ScG *dris* f. + the suffix *-ag* (Cox 2002a, 59–60; Cox 2017, 124) in the sense 'place of brambles'.[36]

#18 *Àirigh na Bèist* STN
[ˌaˑɾʲi nə ˈb̪eːʃtʲ], (gen.) idem; NB365342. 1843–82 *Airidh na Béiste*, *Allt Airidh na Beiste*.

The name of a deserted settlement at the junction where the road divides into The Pentland Road[37] to *Càrlabhagh* #98 and Rathad a' Bhuna to *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2. A Gaelic name, with ScG *àirigh* f. 'summer pasture; summer bothy' (#13) and genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *biast* (also *bèist*)[38] f. '(wild) beast' (EG *bíast*, *béist* (also *píast*, *péist*), < Lat. *bēstia*). Lawson (2011, 60) states he has never heard what sort of beast gave its name to the place, but there is little doubt that the word here means 'otter' (also known as *biast-dhubh* in Gaelic); cf. ScG (1843–82) *Loch na Béiste Moire* and *Loch na Béiste Bige* 'the greater/lesser loch of the otter' to the north-west; cf. ScG *Cnoc na Bèist* [ˌkʰɾõʰk nə ˈb̪eːʃtʲ] 'the hill of the otter' at NB2037, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), and NB2747, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295).

36. *Pace* Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba (s.v. *Ardrishaig*), which gives ScG *driseag* 'small bramble' (Dwelly, s.v.), with the diminutive rather than collective sense of the suffix.

37. ScG *Rathad a' Pheantlain*, formally *Rathad Phentland* – the medial [ə] is inorganic – named after John Sinclair, Lord Pentland, Secretary of Scotland between 1905–1912, who helped raise money to complete the road.

38. I.e. *bèiste*, but with apocope §44 (iii).

'cam-shùileach' (GT *camm*). A rèir beul-aithrise, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann san àirigh seo a bha Dòmhnall Cam (à Clann MhicAmhlaigh Ùig) a' fuireach, fhad 's a bha e air theicheadh (Macdonald 1967, 23–25: 24).

Faic *Beirgheasaigh* #58.

#17 *An Àirigh Dhriseach* CDL
[əˌn̪aˑɾʲi ˈɣɾʲiʃɔx], (gin.) *Na h-Àirigh Drisich* [nəˌhaˑɾʲi ˈd̪ɾiʃiç]; NB380152. 1843–82 *Airidh Dhriseach*, *Sithean na h-Airidh Drisich*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh air taobh a deas *Abhainn Cheann Loch Odhairn* a tha a-nis na chuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Grabhair* #217, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *àirigh* b. (#13) + a' bhuadhair GA *driseach* 'làn dhris'. Coim. *Am Port Driseach* NR991738, tuath air Taigh na Bruaich ann an Earra-Ghàidheal; cuideachd, *Àirigh Driseig* (1843–82 *Airidh-drishaig*) NG768368, san Eilean Sgitheanach, agus *Àird Driseig* NR848853, air taobh an iar Loch Gilb ann an Earra-Ghàidheal, aig a bheil aonad ainmeachais à GA *dris* b. + an iar-leasachan *-ag* (Cox 2002a, 59–60; Cox 2017, 124) sa bhrìgh 'àite dhris'.[36]

#18 *Àirigh na Bèist* STN
[ˌaˑɾʲi nə ˈb̪eːʃtʲ], (gin.) idem; NB365342. 1843–82 *Airidh na Béiste*, *Allt Airidh na Beiste*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig a' ghobhal far an tèid an rathad a roinn na Rathad a' Pheantlain[37] a *Chàrlabhagh* #98 agus Rathad a' Bhuna dha*n Achadh Mhòr* #2. Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *àirigh* b. 'innis samhraidh; taigh-samhraidh' (#13) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmeir GA *biast* (cuideachd *bèist*)[38] b. 'biast (fhiadhaich)' (GT *bíast*, *béist* (cuideachd *píast*, *péist*), < Laid. *bēstia*). Canaidh Lawson (2011, 60) nach cuala e a-riamh dè an seòrsa bèiste a thug a h-ainm dhan àite, ach chan eil mòran teagaimh nach e 'biast-dhubh, .i. dòbhran' as ciall dhan fhacal an seo; coim. GA (1843–82) *Loch na Béiste Moire* agus *Loch na Béiste Bige* an iar-thuath air an àite; coim. GA *Cnoc na Bèist* [ˌkʰɾõʰk nə ˈb̪eːʃtʲ] aig NB2037, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), agus NB2747, ann an *Sia·bost a Tuath* (#295).

36. *Pace* Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba (s.v. *Ardrishaig*), a bheir GA *driseag* 'dris bheag' (Dwelly, s.v.), le brìgh mheanbhaich seach brìgh trusaidh an iar-leasachain.

37. Gu foirmeil *Rathad Phentland* – tha an [ə] mheadhanach neo-thùsail – air ainmeachadh air John Sinclair, am Morair Phentland, Rùnaire na h-Albann eadar 1905–1912, a chuidich ann a bhith a' togail airgead gus an rathad a chrìochnachadh.

38. .i. *bèiste*, ach le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii).

#19 *Àranis* STN (Eng. *Arnish*)
[ˈaːrəˌniʃ],[39] (gen.) idem; NB427305. 1654 *Aerniſh*; 1680 *Roof of Arinish*; 1718, 1726 *Arinish*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801 *Arnish*; 1804 *Arnish Pt.*; 1807, 1821 *Arnish*; 1843–82 *Arnish, Loch Arnish, Arnish Point*; 1845 *Point of Arnish*; 1846 *Moor of Arnish*; 1846HO *Arnish Point*; 1846JW *Arnish*; 2007 *Airinis*‖*Arnish*.

Once the name of a farm but now the name of an industrial area south of *Steòrnabhagh* #309.

MacIver (1934, 76) states this name cannot derive from ON **Arn-nes* '(the) eagle-promontory' (i.e. with the stem form of ON *ǫrn* f. 'eagle' and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i)), because eagles do not alight there. Setting aside this explanation, one would expect ON **Arn-nes* to yield ScG *[ˈɑːˌɳɪʃ], not [ˈaːrəˌniʃ].[40]

Årnes (*NSL*, s.v.) – a name found in several locations in Norway – is derived either from ON **Árnes* '(the) promontory of the river', with genitive of ON *á* f. 'river', or ON **Aranes* '(the) promontory of the eagle', with genitive of ON *ari* m. 'eagle', but the former would yield ScG *[ˈɑːˌɳɪʃ] and the latter ScG *[ˈarəˌniʃ].

However, ON **Áranes* '(the) promontory of the oars', with genitive plural of ON *ár* f. 'oar', would give ScG [ˈaːrəˌniʃ] regularly. The Gaelic word *ràmh* m. 'oar' is found in names in several places, perhaps indicating shape or from oars being hidden or kept there or perhaps as the result of some tradition, e.g. ScG *Geodha an Ràimh* 'the cove of the oar' NB553617, in Nis, *Poll nan Ràmh* 'the ?pool of the oars' NL950475, in Tiree, *Eilean nan Ràmh* 'the island of the oars' NF759198, in South Uist, and *Slochd nan Ràmh* 'the hollow of the oars' NM426181, in Mull. As regards ScG *Rubha Bristeadh Ràmh* NM365395, in Gometra, Gillies (1906, 129) comments, '[it] surely tells a tale of troublesome navigation'.[41]

If it is correct that the name ScG *Àranis* derives from ON **Áranes*, it is impossible to say why the name was given in the first instance.

#20 *Àrnal* CLA (Eng. *Arnol*)
[ˈɑːɳəɬ̪], (gen.) *Àrnail* [ˈɑːɳəl];[42] NB311486. 1654 *Aernoiſh* [*sic*]; 1718 *Arnoll*; 1726 *Arn·*

39. (nMO) [ˈɑːrəniʃ]; contrast (nMO) ScG *Rubha Àranis* [ʁuˈɑːᵏɳiʃ] 'the promontory of *Àranis*', which might be the result of English influence.

40. His own solution (ON **Arins-nes* [*sic*] 'the promontory of the fireplace or platform') does not suit either: there is no trace of the Old Norse medial *s* in the Gaelic form. Fraser (1978, 10) seems to suggest ON **Arn-nes* '(the) eagle-promontory'.

41. (Gillies) *Rudha Bristeadh-ràmh*, (1843–82) *Rudha Bhrisdeadh-ramh*: Gillies's form looks like a genitive construction: 'the promontory of the breaking of (the) oars', while the other looks like a relative clause: '(the) promontory that would break an oar'.

42. (nMO) (gen.) [ˈaːɳəl], [ˈɑːɳəɬ̪], [ˈɑːɳəl].

#19 *Àranis* STN
[ˈaːrəˌniʃ],[39] (gin.) idem; NB427305. 1654 *Aerniſh*; 1680 *Roof of Arinish*; 1718, 1726 *Arinish*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801 *Arnish*; 1804 *Arnish Pt.*; 1807, 1821 *Arnish*; 1843–82 *Arnish, Loch Arnish, Arnish Point*; 1845 *Point of Arnish*; 1846 *Moor of Arnish*; 1846HO *Arnish Point*; 1846JW *Arnish*; 2007 *Airinis*‖*Arnish*.

Uair an t-ainm air tuathanas ach an-diugh an t-ainm air làraich gnìomhachais deas air *Steòrnabhagh* #309.

Canaidh MacIver (1934, 76) nach fhaod an t-ainm tàrmachadh ann an SL **Arn-nes* '(an t-)iolaire-rubha' (.i. le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *ǫrn* b. 'iolaire' agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i)), a chionn 's nach laigh iolairean ann. A' cur a' mhìneachaidh seo an dàrna taobh, bhite an dùil gun toireadh SL **Arn-nes* GA *[ˈɑːˌɳɪʃ], seach [ˈaːrəˌniʃ].[40]

Bithear a' tàrmachadh *Årnes* (*NSL*, s.v.) – ainm a gheibhear ann an corra àite ann an Nirribhidh – aon chuid ann an SL **Árnes* 'rubha na h-aibhne', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *á* b. 'abhainn', no SL **Aranes* 'rubha na h-iolaire', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *ari* f. 'iolaire', ach bheireadh an dàrna cruth GA *[ˈɑːˌɳɪʃ] agus an cruth eile GA *[ˈarəˌniʃ].

Gidheadh, bheireadh SL **Áranes* 'rubha nan ràmh', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *ár* b. 'ràmh', GA [ˈaːrəˌniʃ] gu riaghailteach. Nochdaidh am facal GA *ràmh* f. ann an ainmean ann an corra àite, is dòcha a' sònrachadh cruth no a chionn àite-falachaidh/fàgaile no is dòcha mar thoradh air beul-aithris air choreigin, m.e. GA *Geodha an Ràimh* NB553617, ann an Nis, *Poll nan Ràmh* NL950475, ann an Tiriodh, *Eilean nan Ràmh* NF759198, ann an Uibhist a Deas, agus *Slochd nan Ràmh* NM426181, ann am Muile. A thaobh *Rubha Bristeadh Ràmh* NM365395, ann an Gòmastra, canaidh Gillies (1906, 129), '... [it] surely tells a tale of troublesome navigation'.[41]

Mas ceart gur h-ann à SL **Áranes* a tha an t-ainm GA *Àranis*, cha gabh innse carson a thugadh an t-ainm sa chiad char.

#20 *Àrnal* CLA
[ˈɑːɳəɬ̪], (gin.) *Àrnail* [ˈɑːɳəl];[42] NB311486. 1654 *Aernoiſh* [*sic*]; 1718 *Arnoll*; 1726 *Arn·*

39. (nMO) [ˈɑːrəniʃ]; iomsgaraich (nMO) GA *Rubha Àranis* [ʁuˈɑːᵏɳiʃ], a dh'fhaodadh a bhith mar thoradh air buaidh na Beurla.

40. Chan obraich am fuasgladh aige fhèin (SL **Arins-nes* [*sic*] 'rubha an àite-teine no àrd-ùrlair') nas motha: chan eil lorg air an *s* mheadhain Lochlannais sa chruth Ghàidhlig. Is coltach gur h-e SL **Arn-nes* '(an t-)iolair-rubha' a mholas Fraser (1978, 10).

41. (Gillies) *Rudha Bristeadh-ràmh*, (1843–82) *Rudha Bhrisdeadh-ramh*: tha coltas co-chuir ghinidich air cruth a' Ghiollasaich: 'rubha briseadh ràmh (iol.)', ach coltas clàs dhàimhich air an fhear eile: 'an rubha a bhiodh a' briseadh ràmh (sg.)'.

42. (nMO) (gin.) [ˈaːɳəl], [ˈɑːɳəɬ̪], [ˈɑːɳəl].

oll, Arnold, Arnol, Arriol; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Arnold*; 1821, 1822 *Arnol*; 1843–82 *Arnol, Loch Arnoil*; 1845 *Arnal* (of a river); 1846 *Loch Arnol*; 2007 *Arnol‖Arnol*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376–77: '**Arnol** [ˈɑːɳəl] is certainly Old Norse, but several interpretations are possible. The first element may be *Arna*, genitive of *Arni* m., a man's name, or *arn-*, composition form of *ǫrn* m. "eagle". It may further be *arnar-*, genitive of *ǫrn* (as an appellative or as a man's name). I prefer the first two possibilites, as the second *r* of *arnar* would probably have led to the preservation of the syllable to which it belongs (resulting in something like *[ˈɑːɳəvəl] or *[ˈɑːɳərəl]). The second component may be ON *vǫllr* m. "field" or ON *hváll, hóll* m. "small hill". The combination *Arn-hóll* is found in the present *Annol-setra* in Ringebu, Norway (*NG* IV[1], 147).'

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Chladaich. Formally, one would expect [ɑ] rather than [ə] from ON *hváll, hóll* as a post-positioned generic as here. We are probably looking, then, at ON *vǫllr* m. 'field' or, perhaps, ON *hol* nt. or *hola* f. 'hole, hollow'. A name such as ON **Arn-vǫll* '(the) eagle-field' is not impossible, although eagles are usually found in place-names in connection with hills or crags, but one would not expect genitive inflection of final -[ɬ̪] in Gaelic from an original final ON *-ll*.[43] If *Àrnal* were from ON **Arn-hol* '(the) eagle-hollow', it may have been associated with the low ground south-east of *Loch Àrnail*.[44]

The short stressed vowel in ON *Arn-* would lengthen naturally in Modern Scottish Gaelic, cf. ScG *bùrn* < Scots *burn* 'water'.

#21 *Àsmaigearraidh* NIS

[ˈaːs̪ˠ(ə)məˌʝʲɑɾi],[45] (gen.) idem; NB464604. 1821, 1822 *Asmagarry*; 1843–82 *Asum Gearraidh, Allt Asum Gearraidh*; 1846 *Asinagarry*.

The name of an area containing the site of a settlement, in Nis. A loan-name from ON **Ásmundargerði*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Ásmundr* m. and ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosure' (#192) (Cox 2006, 15–16) or, if the 1843–82 map form is

43. E.g. *Cnoc*/— 'the hill', *Tom*/— 'the hill' and *Creag na h-Iolaire* 'the crag of the eagle' in Argyll (Gillies 1906, 206). On the west side of Lewis, cf. *Càrnan*/— 'the cairn' NB1944, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, *Creag*/— 'the crag' and *Nead na h-Iolaire* 'the nest of the eagle' NB2245, in *Na Dailean* #167, and *Eilean nan Iolaire* 'the island of the eagles' NB2338, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134.

44. ?Cf. (1843–82) *Rudh' Arnal* and *Lagan Arnal* NF730660, in North Uist, and (1898–1900) *Dùn Arnal* (but (1843–82) *Dun Airneag*) NM818038, in Craignish, Argyll.

45. (nMO) [ˈasmɪgˈaʁiʰ]. In addition to a long stressed vowel, one would have expected [ɑ] rather than [a] before [ɾ] /ʁ/.

oll, Arnold, Arnol, Arriol; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Arnold*; 1821, 1822 *Arnol*; 1843–82 *Arnol, Loch Arnoil*; 1845 *Arnal* (air abhainn); 1846 *Loch Arnol*; 2007 *Arnol‖Arnol*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376–77: Is cinnteach gur h-e ainm Lochlannais a th' ann an **Arnol** [ˈɑːɳəl], ach faodaidh corra mhìneachadh a bhith fìor. Faodar gur h-e *Arna*, an cruth ginideach aig SL *Arni* f., an t-ainm fireannaich, a th' anns a' chiad eileamaid, no *arn-*, an cruth fillteach aig SL *ǫrn* f. 'iolaire'. A thuilleadh, faodar gur h-e *arnar-*, an cruth ginideach aig *ǫrn* (mar ainmear bitheanta no mar ainm fireannaich), a th' ann. Is fheàrr leamsa a' chiad dà fhuasgladh, seach gur math dh'fhaodte gum biodh an dàrna *r* ann an *arnar* air an lide dham buin i a ghleidheadh (a' toirt rudeigin coltach ri *[ˈɑːɳəvəl] no *[ˈɑːɳərəl]). Faodar SL *vǫllr* f. 'achadh' no SL *hváll, hóll* f. 'cnoc beag' a bhith san eileamaid eile. Gheibhear an co-mheasgachadh **Arn-hóll* ann an *Annol-setra* san latha an-diugh ann an Ringebu, Nirribhidh (*NG* IV[1], 147).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich. Gu foirmeil, bhite an dùil ri [ɑ] seach [ə] à SL *hváll, hóll* mar sheòrsaichear iar-shuidhichte. Is iongantach mana h-eileas a' coimhead, a-rèist, air SL *vǫllr* f. 'achadh' no, is dòcha, SL *hol* n. no *hola* b. 'toll, lag'. Cha bhiodh ainm mar SL **Arn-vǫll* '(an t-)iolaire-achadh' do-dhèanta, ged a lorgar iolairean ann an ainmean-àite co-cheangailte ri cnuic, tomannan no creagannan mar as trice, ach cha bhite a' sùileachadh mùthadh san tuiseal ghinideach ann an -[ɬ̪] dheiridh sa Ghàidhlig à SL *-ll* dheiridh thusail.[43] Nam b' ann à SL **Arn-hol* '(an t-)iolaire-lag' a bha *Àrnal*, dh'fhaodte gum beanadh e ris an talamh ìosal an ear-dheas air *Loch Àrnail*.[44]

Bhiodh an fhuaimreag bheumte ghoirid ann an SL *Arn-* a' fadachadh gu nàdarra san Nua-Ghàidhlig, coim. GA *bùrn* < Alb. *burn* 'uisge'.

#21 *Àsmaigearraidh* NIS

[ˈaːs̪ˠ(ə)məˌʝʲɑɾi],[45] (gin.) idem; NB464604. 1821, 1822 *Asmagarry*; 1843–82 *Asum Gearraidh, Allt Asum Gearraidh*; 1846 *Asinagarry*.

An t-ainm air àite air a bheil làrach tuineachaidh, ann an Nis. Ainm-iasaid à SL **Ásmundargerði*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Ásmundr* f. agus SL *gerði* n. 'leas' (#192) (Cox 2006, 15–16) no, mas ùghdarrasail an cruth mapa

43. M.e. *Cnoc*/—, *Tom*/— agus *Creag na h-Iolaire* ann an Earra-Ghàidheal (Gillies 1906, 206). Air taobh siar Leòdhais, coim. *Càrnan*/— NB1944, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, *Creag*/— agus *Nead na h-Iolaire* NB2245, anns *Na Dailean* #167, agus *Eilean nan Iolaire* NB2338, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134.

44. ?Coim. (1843–82) *Rudh' Arnal* agus *Lagan Arnal* NF730660, ann an Uibhist a Tuath, agus (1898–1900) *Dùn Arnal* (ach (1843–82) *Dun Airneag*) NM818038, ann an Creiginis, Earra-Ghàidheal.

45. (nMO) [ˈasmɪgˈaʁiʰ]. A thuilleadh air fuaimreig bheumte fhada, bhite a' sùileachadh [ɑ] seach [a] ro [ɾ] /ʁ/.

authoritative, perhaps from ON **Hásumar-gerði* '(the) midsummer-*geàrraidh*', with the stem form of the noun ON *hásumar* nt. 'midsummer', with syncope in the Modern Gaelic form.

We have no context for this Norse name, but one might compare it to ScG *àirigh shamhraidh* (or *àirigh samhraidh*) 'summer sheiling', a term used in the sense 'summer house, sheiling' (Dòmhnallach 1971, 235; NicLeòid 1978, 178; Mac a' Ghobhainn 1987, 247) and which is found as a place-name: (≈1843–82) *Àirigh Samhraidh* NG355334, west of Carbost in the Isle of Skye; idem NM840493, south of Kingairloch in Argyllshire; and (≈1843–82) *Lochan Àirigh Shamhraidh* 'the small loch of—' NM953207, in Kilchrenan, west of Loch Awe. For ScG *àirigh*, see *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13.

#22 *Àth an Linne* TLS (Eng. *Aline*)
[ˌaˑ əˈʌ̃ĩŋə], (gen.) idem; NB205123. 1776, 1789 *Aline*; 1807 *Athline*; 1801, 1804, 1821 *Aline*; 1843–82 *Ath an Linne*; 1934, 59 *Ath-a-linne*; 2007 *Ath Linne*‖*Aline*.

The name of a township on the north shore of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in Taobh Loch Shìophort, whose inhabitants emigrated to America in the 1820s, when it became a shooting lodge (Lawson 2011, 201). A Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *àth* m. 'ford' (EG *áth*) as generic.

Taylor (2011, s.v. *Aline*) suggests *Àth an Linne*, with ScG *linne* 'pool' as a masculine noun, or *Àth Linne*, without the article. Although *linne* is otherwise feminine, another example of a name in Lewis where it is masculine is *Loch an Linne* NB332302 (1843–82 *Loch a' Linne*). *Àth an Linne* would naturally give [ˌaˑ əˈʌ̃ĩŋə] in the dialect, with loss of the nasal before the lateral (Cox 2002a, 65). In this instance, *linne* would have denoted one or both of the two tidal pools east of the village.[46]

#23 *Am Bac* BAC (Eng. *Back*)
[ə ˈmᵇaʰk], (gen.) *A' Bhac* [ə ˈvaʰk]; NB484404. 1654, 1718, 1726, 1821, 1822 *Back*; 1843–83 *Back*, *Druim a Bhac*, *Fideach a Bhac*, *Allt a Bhac*, *Buaile Bhac*, *Allt Buaile Bhac*; 1845, 1846 *Back*; 2007 *Am Bac*‖*Back*; road sign *Bac.*

> Oftedal 1954, 391: '**Back** [bɑhk] is ON *bakka*, either dative/accusative singular or accusative plural of *bakki* m. "slope, hill". Both the singular and the plural are very frequent farm names in Norway.'

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Bhac. Given the presence of the Gaelic article, ScG *bac* m. 'slope' is no doubt a loan-word from Old Norse, as opposed to

46. MacIver (1934, 59) suggests *àth* in the sense 'crossing (over to A' Phàirc)' and *linne* in the sense 'sea loch (i.e. *Loch Shìophort*)', but there is no need for such an interpretation.

1843–82, is dòcha à SL **Hásumar-gerði* '(an) geàrraidh meadhain-samhraidh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *hásumar* n. 'meadhan-samhraidh', le teasgadh meadhain anns a' chruth Nua-Ghàidhlig.

Chan eil co-theags againn airson an ainme Lochlannais a tha seo, ach dh'fhaodte a chur an coimeas ri GA *àirigh shamhraidh* (no *àirigh samhraidh*), briathar a chleachdte sa bhrìgh 'taigh samhraidh, àirigh' (Dòmhnallach 1971, 235; NicLeòid 1978, 178; Mac a' Ghobhainn 1987, 247) agus a gheibhear na ainm-àite: (≈1843–82) *Àirigh Samhraidh* NG355334, an iar air Càrbost san Eilean Sgitheanach; idem NM840493, deas air Cinn a' Gheàrr-loch ann an Earra-Ghàidheal; agus (≈1843–82) *Lochan Àirigh Shamhraidh* NM953207, ann an Cill Chrèanain, an iar air Loch Obha. Airson GA *àirigh*, faic *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13.

#22 *Àth an Linne* TLS
[ˌaˑ əˈʌ̃ĩŋə], (gin.) idem; NB205123. 1776, 1789 *Aline*; 1807 *Athline*; 1801, 1804, 1821 *Aline*; 1843–82 *Ath an Linne*; 1934, 59 *Ath-a-linne*; 2007 *Ath Linne*‖*Aline*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air cladach a tuath *Loch Shìophort* (#113), air Taobh Loch Shìophort, a rinn a mhuinntir imrich a dh'Ameireagaidh sna 1820an, nuair a chaidh an t-àite na loidse seilge (Lawson 2011, 201). Ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *àth* f. 'fadhail, tairbeart' (GT *áth*) na sheòrsaichear.

Molaidh Taylor (2011, s.v. *Aline*) *Àth an Linne*, le GA *linne* 'poll, lochan' na ainmear fireann, no *Àth Linne*, gun an t-alt. Ged a tha *linne* boireann air mhodh eile, gheibhear eisimpleir eile de dh'ainm ann an Leòdhas far a bheil e fireann, .i. *Loch an Linne* NB332302 (1843–82 *Loch a' Linne*). Bheireadh *Àth an Linne* am fuaimneachadh [ˌaˑ əˈʌ̃ĩŋə] san dualchainnt gu nàdarra, le call an t-srònaich ron taobhach (Cox 2002a, 65). Bheanadh *linne* san t-seagh seo ri fear den dà pholl no sloc tràghaidh an ear air a' bhaile, no ris na dhà.[46]

#23 *Am Bac* BAC
[ə ˈmᵇaʰk], (gin.) *A' Bhac* [ə ˈvaʰk]; NB484404. 1654, 1718, 1726, 1821, 1822 *Back*; 1843–83 *Back*, *Druim a Bhac*, *Fideach a Bhac*, *Allt a Bhac*, *Buaile Bhac*, *Allt Buaile Bhac*; 1845, 1846 *Back*; 2007 *Am Bac*‖*Back*; soighne rathaid *Bac*.

> Oftedal 1954, 391: 'S e SL *bakka* a th' ann am **Back** [bɑhk], aon chuid an tuiseal tabhartach/cuspaireach singilte no an tuiseal cuspaireach iolra aig *bakki* f. 'leathad, tom'. Tha an dà chuid an cruth singilte agus an cruth iolra nan ainmean tuathanais bitheanta ann an Nirribhidh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Bhac. Leis an alt Ghàidhlig, chan eil teagamh nach e facal-iasaid Lochlannais a th' ann an GA *bac* f. 'leathad,

46. Molaidh MacIver (1934, 59) *àth* sa bhrìgh 'aiseag (a-null chun Na Pàirce)' agus *linne* sa bhrìgh 'loch mara (.i. *Loch Shìophort*)', ach chan eil feum ri a leithid de mhìneachadh.

a loan-name. The plural reflex of the loan-word is found in ScG *Na Bacannan* 'the slopes' NB463387, above *Tràigh Chuil* (#150) (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 7: sand-banks beside the sea).

Oftedal argues that *bac* is an apocopated form, that it derives from earlier ScG **baca* (from ON *bakka* acc./dat. 'slope'), and that *[ˌpaʰkə] should occur before a consonant (cf. Oftedal 1956, 149–50), but final [ə] does not occur under any circumstance. It is more likely that ON *bakka* developed more or less directly into ScG *bac*, or via ScG *[ˈpaʰkə], with apocope §44 (iii), a common feature in the dialect whereby final [ə] is lost in open final syllables after [ʰk, ʰp, ʰt̪], e.g. *bàt* 'boat', *gallt* 'foreign', *lamp* 'lamp', *ròp* 'rope', *sgafant* 'spirited' (*SGDS*, Points 81, 456, 556, 715, 756), as opposed to *bàta* etc.[47] On the other hand, perhaps an unattested strong form of the noun *bakki* in Old Norse might be considered, i.e. **bakkr* m., and that it was the accusative reflex **bakk* that was borrowed into Gaelic;[48] cf. ScG *palla* m. 'ledge in a rock' < ON **palla*, oblique form of **palli* m., an unattested weak form of the noun *pallr* m. (Cox 2002a, 348).

The Norse element occurs in loan-names also, e.g. ScG *Tràigh Rèabac* [ˌt̪ʰraˑj ˈreːˌpaʰk] 'the beach of **Rèabac*' NB490400 (cf. MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 65), which might be from ON **Hreið-bakka* obl. '(the) nest-slope'; see also *Beanasbac* #50. As specific, it occurs in the loan-name in ScG *Loch Bacabhat* [ˌɬɔx ˈpaʰkəˌvaʰt̪] 'the loch of **Bacabhat*',[49] from ON **Bakkavatn* '(the) loch of the slopes', with genitive plural of *bakki*.

Elsewhere, cf. ScG *Na Bacaidhean* (with an alternative plural ending) NC833023, near Golspie (MacBain 1922, 13: 'the banks', Eng. *Backies*), unless this is from ScG *bac* 'bank' (fn 47).

#24 *Bàgh Ciaraich* PRC
*[ˌpaˑɣ ˈkʲʰiəɾiç], (gen.) *Bhàgh Ciaraich* *[ˌvaˑɣ ˈkʲʰiəɾiç];[50] NB249018. 1843–82 =.

The name of a deserted settlement in A' Phàirc, beside a sea loch called *Bàgh Ciaraich*; a Gaelic name, with ScG *bàgh* m. 'bay', from ON *vág*, accusative of ON *vágr* m., with delenition in Gaelic §33. For ON *vágr* in Old Norse loan-names, see for example #60 and #98.

47. Cf. Wentworth 2003, s.v. Eng. *bank*: ScG *bac*, (gen.) and (pl.) *baic*; Dieckhoff 1932, idem: 'step, e.g. in a terrace'. But it seems more likely that these derive from ScG *bac* (< EG *bacc* m. *o*-stem) 'corner, bend; hindrance' etc.

48. There are several farms called *Bakk*, e.g. in Oppdal and Orkdal, in Mid-Norway (Arne Kruse, personal communication).

49. E.g. at NB369454, NB274472†, NB397551†, NB502442‡ and NB531569‡.
†(nMO) [lɔx ˈpahkəvaht].
‡(nMO) [ɬɔx ˈpahkəvaht] and [lɔx ˈbahkəvaht], respectively.

50. The forms that were recorded are obviously corrupt: [ˌpaˑɣ ˈkʲʰiəɾaj], [ˌpaˑj ˈçiəɾɔx].

leitir', seach ainm-iasaid. Gheibhear riochd iolra an fhacail-iasaid ann an GA *Na Bacannan* 'na leòidean' NB463387, bhos cionn *Thràigh Chuil* (#150) (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 7: 'bruthaichean gainmhich an cois na mara').

Tha Oftedal an dùil gur h-e cruth le teasgadh deiridh a th' ann am *bac*, gur h-ann ann an GA **baca* (à SL *bakka* cusp./tabh. 'leathad') a thàrmaicheas e, agus gun cluinnte *[ˌpaʰkə] ro chonnraig (coim. Oftedal 1956, 149–50), ach cha nochd [ə] dheiridh an àite sam bith. Tha e nas coltaiche gun deach SL *bakka* gu dìreach na GA *bac*, no tro GA *[ˈpaʰkə], le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii), feart cumanta san dualchainnt far an caillear [ə] dheiridh ann an lidean fosgailte an dèidh [ʰk, ʰp, ʰt̪], m.e. *bàt*, *gallt*, *lamp*, *ròp*, *sgafant* (*SGDS*, Puingean 81, 456, 556, 715, 756), an àite *bàta* 7c.[47] Air an làimh eile, 's dòcha gum bu chòir a mheòrachadh an robh cruth làidir gun teist aig an ainmear *bakki* san Lochlannais, .i. **bakkr* f., agus gur h-e an riochd cuspaireach **bakk* a chaidh air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig;[48] coim. GA *palla* f. 'sgeilp ann an creig' < SL **palla*, an cruth claon aig **palli* f., cruth lag gun teist aig an ainmear *pallr* f. (Cox 2002a, 348).

Nochdaidh an eileamaid Lochlannais ann an ainmean-iasaid cuideachd, m.e. GA *Tràigh Rèabac* [ˌt̪ʰraˑj ˈreːˌpaʰk] NB490400 (coim. MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 65), a dh'fhaodadh a bhith à SL **Hreið-bakka* cl. '(an) nead-leathad'; faic cuideachd *Beanasbac* #50. Mar shònraichear, nochdaidh i san ainm-iasaid ann an GA *Loch Bacabhat* [ˌɬɔx ˈpaʰkəˌvaʰt̪],[49] à SL **Bakkavatn* 'loch nan leathad', leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig *bakki*.

An àitichean eile, coim. GA *Na Bacaidhean* (le dùnadh iolra eile) NC833023, faisg air Goillspidh (MacBain 1922, 13: 'the banks', Brl. *Backies*), mana h-ann à GA *bac* 'bruach' a tha seo (bn 47).

#24 *Bàgh Ciaraich* PRC
*[ˌpaˑɣ ˈkʲʰiəɾiç], (gin.) *Bhàgh Ciaraich* *[ˌvaˑɣ ˈkʲʰiəɾiç];[50] NB249018. 1843–82 =.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs anns A' Phàirc, ri taobh loch mara air a bheil *Bàgh Ciaraich*; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *bàgh* f. 'camas', à SL *vág*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f., le dì-shèimheachadh anns a' Ghàidhlig §33. Airson SL *vágr* ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, faic mar eisimpleir #60 agus #98.

47. Coim. Wentworth 2003, s.v. Brl. *bank*: GA *bac*, (gin. agus iol.) *baic*; Dieckhoff 1932, idem: ceum, m.e. ann am bruaich. Ach tha e nas coltaiche gur h-ann ann an GA *bac* < GT *bacc* f. bun-*o*) 'oisean, lùb; bacadh' 7c a thàrmaicheas iad seo.

48. Tha corra thuathanas air a bheil *Bakk*, m.e. ann an Oppdal agus Orkdal, ann am Meadhan-Nirribhidh (Arne Kruse, conaltradh pearsanta).

49. M.e. aig NB369454, NB274472†, NB397551†, NB502442‡ agus NB531569‡.
†(nMO) [lɔx ˈpahkəvaht].
‡(nMO) [ɬɔx ˈpahkəvaht] agus [lɔx ˈbahkəvaht], fa leth.

50. Is lèir gu bheil na cruthan a chaidh a chlàradh coirbte: [ˌpaˑɣ ˈkʲʰiəɾaj], [ˌpaˑj ˈçiəɾɔx].

The specific appears to be *ciaraich*, genitive of ScG *ciarach* 'dark place', a noun from the adjective ScG *ciar* + the suffix *-ach* (Cox 2002a, 60; cf. *Tangaidh* #320).[51]

This name is apparently interpreted today as **Bàgh Ciarach* (e.g. Macdonald 1967, 163–65: 64; Lawson 2011, 192–94), as though *ciarach* were an adjective (cf. ScG *cabhagach* 'hurried' < *cabhag* f. 'hurry' (Cox 2017, 151)), meaning 'dark bay', without final inflection. However, the adjective ScG *ciar* itself means 'dark' and, though an adjective *ciarach* were needed, if the name consisted of noun + adjective, **Am Bàgh Ciarach* with the article would be more likely.

According to tradition, it was here that a boat crew from Ùig was murdered by the local inhabitants (Macdonald ibid.; Lawson ibid.; <www.tobarandual·chais.co.uk>: search for 'Dòmhnall Cam and the reivers').

#25 *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* PRC
[ˌp̪a·ɣ ˈɾɛ̃ːmˌs̪əˌvaj], (gen.) *Bhàgh Reumsabhaigh* [ˌva·ɣ ˈɾɛ̃ːmˌs̪əˌvaj]; NB257025. 1600+ *Runacabaigh*;[52] 1821 *Baremsavay*; 1843–82 *Bàgh Rèimsabhaidh*.

The name of a bay and settlement in A' Phàirc that was cleared sometime after the 1820s (Lawson 2011, 192–94) – the 1843–82 map shows only ruins; a Gaelic name, with ScG *bàgh* m. (#24) and genitive of the loan-name ScG **Reumsa·bhagh*, perhaps from ON **Hreimsvág* acc. '(the) bay of the shout', with genitive of the noun ON *hreimr* m. 'shout, cry, scream' and accusative of ON *vágr* m. 'bay' (#24), and with an epenthetic vowel. The head of this bay is long and narrow and perhaps the name arises from an echo here. For a Gaelic parallel, cf. ScG *Bealach an Sgail* 'the pass of the shout or echo' NB200401, in *An Dùn* #170.

#26 *Baile a' Ghobhainn* ÙIG
[ˌp̪alə ˈɣo-iɲ̪], (gen.) *Bhaile a' Ghobhainn* [ˌvalə ˈɣo-iɲ̪]; NB049325.

The name of part of the township *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, in Ùig, with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (EG idem), and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article +

51. Cf. ScG *ciarach* m. or f. 'swarthy person' (Dwelly, s.v.), e.g. in ScG *Leac na Ciaraiche à Barraigh* 'the flagstone of the swarthy woman from Barra' NL93234004, in Tiree (<http://·www.tireeplacenames.org/barrapol/leac_na_ciaraiche_a_barraigh/>).

52. 'Ther is a great forest about that place on the southsyd of Lewis, consisting of a great mountayne cald Cadsoil or Cadfeild [1843–82 *Caiteseal* NB241041][;] the deer of this mountaine all have two tayls, wherby they are discerned from the rest. Ther is a place not far of called Runacabaigh wher are taken a kynd of small fishe, which hath four feet lyk a lyzard. it is thick bodied and reidish coloured.'

Is coltach gur h-e *ciaraich* a tha san t-sònraichear, an tuiseal ginideach aig GA *ciarach* 'àite dorch', ainmear às a' bhuadhair GA *ciar* + an iar-leasachan *-ach* (Cox 2002a, 60; coim. *Tangaidh* #320).[51]

A rèir choltais, thèid an t-ainm a mhìneachadh an-diugh mar **Bàgh Ciarach* (m.e. Macdonald 1967, 163–65: 64; Lawson 2011, 192–94), mar gur h-e buadhair a bh' ann an *ciarach* (coim. GA *cabhagach* < *cabhag* b. (Cox 2017, 151)), a' ciall-achadh 'bàgh dorch', gun chlaonadh deiridh. Gidheadh, tha GA *ciar* fhèin a' ciall-achadh 'dorch' agus, ged a bhitheadh feum ri *ciarach* mar bhuadhair, nam b' e ainmear + buadhair a bh' anns an ainm, bhiodh **Am Bàgh Ciarach* leis an alt na bu cholthaiche.

A rèir beul-aithrise, 's ann an seo a chaidh sgioba bàta à Ùig a mhurt le muinntir an àite (Macdonald ibid.; Lawson ibid.; <www.tobarandualchais.co.uk>: lorg 'Dòmhnall Cam agus na creachadairean').

#25 *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* PRC
[ˌp̪a·ɣ ˈɾɛ̃ːmˌs̪əˌvaj], (gin.) *Bhàgh Reumsabhaigh* [ˌva·ɣ ˈɾɛ̃ːmˌs̪əˌvaj]; NB257025. 1600+ *Runacabaigh*;[52] 1821 *Baremsavay*; 1843–82 *Bàgh Rèimsabhaidh*.

An t-ainm air bàgh agus tuineachadh anns A' Phàirc a chaidh fhàsachadh uair-eigin an dèidh nan 1820an (Lawson 2011, 192–94) – cha nochd am mapa 1843–82 ach làraichean taighe ann; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *bàgh* f. (#24) agus tuiseal gin-ideach an ainm-iasaid GA **Reumsabhagh*, is dòcha à SL **Hreimsvág* cusp. 'bàgh na h-èighe', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hreimr* f. 'èigh, sgreuch' agus an cruth cuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#24), agus le fuaimreig còmhnaidh. Tha ceann a' bhàigh an seo fada caol agus is dòcha gur h-ann air sgàth mic-talla a chaidh am bàgh ainmeachadh. Airson a sheise Ghàidhlig, coim. GA *Bealach an Sgail* 'bealach na h-èighe no mic-talla' NB200401, air *An Dùn* #170.

#26 *Baile a' Ghobhainn* ÙIG
[ˌp̪alə ˈɣo-iɲ̪], (gin.) *Bhaile a' Ghobhainn* [ˌvalə ˈɣo-iɲ̪]; NB049325.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, an Ùig, le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (GT idem), agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt

51. Coim. GA *ciarach* f. no b. 'neach a tha ciar' (Dwelly, s.v.), m.e. ann an GA *Leac na Ciar·aiche à Barraigh* NL93234004, ann an Tiriodh (<http://www.tireeplacenames.org/barra·pol/leac_na_ciaraiche_a_barraigh/>).

52. 'Ther is a great forest about that place on the southsyd of Lewis, consisting of a great mountayne cald Cadsoil or Cadfeild [1843–82 *Caiteseal* NB241041][;] the deer of this mountaine all have two tayls, wherby they are discerned from the rest. Ther is a place not far of called Runacabaigh wher are taken a kynd of small fishe, which hath four feet lyk a lyzard. it is thick bodied and reidish coloured.'

the noun ScG *gobha* m. ‘smith’ (OG *goḃa*(*e*)). As an *n*-stem noun, (nom.) *gobha* would traditionally have yielded *gobhann* in the genitive and *gobhainn* in the dative case, cf. ScG *Àird a’ Ghobhann* ‘the headland of the smith’ NB204453, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, although *gobhainn* is often used in the genitive today, via analogical levelling, as here and as in ScG *Baile a’ Ghobhainn* ‘the village of the smith’ NG388687, in Skye.

The primary senses of EG *baile*, as well as the primary senses of the word as a place-name element, was ‘place, settlement; piece of land, farm; farmstead’, later ‘village or *creaga*;[53] township; town, city’ (*DIL*, s.v. ¹*baile*; Price 1963; Nicolaisen 2001, 159–61, 176–80). The sense of the element here is probably ‘farm’ rather than ‘village’.

#27 *Baile a’ Ghreusaich* ÙIG
[ˌb̥alə ˈɣʲiaʂiç], (gen.) *Bhaile a’ Ghreusaich* [ˌvalə ˈɣʲiaʂiç]; NB046323. 1843–82 *Baile Ghriasaich*.

The name of part of the township *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, in ÙIG, with ScG *baile* m. ‘farm; village’ (#26) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *greusaiche* m. ‘cobbler’ (< EG *grés* ‘handicraft’ (ScG *grèis*) + the suffix *-iche* (Cox 2017, 122)), with apocope §44 (iii); once a separate township.

#28 *Baile Ailein* CTL (Eng. *Balallan*)
[ˌb̥al ˈalan], (gen.) *Bhaile Ailein* [ˌval ˈalan]; NB292207. 1654 *Ballellen*; 1718 *Ball·allan*, *Ballellan*; 1726 *Bellallan*; 1776 *Balallin*; 1789, 1801 *Battalin* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Balallin*; 1821 *Ballallan*; 1843–82 *Balallan*; 2007 *Baile Ailein*‖*Balallan*.

> Oftedal 1954, 401–02: ‘**Balallan** [bɑˈlɑlɑn] is ScG *Baile Ailein* ‘Allan’s village’, although this would ordinarily be pronounced [bɑlə ˈɑlɑɴ′] or [bɑˈlɑlɑɴ′] in eastern Lewis. The reason for this apparent inconsistency is this: in all Hebridean dialects, the original four *n* sounds were reduced in number to three when the lenited palatal [n′] merged with the lenited non-palatal [n]. This means that the genitive *Ailein* *[ɑlɑn′] in [bɑˈlɑlɑn′] would regularly become homonymous with the radical *Ailean* [ɑlɑn]. This is precisely what has happened in western Lewis, where for example ScG *sgadan* [skɑdɑn] “herring” serves both as radical and genitive; see Borgstrøm 1940, 88.

53. ScG *creaga*, (pl.) *creagannan*, a collective noun meaning ‘group of houses’ (← ‘collection of stones’), an old plural form of *creag* f. ‘stone, rock’, with vocalic ending (Cox 2002a, 57, fn 3; Cox 2017, 106, §83(iii)(a)(δ) + fn 26).

Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *gobha* f. (SG *goḃa*(*e*)). Mar ainmear buin-*n*, gu dualchasach bheireadh *gobha* (ainmn.) *gobhann* san tuiseal ghinideach agus *gobhainn* san tuiseal thabhartach, coim. GA *Àird a’ Ghobhann* NB204453, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, ged a chleachdar *gobhainn* san tuiseal ghinideach gu tric an-diugh, le co-rèiteachadh, mar a chleachdar an seo agus ann an GA *Baile a’ Ghobhainn* NG388687, anns an Eilean Sgitheanach.

B’ e ‘àite, àite-tuineachaidh; cuibhreann fearainn, tuathanas; aitreabh tuathanais’ a bu phrìomh bhrìghean do GT *baile* agus do phrìomh bhrìghean an fhacail mar eileamaid ann an ainmean-àite, na b’ anmoiche ‘creaga;[53] clachan, baile beag; baile fearainn; baile-mòr, cathair’ (*DIL*, s.v. ¹*baile*; Price 1963; Nicolaisen 2001, 159–61, 176–80). Is math dh’fhaodte gur h-e ‘tuathanas’ seach ‘clachan’ as ciall don eileamaid ann an seo.

#27 *Baile a’ Ghreusaich* ÙIG
[ˌb̥alə ˈɣʲiaʂiç], (gin.) *Bhaile a’ Ghreusaich* [ˌvalə ˈɣʲiaʂiç]; NB046323. 1843–82 *Baile Ghriasaich*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, ann an ÙIG, le GA *baile* f. ‘tuathanas; clachan’ (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *greusaiche* f. ‘cuideigin a bhios a’ dèanamh bhròg’ (< GT *grés* ‘obair-làimhe’ (GA *grèis*) + an iar-leasachan *-iche* (Cox 2017, 122)), le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii); uair na bhaile fearainn fa leth.

#28 *Baile Ailein* CTL
[ˌb̥al ˈalan], (gin.) *Bhaile Ailein* [ˌval ˈalan]; NB292207. 1654 *Ballellen*; 1718 *Ball·allan*, *Ballellan*; 1726 *Bellallan*; 1776 *Balallin*; 1789, 1801 *Battalin* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Balallin*; 1821 *Ballallan*; 1843–82 *Balallan*; 2007 *Baile Ailein*‖*Balallan*.

> Oftedal 1954, 401–02: ’S e GA *Baile Ailein* ‘clachan Ailein’ a th’ ann am **Bal·allan** [bɑˈlɑlɑn], ged a dheigheadh seo fhuaimneachadh gu h-àbhaisteach mar [bɑlə ˈɑlɑɴ′] no [bɑˈlɑlɑɴ′] ann an Leòdhas an ear. Is e as adhbhar dhan neo-chunbhalachd fhollaisich seo na leanas: ann an dualchainntean nan Eilean Siar uile, chaidh na ceithir fuaimean *n* tùsail a lùghdachadh gu trì nuair a chaidh an srònach càireanach sèimhichte [n′] còmhla ris an t-srònach neo-chàireanach shèimhichte [n]. Tha sin ri ràdh gun deigheadh an cruth ginideach *Ailein* *[ɑlɑn′] ann am [bɑˈlɑlɑn′] an co-ainm ris a’ bhunasach *Ailean* [ɑlɑn] gu riaghailteach. ’S e sin an dearbh rud a thachair ann an Leòdhas an iar, far an e, mar eisimpleir, GA *sgadan* [skɑdɑn] an dà chuid an cruth bunasach is ginideach; faic Borgstrøm 1940, 88. Ann

53. .i. GA *creaga*, (iol.) *creagannan*, ainmear trusaidh, ‘còmhlan de thaighean’ (← ‘cruinneachadh de chlachan’), sean chruth iolra aig *creag* b. ‘clach, carragh’, le dùnadh fuaimreagach (Cox 2002a, 57, bn 3; Cox 2017, 106, §83(iii)(a)(δ) + bn 26).

In eastern Lewis, the distinction between radical and genitive in this class of nouns[54] has been preserved by substituting the non-lenited palatal [ɴ′] for [n′], resulting in (rad.) [skadan] ~ (gen.) [skɑdɑɴ′]. The village name is, accordingly, the product of a regular phonetic development, whereas the corresponding appellatives have been subject to pressure of pattern.'

The name of a township in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. *Baile Ailein* or *Bail' Ailein* is a Gaelic name, with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) and genitive of the man's name ScG *Ailean* m. (< EG **Ailén* or **Ailín*, from OG *ail* 'boulder, rock' + the suffix *-én* (> *-ín*); Thurneysen 1975, 174, §272; Cox 2017, 124, §93(iv)). If the specific here represents a person's surname, an alternative origin for the name is possible, namely OBret. *Alan* (Black 1946, s.v. *Alan*; MacBain 1911, 396).

#29 ***Baile an Loch*** CLA
[ˌb̥alə ˈɬ̪ɔx],[55] (gen.) *Bhaile an Loch* [ˌvalə ˈɬ̪ɔx]; NB284485; cf. 1843–82 *Cnoc Bhaile Loch*.

The name of an area of the township *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, east of *Loch Òrdais* and south of the sea loch *Port Mòr Bhradhagair*, in Sgìre a' Chladaich; with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *loch* m. 'loch, lake' (EG idem).

ScG *Baile an Loch* and the Old Norse loan-name *Siabost* #295 have the same sense originally.

#30 ***Baile an Teampaill*** TSR
[ˌb̥alə ˈn̪ʲʰãũm̥piʎ̪],[56] (gen.) *Bhaile an Teampaill* [ˌvalə ˈn̪ʲʰãũm̥piʎ̪]; NB193418. 1843–82 *Baile an Teampuill*.

The name of part of the township *Cirbhig* #124, in An Taobh Siar; with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) + genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *teampall* m. 'temple, church' (EG *tempul*, later *tempull*, < Lat. *templum*).

The name denotes an area that contained a few houses (1843–82) next to a graveyard dedicated to St Michael and enclosed by a stone wall (see Macaulay 1984, 8, regarding the tradition of the dedication). The name *Baile an Teampaill* may be post-Reformation, as ScG *teampall* as opposed to the more usual ScG *cille* f. 'church' (#36) has been used as generic; the same practice is found elsewhere

54. Cox 2002a, 123–24, §93(i).
55. (nMO) [b̥alə ˈlɔx].
56. (nMO) [bɑlə ˈŋ̊ʰɑ̃ũmpəl].

an Leòdhas an ear, thèid an dealachadh eadar bunasach agus ginideach san rang seo de dh'ainmearan[54] a ghleidheadh le bhith a' cur an t-srònaich chàireanaich neo-shèimhichte [ɴ′] an àite [n′], a bheir (bun.) [skadan] ~ (gin.) [skɑdɑɴ′]. A rèir seo, tha ainm a' bhaile na bhuil air leasachadh fuaim-eòlach riaghailteach, fhad 's a tha na h-ainmearan co-ionann air atharrachadh fo bhuaidh brùthadh a' phàtrain.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. Tha *Baile Ailein* no *Bail' Ailein* na ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) agus cruth ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Ailean* f. (GT **Ailén* no **Ailín*, à SG *ail* 'ulbhag, creag' + an iar-leasachan *-én* (> *-ín*); Thurneysen 1975, 174, §272; Cox 2017, 124, §93(iv)). Ma riochdaicheas an sònraichear san t-seagh seo sloinneadh duine, dh'fhaodte tùs eile a bhith aig an ainm, .i. SBreat. *Alan* (Black 1946, s.v. *Alan*; MacBain 1911, 396).

#29 ***Baile an Loch*** CLA
[ˌb̥alə ˈɬ̪ɔx],[55] (gin.) *Bhaile an Loch* [ˌvalə ˈɬ̪ɔx]; NB284485; cf. 1843–82 *Cnoc Bhaile Loch*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, an ear air *Loch Òrdais* agus deas air an loch mara *Port Mòr Bhradhagair*, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich; le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *loch* f. (GT idem).

'S i an aon bhrìgh a th' aig GA *Baile an Loch* agus a bh' aig an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais *Siabost* #295 bho thùs.

#30 ***Baile an Teampaill*** TSR
[ˌb̥alə ˈn̪ʲʰãũm̥piʎ̪],[56] (gin.) *Bhaile an Teampaill* [ˌvalə ˈn̪ʲʰãũm̥piʎ̪]; NB193418. 1843–82 *Baile an Teampuill*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Cirbhig* #124, air An Taobh Siar; le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) + tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *teampall* f. 'eaglais' (GT *tempul*, na b' anmoiche *tempull*, < Laid. *templum*).

Beanaidh an t-ainm ri àite far an robh corra thaigh (1843–82) ri taobh cladha air a choisrigeadh ris an Naomh Mìcheal is air a chuairteachadh le balla cloiche (Macaulay 1984, 8, airson dualchas a' choisrigidh). Is dòcha gur h-e ainm iar-Ath-leasachaidh a th' ann am *Baile an Teampaill* agus GA *teampall* seach GA *cille* b. 'eaglais' (#36) air a chleachdadh na shònraichear; tha an t-aon chleachdadh ri lorg

54. Cox 2002a, 123–24, §93(i).
55. (nMO) [b̥alə ˈlɔx].
56. (nMO) [bɑlə ˈŋ̊ʰɑ̃ũmpəl].

in the Western Isles, particularly in Lewis, e.g. *Teampall Rònaigh* (#281) in Nis, perhaps to distinguish those buildings associated with pre-Reformation from those associated with post-Reformation times.[57]

The name *Mol na Cille* NB192418 'the pebble beach of the church' has been recorded (Cox 2002a, 342), which would link to the name *Baile an Teampaill*, as the beach lies just below the graveyard; however, the 1843–82 map has *Mōl na Gile* [*sic*], with genitive of the noun *gil* f. 'ravine; a stream in a ravine'.[58] It is not at all clear whether *Mol na Gile* has become *Mol na Cille*, as a result of a tradition that there once was a church here – unless it is an example of old eclipsis, i.e. **Mol na gCille* 'the beach of the churches', with genitive plural of the specific (cf. Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 23–30) – or whether *Mol na Cille* became *Mol na Gile* briefly on account of a Board of Ordnance informant in the 19th century making sense of a situation where no church stood but where a stream ran to the shore.

#31 *Baile an Truiseil* CLA (Eng. *Ballantrushal*)
[ˌbalə ˈn̪ɨ̞ʰɾu̯ʃal], (gen.) *Bhaile an Truiseil* [ˌvalə ˈn̪ɨ̞ʰɾu̯ʃal]; NB379537. Cf. 1797 *Clach i Drushel*; 1821, 1822 *Clach in Trushal*; 1843–82 *Clach an Truiseil*; 1845 *Clach an Trushial*; 2007, road sign *Baile an Truiseil*‖*Ballantrushal*.

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Chladaich. On the west side of the township stands *Clach an Truiseil*, a monolith 18 ft 10 in high, 6 ft wide, with a maximum thickness of 3 ft 9 in, and a girth of 15 ft 7 in at its base. From about halfway up, it begins to taper until, at the top, it is only 1 ft thick (Macdonald 1978, 14).

> Oftedal 1954, 376: '**Ballantrushal** is ScG *Baile an Truiseil* "the village of the Trushal".[59] The Trushal, ScG *Clach an Truiseil*, is a monolith which rises 19 ft above the ground. The etymology of this word is obscure, but it may have some connection with ON *þurs* m. "goblin, ogre", although this Old Norse word has had a different development in *Na Tursachan* – the Standing Stones of *Callanis* #94 – pronounced [nə ˈtuṣəxən].'[60]

57. Cf. Loder 1935, 445, fn 1: in Colonsay, ScG *teampall* 'denoted a stone church in contrast to the early wood and wattle *cille*.' ScG *teampall* only occurs twice on mainland Ross and Cromarty, where it seems the element denoted a cave or similar that might provide natural shelter for a few worshippers (Watson 1904, lxv + 48, 101, 195). For an account of the incidence of the element ScG *cille* in Scotland, see Nicolaisen 2001, 165–68, 183–86; amended in Taylor 1996.

58. A loan-word from ON *gil* nt. 'ravine'.

59. (nMO) [ˌbalə ˈɴtʿrùʃaḷ].

60. I.e. [nə ˈt̪ʰuṣəxən]; usually pronounced [nə ˈt̪ʰuṣɔxən] on the west of Lewis.

an àitichean eile sna h-Eileanan Siar, gu h-àraidh ann an Leòdhas, m.e. *Teampall Rònaigh* (#281) ann an Nis, is dòcha gus a bhith a' dealachadh thoglaichean aig an robh ceangal ri amannan ron Ath-leasachadh bhon fheadhainn aig an robh ceangal ri amannan na dhèidh.[57]

Chlàraicheadh an t-ainm *Mol na Cille* NB192418 'cladach dhòirneag na h-eaglaise' (Cox 2002a, 342), a bhiodh iomchaidh dhan ainm *Baile an Teampaill* is am mol na laighe fon chladh, ach 's e *Mōl na Gile* [*sic*] a th' air a' mhapa 1843–82, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir *gil* b. 'slugaid; sruth ann an slugaid'.[58] Chan eil e idir soilleir an e *Mol na Gile* a th' air a dhol na *Mol na Cille*, mar thoradh air beul-aithris gun robh cille (eaglais) ann uair – mana h-e eisimpleir de sheann dùbhradh a th' ann, .i. **Mol na gCille* 'cladach nan eaglaisean', le ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir (coim. Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 23–30) – no an e *Mol na Cille* a chaidh na *Mol na Gile* fad greise is neach-fiosrachaidh Bhòrd an Òrdanais san 19mh linn a' dèanamh ciall à carachadh far nach robh eaglais ann ach far an ruitheadh allt chun a' chladaich.

#31 *Baile an Truiseil* CLA
[ˌbalə ˈn̪ɨ̞ʰɾu̯ʃal], (gin.) *Bhaile an Truiseil* [ˌvalə ˈn̪ɨ̞ʰɾu̯ʃal]; NB379537. Coim. 1797 *Clach i Drushel*; 1821, 1822 *Clach in Trushal*; 1843–82 *Clach an Truiseil*; 1845 *Clach an Trushial*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Baile an Truiseil*‖*Ballantrushal*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich. Air taobh an iar a' bhaile, tha *Clach an Truiseil*, gallan a tha 18 tr. 10 òir. a dh'àirde, 6 tr. a leud, a thiughad as motha aig 3 tr. 9 òir., agus 15 tr. 7 òir. mun cuairt aig a' bhonn. Bho mu letheach-slighe shuas, thèid a caolachadh gus nach eil innte ach troigh a thiughad aig a' mhullach (Macdonald 1978, 14).

> Oftedal 1954, 376: 'S e GA *Baile an Truiseil* a th' ann am **Ballantrushal**.[59] 'S e gallan, GA *Clach an Truiseil*, a th' anns an Trushal a dh'èireas 9 tr. deug bhos cionn na talmhainn. Tha freumhachd an fhacail seo doilleir, ach is dòcha gu bheil ceangal air choreigin aige ri SL *þurs* f. 'bòcan, famhaire', ged a tha fàs eadar-dhealaichte air a bhith aig an fhacal Lochlannais seo anns *Na Tursachan* – Clachan *Challanis* #94 – a thèid fhuaimneachadh [nə ˈtuṣəxən].[60]

57. Coim. Loder 1935, 445, bn 1: ann an Colbhasa, bheanadh GA *teampall* ri eaglais cloiche seach ris a' *chille* fiodha a bu tràithe. Cha nochd GA *teampall* ach an dà thuras air tìr-mòr Rois is Chrombaigh, far an dòcha gum beanadh an eileamaid ri uamh no a leithid, a bheireadh fasgadh nàdarra do dhòrlach luchd-adhraidh (Watson 1904, lxv + 48, 101, 195). Airson cunntais air tuiteamas na h-eileamaide GA *cille* ann an Albainn, faic Nicolaisen 2001, 165–68, 183–86; air a leasachadh ann an Taylor 1996.

58. Facal-iasaid à SL *gil* n. 'slugaid'.

59. (nMO) [ˌbalə ˈɴtʿrùʃaḷ].

60. .i. [nə ˈt̪ʰuṣəxən]; a thèid fhuaimneachadh [nə ˈt̪ʰuṣɔxən] mar as trice air taobh siar Leòdhais.

With ScG *baile* m. 'village' (#26) and a specific taken from the name of the monolith *Clach an Truiseil* 'the stone of—' (see below). The name *Baile an Truiseil* was probably given to the area when 20 crofter families were settled there in 1850 (Lawson 2008, 74–83: 77).

#31 (i) Earlier etymologies

The specific element common to the names *Baile an Truiseil* and *Clach an Truiseil* has long been a puzzle for etymologists.

Tursachan is a plural form of ScG *tursa* m. 'standing-stone; giant', a loanword from ON *þurs* m. The singular form is found in ScG *Cnoc an Tursa* 'the hill of the *tursa*' NB212330, the name of the hill upon which *Tursachan Challanis* (the Callanis Stones) stand, and ScG *Clach an Tursa* 'the stone of the *tursa*' NB20414295, where there were three erect stones in Martin Martin's time (Martin 1703, 8), but where only one is found today.

The form and translation given by MacIver (1934, 22) is untrustworthy: *Clach an t-ruissail* [*sic*] 'the stone of the mare-hill'.[61] However, he goes on to point out that *Baile an t-ruissail* [*sic*] is of recent date and 'is also called after the hill'. The form *Clach in Trushal* appears on John Thomson's 'Altas of Scotland' of 1822, but there is no *baile*-name, not even on the first Board of Ordnance six-inch map (1843–82), on which some three lots are depicted. It appears that *Baile an Truiseil* is a comparatively recent name form, created as the hamlet grew, and that it was modelled on the name of the monolith.

MacBain (1922, 112) supposes the specific to be connected with ON *troll* nt. 'giant, troll', ON *trylla* vb 'to enchant' or ON *trylskr* adj. 'bewitched', and he translates *Clach an Truiseil* into English as *The Trusel-stone*. Captain Thomas supposes a derivation from ON **Tryllskar-steinn* [*sic*] becoming '*Tryskall*, *Tryshall*, by metathesis' (in MacBain ibid.). MacBain draws a parallel with the Norwegian name *Trysil*, but no connection has been shown (*NSL*, s.v.).

W. J. Watson in his Introduction to MacBain (1922, xxii) disagrees with the latter on phonetic grounds and refers instead to the derivation suggested by Kenneth Mackenzie:

> '*Tursachan*, at Callanish, applied to the big standing stones there. *Cnoc an turs*, also at Callanish; *Clach an Turs*, at Point [An Rubha], and elsewhere, is simply the Norse *Þurs*, a giant; (nom. pl.) *Þursar*. *Tursachan* has the Gaelic nominative plural, and means the giants. In support of this view, I might add that I have often heard these standing stones called "Fir Bhreige" [leg. *Bhrèige*], that is, false men, and Martin Martin, who wrote about them 200 years ago says that then there was a tradition among the people to the effect that these stones were originally giants,

61. 'Clach, ScG, stone; **Hyrssa-huallr*, hill of mares and foals' (ibid.).

Le GA *baile* f. 'clachan' (#26) agus sònraichear air a thoirt à ainm na cloiche *Clach an Truiseil* (faic shìos). Is math dh'fhaodte gun deach an t-ainm *Baile an Truiseil* fhèin a thoirt air an àite nuair a chaidh 20 teaghlach croiteir a thuineachadh ann ann an 1850 (Lawson 2008, 74–83: 77).

#31 (i) Freumhachdan na bu tràithe

'S fhada bho nach robh an eileamaid shònrachaidh a th' aig an dà ainm seo, *Baile an Truiseil* agus *Clach an Truiseil*, air a bhith na dubh-cheist do luchd-freumhachd.

Tha an cruth *tursachan* na riochd iolra aig GA *tursa* f. 'gallan, clach-seasaimh; famhaire', facal-iasaid à SL *þurs* f. Gheibhear an riochd singilte ann an GA *Cnoc an Tursa* NB212330, ainm a' chnuic air a bheil *Tursachan Challanis* fhèin, agus GA *Clach an Tursa* NB20414295, far an robh trì chlachan nan seasamh ri linn Mhic-GilleMhàrtainn (Martin 1703, 8), ged nach lorgar ann ach aonan an-diugh.

Cha mhòr a dh'earbsa a tha ri cur sa chruth is san eadar-theangachadh aig MacIver (1934, 22): *Clach an t-ruissail* [*sic*] 'the stone of the mare-hill'.[61] Gidheadh, leanaidh e air gus a ràdh gur h-ann bho chionn ghoirid a thòisicheadh air *Baile an t-ruissail* [*sic*] a chleachdadh mar ainm is gur h-ann air a' chnoc a chaidh ainmeachadh. Nochdaidh an cruth *Clach in Trushal* an 1822 air Cairt na h-Albann John Thomson, ach chan eil sgeul air ainm baile, fiù 's air a' chiad mhap shia-òirlich aig Bòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82), air an tèid mu thrì lotaichean a dhealbhadh. Is coltach gur h-e ainm coimeasach ùr a th' ann am *Baile an Truiseil* a chaidh a chruthachadh mar a dh'fhàs am baile, is gur h-ann air ainm a' ghallain a chaidh a chumadh.

Tha MacBain (1922, 112) den bheachd gu bheil an eileamaid shònrachaidh ceangailte ri SL *troll* n. 'famhair', SL *trylla* gn. 'cuir fo gheasaibh' no SL *trylskr* buadh. 'fo gheasaibh'; is cuiridh e a' Bheurla *The Trusel-stone* air *Clach an Truiseil*. Tha an Caiptean Thomas an dùil ri tàrmachadh ann an SL **Tryllskar-steinn* [*sic*], a' dol na *Tryskall*, *Tryshall* tro eadar-chàradh (ann am MacBain ibid.). Chì MacBain a sheise san ainm Nirribheach *Trysil*, ach cha deach ceangal a dhearbhadh (*NSL*, s.v.).

Air adhbharan fuaim-eòlach, thèid W. J. Watson na Ro-ràdh ann am MacBain (1922, xxii) an aghaidh an ro-ràdhte, a' toirt iomradh na àite air an fhreumhachd a chuireas Kenneth Mackenzie air adhart:

> Bhuineadh *Tursachan*, ann an Callanis, ris na gallain mhòra an sin. *Cnoc an Turs*, ann an Callanis mar an ceudna; *Clach an Turs*, san Rubha [An Rubha], agus ann an àitichean eile, chan eil ann ach SL *þurs* 'famhaire'; (ainmn. iol.) *þursar*. 'S e cruth ainmneach iolra Gàidhlig a th' ann an *Tursachan* agus 's e 'famhairean' as ciall dha. A' cumail taic ris a' bheachd seo, chuirinn ris gur h-ann tric a chuala mi 'Fir Bhrèige' ga chleachdadh mar ainm air na gallain seo, .i. daoine fuadain, agus canaidh Màrtainn MacGilleMhàrtainn, a sgrìobh mun deidhinn bho chionn 200 bliadhna, gun robh sgeul am

61. 'Clach, ScG, stone; **Hyrssa-huallr*, hill of mares and foals' (ibid.).

who, by enchantment, were changed into stone. We must remember also that the *u* is always sounded short, not long. *Tursol*, at Shader [i.e. *Bail' an Truiseil*], or *Clach an trish-ol*, which is the local pronunciation, is just ON **Þurshóll* '(the) hill of the giant'. The clach or stone is named after the hill. There are three words in Old Norse meaning a giant, viz *þurs*, *risi* and *jotunn*. If we take *risi* we get *rish-ol* (*Clach an-rish-ol*), with the same meaning, and this would suit the local pronunciation to a nicety. My only difficulty about accepting it is this, that the Old Norse folk would not be likely to designate this giant stone with a name different from the next. In any case, Captain Thomas's **Tryllskr stein* is out of the question.' (≈Mackenzie 1903)

George Henderson (1910, 78) at first associates the specific with 'ON *drasill*, OIce. *drösull* m. "a horse" ...; it is in Norse largely a poetic word, as in ON *Yggdrasill* ["the tree of the universe"]; cf. also the verb OIce. *drösla* "to roam about" – all of which would point to some old ceremonial of circuiting a stone sacred to some hero of old ... The phonetics are doubtful.'[62] He dismisses this suggestion in a note further on, instead offering 'ON **Þurs-vǫllr* "[the] giant-field" or "(the) land of the giant(-stone)" – the right derivation; it accounts for ScG *t* ...; for metathesis cf. ScG *trosg* < ON *þorskr*' (ibid., 357).

Indeed, the loan-word ScG *trosg* 'cod' from ON *þorsk* acc. m. supports the argument, given the same metathesis §40 (ii), if ON *þurs* is behind the form *truiseal*. However, a form ON **Þurshóll* (after Mackenzie) or a form ON **Þursvǫll* acc. (after Henderson) is more likely to yield ScG **[ˈt̪ʰrus̪ɑl̪ˠ] or **[ˈt̪ʰrus̪əl̪ˠ], respectively, with broad *s*, rather than [ˈt̪ʰrʊʃɑl̪ˠ].

The main problem is that, if we accept any one of these derivations, we are left with a structure noun × article + loan-name, i.e. with a structure where a loan-name from Old Norse is preceded by the Gaelic article, something that is unexpected. W. J. Watson (1904, lvi) states that Norse loan-names are sometimes found with the Gaelic article in Lewis, citing *Cnoc a' Mhiasaid* as an example and suggesting that this might indicate that the meaning of these Norse names were understood by Gaelic speakers over a considerable time. It is argued elsewhere, however, that *miasaid* is not a Norse but a Gaelic formation.[63]

62. Henderson's forms are from Old Icelandic; see Cleasby.

63. ScG *miasaid* f. 'low level place, basin' < ScG *mias* f. (EG *mías* < Lat. *mensa* 'table') + suffix, e.g. ScG *Àird Mhiasaid* 'the headland of **Miasaid*' (Cox 1992, 143; 2002a, 149), *Druim Mhiasaid* 'the ridge—' (MacIver 1934, 90: *Druim a mhiasaoid*), *Cnoc Mhiasaid* 'the hill—' (Watson ibid.), although MacIver and Watson take the epenthetic vowel [ə] that often occurs between generic and specific in these names to be the genitive singular (m.) Gaelic article.

measg an t-sluaigh gur h-e famhairean a bh' anns na clachan seo bho thùs, a chaidh nan cloich nuair a chaidh an cur fo gheasaibh. Feumaidh sinn a chuimhneachadh cuideachd gun tèid *u* daonnan fhuaimneachadh gu goirid, chan ann fada. Chan eil ann an *Tursol*, ann an Siadar [.i. *Baile an Truiseil*], no *Clach an trish-ol* – am fuaimneachadh a th' aig muinntir na sgìre – ach SL **Þurshóll* 'cnoc an fhamhaire'. Tha a' chlach air a h-ainmeachadh air a' chnoc. Tha trì facail san Lochlannais aig a bheil a' chiall 'famhaire', .i. *þurs*, *risi* agus *jotunn*. Ma ghabhas sinn *risi*, gheibh sinn *rish-ol* (*Clach an-rish-ol*), leis an aon bhrìgh, agus fhreagradh seo ris an fhuaimneachadh ionadail gu grinn. Is e an t-aon duilgheadas a th' agamsa nach bu dual do na Lochlannaich ainm a chur air a' chloich mhòir seo a bha eadar-dhealaichte ris an ath thè. Co-dhiù, tha an **Tryllskr stein* aig a' Chaiptean Thomas thar chomais. (≈Mackenzie 1903)

An toiseach, ceanglaidh George Henderson (1910, 78) an sònraichear ri SL *drasill*, STìl. *drösull* f. 'each', a' mìneachadh gur h-e facal bàrdail a th' ann sa mhòr-chuid, mar a tha SL *Yggdrasill* 'craobh na cruinne-cè'; cuideachd, ris a' ghnìomhair STìl. *drösla* 'siubhail mun cuairt' – na bhiodh a' cur air shùilibh seann deas-ghnàth a bhith a' cuairteachadh clach a bha coisrisgte do ghaisgeach bho shean; ach aidichidh e gu bheil teagamh anns an fhuaim-eòlas.[62] Cuiridh e am moladh seo an dàrna taobh ann an nota nas fhaide air adhart, a' tairgsinn na àite SL **Þurs-vǫllr* '(am) famhaire-achadh' no 'talamh an fhamhaire (.i. na cloiche)'; thèid Henderson leis a seo agus *t* thoisich air a mìneachadh, agus an t-eadar-chàradh air a chur an coimeas ri GA *trosg* < SL *þorskr* (ibid., 357).

Gu deimhinn, cuiridh am facal-iasaid GA *trosg* à SL *þorsk* cusp. f. ris an argamaid, agus an t-aon eadar-chàradh §40 (ii) am follais, mas e SL *þurs* a tha air cùl a' chrutha *truiseal*. Gidheadh, bhiodh e na bu choltaiche gun toireadh cruth mar SL **Þurshóll* (an dèidh Mhackenzie) no cruth mar SL **Þursvǫll* cusp. (an dèidh Henderson) GA **[ˈt̪ʰrus̪ɑl̪ˠ] no **[ˈt̪ʰrus̪əl̪ˠ], fa leth, le *s* leathainn, seach [ˈt̪ʰrʊʃɑl̪ˠ].

'S e am prìomh dhuilgheadas, ma ghabhar ri gin de na bunachasan seo, gu bheil sinn air fhàgail leis a' cho-rèir ainmear × alt + ainm-iasaid, co-rèir san tig an t-alt Gàidhlig air thoiseach air ainm-iasaid Lochlannais, rud nach sùilichte. Canaidh W. J. Watson (1904, lvi) gun lorgar ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais leis an alt Ghàidhlig air uairean ann an Leòdhas, is *Cnoc a' Mhiasaid* na eisimpleir aige, a' cur air shùilibh gum faodadh seo a ràdh gun robh luchd-bruidhinn na Gàidhlig a' tuigsinn ciall nan ainmean Lochlannais seo thar ghreise mòire. Thathas a' meòrachadh an àite eile, ge-tà, nach e cumadh Lochlannais a th' ann am *miasaid* ach fear Gàidhlig.[63]

62. 'S ann às an t-Seann Tìlis a tha cruthan Henderson; faic Cleasby.

63. GA *miasaid* b. 'àite ìosal rèidh, mias' < GA *mias* b. (GT *mías* < Laid. *mensa* 'bòrd') + iarleasachan, m.e. GA *Àird Mhiasaid* (Cox 1992, 143; 2002a, 149), *Druim Mhiasaid* (MacIver 1934, 90: *Druim a mhiasaoid*), *Cnoc Mhiasaid* (Watson ibid.), ged a ghabhas MacIver is Watson ris gur h-e an t-alt ginideach singilte (f.) Gàidhlig a th' anns an fhuaimreig còmhnaidh [ə] a nochdas gu tric eadar an seòrsaichear is an sònraichear sna h-ainmean seo.

There are in fact instances of the Gaelic article being used before Norse loan-names in Lewis, for example ScG *Na h-Eubhatan* [nə ˈheː ˌvaʰt̪ən] ‘the *Eubhats*’,[64] where initial [nə] and final [ən] are Gaelic plural article and plural ending morphemes, respectively, while ScG **Eubhat* is an Old Norse loan-name (Cox 1992, 143).[65] However, this and similar examples[66] reflect – if only from a morphological point of view – the use of the English plural formations *The Cullins*, *The Cairngorms* etc.[67]

One explanation is that what now appears to be the Gaelic article in *Clach an Truiseil* may in fact not be so. It appears that on occasion the Gaelic masculine diminutive suffix *-an* [an] may be reinterpreted as the article, e.g. *Cnoc an Urrdhaig* ← *Cnocan Urrdhaig* NB2546, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), which shows the anomaly of a genitive singular masculine article before the genitive singular feminine noun *urrdhaig* ‘place of boulders’ (Cox 200a, 54, 221); the same process has taken place before the Norse loan-name in *Cnoc an Tiongalairidh* ← *Cnocan Tiongalairidh* approx. NB193379, in *Tolstadh a’ Chaolais* (#331) (ibid., 54, 220). But that would leave **Clachan Truiseil*, and there were no stepping-stones or village that could have been denoted by

64. (nMO) [nə ˈheːvahtən]. This is not the same as, for example, *Na h-Earadh* (i.e. ScG *Na Hearadh*, Eng. *Harris*) (#254, #315 (ii)).

65. The name *Na h-Eubhatan* denotes a series of streams at NB368430, in *Barbhas* #47: ScG (1843–82) *Eùbhat a Starr*, *Eubhat Loch Sgarabhat Beag*, *Eubhat Cham*, *Eubhat Tùlach*; recorded as (nMO) *An Eubhat Bheag* [nʼʼeːvaht ˈvəg̠] and *An Eubhat Mhòr* [nʼʼeːvaht ˈvoːr]. It is understood here that the last two, as well as the names (1843–82) *Loch an Eùbhat* and (nMO) *Tom an Eubhat* [tʻəm ə ˈnʼʼeːvaht], are based upon the name *Na h-Eubhatan* itself.

In the examples ScG (≈1843–82) *Leacan an t-Seilearo* ‘the flagstones of *Seilearo*’ and *Geodha Dhubh an t-Seilearo* ‘the black cove of—’ (beside the location called *Seilearo* at NB982272) and *Geodha an t-Seilearo* ‘the cove of—’ and *Cnoc an t-Seilearo* ‘the hill of—’ (beside the location called *Seilearo* at NB034370 – and cf. *Seilearo* at NB034373, NB019328 and NB005305), the loan-name ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌro] (< ON **Sel-rauf* ‘(the) hole of the seals’ (#59)) has itself become a generic in Gaelic on the west of Ùig.

In a note on ScG *Suardal* NM546702 (Eng. *Swordle*), in Argyll, Charles M. Robertson writes (in King 2019, 379) ‘Suarsdal, na (3) Suarsdailean’ (*Suarsdal*, the (3) *Suarsdal*s).

66. E.g. Eng. *Sannox* NS0145, in Arran, < ScG *Na Sannagan*, i.e. from the two Gaelic names *Sannag Uachdarach* and *Sannag Ìochdarach* ‘upper and lower *Sannag*’ (Blaeu (A.): *Sennoc oc*, *Sennoc yc*), < ON **Sand-vík* ‘(the) sand-bay’ (cf. Fraser 1999, 55–56), although the ending [aǧ], as opposed to [ɛǧʲ], in Gaelic has not been explained.

67. These English names are based on the Gaelic singular forms *An Cuiltheann* and *An Càrn Gorm*. (*An Càrn Gorm* ‘the blue mountain’ is the name of a single mountain; the range of mountains called *The Cairngorms* in English is known as *Am Monadh Ruadh* ‘the red mountain’ in Gaelic (Drummond 1992, 120–21; <https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/cairngorms/>).)

Mar a thachras, gheibhear eisimpleirean ann an Leòdhas far an tèid an t-alt Gàidhlig a chleachdadh air thoiseach air ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, m.e. GA *Na h-Eubhatan* [nə ˈheːˌvaʰt̪ən],[64] far an iad [nə] toisich agus [ən] deiridh cruitheamaan aig an alt iolra agus dùnadh iolra sa Ghàidhlig, fa leth, fhad ’s a tha GA **Eubhat* na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais (Cox 1992, 143).[65] Gidheadh, chan eil an seo agus ann an eisimpleirean ceudna[66] – ged nach ann ach bho thaobh cruith-eòlais – ach seise do chleachdadh na Beurla sna cruthan iolra *The Cullins*, *The Cairngorms* ꝛc.[67]

’S e aon adhbhar dha leithid nach e an t-alt Gàidhlig ann an da-rìribh a tha san ainm *Clach an Truiseil* bho thùs, ged a tha an coltas sin air an-diugh. A rèir choltais, gabhaidh an t-iar-leasachan meanbhach fireann Gàidhlig *-an* [an] athmhìneachadh air uairean mar gur h-e an t-alt a bh’ ann, m.e. *Cnoc an Urrdhaig* ← **Cnocan Urrdhaig* NB2546, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), agus an t-alt ginideach singilte fireann gu neo-riaghailteach a’ nochdadh ron ainmear ghinideach shingilte bhoireann *urrdhaig* ‘àite nan ulbhagan’ (Cox 2002a, 54, 221); tha an t-aon rud air tachairt ron ainm-iasaid Lochlannais ann an *Cnoc an Tiongalairidh* ← **Cnocan Tiongalairidh* mu NB193379, ann an *Tolstadh a’ Chaolais* (#331) (ibid., 54, 220). Ach bhiodh sin a’ fàgail **Clachan Truiseil*, agus cha robh starran no baile ann ris am

64. (nMO) [nə ˈheːvahtən]. Chan ionann seo agus a leithid *Na h-Earadh* (.i. GA *Na Hearadh*) (#254, #315 (ii)).

65. Buinidh an t-ainm *Na h-Eubhatan* ri sreath de dh’uillt aig NB368430, ann am *Barbhas* #47: GA (1843–82) *Eùbhat a Starr*, *Eubhat Loch Sgarabhat Beag*, *Eubhat Cham*, *Eubhat Tùlach*; air an clàradh mar (nMO) *An Eubhat Bheag* [nʼʼeːvaht ˈvəg̠] agus *An Eubhat Mhòr* [nʼʼeːvaht ˈvoːr]. Tuigear an seo gu bheil na dhà mu dheireadh, agus na h-ainmean (1843–82) *Loch an Eùbhat* agus (nMO) *Tom an Eubhat* [tʻəm ə ˈnʼʼeːvaht], air am bonntachadh air an ainm *Na h-Eubhatan* fhèin.

Sna h-eisimpleirean GA (≈1843–82) *Leacan an t-Seilearo* agus *Geodha Dhubh an t-Seilearo* (ri taobh an àite air a bheil *Seilearo* aig NB982272) agus *Geodha an t-Seilearo* agus *Cnoc an t-Seilearo* (ri taobh an àite air a bheil *Seilearo* aig NB034370 – agus coim. *Seilearo* aig NB034373, NB019328 agus NB005305), tha an t-ainm-iasaid GA *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌro] (< SL **Sel-rauf* ‘toll nan ròn’ (#59)) e fhèin air a dhol na sheòrsaichear sa Ghàidhlig air taobh an iar Ùig.

Ann an nota air GA *Suardal* NM546702 (Brl. *Swordle*), ann an Earra-Ghàidheal, sgrìobhaidh Charles M. Robertson (ann an King 2019, 379) ‘Suarsdal, na (3) Suarsdailean’.

66. M.e. *Na Sannagan* NS0145 (> Brl. *Sannox*) ann an Arainn, .i. às an dà ainm Ghàidhlig *Sannag Uachdarach* agus *Sannag Ìochdarach* (Blaeu (A.): *Sennoc oc*, *Sennoc yc*), < SL **Sand-vík* ‘(an) gaineamh-bhàgh’ (coim. Fraser 1999, 55–56), ged nach deach an dùnadh [aǧ], seach [ɛǧʲ], sa Ghàidhlig a mhìneachadh.

67. Tha na h-ainmean Beurla seo stèidhichte air na cruthan singilte Gàidhlig *An Cuiltheann* agus *An Càrn Gorm*. (’S e ainm aon bheinne a th’ anns *A’ Chàrn Ghorm*; ’s e *Am Monadh Ruadh* a chanar sa Ghàidhlig ris an t-sreath de bheanntan air a bheil *The Cairngorms* sa Bheurla (Drummond 1992, 120–21; <https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/cairngorms/>).)

the diminutive *clachan* ['kʰɬ̪axan], which might make sense in other circumstances.

#31 (ii) Oftedal's later suggestions

In addition to discussing the phonetics, Magne Oftedal's more recent paper (1979) on the subject also analyses several possibilities for a derivation for the specific *Truiseal*: (a) Pre-Gaelic: but in which case we can hardly proceed further; (b) Gaelic: the difficulty here is to find a Gaelic appellative which meets 'the formal and semantic requirements'; (c) Old Norse: in discussing the derivation offered by Henderson, Oftedal finds it 'improbable that one Norse word should be treated so differently in two dialects which are nearly identical and only 17 miles apart' (ibid., 230); (d) Scots/English: because of Martin Martin's rendering 'The Thrushel Stone', Oftedal briefly examines English dialectal *thrushel* 'song thrush' and *threshel* 'flail', although he lends more weight to the possibility of a derivation from 'Anglo-Scots *thruch-stane*, containing the OEng. *þrūh* "coffin"' with the proviso that much would depend on when a Scots word like *thruch-stane* would have been likely to have been borrowed into Gaelic; and finally (e) Sanskrit, via a Romany word in Travellers' Gaelic: a derivation from an original Sanskrit *triśūla* 'trident' via a Romany Gaelic equivalent of Romany Welsh *trušul* 'cross' and then to a Gaelic word **truiseil* 'standing stone' is not impossible but is, as Oftedal acknowledges, fraught with improbability.

Oftedal concludes that *truiseal* cannot 'be explained quite convincingly by any of the hypotheses outlined above, yet one of them may be true' (ibid., 231–32).

#31 (iii) The *Truiseal* in oral tradition

In his book on the history of Lewis, Donald Macdonald cites from oral tradition the stanza reputedly heard emanating from the stone: *Is Truisealach mis' an dèidh nam Fiann; / Is fhad' mo thriall an dèidh chàich; / M' uilinn anns an Àird an Iar,/ 'S mi gum dhà sgiath an sàs*. 'A Truisealach am I after[68] the Fiann; / Long is my journey after the others;/ My elbow points to the west,/ And I am embedded up to my oxters (armpits)' (≈Macdonald 1978, 14). This is an excerpt from *Laoidh an Truisealaich* 'the lay of the *Truisealach*' and differs slightly from the version found in *Leabhar na Fèinne*. In this earlier version, recorded in 1867, the second line reads *'S fada mo*

68. I.e. 'left behind, i.e. alone'; cf. the phrase *Oisean an dèidh na Fèinne* 'Oisean after the Fiann' (cf. Nicolson 1881, 313; Matheson 1938, 295–96) and [*b*]*ha Oisean leis fhèin an dèidh na Fèinne* (Murchison 1988, 147, 149) 'Oisean was by himself and alone'; cf. Ir. *Oisín i ndiaidh na Féinne* 'all alone in the world' (Ó Dónaill, s.v. *fiann*).

beanadh an cruth meanbhach *clachan* ['kʰɬ̪axan], a dh'fhaodadh ciall a dhèanamh ann an carachadh eile.

#31 (ii) Na molaidhean a b' anmoiche aig Oftedal

A thuilleadh air a bhith a' deasbad an fhuaim-eòlais, bheir alt as ùire Mhagne Oftedal (1979) air a' chuspair sùil air corra fhreumhachd a fhreagradh an sònraichear *Truiseal*: (a) an Ro-Ghàidhlig: ach, mas fìor sin, is gann gun tèidear nas fhaide; (b) a' Ghàidhlig: 's e an duilgheadas an seo a bhith a' lorg ainmear Gàidhlig a fhreagras ris na feumalachdan foirmeil is ciallachais; (c) an Lochlannais: ann a bhith a' meòrachadh air an fhreumhachd a chuireas Henderson air adhart, 's e beachd Oftedal nach coltach gun deigheadh an t-aon fhacal Lochlannais a làimhseachadh air dòigh cho eadar-dhealaichte ann an dà dhualchainnt a tha an ìre mhath co-ionann nan nàdar agus nach eil ach 17 mìle bho chèile; (d) a' Bheurla/an Albais: a chionn an tionndaidh 'The Thrushel Stone' aig Màrtainn MacGilleMhàrtainn, sgrùdaidh Oftedal gu luath a' Bheurla dhualchainnteach *thrushel* 'smeòrach' is *threshel* 'sùiste', ged a chuireas e barrachd cuideim air cùl na h-Albais-Sasannaich *thruch-stane*, stèidhichte air SBrl. *þrūh* 'ciste-laighe', air chùmhnant 's gum biodh mòran an crochadh air cuin a bu choltaiche a dheigheadh facal Albais mar *thruch-stane* a thoirt air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig; agus, mu dheireadh, (e) an t-Sansgrid, tro fhacal Romanais sa Bheurla Reagaird: chan e 's gu bheil freumhachd às an t-Sansgrid thùsail *triśūla* 'muirgheadh', tron Ghàidhlig Romanais (a bhiodh na sheise don Chuimris Romanais *trušul* 'crois') is an uair sin gu facal Gàidhlig **truiseil* 'gallan', do-dhèanta, ach tha e, mar a dh'aithnicheas Oftedal fhèin, lomalàn mì-choltais.

San dealachadh, tha Oftedal den bheachd nach gabh *truiseal* mìneachadh le cinnt le gin de na barailean air an dealbhadh shuas, ach gum faod aonan dhiubh a bhith fìor (ibid., 231–32).

#31 (iii) *An Truiseal* ann am beul-aithris

Na leabhar air eachdraidh Leòdhais, bheir Donald Macdonald iomradh à beul-aithris air a' cheathramh a bha cuideigin a rèir choltais air a chluinntinn a' tighinn às a' chloich: *Is Truisealach mis' an dèidh nam Fiann;*[68] */ Is fhad' mo thriall an dèidh chàich; / M' uilinn anns an Àird an Iar, / 'S mi gum dhà sgiath an sàs*. (≈Macdonald 1978, 14). 'S e earrann a tha seo à 'Laoidh an Truisealaich' agus i air chruth beagan eadar-dhealaichte ris an tè a gheibhear ann an *Leabhar na Fèinne*. San eagran sin, a chaidh a chlàradh ann an 1867, leughaidh an dàrna sreath *'S fada mo phian an dèidh chàich* (≈Campbell 1872, 203), .i. 's fhada m'

68. .i. 'air fhàgail, .i. na aonar'; coim. an abairt *Oisean an dèidh na Fèinne* (coim. Nicolson 1881, 313; Matheson 1938, 295–96) agus [*b*]*ha Oisean leis fhèin an dèidh na Fèinne* (Murchison 1988, 147, 149); coim. GE *Oisín i ndiaidh na Féinne* (Ó Dónaill, s.v. *fiann*) sa bhrìgh 'gu tur na aonar san t-saoghal'.

phian an dèidh chàich (≈Campbell 1872, 203) 'long is my yearning after the others'.[69]

The alternative derivation suggested below argues for the existence in Gaelic of a loan from an unattested Old Norse form but which has extant derivatives in Norwegian dialectal *trussa* 'to drag, trail', Swedish dialectal *trussa* 'to trudge' and Norn *truss* 'to trudge' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v. ²*truss*). In Gaelic, Dwelly gives the following forms: *trus* vb 'to truss, tuck up, gird; bundle together; collect, as sheep; reprimand; go to, repair to' (e.g. *trus ort!* 'be off, begone!', *a' trusadh don taigh-òsta* 'repairing to the alehouse'); and the verbal noun *trusadh* m.; also *truis* vb 'to tear or snatch away; collect, truss up, gather, take up; shell'; and the verbal noun *truiseadh* m. He also gives separate entries for *truis* '(lit. "gather your tail") a word by which dogs are silenced or driven away', also said to a person in contempt: *truis a-mach!* 'get out! begone!'; *truis a-mach!* 'get out, clear out altogether – an animal call (Islay etc.)'; *truis à sin!* 'get out of the way, get to one side – an animal call (Islay etc.)'. There are also separate entries for *trusalaich* vb 'to gird up, prepare, make ready, bestir' and the verbal nouns *trusaladh* m. and *trusalachadh* m.

No doubt there is some confusion between the above forms. Senses including 'trussing, collecting' etc. no doubt derive from Eng. *truss* – itself a loan from Fr. *trousse*, *trousser* – and this would be true of Ir. *trusáil* f. 'act of trussing, girding, tidying' etc. (Dinneen 1947, s.v.).

Dwelly's Islay calls to animals, above, have a parallel in Norn *truss awaa to de hogla!* 'a shout to cows' (Jakobsen ibid.) and a Gaelic form *truis* may earlier, at least in Lewis, have had a sense appropriate to the impeded movement of the *Truisealach*. A verbal noun formation in either final [al] or [ɑl̪] is possible, i.e. **truiseil* or **truiseal*, (gen.) **truiseil*, respectively (Calder 1972, 252; Brian Ó Cuív 1980). Perhaps the latter is more likely if the form *Truisealach* is significant; and this is possibly supported by another line from

69. The full version of the final stanza of 'Laoidh an Truisealaich', as recorded in *Leabhar na Fèinne* (ibid., 202–03) is: *Is Truisealach mi an dèidh nam Fiann, / 'S fada mo phian an dèidh chàich; / Air m' uilinn san àird an iar, / Gu bun mo dhà sgiath an sàs*. In a footnote, it is stated that the lay was recited by an old Lewisman (Norman Murray of *Tàbost* #315, Nis) in the spring of 1867. Another stanza that mentions the stone reads: *Sgeula leat, a Thruiseal mhòir, / Cò na slòigh* [*a*] *bh' ann rid aois; / Robh thu ann* [*ri*] *linn nam Fiann, / Am fac thu Fionn, Fial no Fraoch?* 'A word with you, great Truiseal, / Who were the people around during your time; / Were you alive during the lifetime of the Fian, / Have you seen Fionn, Fial or Fraoch?' It seems that both stanzas use (the metre) *rannaigheachd mhòr* in the main, with monosyllabic finals, end-rhyme between *b* : *d* (and between *a* : *c* in the second stanza), *aicill* (in each couplet, i.e. with rhyme between *mhòir* : *slòigh*, *Fiann* : *Fial*, *Fiann* : *phian*, *iar* : *sgiath*) and alliteration between the final of *d* and a previous stressed word in the same line.

ionndrainn an dèidh chàich.[69]

Molaidh an fhreumhachd eile a chuirear air shùilibh an seo gun robh facal sa Ghàidhlig a bha air iasad à facal Lochlannais gun teist ach aig a bheil cruth-an bunachail fhathast san Nirribhis dhualchainntich *trussa* 'dragh, slaod', san t-Suainis dhualchainntich *trussa* 'triall air èiginn, gluais gu trom' agus san Nòrn *truss* 'triall air èiginn' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v. ²*truss*). Sa Ghàidhlig, gheibhear na cruthan a leanas aig Dwelly: *trus* gn. 'truss, tuck up, gird; bundle together; collect, as sheep; reprimand; go to, repair to' (m.e. *trus ort!* 'be off, begone!', *a' trusadh don taigh-òsta* 'repairing to the alehouse'); agus an t-ainmear gnìomhaireach *trusadh* f.; cuideachd *truis* gn. 'to tear or snatch away; collect, truss up, gather, take up; shell'; agus an t-ainmear gnìomhaireach *truiseadh* f. Tha uilt fa leth aige mar an ceudna air *truis* '(lit. "gather your tail") a word by which dogs are silenced or driven away', cuideachd air a ràdh ri duine fo dhìmeas: *truis a-mach!* 'get out! begone!'; *truis a-mach!* 'get out, clear out altogether – an animal call (Islay etc.'; *truis à sin!* 'int. 'get out of the way, get to one side – an animal call (Islay etc.)'. Gheibhear uilt fa leth mar an ceudna air *trusalaich* gn. 'to gird up, prepare, make ready, bestir' agus airson nan ainmearan gnìomhaireach *trusaladh* f. agus *trusalachadh* f.

Chan eil teagamh nach eil na cruthan shuas air a dhol nan cothlamadh gu ìre. Is cinnteach gur h-ann à Brl. *truss* – sin fhèin na iasad à Fr. *trousse*, *trousser* – a tha na brìghean mar 'trussing, collecting', agus bhiodh an t-aon rud fìor a thaobh GE *trusáil* b. 'act of trussing, girding, tidying' ɔ7c (Dinneen 1947, s.v.).

Gheibh na gairmean air ainmhidhean à Ìle aig Dwelly, shuas, an seise san Nòrn *truss awaa to de hogla!* 'a shout to cows' (Jakobsen 1928 ibid.) agus faodaidh e a bhith gun robh brìgh na bu tràithe aig GA *truis* a bhiodh, co-dhiù ann an Leòdhas, a' freagradh ri triall cuingealaichte an *Truisealaich*. Tha cumadh ainmeir ghnìomhairich aon chuid ann an [al] no ann an [ɑl̪] dheiridh comasach, .i. **truiseil* no **truiseal*, (gin.) **truiseil*, fa leth (Calder 1972, 252; Brian Ó Cuív 1980). Is dòcha gur h-e am fear mu dheireadh as coltaiche mas e 's gu bheil sgeul ri innse aig a' chumadh *Truisealach*; agus is math dh'fhaodte gum faighear taic

69. Tha an dreach slàn den cheathramh mu dheireadh de 'Laoidh an Truisealaich' mar a chaidh a chlàradh ann an *Leabhar na Fèinne* (ibid., 202–03) mar a leanas: *Is Truisealach mi an dèidh nam Fiann, / 'S fada mo phian an dèidh chàich; / Air m' uilinn san àird an iar, / Gu bun mo dhà sgiath an sàs*. Ann am bun-nota, thèid a ràdh gun do dh'aithriseadh e le seann Leòdhasach (Tormod Moireach à *Tàbost* #315, Nis) as t-earrach 1867. Leughaidh ceathramh eile sa bheil iomradh air a' chloich mar a leanas: *Sgeula leat, a Thruiseal mhòir, / Cò na slòigh* [*a*] *bh' ann rid aois; / Robh thu ann* [*ri*] *linn nam Fiann, / Am fac thu Fionn, Fial no Fraoch?* Is coltach gun cleachd an dà cheathramh rannaigheachd mhòr aig bun, le deiridhean aonlideach, comhardadh deiridh eadar *b* : *d* (is eadar *a* : *c* san dàrna ceathramh), aicill (anns gach leth-cheathramh, .i. le comhardadh eadar *mhòir* : *slòigh*, *Fiann* : *Fial*, *Fiann* : *phian*, *iar* : *sgiath*) agus uaim eadar deireadh *d* agus facal beumte roimhe san aon sreath.

'Laoidh an Truisealaich': *Sgeula leat a Thruiseal mhòir* 'a word with you, great *Truiseal*' (Campbell ibid., 202), which fails for some reason to show the expected vocative inflection (i.e. **a Thruiseil*).[70]

If the alternative derivation suggested here is correct, we are looking at an example of the loan of a verb from Old Norse (**trussa*), and the subsequent development of Gaelic derivatives whose primary meaning included the senses 'movement, movement away, slow and trudging; tramping', although in due course these and the extended senses of the English loan-word *trus* were to some extent confused.

The post-Norse Gaelic creation *Clach an Truiseil*, then, would have the lexical sense 'the trudging stone', which may have been inspired by the onomastic tale(s) about the stone. In 'Laoidh an Truisealaich', the noun *Truiseallach* is semantically identical to *Clach an Truiseil*, while the verbal noun *Truiseal* is used elliptically for both (Cox 1998a).[71]

70. Another version of (a part of) 'Laoidh an Truisealaich' appears to lie behind the translation given by Kenneth MacLeod in his note (1908, 252–53), in which the Fiann flee northwards, pursued by druids in the service of their enemies: 'A water-carrier accompanied them with the water-skins slung on his shoulder. All went well till they reached the meadowlands and sandy flats of the north-west of Lewis. Then the water-carrier lagged behind, for every step he took he was in danger of sinking. His masters were making for the mountains of the west, and as evening approached he saw the hopelessness of his struggles to keep up with them. At length he sank to the waist, borne down by the weight of his burdens ...: *Carrier am I after the Finns* (*Fèinn*), / *Journeying lonely after the rest;* / *Westward sad my face is turned,* / *Bog-immersed up to the waist.*

'A giant monolith, *Clach an Truiseal* [*sic*], standing sharply out of the level flats of north-west Lewis, is pointed out to the traveller as the poor water-carrier, who as night approached was slowly transformed into a pillar of stone by the incantations of the Irish wizards. Under the same adverse influences the band proper of the Fèinn, caught by evening ere they had reached *Ceann Thulivig* [i.e. *Ceann Thùlabhig* #116, south of *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197], experienced a calamity similar to that which had overtaken the water-carrier, and slowly turned to stone on the slopes of *Callernish* [i.e. *Callanis* #94]. Here their grey masses tower up above the plain, the famous stones of *Callernish*.'

The question arises, however, why MacLeod used 'water-carrier' in his translation, apparently for *Truisealach*. It may have been because of the context of the water-carrier in the tradition, and/or because *Truisealach* was associated with the verb *trus*, *truis* in the sense of 'to gather, collect' and perhaps in the sense of 'to go'.

71. The reference in 'Cuideachadh Mhaighstir Ùisdean' (Master Hugh's help), a satirical poem by John Norman MacDonald, minister of Harris between 1855–68, does not seem to be relevant: *Clach an Truiseil, b' àrd a dh'èigh i,* / *Bha guth trèun aca na lìnn-se* ('Clach an Truiseil, loudly it cried – they had strong voices in its day'; ≈MacDonald and MacDonald 1911, 143–47: 145), in which the heroes of old so-to-speak – *Clach an Truiseil* among them – were angry having heard Master Hugh's poetry. Note, also, *Rubha an Truisealaich* 'the promontory—' NR705967, in Jura (Charles M. Robertson: *Rudh an*

dha seo ann an sreath eile à 'Laoidh an Truisealaich': *Sgeula leat, a Thruiseal mhòir* (Campbell ibid., 202), nach nochd air adhbhar air choreigin mùthadh san tuiseal ghairmeach (.i. **a Thruiseil*).[70]

Mas e 's gu bheil am moladh eile seo ceart, tha sinn a' coimhead air eisimpleir de ghnìomhair air iasad às an Lochlannais (**trussa*) agus, às a sin, air fàs chruthan bunachail Gàidhlig a bha am prìomh chiall a' toirt a-steach nam brìghean 'gluasad, gluasad bhuaithe, gu slaodach agus air èiginn; coiseachd le ceum trom', ged a chaidh an fheadhainn seo agus brìghean sìnte an fhacail-iasaid Bheurla *trus* air feadh a chèile ri ùine.

B' e 'a' chlach a choisicheas air èiginn' a bu chiall fhaclaireach dhan chruth Ghàidhlig iar-Lochlannach *Clach an Truiseil*, a-rèist, air a brosnachadh is dòcha leis an dinnsheanchas mun chloich. Ann an 'Laoidh an Truisealaich', is ionann an t-ainmear *Truisealach* agus *Clach an Truiseil* aig ìre chiallachais, fhad 's a tha an t-ainmear gnìomhaireach *Truiseal* na ghiorrachadh air na dhà (Cox 1998a).[71]

70. Is coltach gur h-e eagran eile de (phàirt de) 'Laoidh an Truisealaich' a tha air cùl na sgeulachd a th' aig Kenneth MacLeod na nota (1908, 252–53), sam bi buidheann den Fhèinn a' teicheadh a tuath, gan ruagadh le draoidhean a tha ann an seirbheis an nàimhdean: Tha fear-giùlain uisge nan cois agus na craicinn-uisge thar a ghuailne. Thèid a h-uile rud gu math gus an ruig iad lèantaichean agus machraidhean ceann an iar-thuath Leòdhais. An sin, tha am fear-giùlain uisge air tuiteam air chùl agus e, leis gach ceum a ghabhas e, ann an cunnart a dhol fodha. Tha a mhaighstirean air gabhail romhpa chun nam beanntan an iar agus, ann an ciaradh an fheasgair, chì e cho ao-dòchasach 's a bhitheas e spàirn a dhèanamh a bhith a' cumail suas riutha. Mu dheireadh, thèid e fodha gu mheadhan, air a thoirt a-nuas le cuideam nan eallach a tha air a bhith air: *Is Truisealach mis' an dèidh nam Fiann,*/*A' triall leam fhèin an dèidh chàich;*/*m' aghaidh fo bhròn san àird an iar,*/*'S mi gum dhà sgiath an sàs.*

Nithear soilleir dhan neach-siubhail e gur h-i *Clach an Truiseal* [*sic*], na sheasamh gu h-àrd à machair rèidh ceann an iar-thuath Leòdhais, am fear-giùlain uisge bochd a chaidh gu slaodach, am beul na h-oidhche, na cholbh cloiche fo gheasaibh draoidhean na h-Èireann. Fon bhuaidh mhì-fhàbharaich cheudna, dh'fhiosraich buidheann nam Fiann, agus am feasgar air an ruigsinn mus do ràinig iad *Ceann Thùlabhig* [#116, deas air *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197], an aon dosgainn a thàinig air an fhear-giùlain fhèin, agus gu màirnealach chaidh iad nan cloich air leòidean *Challanis* #94. Ann an seo, chithear an tomad liath aca a' sìneadh suas bhos cionn an rèidhlein, tursachan ainmeil *Challanis*.

Èiridh a' cheist, ge-tà, carson a chaidh 'fear-giùlain uisge' a chleachdadh le MacLeod na thionndadh, a rèir choltais air *Truisealach*. Faodar gun deach a chleachdadh a chionn carachadh an fhir-giùlain uisge san dualchas, agus/no a chionn 's gun ceangailte *Truisealach* ris a' ghnìomhair *trus*, *truis* sa bhrìgh 'tionail, cruinnich' agus is dòcha sa bhrìgh 'triall'.

71. Cha choltach gu bheil dad ri chur ris an dealbh seo leis an iomradh a gheibhear ann an 'Cuideachadh Mhaighstir Ùisdean', dàn aoireil le Iain Tormod MacDhòmhnaill, ministear na Hearadh eadar 1855–68: *Clach an Truiseil, b' àrd a dh'èigh i,* / *Bha guth trèun aca na lìnn-se* (≈MacDonald is MacDonald 1911, 143–47: 145), far am bi na gaisgich bho shean mar gum b' eadh – *Clach an Truiseil* nam measg – feargach an dèidh a bhith a' cluinntinn bàrdachd Mhaighstir Ùisdean. Mothaich, cuideachd, *Rubha an Truisealaich* NR705967, ann an Diùra (Charles M. Robertson: *Rudh an Truisealaich* (ann an King 2019, 391); Gillies 1906, 137:

#32 *Am Baile Àrd* CLA (Eng. *High Borve*)
[əˌmb̥al ˈɑːd̥], (gen.) *A' Bhaile Àird* [əˌval ˈɑːd̥]; NB412566. 1843–82 *Bail' Ard*; 1934, 25 *Baile Ard*; 2007 *Am Baile Àrd*‖*High Borve*; road sign *Baile Ard Bhuirgh*‖*High Borve*.

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Chladaich – see *Borgh* #68 – with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) + the adjective ScG *àrd* 'high, tall' (EG *ard*, *árd*), here with the sense 'upper, higher up'.

#33 *Baile Geàrr* CLA (Eng. *Ballagarr*)
[ˌb̥alə ˈg̊ʲɑːr], (gen.) *Bhaile Geàrr* [ˌvalə ˈg̊ʲɑːr]; NB400558. 2007 *Baile Gearr*‖ *Ballagarr*.

The name of an area of the township *Borgh* #68, in Sgìre a' Chladaich; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) and a specific that is difficult to explain with certainty.

The adjective ScG *geàrr* may mean 'short', and the crofts here are shorter than elsewhere in the township. But the adjective *goirid* is commoner in the dialect and one would expect the article, i.e. **Am Baile Geàrr* 'the short *baile*'; in Ireland, cf. Ir. *An Baile Gearr* (Eng. *Ballygar*) in Longford, Leinster.[72]

The specific might be the noun ScG *geàrr* f. 'hare', but in general one would expect a construction with the article, i.e. **Baile na Gearra* (gen. sg. 'of the hare') or **Baile nan Geàrr* (gen. pl. 'of the hares') or at least *(*Am*) *Baile Gheàrr* (gen. pl. 'of hares'). However, although there are hares in Lewis, they usually occur in the mountains to the south.[73]

But *Geàrr* in this instance might be a nickname, with the lack of lenition indicating a woman's nickname; but, if so, local tradition no longer records who *Geàrr* was.

#34 *Baile Ghriais* NIS
[ˌb̥alə ˈɣʲiaʃ], (gen.) *Bhaile Ghriais* [ˌvalə ˈɣʲiaʃ]; NB494620. 1934, 69 =.

The name of an area in the township *Dail fo Thuath* (#166), in Nis, named when land there was made into crofts for people evicted from *Griais* in the 1830s (Lawson

Truisealaich (in King 2019, 391); Gillies 1906, 137: *Rudha an Truisealaich*, 219: 'gatherer'), and perhaps (≈1843–82) *Gill' an Truisealaidh* [*sic*] NF861728, North Uist.

72. <https://www.logainm.ie/en/33038>.

73. <https://www.gwct.org.uk/wildlife/research/mammals/mountain-hare/distribution-of-mountain-hare-populations-in-scotland-across-20-years/>.

#32 *Am Baile Àrd* CLA
[əˌmb̥al ˈɑːd̥], (gin.) *A' Bhaile Àird* [əˌval ˈɑːd̥]; NB412566. 1843–82 *Bail' Ard*; 1934, 25 *Baile Ard*; 2007 *Am Baile Àrd*‖*High Borve*; soighne rathaid *Baile Ard Bhuirgh*‖*High Borve*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich – faic *Borgh* #68 – leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) + a' bhuadhair GA *àrd* (GT *ard*, *árd*), an seo sa bhrìgh 'uarach, nas fhaide shuas'.

#33 *Baile Geàrr* CLA
[ˌb̥alə ˈg̊ʲɑːr], (gin.) *Bhaile Geàrr* [ˌvalə ˈg̊ʲɑːr]; NB400558. 2007 *Baile Gearr*‖*Ballagarr*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Borgh* #68, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) agus sònraichear a tha doirbh a mhìneachadh le cinnt.

Faodaidh am buadhair GA *geàrr* a bhith a' ciallachadh 'goirid', agus na croitean an seo nas giorra na sa chòrr den bhaile. Ach 's e am buadhair *goirid* fhèin as bitheanta san dualchainnt agus bhite a' sùileachadh an uilt, .i. **Am Baile Geàrr*; ann an Èirinn, coim. GE *An Baile Gearr* (Brl. *Ballygar*) anns an Longfort, Laighin.[72]

Dh'fhaodte gur h-e an sònraichear an t-ainmear GA *geàrr* b. 'maigheach', ach san fharsaingeachd bhite a' sùileachadh co-chur leis an alt, .i. **Baile na Gearra* (gin. sg.) no **Baile nan Geàrr* (gin. iol.) no, aig a' char a bu lugha, *(*Am*) *Baile Gheàrr* (gin. iol.). Gidheadh, ged a gheibhear gearran ann an Leòdhas, thèid an lorg mar as trice sna beanntan gu deas.[73]

Ach dh'fhaodadh *Geàrr* san t-seagh seo a bhith na fhar-ainm, agus an dìth sèimheachaidh a' sònrachadh far-ainm boireannaich; ach, mas e, chan eil lorg tuilleadh air cò bh' ann an *Geàrr* ann am beul-aithris an àite.

#34 *Baile Ghriais* NIS
[ˌb̥alə ˈɣʲiaʃ], (gin.) *Bhaile Ghriais* [ˌvalə ˈɣʲiaʃ]; NB494620. 1934, 69 =.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Dail fo Thuath* (#166), ann an Nis, a chaidh ainmeachadh nuair a chaidh fearann ann an sin a dhèanamh na croitean do dhaoine à chaidh fhuadach à *Griais* sna 1830an (Lawson 2008, 50); ainm

Rudha an Truisealaich, 219: 'neach-tionail, neach-cruinneachaidh'), is, 's dòcha, (≈1843–82) *Gill' an Truisealaidh* [*sic*] NF8617728, an Uibhist a Tuath.

72. <https://www.logainm.ie/en/33038>.

73. <https://www.gwct.org.uk/wildlife/research/mammals/mountain-hare/distribution-of-mountain-hare-populations-in-scotland-across-20-years/>.

2008, 50); a Gaelic name, with ScG *baile* m. 'village' (#26) and genitive of the township name *Griais* #220.[74]

#35 *Baile Glom* NIS
[ˌbalə ˈgl̪ɔ̃ũm], (gen.) *Bhaile Glom* [ˌvalə ˈgl̪ɔ̃ũm]; NB491623.[75]

The name of an area at the inner end of the *Dail fo Thuath* road (#166), in Nis, with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) + specific.

It seems probable that ScG **Glom* is an old place-name that denoted the deep gully through which *Abhainn Dhail* '*Dail* river' runs, and that it is a loan-name from ON **Glumm*, cf. Nn. *glumm* nt. 'deep, narrow, gloomy part of a valley', cf. Norn *glums* 'pit, hollow', although it has the appearance of an adjective. It is unlikely that ScG **Glom* is connected with ScG *glòm*, *glàm*[76] 'abyss, chasm'.[77] Cf. *Barra Glom* #48.

Apparently, ScG **Glom* has no connection with ScG *glomair* m. 'smith's vice' (?< OWNorn **glǫmbar*) found in the place-name ScG *An Glomair* NB183432, in *Borghaston* #69, a word whose variant ScG *glamair* Henderson (1910, 119) compares with ON *klǫmbr* f. (with the same meaning) and Norn *glamers* (cf. Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: 'the inner sides of the legs, the fork'); cf. (≈1843–82) *Allt Glamair na Muilne* NB174365, in *Beàrnaraigh* #51.

#36 *Baile na Cille* ÙIG
[ˌbalə nə ˈkʲʰiʎə],[78] (gen.) *Bhaile na Cille* [ˌvalə nə ˈkʲʰiʎə]; NB048339. 1718 *Ball·nakeill*; 1726 *Belnakiel*; 1750M, 1776 *Balnakile*; 1789 *Balnakyle K.*; 1790 *Balmakile*; 1801 *Balnakyle K.*; 1804 *Balnakile*; 1807 *Balnakyle*; 1821, 1822 *Balnakile*; 1843–82 =, cf. *Sgeir na Cille*, *Traigh na Cille*; 1846 *Balnakile*; 1846JW *Balnakyle*.

The name of the site of a ruined church, its graveyard,[79] a former farm and its

74. *ECC*, 206, gives *Baile Griais* (without lenition) but *Sràid Baile Ghriais* 'the street of—' (with lenition) (p. 207).

75. *ECC*, 206, gives *Baile Glòm*, which suggests *[ˌbalə ˈgl̪ɔ̃ːm].

76. Cf. ScG *Glàm* NG553431, in Raasay (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Glame*; Mackay 2013, 78; but Forbes 1923, 294, in the sense 'cry, noise, brattle of a burn'), and ?near Sconser (Forbes 1923, 200, in the sense 'chasm'); ScG *Glàmaig* NG523304, in Skye (Forbes ibid.); and ScG *Glàmais* NO385467, in Angus (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Glamis*).

77. MacBain 1911, s.v. *glàm* 'to devour': < Scots *glam*; but *DSL*, s.v. *glaum*, *glam* 'to devour' etc.: < ScG *glàm*.

78. (nMO) [ˌbalə nə ˈkʻiʟʼə].

79. The graveyard of *Baile na Cille* in Ùig, Lewis, was made famous by the story told of Coinneach Odhar am Fiosaiche [Kenneth, the Brahan Seer]. Coinneach's mother was herding cattle during the night on a slope above the graveyard, and in the early hours she noticed that all the graves were open and that the spirits were returning to their respective graves. She was so bold she ran down to the graveyard, but

Gàidhlig, le GA *baile* f. 'clachan' (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach ainm a' bhaile fearainn *Griais* #220.[74]

#35 *Baile Glom* NIS
[ˌbalə ˈgl̪ɔ̃ũm], (gin.) *Bhaile Glom* [ˌvalə ˈgl̪ɔ̃ũm]; NB491623.[75]

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh an ceann a-staigh rathad *Dhail fo Thuath* (#166), ann an Nis, le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) + sònraichear.

Is coltach gur math dh'fhaodte gur h-e seann ainm-àite a th' ann an GA **Glom* a bheanadh ris an t-sloc dhomhainn trom bi *Abhainn Dhail* a' ruith, agus gu bheil e na ainm-iasaid à SL **Glumm*, coim. Nn. *glumm* n. 'pàirt domhainn caol gruamach de sgor no cadha', coim. Nòrn *glums* 'sloc, lag'. Cha choltach gu bheil GA **Glom* ceangailte ri GA *glòm*, *glàm*[76] 'aibheis, mòr-bheàrn'.[77] Coim. *Barra Glom* #48.

A rèir choltais, chan eil ceangal aig GA **Glom* ri GA *glomair* f. 'teannchair gobhann' (?< SNòrnI **glǫmbar*) a gheibhear san ainm-àite GA *An Glomair* NB183432, am *Borghaston* #69, facal a chuireas Henderson (1910, 119) a eugsamhail GA *glamair* an coimeas ri SL *klǫmbr* b. (aig a bheil an aon chiall) agus Nòrn *glamers* (coim. Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: cliathaichean a-staigh nan casan, an gobhal; coim. (≈1843–82) *Allt Glamair na Muilne* NB174365, ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51.

#36 *Baile na Cille* ÙIG
[ˌbalə nə ˈkʲʰiʎə],[78] (gin.) *Bhaile na Cille* [ˌvalə nə ˈkʲʰiʎə]; NB048339. 1718 *Ball·nakeill*; 1726 *Belnakiel*; 1750M, 1776 *Balnakile*; 1789 *Balnakyle K.*; 1790 *Balmakile*; 1801 *Balnakyle K.*; 1804 *Balnakile*; 1807 *Balnakyle*; 1821, 1822 *Balnakile*; 1843–82 =, coim. *Sgeir na Cille*, *Traigh na Cilles*; 1846 *Balnakile*; 1846JW *Balnakyle*.

An t-ainm air làraich tobhta eaglaise, a cladh,[79] tuathanas a bh' ann agus a sgìre,

74. Bheir *ECC*, 206, *Baile Griais* (gun sèimheachadh) ach *Sràid Baile Ghriais* (le sèimheachadh) (d. 207).

75. Bheir *ECC*, 206, *Baile Glòm*, a chuireas *[ˌbalə ˈgl̪ɔ̃ːm] air shùilibh.

76. Coim. GA *Glàm* NG553431, ann an Ratharsaigh (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Glame*; Mackay 2013, 78; ach Forbes 1923, 294, sa bhrìgh 'èighe, faram, fuaim uillt'), agus ?faisg air Sgonnsar (Forbes 1923, 200, sa bhrìgh 'mòr-bheàrn'); GA *Glàmaig* NG523304, san Eilean Sgitheanach (Forbes ibid.); agus GA *Glàmais* NO385467, ann an Siorrachd Aonghais (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Glamis*).

77. MacBain 1911, s.v. *glàm* 'sluig, ith': < Alb. *glam*; ach *DSL* Alb. *glaum*, *glam* 'sluig, ith' ⅂c: < GA *glàm*.

78. (nMO) [ˌbalə nə ˈkʻiʟʼə].

79. 'Rinneadh Cladh Bhaile na Cille an Ùig, Leòdhas, iomraiteach leis an sgeulachd a tha air aithris mu Choinneach Odhar am Fiosaiche. Bha màthair Choinnich a' buachailleachd feadh oidhche air bruaich os cionn a' chlaidh, agus anns an dubh-thràth thug i an aire do na h-uaighean a bhith fosgailte, agus na spioradan a' pilleadh (tilleadh) do an uaighean fa leth. Bha i cho dàna 's gun do ruith i sìos don chladh ach, an uair a ràinig i na h-uaighean,

area, in Ùig, with ScG *baile* f. 'farm; village' (#26) and the genitive feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *cille* b. 'church', originally the genitive form of ScG **cill* (EG *cell* < Lat. *cella*). Martin (1703, 28) refers to the church here as 'St. *Chriſtophers* Chappel', which agrees with a document of 1450 (*CSSR* V no. 335, pp. 85–86 (in *SSPN*, s.v. *St Christopher's*)), although it is called *Teampall Chrìosd* 'the church of Christ' in local tradition (Macdonald 1967, 205; MacLeòid 2000, 39).

#37 ***Baile na h-Iolaire*** RBH (Eng. *Eagleton*)
[ˌb̥alə nə ˈhjuɻ̃əɾʲə], (gen.) *Bhaile na h-Iolaire* [ˌvalə nə ˈhjuɻ̃əɾʲə]; NB518308. 2007, road sign *Baile na h-Iolaire*‖*Eagleton.*

The name of an area on the south side of *Pabail Ìorach* (#261), in An Rubha; a Gaelic name with ScG *baile* m. 'village' (#26) and the genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + ScG *iolaire* f. 'eagle'.

It appears that the area was named after the hill *Cnoc na h-Iolaire* 'the hill of the eagle' NB516300, giving *Eagleton* in English, which was itself translated back into Gaelic as *Baile na h-Iolaire* 'the town (village) of the eagle' (Lawson 2011, 111).[80]

#38 ***Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*** TLS
[ˌb̥alə nə ˌŋkʰɾõʰkan ˈfɾuːç], (gen.) *Bhaile nan Cnocan Fraoich* [ˌvalə nə ˌŋkʰɾõʰkan ˈfɾuːç]; NB221136. 1843–82 =, *Doc nan Cnocan Fraoich*, *Cleit nan Cnocan Fraoich*.

The name of a deserted settlement, in Taobh Loch Shìophort; a Gaelic name with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) and genitive of the plural Gaelic article + the genitive plural of the noun ScG *cnocan* m. 'hillock', from ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) + the suffix *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59; Cox 2017, 123–24) + genitive singular of ScG *fraoch* m. 'heather' (EG *fráech*), used adjectivally.

It seems that the name of the settlement was based on the name of the mountain behind it: *Cleite nan Cnocan Fraoich* 'the mountain of the heather-covered hillocks' NB216139.

when she reached the graves, only one of them was still open. She dropped the distaff she had in her hand over the grave and waited to see what would happen. At length she saw a spirit making directly for the grave, but the distaff blocked the way. 'Let me in,' said the spirit. 'Not,' said the herdess, 'until you tell me what left you so far behind the others.' 'I,' said the spirit, 'am the daughter of the king of Norway. I was drowned and I was buried here and, as I had further to go home, I was late returning. And, now, because you were so fearless, here's a white stone, and you will bear a son and you will give him the stone, and with this stone he will see visions of things that will come to pass hereafter.' (MacCoinnich 1923).

80. Although it is suggested at <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides6.html>, in considering the name *Pabail* #261, that the English form *Eagleton* is based on ScG *eaglais* f. 'church' and *Baile na h-Iolaire* a translation from English.

ann an Ùig; le *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt bhoireann Ghàidhlig + an ainmeir GA *cille* b. 'eaglais', bho thùs an cruth ginideach aig GA **cill* (GT *cell* < Laid. *cella*). 'S e 'St. *Chriſtophers* Chappel' a th' aig MacGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 28) air an eaglais a tha seo, ag aontachadh ri sgrìobhainn à 1450 (*CSSR* V àir. 335, dd. 85–86 (*SSPN*, s.v. *St Christopher's*)), ged a chanar *Teampall Chrìosd* rithe ann am beul-aithris na sgìre (Macdonald 1967, 205; MacLeòid 2000, 39).

#37 ***Baile na h-Iolaire*** RBH
[ˌb̥alə nə ˈhjuɻ̃əɾʲə], (gin.) *Bhaile na h-Iolaire* [ˌvalə nə ˈhjuɻ̃əɾʲə]; NB518308. 2007, soighne rathaid *Baile na h-Iolaire*‖*Eagleton.*

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an ceann a deas *Phabail Ìoraich* (#261), anns An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig le GA *baile* f. 'clachan' (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + GA *iolaire* b. 'fìor-eun'.

Is coltach gun deach a' cheàrn ainmeachadh air a' chnoc *Cnoc na h-Iolaire* NB516300, a' toirt *Eagleton* sa Bheurla, a chaidh e fhèin a thionndadh air ais dhan Ghàidhlig na *Baile na h-Iolaire* (Lawson 2011, 111).[80]

#38 ***Baile nan Cnocan Fraoich*** TLS
[ˌb̥alə nə ˌŋkʰɾõʰkan ˈfɾuːç], (gin.) *Bhaile nan Cnocan Fraoich* [ˌvalə nə ˌŋkʰɾõʰkan ˈfɾuːç]; NB221136. 1843–82 =, *Doc nan Cnocan Fraoich*, *Cleit nan Cnocan Fraoich*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs, air Taobh Loch Shìophort; ainm Gàidhlig le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig iolra + tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir GA *cnocan* f., à GA *cnoc* f. (#133) + an iar-leasachan *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59; Cox 2017, 123–24) + an tuiseal ginideach singilte aig GA *fraoch* f. (GT *fráech*), air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair.

Is coltach gun deach ainm an tuineachaidh a bhonntachadh air ainm na cleite a th' air a chùlaibh: *Cleite nan Cnocan Fraoich* NB216139.

cha robh fosgailte dhiubh ach aon. Leag i an cuigeal a bha na làimh tarsainn air an uaigh, agus dh'fheith i gus am faiceadh i gu dè thachradh. Ma dheireadh chunnaic i spiorad a' dèanamh dìreach air an uaigh, ach dhruid an cuigeal an rathad. "Leig a-steach mi," ars an spiorad. "Cha leig," ars a' bhan-bhuachaille, "gus an innis thu dhomh gu dè a chùm thu cho fada air dheireadh air càch." "Is mi," ars an spiorad, "nighean rìgh Lochlann. Bhàthadh mi agus thiodhlaiceadh mi an seo agus, on bha agam ri dhol na b' fhaid às dhachaigh, bha mi air dheireadh a' tighinn air ais. Agus, a-nis, on bha thu cho neo-sgàthach, seo dhuit clach gheal, agus beiridh tu mac agus bheir thu dha a' chlach, agus leis a' chloich seo chì e seall-aidhean air nithibh (nithean) a thig gu teachd às dèidh seo." ' (≈MacCoinnich 1923).

80. Ged a thèid a chur air shùilibh aig <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides6.html>, ann a bhith a' beachdachadh air an ainm *Pabail* #261, gur h-ann stèidhichte air GA *eaglais* b. a tha an cruth Beurla *Eagleton* agus gu bheil *Baile na h-Iolaire* na eadar-theangachadh bhon Bheurla.

#39 *Baile Neacail* ÙIG
[ˌbˠalə ˈnɛʰkɔl], (gen.) *Bhaile Neacail* [ˌvalə ˈnɛʰkɔl]; NB047325. 1821, 1822 *Balnicol*; 1843–82 =, *Cleitean Bhaile Neacail*.

The name of an old township in Ùig, cleared in 1840 and now part of the township *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172 (Lawson 2008, 220–22), with ScG *baile* m. 'farm; village' (#26) + genitive of the man's name ScG *Neacal* m., < Lat. *Nicolas* (MacBain 1911, 409, s.v. *Mac-Nicol*).

#40 *Baile Phàil* CDL
[ˌbˠalə ˈfaːl], (gen.) *Bhaile Phàil* [ˌvalə ˈfaːl]; NB414169. 1843–82 *Baile Phail*.

The name of part of the township *Calbost* #93, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch. A Gaelic name, with ScG *baile* f. 'farm; village' (#26) and genitive of the man's name ScG *Pàl* f., < Lat. *Paulus* (MacBain 1911, 409–10), and which occurs in the surname ScG *MacPhàil* (> Eng. *MacPhail*); it is not clear whether it is the first name or the surname that is found in place-names such as *Àird 'ic Phàil* NB215345, in *Britheascleit* #79.[81]

#41 *Am Baile Ùr* CTL (Eng. *New Holdings*)
[əˌmˌbˠal ˈuːɾ], (gen.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈuːɾʲ]; NB353267; 2007 *Am Baile Ùr*‖*New Holdings*.

The name of the area nearest the main road of the township *Liùrbost* #239, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch (Lawson 2011, 141); a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *baile* m. in the sense 'village' (#26) + the adjective ScG *ùr* 'new' (EG *úr*).

#42 *Am Baile Ùr* CDL
[əˌmˌbˠal ˈuːɾ], (gen.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈuːɾʲ]; NB372157. 1843–82 *Gleann Odhairn*.

The name of an area of the township *Grabhair* #217, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, which was created in 1934 when the land was bought from the estate;[82] the area is now called *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211.[83] The same as #41.

81. (1843–82) *Aird Mhic Phail*; today, *MacPhàil* is written in order to indicate the surname, but *mac Phàil* where the sense '*Pàl*'s son, the son belonging to *Pàl*' is intended. For the name ScG *Àirigh Mhic Phàil* (or *Àirigh MhicPhàil*) 'the sheiling of—' near *Baile Phàil* on a c.1760 map, see The Angus MacLeod Archive (<http://www.angusmacleodarchive.org.uk/>): 'Place-names – The Inbye Area', also <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/stories-reports-and-traditions/16872>.

82. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/357>.

83. The map form *Gleann Odhairn* 'the valley of *Odhairn*' (cf. *Loch Odhairn* 'the loch of—') is the old name of *Gleann Ghrabhair*. ScG **Odhairn* (nMO) [ˈo-oɲ] may originate in EG **Aḃ-ḃern* '(the) river-gap' (< EG *aḃ* f. 'river' + *bern* f. 'gap, pass'), cf. EG *goḃa*(*e*) m. > ScG *gobha*

#39 *Baile Neacail* ÙIG
*[ˌbˠalə ˈnɛʰkɔl], (gin.) *Bhaile Neacail* *[ˌvalə ˈnɛʰkɔl]; NB047325. 1821, 1822 *Balnicol*; 1843–82 =, *Cleitean Bhaile Neacail*.

An t-ainm air sean bhaile fearainn ann an Ùig, a chaidh fhàsachadh ann an 1840 agus a tha a-nis na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172 (Lawson 2008, 220–22), le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) + tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Neacal* f., < Laid. *Nicolas* (MacBain 1911, 409, s.v. *Mac-Nicol*).

#40 *Baile Phàil* CDL
[ˌbˠalə ˈfaːl], (gin.) *Bhaile Phàil* [ˌvalə ˈfaːl]; NB414169. 1843–82 *Baile Phail*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Calbost* #93, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch. Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *baile* f. 'tuathanas; clachan' (#26) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Pàl* f., < Laid. *Paulus* (MacBain 1911, 409–10), agus a gheibhear san t-sloinneadh GA *MacPhàil*; chan eil e soilleir an e a' chiad ainm no an sloinneadh a lorgar ann an ainmean-àite a leithid *Àird 'ic Phàil* NB215345, ann am *Britheascleit* #79.[81]

#41 *Am Baile Ùr* CTL
[əˌmˌbˠal ˈuːɾ], (gin.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈuːɾʲ]; NB353267; 2007 *Am Baile Ùr*‖*New Holdings*.

An t-ainm air a' cheàrnaidh as fhaisge air an rathad mhòr den bhaile fearainn *Liùrbost* #239, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch (Lawson 2011, 141); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *baile* f. san t-seagh 'clachan' (#26) + a' bhuadhair GA *ùr* 'nuadh' (GT *úr*).

#42 *Am Baile Ùr* CDL
[əˌmˌbˠal ˈuːɾ], (gin.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈuːɾʲ]; NB372157. 1843–82 *Gleann Odhairn*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Grabhair* #217, an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, a chaidh a thogail ann an 1934 nuair a chaidh am fearann a cheannach bhon oighreachd;[82] 's e *Gleann Ghrabhair* #211 a th' air a' bhaile nis.[83] Co-ionann ri #41.

81. (1843–82) *Aird Mhic Phail*; an-diugh, sgrìobhar *MacPhàil* gus an sloinneadh a shònrachadh, ach *mac Phàil* gus 'am mac le *Pàl*' a chur an cèill. Airson an ainme GA *Àirigh Mhic Phail* (no *Àirigh MhicPhàil*) làimh ri *Baile Phàil* air mapa mu 1760, faic Tasglann Aonghais MhicLeòid (<http://www.angusmacleodarchive.org.uk/>): 'Place-names – The Inbye Area', cuideachd <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/stories-reports-and-traditions/16872>.

82. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/357>.

83. 'S e an cruth mapa *Gleann Odhairn* (coim. *Loch Odhairn*) an seann ainm a bh' air *Gleann Ghrabhair*. 'S dòcha gun tàrmaich GA **Odhairn* (nMO) [ˈo-oɲ] ann an GT **Aḃ-ḃern* '(an) abhainn-bheàrn' (< GT *aḃ* b. 'abhainn' + *bern* b. 'beàrn'), coim. GT *goḃa*(*e*) > GA *gobha* f.

#43 *Am Baile Ùr* NIS
[əˌmp̪al ˈu̯ːr], (gen.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈu̯ːr̪ʲ]; NB452587.

The name of a township that was built in the 1840s opposite *Gabhsann fo Thuath* (#188), in NIS, on the moor side of the main road, but which was cleared in 1863 (Eng. *New Galson*).[84] The same as #41.

#44 *Am Baile Ùr* BAC (Eng. *New Tolsta*)
[əˌmp̪al ˈu̯ːr], (gen.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈu̯ːr̪ʲ]; or *Baile Ùr Tholstaidh* [ˌp̪al ˈu̯ːr ˈhɔl̪̃ˌs̪t̪aj], (gen.) *Bhaile Ùr Tholstaidh* [ˌval ˈu̯ːr ˈhɔl̪̃ˌs̪t̪aj]; NB534485. 2007 *Baile Ùr* (*Tholastaidh*)‖*New Tolsta*; road sign *Am Baile Ur*‖*New Tolsta*.

The name of a township in SGÌRE A' BHAC, created in 1922 when the farm there was broken into crofts; called *New Tolsta* in English (Lawson 2011, 13); see *Tolstadh* #332. The same as #41.

#45 *Am Baile Ùr* RBH (Eng. *Newlands*)
[əˌmp̪al ˈu̯ːr], (gen.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈu̯ːr̪ʲ]; NB554368. 1845 *Port-na-guiran*; 1895–1896, 1941 *Portnaguiran New Lands*; 1955–1961 *Portnaguiran New-Lands*; 1964 *Portnaguran New Lands*; 2007 *Bail Ùr na Fleisirin*‖*Newlands*.

The name of a settlement built in 1871 in *Port nan Giùran* #274 (Lawson 2011, 127), in AN RUBHA, today part of *Na Fleisearan* #187. The same as #41.

#46 *Bàraiseadar* BAC
[ˈp̪aːrəˌʃaɖ̪ər],[85] (gen.) *Bhàraiseadair* [ˈvaːrəˌʃaɖ̪ərʲ]; NB449417. 1843–82 *Barashader*; *Airidhean Bharashader*; 1934, 13 *Bara-shiadair*.

The name of an area of moorland, where sheilings once stood.

Comparing the loan-name *Borraiseadar* #70, in CEANN A TUATH NAN LOCH, MacDhòmhnaill (1997, 7) suggests an origin from ON **Barrasætr* '(the) sheiling of the ram', with genitive of the noun ON *barri* m. 'ram', or ON **Vǫrðusætr* '(the) sheiling of the cairn', with genitive of the noun ON *varða* f. 'cairn' + ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296), but ON **Barrasætr* would yield ScG *[ˈp̪ɑrəˌʃaɖ̪ər] regularly, not [ˈp̪aːrəˌʃaɖ̪ər], and it would be more likely that ON **Vǫrðusætr* would give ScG *[ˈvɔ(ː)ɾəˌʃaɖ̪ər] and, with delenition via back-formation of

m. 'smith' (Lewis) [ˈg̊o-o], EG *gabʹáil* f. > ScG *gabhail* f. 'taking etc.' (Lewis) [ˈg̊o-al]; cf. ScG *Loch Shubhairne* ((CMR, ann an King 2019, 251) *Loch Sh̶u'irn, Loch Uthairn,* (HD) [lɔ̀ʜu:rn'] (Eng. *Loch Hourn*)) NG855066, with a specific from EG *subʹ* nt. (> f.) 'berry' + *bern* (Watson 1926, 123).

84. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/106216>.

85. (MM, 7) [ˈbaːriˌʃaɖ̪əɾ].

#43 *Am Baile Ùr* NIS
[əˌmp̪al ˈu̯ːr], (gin.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈu̯ːr̪ʲ]; NB452587.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn a chaidh a thogail sna 1840an mu choinneimh *Ghabhsann fo Thuath* (#188), ann an NIS, air taobh a-muigh an rathaid mhòir, ach a chaidh fhuadach ann an 1863 (Brl. *New Galson*).[84] Co-ionann ri #41.

#44 *Am Baile Ùr* BAC
[əˌmp̪al ˈu̯ːr], (gin.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈu̯ːr̪ʲ]; no *Baile Ùr Tholstaidh* [ˌp̪al ˈu̯ːr ˈhɔl̪̃ˌs̪t̪aj], (gin.) *Bhaile Ùr Tholstaidh* [ˌval ˈu̯ːr ˈhɔl̪̃ˌs̪t̪aj]; NB534485. 2007 *Baile Ùr* (*Tholastaidh*)‖*New Tolsta*; soighne rathaid *Am Baile Ur*‖*New Tolsta*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn, ann an SGÌRE A' BHAC, a chaidh a thogail ann an 1922 nuair a chaidh an tuathanas an sin a bhriseadh na chroitean; canar *New Tolsta* ris sa Bheurla (Lawson 2011, 13); faic *Tolstadh* #332. Co-ionann ri #41.

#45 *Am Baile Ùr* RBH
[əˌmp̪al ˈu̯ːr], (gin.) *A' Bhaile Ùir* [əˌval ˈu̯ːr̪ʲ]; NB554368. 1845 *Port-na-guiran*; 1895–1896, 1941 *Portnaguiran New Lands*; 1955–1961 *Portnaguiran New-Lands*; 1964 *Portnaguran New Lands*; 2007 *Bail Ùr na Fleisirin*‖*Newlands*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh a chaidh a thogail ann an 1871 ann am *Port nan Giùran* #274 (Lawson 2011, 127), anns AN RUBHA, an-diugh na chuibhreann de *Na Fleisearan* #187. Co-ionann ri #41.

#46 *Bàraiseadar* BAC
[ˈp̪aːrəˌʃaɖ̪ər],[85] (gin.) *Bhàraiseadair* [ˈvaːrəˌʃaɖ̪ərʲ]; NB449417. 1843–82 *Barashader*; *Airidhean Bharashader*; 1934, 13 *Bara-shiadair*.

An t-ainm air earrainn mòintich, far am biodh àirighean uair.

A' dèanamh coimeas ris an ainm-iasaid *Borraiseadar* #70, ann an CEANN A TUATH NAN LOCH, molaidh MacDhòmhnaill (1997, 7) bunachas aon chuid à SL **Barrasætr* 'àirigh an rùda', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *barri* f. 'rùd', no SL **Vǫrðusætr* 'àirigh a' chàirn', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *varða* b. 'càrn' + SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296), ach bheireadh SL **Barrasætr* GA *[ˈp̪ɑrəˌʃaɖ̪ər] gu riaghailteach, seach [ˈp̪aːrəˌʃaɖ̪ər], agus bhiodh e na bu choltaiche gun toireadh SL **Vǫrðusætr* GA *[ˈvɔ(ː)ɾəˌʃaɖ̪ər] agus, le dì-shèimheachadh le cùl-

(Leòdhas) [ˈg̊o-o], GT *gabʹáil* b. > GA *gabhail* f. (Leòdhas) [ˈg̊o-al]; coim. GA *Loch Shubhairne* ((CMR, ann an King 2019, 251) *Loch Sh̶u'irn, Loch Uthairn,* (HD) [lɔ̀ʜu:rn'] (Brl. *Loch Hourn*)) NG855066, le sònraichear à GT *subʹ* n. (> b.) 'dearc, subh' + *bern* (Watson 1926, 123).

84. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/106216>.

85. (MM, 7) [ˈbaːriˌʃaɖ̪əɾ].

the initial and alternation in the stressed vowel, ScG *[ˈp̪ɑ(ː)ɾəˌʃad̪əɾ], not ScG [ˈp̪aːɾəˌʃad̪əɾ].

The first element in ScG *Bàraiseadar* might be from ON **Vár-sætr* '(the) spring-sheiling or (the) sheiling of spring', with the stem form or genitive singular of the noun ON *vár* nt. 'spring', but this would regularly yield ScG *[ˈvɑːˈt̪ad̪əɾ].

Perhaps the name is from ON **Várasætr* '(the) sheiling of the promise', with genitive singular of the noun ON *várar* f. pl. 'promise of fidelity (as between two people)' (*NO*, s.v. *vár* f.) + ON *sætr* nt.; such a name might be based on the same sort of event suggested by the name ScG *Loch Àirigh na Suirghe* 'the loch of the sheiling of the wooing' NG677202, in Skye.

#47 *Barbhas* CLA (Eng. *Barvas*)
[ˈp̪aɾˌvas̪], (gen.) *Bharbhais* [ˈvaɾˌvaʃ]; NB3549. 1566 *Barwas*; 1600+ *Loch Berwais*; 1630 *Loghbervais*; 1654 *Paruas*, *Paruas illé*, *Bin Parvas*; 1703, 1714, 1718, 1750M, 1753–66, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1797, 1801, 1804, 1807, 1832 *Barvas*; 1843–82 *Barabhas or Barvas*; 1845 *Barvas*; 1846JW *Barvas K.*; 1869, 1895 *Barvas*; 1973 *Barabhas*; 1974 *Barvas*; 2016 *Barabhas‖Barvas*.

The name of two townships in Sgìre a' Chladaich, distinguished on the one hand by the adjective ScG *ìorach* < *ìochdrach* (EG *íchtarach*), in the sense 'further down, i.e. further north', and on the other hand by the adjective ScG *uarach* < *uachdrach* (EG *úachtarach*), in the sense 'further up, i.e. further south':

Barbhas Uarach
[ˌp̪aɾˌvas̪ ˈuəɾɔx], (gen.) *Bharbhais Uaraich* [ˌvaɾˌvaʃˈuəɾiç]; NB3650. 1726, 1797, 1821, 1822 *Upper Barvas*; 1843–82 *Barabhas Uarach*; 1846 *Upper Barvas*; 2007, road sign *Barabhas Uarach‖Upper Barvas*.

Barbhas Ìorach
[ˌp̪aɾˌvas̪ ˈiəɾɔx], (gen.) *Bharbhais Ìoraich* [ˌvaɾˌvaʃˈiəɾiç]; NB3549; 1718 *Nether·barvas*; 1726, 1821, 1822 *Nether Barvas*; 1843–82 *Barabhas Iòrach*; 2007 *Barabhas Iarach‖Lower Barvas*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376: '**Barvas** [baràvɑs], [bɑràvhɑs], [bɑràfɑs].[86] A rather difficult name. It is perhaps ON **Borgu-óss* "(the) mouth of the river **Borga*". **Borga* must be the present **River Barvas** (*Abhainn Bharbhais*). There are several rivers called *Borga* in Norway; the estuary of one of them, *Borga* near Røros, is called [børjoːsən], from ON **Borgu-óss*. The phonetic development is just conceiv-

86. (nMO) [bɑˈrɑfɑs] [bɑˈrɑɣhɑs]; [p̪aˈràvas], (gen.) [vaˈràvaʃ].

chinntinn an toisich agus iomlaid san fhuaimreig bheumte, GA *[ˈp̪a(ː)ɾə ˌʃad̪əɾ], seach GA [ˈp̪aːɾəˌʃad̪əɾ].

Dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL **Vár-sætr* '(an) earrach-àirigh no àirigh an earraich' a tha a' chiad eileamaid ann an GA *Bàraiseadar*, le bun-riochd no tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *vár* n. 'earrach', ach bheireadh sin GA *[ˈvɑːˌt̪ad̪əɾ] gu riaghailteach.

Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Várasætr* 'àirigh a' gheallaidh' a tha an t-ainm seo, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *várar* b. iol. 'gealladh dìlseachd (mar a nithear eadar dithis)' (*NO*, s.v. *vár* b.) + SL *sætr* n.; dh'fhaodadh a leithid de dh'ainm a bhith air a bhonntachadh air an aon seòrsa tachartais a chuirear air shùilibh leis an ainm GA *Loch Àirigh na Suirghe* NG677202, san Eilean Sgitheanach.

#47 *Barbhas* CLA
[ˈp̪aɾˌvas̪], (gin.) *Bharbhais* [ˈvaɾˌvaʃ]; NB3549. 1566 *Barwas*; 1600+ *Loch Berwais*; 1630 *Loghbervais*; 1654 *Paruas*, *Paruas illé*, *Bin Parvas*; 1703, 1714, 1718, 1750M, 1753–66, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1797, 1801, 1804, 1807, 1832 *Barvas*; 1843–82 *Barabhas or Barvas*; 1845 *Barvas*; 1846JW *Barvas K.*; 1869, 1895 *Barvas*; 1973 *Barabhas*; 1974 *Barvas*; 2016 *Barabhas‖Barvas*.

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich, air an sònrachadh air an dàrna làimh leis a' bhuadhair GA *ìorach* < *ìochdrach* (GT *íchtarach*), san t-seagh 'nas fhaide shìos, .i. nas fhaide a tuath', agus air an làimh eile leis a' bhuadhair GA *uarach* < *uachdrach* (GT *úachtarach*), san t-seagh 'nas fhaide shuas, .i. nas fhaide a deas':

Barbhas Uarach
[ˌp̪aɾˌvas̪ ˈuəɾɔx], (gin.) *Bharbhais Uaraich* [ˌvaɾˌvaʃˈuəɾiç]; NB3650. 1726, 1797, 1821, 1822 *Upper Barvas*; 1843–82 *Barabhas Uarach*; 1846 *Upper Barvas*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Barabhas Uarach‖Upper Barvas*.

Barbhas Ìorach
[ˌp̪aɾˌvas̪ ˈiəɾɔx], (gin.) *Bharbhais Ìoraich* [ˌvaɾˌvaʃˈiəɾiç]; NB3549; 1718 *Nether·barvas*; 1726, 1821, 1822 *Nether Barvas*; 1843–82 *Barabhas Iòrach*; 2007 *Barabhas Iarach‖Lower Barvas*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376: **Barvas** [baràvɑs], [bɑràvhɑs], [bɑràfɑs].[86] Ainm cuibheasach doirbh. Is dòcha gur h-e SL **Borgu-óss* 'beul na h-aibhne **Borga*' a th' ann. Feumaidh gur h-e **Borga* **River Barvas** (*Abhainn Bharbhais*) an latha an-diugh. Tha corra abhainn air a bheil *Borga* an Nirribhidh; 's e [børjoːsən], à SL **Borgu-óss*, a th' air a' bheul aig fear dhiubh, *Borga* faisg air Røros. Gabhaidh an leasachadh fuaim-eòlach creidsinn gu ìre bhig. Is tric a bhios [ɑ] aig Gàidh-

86. (nMO) [bɑˈrɑfɑs] [bɑˈrɑɣhɑs]; [p̪aˈràvas], (gin.) [vaˈràvaʃ].

able. Lewis Gaelic frequently has [ɑ] for older *o*, cf. ScG *orm* [ɑrùm] "on me", from OG *orm*; ScG *Tormod* [tɑrùməd] a man's name, other dialects [tɔrɔ̀mɔd],[87] with ON *Þormundr*.[88] ScG [v] for older fricative *g* is found in the ON word *dorg* f. "fishing-line" as pronounced in Skye and Ross-shire: *dorbh* [dɔrɔ̀v] (Borgstrøm 1941, 61, 140). In Lewis, however, ON *dorg* is always *dorgh* [dɔrɔ̀ɣ].'

Barbhas Ìorach was originally located near the shore, above *Cròig* (Lawson 2008, 87), the foreshore between the freshwater loch *Loch Mòr Bharbhais* 'the great loch of *Barbhas*' and the bay or sea loch *Goile Chròig*, and it is probable that the name *Barbhas* originally referred to this area.

It is not clear what the sense of ON *borg* f. is in the river name ON **Borga* suggested by Oftedal; the element *borg* could refer to a 'hill fort' or a 'hill where such a fort might be positioned', or simply 'hill, mountain' (*NSL*), but no suitable feature occurs here.

ON *óss* m. had the sense 'outlet' or 'the inlet of a sea loch' (Rygh 1898, 69),[89] and it is likely that the original Old Norse name here referred either to the outlet of *Loch Mòr Bharbhais* (which runs into *Abhainn Chròig* 'the river of *Cròig*'), or the outlet of *Abhainn Chròig* (which runs into the sea loch), or to the sea loch itself.

Regarding the specific of the Old Norse name, one might consider CSc. **hvarf* (ON *hvarf* nt.) 'bend', a derivative of the verb ON *hverfa* 'to turn, swing round'. ON *hvarf* is found in river names, e.g. *Bekkevar* in Norway, < ON **Bekkjar·hvarf* '(the) bend of the stream' (cf. *NG* I, 39, 134), although it is also used of 'promontories about which a boat would gybe' (Rygh 1898, 58) or in the sense 'corner, angle', and CSc. **Hvarf-ós* acc., with the stem form of the specific, or **Hvarfuós* acc., with genitive of a river name (a feminine noun based on *hvarf* §27 (i) (c)) as specific, might be appropriate, with CSc. **Hvarfuós* denoting the outlet of the river CSc. **Hvarfa* '(the) corner- or bend-river' (*Abhainn Chròig*).[90] As it is likely that ScG *Cròig* [kʰrɔːg̊ʲ][91] derives from ON **Króki*, with dative of ON *krókr* m. 'bend', and that that would have referred to the bend of the bay, perhaps CSc. **Hvarfa* denoted the river in the corner of the bay.

87. Frequently, [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃ɑmɔd̪]. Oftedal is comparing here the Gaelic of *Liùrbost* #239 with other Lewis Gaelic dialects.

88. Leg. ON *Þormund*, accusative of ON *Þormóðr* m.; *Þormundr* is not found during the Middle Ages (Lind 1915, 1200, s.v.).

89. The loan-word ScG *òs* m. is used in the sense 'the outlet of a river or loch' or, by extension, 'stream or sandbar' (Cox 2002a, 80).

90. CSc. **Hvarf-árós* acc., with genitive of (ON) *á* f. 'river', is unlikely.

91. (nMO) [kʻrɔːg̊ʼ].

lig Leòdhais airson *o* nas sine, coim. GA *orm* [ɑrùm], à SG *orm*; GA *Tormod* [tɑrùməd] an t-ainm fireannaich, dualchainntean eile [tɔrɔ̀mɔd],[87] le SL *Þormundr*.[88] Lorgar GA [v] an àite an t-suathaich as sine *g* san fhacal Lochlannais *dorg* b. 'loidhne iasgaich' mar a thèid fhuaimneachadh san Eilean Sgitheanach agus ann an Siorrachd Rois: *dorbh* [dɔrɔ̀v] (Borgstrøm 1941, 61, 140). Ann an Leòdhas, ge-tà, 's e *dorgh* [dɔrɔ̀ɣ] a bhios ann an SL *dorg* an-còmhnaidh.

'S ann a bha *Barbhas Ìorach* air a shuidheachadh bho thùs faisg air a' chladach, bhos cionn *Chròig* (Lawson 2008, 87), an fhaoilinn eadar an loch fìor-uisge *Loch Mòr Bharbhais* agus am bàgh no loch mara *Goile Chròig*, agus is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann ris an àrainn sin a bheanadh an t-ainm *Barbhas* bho thùs.

Chan eil e soilleir dè as brìgh do SL *borg* b. san ainm aibhne SL **Borga* a chuireas Oftedal air shùilibh; dh'fhaodadh an eileamaid *borg* beantainn ri 'daingneach cnuic' no 'cnoc air an cuirte a leithid', no dìreach 'cnoc, beinn' (*NSL*), ach cha choltach gun nochd feart iomchaidh an seo.

B' e 'bun no dol-a-mach uisge' air neo 'beul no dol-a-steach loch mara' a bu chiall do SL *óss* f. (Rygh 1898, 69),[89] agus is coltach gum beanadh an t-ainm Lochlannais tùsail an seo aon chuid ri bun *Loch Mòr Bharbhais* (a ruitheas a-steach do dh'*Abhainn Chròig*), no bun *Abhainn Chròig* (a ruitheas a-steach dhan loch mara), air neo ri beul an locha mara fhèin.

A thaobh sònraichear an ainme Lochlannais, dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air LB **hvarf* (SL *hvarf* n.) 'lùb', às a' ghnìomhair SL *hverfa* 'tionndaidh, thig mun cuairt'. Gheibhear SL *hvarf* ann an ainmean aibhne, m.e. *Bekkevar* ann an Nirribhidh, < SL **Bekkjarhvarf* (coim. *NG* I, 39, 134), ged a thèid a chleachdadh cuideachd mu 'rubhaichean mun cuairt air an cuireadh bàta timcheall' (Rygh 1898, 58) no san t-seagh 'oisean, uilinn', agus dh'fhaodadh ainm mar LB **Hvarf-ós* cusp., le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir, no **Hvarfuós* cusp., leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig ainm aibhne (ainmear boireann air a bhonntachadh air *hvarf* §27 (i) (c)) na shònraichear, a bhith freagarrach agus LB **Hvarfuós* a' beantainn ri beul na h-aibhne LB **Hvarfa* '(an) oisean- no lùb-abhainn' (*Abhainn Chròig*).[90] Seach gur coltach gun tàrmaich GA *Cròig* [kʰrɔːg̊ʲ] ann an SL **Króki*, leis an tuiseal thabhartach aig SL *krókr* f. 'lùb', is gum beanadh sin ri lùb a' bhàigh, is dòcha gum beanadh LB **Hvarfa* ris an abhainn ann an oisean a' bhàigh.

87. Gu tric, [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃ɑmɔd̪]. Nì Oftedal coimeas an seo eadar Gàidhlig *Liùrboist* #239 agus dualchainntean Gàidhlig Leòdhais eile.

88. Leugh SL *Þormund*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *Þormóðr* f.; cha lorgar *Þormundr* sna Meadhan-Aoisean (Lind 1915, 1200, s.v.).

89. Cleachdar am facal-iasaid GA *òs* f. san t-seagh 'dol-a-mach aibhne no locha' no, le sìneadh, 'allt no oitir' (Cox 2002a, 80).

90. Chan eil LB **Hvarf-árós* cusp., leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig (SL) *á* b. 'abhainn', coltach.

91. (nMO) [kʻrɔːg̊ʼ].

Initial CSc. *hv* [xw] normally yields ON *kv* [kʰw] > [kʰʊ] (via [ʍ]) before 1350 in the Old West Scandinavian area – [xw] is partially replaced by [h] and [kʰw] in Iceland – including the Faroes and most of Norway (Haugen 1976, 267; Seip 1955, 292–93), except in Shetland where both [hw] and [kw] are found, e.g. Norn *hwamm* ~ *kwamm* < ON *hvammr* m. 'valley' (#328) and Norn *hwarv* ~ *kwarv* in the sense 'swathe of hay' < ON *hvarf* nt. (Jakobsen 1928, s.vv.). Furthermore, *Am Parbh* or (Lewis dialect) *An Carbh*[92] occurs in Strathnaver NC259747 – both forms of loan-words from CSc. **hvarf*.[93] Several developments are discernible:

#47 (i) CSc. *hv* [xw] > EG [x] > ScG [x] > [kʰ], whereby [x] was delenited to [kʰ] through back-formation, or ON [kʰw] or [kʰʊ] > ScG [kʰ], hence *An Carbh*; cf. ScG *Ceartaigh* NB197335, < CSc. **Hjart-øy* 'deer-island', with the stem form of the noun (ON) *hjǫrtr* m. 'deer' and CSc. **øy* §16;

#47 (ii) CSc. *hv* [ʍ] > EG [ɸ] > ScG [f] > [pʰ], whereby [f] was delenited to [pʰ] through back-formation, hence *Am Parbh* (1654 [= Pont c.1583–c.1614] *Faro Head*, c.1630 *Parro Head*); cf. ScG *Plada* NM839372, east of Lismore, < CSc. **Flat-øy* '(the) flat-island', with the stem form of the adjective (ON) *flatr* 'flat' and CSc. *øy* f. 'island';

#47 (iii) CSc. *hv* [ʍ] > EG [β] > ScG [v] > [ʊ̯], whereby [v] was delenited to [ʊ̯] through back-formation, or [w] (south-east Norway) > EG [β] etc., hence *Barbhas*; cf. ScG *bàgh* m. 'bay' < ON *vág* acc. m. (#24) (Oftedal 1962b, 132–33; Cox 1992, 141).

Medial ON *rf* [rv] yields ScG *rbh* regularly, e.g. ScG *sgarbh* m. ['sˌkaɾ͡av] 'cormorant' < ON *skarf*, accusative of ON *skarfr* m., and ScG *carbh* f. ['kʰaɾ͡av] 'a type of boat' < ON *karfa*, accusative of ON *karfi* m. (Cox 2008b, 173).

Barabhas as opposed to *Barbhas* is sometimes written in Gaelic in error: *Barabhas* represents the pronunciation *['ʊ̯aɾəˌvaˌs] as opposed to ['ʊ̯aɾ͡aˌvaˌs], cf. the pronunciation of the women's names ScG *Barabal* ['ʊ̯aɾəʊ̯əˌl] but ScG *Barbara* ['ʊ̯aɾ͡aʊ̯ᵊ⁾ɾə].

#48 ***Barra Glom*** BRN (Eng. *Barraglom*)
[ˌʊ̯ɑɾə 'gˌlɔ̃ũm], (gen.) *Bharra Glom* [ˌvɑɾə 'gˌlɔ̃ũm]; NB167344. 1718 [?] *Boriw*; 1750M, 1776 *Burglome*; 1789 *Loch Burlome* [*sic*]; 1804 *Barglome*; 1807 *L. Burglom*;

92. MacIver (1934, 23) mentions ScG *An Karf* (i.e. *An Carbh*) denoting an area of about two hectares (five acres) at the shore (*ECC* gives NB38945540), the earliest site of the settlement in *Siadar* #296, in Nɪs; he accepts that this is the same name as the one in Strathnaver.

93. *Am Parbh* is called *Hvarf* in Hákonar saga Gamla Hákonarsonar in Flateyjarbók (Chap. 282, cited in Oftedal 1962b, 133).

Thèid LB *hv* [xw] thoisich na SL *kv* [kʰw] > [kʰʊ] (tro [ʍ]) ro 1350 mar bu trice ann an ceàrnaidh na Seann Lochlannais an Iar – thèid [xw] na [h] agus [kʰw] ann an Innis Tìle gu ìre – a' gabhail a-steach nam Fàrothan is na cuid as motha de Nirribhidh (Haugen 1976, 267; Seip 1955, 292–93), ach ann an Sealtainn far am faighear an dà chuid [hw] agus [kw], m.e. Nòrn *hwamm* ~ *kwamm* < SL *hvammr* f. 'gleann' (#328) agus Nòrn *hwarv* ~ *kwarv* san t-seagh 'ràth tràthaich, sreath feòir gheàrrte)' < SL *hvarf* n. (Jakobsen 1928, s.vv.). A thuilleadh, ann an Srath Nabhair NC259747 gheibhear *Am Parbh* no (dualchainnt Leòdhais) *An Carbh*[92] – an dà chruth nam facail-iasaid à LB **hvarf*.[93] Chithear corra leasachadh an seo:

#47 (i) LB *hv* [xw] > GT [x] > GA [x] > [kʰ], leis an deach [x] a dhì-shèimheachadh na [kʰ] le cùl-chinntinn, no SL [kʰw] no [kʰʊ] > GA [kʰ], às a sin *An Carbh*; coim. GA *Ceartaigh* NB197335, < LB **Hjart-øy* 'fiadh-eilean', le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *hjǫrtr* f. 'fiadh' agus LB **øy* §16;

#47 (ii) LB *hv* [ʍ] > GT [ɸ] > GA [f] > [pʰ], leis an deach [f] a dhì-shèimheachadh na [pʰ] le cùl-chinntinn, às a sin *Am Parbh* (1654 [= Pont c.1583–c.1614] *Faro Head*, c.1630 *Parro Head*); coim. GA *Plada* NM839372, an ear air Lios Mòr, < LB **Flat-øy* '(an) rèidh-eilean', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair (SL) *flatr* 'rèidh' agus LB *øy* b. 'eilean';

#47 (iii) LB *hv* [ʍ] > GT [β] > GA [v] > [ʊ̯], leis an deach [v] a dhì-shèimheachadh na [ʊ̯] le cùl-chinntinn, no [w] (ceann an ear-dheas Nirribhidh) > GT [β] ɔc , às a sin *Barbhas*; coim. GA *bàgh* f. < SL *vág* cusp. f. (#24) (Oftedal 1962b, 132–33; Cox 1992, 141).

Bheir SL *rf* [rv] mheadhain GA *rbh* gu riaghailteach, m.e. GA *sgarbh* f. ['sˌkaɾ͡av] < SL *skarf*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *skarfr* f., agus GA *carbh* b. ['kʰaɾ͡av] 'seòrsa bàta' < SL *karfa*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *karfi* f. (Cox 2008b, 173).

Chithear *Barabhas* seach *Barbhas* air a sgrìobhadh air uairean sa Ghàidhlig air mhearachd: riochdaichidh *Barabhas* am fuaimneachadh *['ʊ̯aɾəˌvaˌs] seach ['ʊ̯aɾ͡aˌvaˌs], coim. fuaimneachadh nan ainmean boireannaich GA *Barabal* ['ʊ̯aɾəʊ̯əˌl] ach GA *Barbara* ['ʊ̯aɾ͡aʊ̯ᵊ⁾ɾə].

#48 ***Barra Glom*** BRN
[ˌʊ̯ɑɾə 'gˌlɔ̃ũm], (gin.) *Bharra Glom* [ˌvɑɾə 'gˌlɔ̃ũm]; NB167344. 1718 [?] *Boriw*; 1750M, 1776 *Burglome*; 1789 *Loch Burlome* [*sic*]; 1804 *Barglome*; 1807 *L. Burglom*;

92. Nì MacIver (1934, 23) iomradh air GA *An Karf* (.i. *An Carbh*) a bheanas ri ceàrnaidh mu dhà heactair air mheud (còig acairean) ris a' chladach (bheir *ECC* NB38945540), làrach an tuineachaidh a bu tràithe ann an *Siadar* #296, ann an Nɪs; gabhaidh e ris gur h-e seo an t-aon ainm ris an fhear ann an Srath Nabhair.

93. Canar *Hvarf* ris *A' Pharbh* ann an Hákonar saga Gamla Hákonarsonar ann am Flateyjarbók (Caib. 282, air a thogail ann an Oftedal 1962b, 133).

1821, 1822 *Baligloum*; 1843–82 *Barraglom*; 2007 *Barraglom*‖*Barraglom*; road sign *Barraglom*.

> Oftedal 1954, 382: '**Barraglom** is quite obscure, and I do not venture any interpretation for the time being.'

The name of an area in *Beàrnaraigh* #51 that was once a township but now a part of *Tàcleit* #317 (Lawson 2011, 147); a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

In 1963, Oftedal recorded (nMO) [ˌbaʁə ˈkʻɻõũm] from an informant from *Mangarstadh* #245 in Ùig, but the distance between that village and *Barra Glom* – c.16 km (c.10 miles) across the moor – and the local pronunciation add an element of doubt to what was recorded.

There is a ruined fort situated in *Barra Glom* and the first part of the loan-name is probably from ON *borg* f. 'fort', in weakly stressed position, e.g. ScG *Rocabarra* [ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɑʁə].[94] For ON *rg*, see §85 (viii) (a) (α).

94. ScG *Rocabarra* (Eng. *Rockall*) is a small, rocky, uninhabited island situated about 480 km (300 miles) west of the Scottish mainland; an extinct volcano, it is 17.15 m (about 56 ft) high and a little over 25 m (about 82 ft) wide.

With primary stress on the first syllable and weak stress on the third, *Roca·barra* may derive from ON **Rokk-borg* '(the) spindrift or sea-spray rock'. Both the weak noun ON *roka* f. 'gust of wind' and the strong noun Ice. *rok* nt. 'the splashing, foaming sea' (Cleasby, s.v.) occur, but evidence for our form may be found in the modern variants Norw. *rok* and *rokk* 'sea-spray, spindrift; drifting (or whirling) rain or snow' (Haugen 1984, s.v.). Nominally, the element *borg* applies to fortified hills or hills suitable for such a purpose, but in Norway it is also found used more generally of a 'hill or rock', i.e. in a sense similar to that of ON *berg* (Rygh 1898, 44–45; Cox 1998d), and there are examples of its more specific use in the sense of a 'hill-shaped island', for example *Steffaborga*, in Bremnes, Norway (Hallaråker 1976, 31).

ON **Rokk-borg* would theoretically yield EG *[ˈʁɔkˌbɔɤ̞ɣ] in the first instance, which would yield *[ˈʁɔkˌb̥ɔɤ̞ɔ̃ɣ], after the development of svarabhakti (c.1200), which, with a medial stressless epenthetic vowel, would reduce to ScG *[ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɔʁə]. If the modern form [ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɑʁə] is not an example of *a* ~ *o* alternation §43 (ii), it may be the result of folkloric influence, for a more southerly Hebridean form, ScG *Roca·barraigh* *[ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɑʁaj], occurs with a pronunciation seemingly modelled on the island name ScG *Barraigh* (Eng. *Barra*) (#314), due east of *Rocabarra* (Cox 2002c, 429–31). (According to tradition, *Rocabarra* has 'appeared' twice, and when it appears for the third time the end of the world will have come: *nuair a thig Rocabarra ris, is dual gun tèid an saoghal a sgrios* 'when Rocabarra appears, the destruction of the world will be due' (≈Murchison 1988, 1, 20).)

The English name of this island rock, *Rockall*, may be a parallel to *Rocabarra*, perhaps from ON **Rokk-hóll* '(the) spindrift-hill', with ON *hóll* m. 'hill' (#237), although Coates (1990, 49–54) suggests a derivation from ON **rok* + *kollr* m. 'bald head, shaven pate' (rejecting a Spanish derivation, *la roca olla* 'the whirlpool or eddy rock' or *la roca ola* 'the surge rock', on phonetic grounds). Cf. the submerged rock ScG *Rocastainn*, off Nis (Fraser 1978, 13: *Rocasdain*, who treats the first part of the name as though it meant

1821, 1822 *Baligloum*; 1843–82 *Barraglom*; 2007 *Barraglom*‖*Barraglom*; soighne rathaid *Barraglom*.

> Oftedal 1954, 382: Tha **Barraglom** gu tur doilleir, agus cha mheantraig mi mìneachadh sam bith aig an àm seo.

An t-ainm air àite ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51 a bha uair na bhaile fearainn ach a tha a-nise na chuibhreann de *Thàcleit* #317 (Lawson 2011, 147); ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais.

Ann an 1963, chlàraich Oftedal (nMO) [ˌbaʁə ˈkʻɻõũm] bho neach-fiosrachaidh à *Mangarstadh* #245 ann an Ùig, ach cuiridh an t-astar eadar am baile sin agus *Barra Glom* – c.16 clm (c.10 mìle) thar na mòintich – agus am fuaimneachadh ionadail tomhas de theagamh sna fhuair e.

Tha tobhta daingnich ann am *Barra Glom* agus 's iongantach mana h-ann ann an SL *borg* b. 'dùn' a thàrmaicheas ciad phàirt an ainm-iasaid, ann an lide lag-bheumte, m.e. GA *Rocabarra* [ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɑʁə].[94] Airson SL *rg*, faic §85 (viii) (a) (α).

94. Tha *Rocabarra* na eilean beag creagach gun a thuineachadh na laighe mu 480 clm (300 mìle) an iar air tìr-mòr na h-Albann; na bheinn-theine mhairbh, tha e 17.15 m (mu 56 tr.) air àirde agus beagan a bharrachd air 25 m (mu 82 tr.) air leud.

Le prìomh bheum air a' chiad is le beum lag air an treas lide, is math dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich GA *Rocabarra* ann an SL **Rokk-borg* '(a') chathadh-mara-chreag'. Gheibhear an t-ainmear lag SL *roka* b. 'sgal gaoithe' cho math ris an ainmear làidir Tìl. *rok* n. 'the splashing, foaming sea' (Cleasby, s.v.), ach is dòcha gu bheil an fhianais airson a' chrutha againne ri lorg sna nuadh-eugsamhailean Nirr. *rok* and *rokk* 'cathadh-mara; cathadh uisge no sneachda' (Haugen 1984, s.v.). Gu foirmeil, cleachdar an eileamaid SL *borg* b. mu chnuic a tha air an daingneachadh no mu chnuic de leithid, ach ann an Nirribhidh tha i ri cleachdadh nas fharsainge mu 'chnoc no carragh', .i. air an dòigh cheudna ri SL *berg* (Rygh 1898, 44–45; Cox 1998d), agus tha eisimpleirean ann de chleachdadh nas teinne san t-seagh 'eilean air a bheil coltas cnuic', m.e. *Steffaborga*, ann am Bremnes, Nirribhidh (Hallaråker 1976, 31).

Ann am prionnsabal, bheireadh SL **Rokk-borg* GT *[ˈʁɔkˌbɔɤ̞ɣ] sa chiad àite, a bheireadh *[ˈʁɔkˌb̥ɔɤ̞ɔ̃ɣ], an dèidh do chòmhnadh a thighinn gu bith (c.1200), a lùghdaicheadh, le fuaimreig còmhnaidh neo-bheumte, gu GA *[ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɔʁə]. Mana h-eil an nua-chruth GA [ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɑʁə] na eisimpleir de dh'iomlaid *a* ~ *o* §43 (ii), is dòcha gu bheil e mar thoradh air buaidh bheul-aithrisich oir, nas fhaide deas sna h-Eileanan Siar, gheibhear an cruth GA *Rocabarraigh* *[ˈʁɔʰkəˌb̥ɑʁaj], agus a fhuaimneachadh air a stèidheachadh a rèir choltais air ainm an eilein GA *Barraigh* (#314), an ear air *Rocabarra* (Cox 2002c, 429–31). (A rèir beul-aithrise, tha *Rocabarra* air 'nochdadh' dà uair, agus nuair a nochdas e an treas uair, bidh deireadh an t-saoghail air tighinn: *nuair a thig Rocabarra ris, is dual gun tèid an saoghal a sgrios* (≈Murchison 1988, 1, 20).)

Faodaidh ainm Beurla na creige seo, *Rockall*, a bhith na sheise do *Rocabarra*, is dòcha à SL **Rokk-hóll* '(an) cathadh-mara-chnoc', le SL *hóll* f. 'tom, cnoc' (#237), ged a mholas Coates (1990, 49–54) bunachas à SL **rok* + SL *kollr* m. 'maol, ceann maol' (a' cur an dàrna taobh bunachas às an Spàintis, *la roca olla* 'a' chuairt-shruth-chreag' no *la roca ola* 'an t-suala-chreag', air adhbharan fuaim-eòlach). Coim. a' chreag bhàthte GA *Rocastainn*, bhàrr Nis (Fraser 1978, 13: *Rocasdain*, a dhèiligeas ri ciad phàirt an ainme mar gur h-e 'bodha, clach bhàthte' a bu chiall dha); is math dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich GA *[ˈʁɔʰkəˌstaɲ]

It seems that the last element of the name is from ON **glumm* f. 'deep, narrow, gloomy part of a ravine or gully', cf. ScG *Baile Glom* #35, in Nis.

Regarding the form of the Norse name, it is likely to be from ON **Borgin á Glumm* or similar, a phrase equivalent to *dùn ma sgor*[95] in Gaelic, i.e. '(the) fort by (the) ravine', with ON *borg* + the feminine suffixed article + the preposition ON *á* + the dative case of the noun ON **glumm* f., a name form supported by the Gaelic pronunciation, i.e. with primary stress on the specific in final position.

At the south-eastern end of *Beàrnaraigh* #51, opposite the island *Cèabhaigh*,[96] there are skerries called ScG *Sgeirean Bharra Glom* (1843–82 *Sgeirean Bharaglom* NB192354). It may be that this name originally meant 'the skerries associated with the village *Barra Glom*', as the result of an accident for example.

#49 ***Beagnaigearraidh*** CLA

['bʲeɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi], (gen.) *Bheagnaigearraidh* ['veɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi]; NB386546. 1821, 1822 *Bignagarry*; 1843–82 *Beagna Gearraidh*; 1934, 23 *Beagna-gearrai*.

The name of an old farm that was incorporated into the township *Siadar Ìorach* (#296), in Sgìre a' Chladaich, during the 1840s (Lawson 2008, 72: *Begnigearraidh*).

ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) was evidently understood to be behind this name, hence the documentary forms, and [ˌɣʲɑɾi] is a Gaelic reflex of final ON *gerði* nt., as generic; cf. *Crothairgearraidh* #158.

MacIver (1934, 23) suggests ON *bygð* b. 'abode, dwelling' for the first element, but it is unlikely that the fricatives ON *gð* [ɣð] would yield the plosive ScG *g* [ɣ].

Perhaps the name is from CSc. **Bygg-ang-gerði* '(the) barley-meadow-

'submerged rock'); ScG *['ɾɔʰkə ʂt̪aŋ] might derive from CSc. **Rokk-stainn* '(the) spindrift-rock', with CSc. **stainn* 'stone, rock', later ON *steinn* m. with raising of the diphthong *ai* (Oftedal 1964; Cox 2007d, 140–41).

95. Cf. ScG *Cnocan ma Lèig* NB2135 '(the) hillock by (the) stream', in *Britheascleit* #79, and *Clach ma Ràin* NB1743 '(the) stone by (the) cairn', in *Borghaston* #69 – with an archaic syntax, using the preposition *ma*^{L} (a variant of *mu*^{L} 'by, beside, nearby') to introduce the specific (Cox 2002a, 28).

96. ScG *Cèabhaigh* ['kʲʰeːˌvaj] NB198350 (occasionally *Cèabhagh* ['kʲʰeːˌvaɣ]) (but contrast (nMO) [kˣˣɛːvɑɣ], (gen.) [xɛːvɑj]) is perhaps from CSc. **Keif-øy* '(the) cross-set-island', with the stem form of the adjective (ON) **keifr*, cf. Nn. *keiv* 'athwart, bent, wrong' (which might be behind the names *Køyvingen* (*NSL*) and *Keianes* (*NG* XVII, 123), in Norway), and CSc. **øy* f. 'island' §16.

Is coltach gur h-ann ann an SL **glumm* b. 'pàirt domhainn caol gruamach de sgor no cadha' a thàrmaicheas eileamaid dheiridh an ainme, coim. GA *Baile Glom* #35, ann an Nis.

A thaobh cruth an ainme Lochlannais, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e SL **Borgin á Glumm* no a leithid a bh' ann, abairt a b' ionann ri 'dùn ma sgor'[95] sa Ghàidhlig, .i. '(an) dùn ri taobh an sgoir', le SL *borg* + an alt iar-leasaichte bhoireann + an roimhear SL *á* + tuiseal tabhartach an ainmeir SL **glumm* b., le cruth ainme air a thaiceachadh le pàtran beuma an fhuaimneachaidh sa Ghàidhlig, .i. le prìomh bheum air an t-sònraichear aig deireadh an ainme.

Aig ceann an ear-dheas *Bheàrnaraigh* #51, mu choinneimh an eilein *Cèabhaigh*,[96] tha sgeirean air a bheil GA *Sgeirean Bharra Glom* (1843–82 *Sgeirean Bharaglom* NB192354) mar ainm. Is dòcha gur h-e 'na sgeirean aig a bheil ceangal ris a' bhaile *Barra Glom*' a bu bhrìgh dhan ainm seo aig bun, mar thoradh air tubaist mar eisimpleir.

#49 ***Beagnaigearraidh*** CLA

['bʲeɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi], (gin.) *Bheagnaigearraidh* ['veɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi]; NB386546. 1821, 1822 *Bignagarry*; 1843–82 *Beagna Gearraidh*; 1934, 23 *Beagna-gearrai*.

An t-ainm air seann tuathanas a chaidh na chuibhreann den bhaile fearann *Siadar Ìorach* (#296), ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich, sna 1840an (Lawson 2008, 72: *Begnigearraidh*).

A rèir choltais, thuigte gur h-e GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) a bha air cùl an ainme seo, às a sin na cruthan sgrìobhainne, agus tha [ˌɣʲɑɾi] na riochd Gàidhlig air SL *gerði* deiridh, na sheòrsaichear; coim. *Crothairgearraidh* #158.

Cuiridh MacIver (1934, 23) SL *bygð* b. 'àras (àros), fàrdach' air shùilibh airson na ciad eileamaide, ach cha choltach gun toireadh na suathaich SL *gð* [ɣð] an stadach GA *g* [ɣ].

Is dòcha gur h-ann à LB **Bygg-ang-gerði* '(an t-)eòrna-lèana-leas' a tha an

à LB **Rokk-stainn* '(a') chathadh-mhara-chreag', le LB **stainn* 'clach, creag', na b' anmoiche SL *steinn* f. le àrdachadh an dà-fhoghair *ai* (Oftedal 1964; Cox 2007d, 140–41).

95. Coim. GA *Cnocan ma Lèig* NB2135 '(an) cnocan ri taobh (an) uilt', ann am *Britheascleit* #79, agus *Clach ma Ràin* NB1743 '(a') chlach ri taobh (a') chàirn', ann am *Borghaston* #69 – le co-rèir àrsaidh, a' cleachdadh an roimheir *ma*^{S} (eugsamhail aig *mu*^{S} 'ri taobh, faisg air') gus an sònraichear a thoirt a-steach (Cox 2002a, 28).

96. GA *Cèabhaigh* ['kʲʰeːˌvaj] NB198350 (air uairean *Cèabhagh* ['kʲʰeːˌvaɣ]) (ach iomsgaraich (nMO) [kˣˣɛːvɑɣ], (gin.) [xɛːvɑj]), 's dòcha à LB **Keif-øy* '(an t-)eilean tarsainn', le bunriochd a' bhuadhair (SL) **keifr*, coim. Nn. *keiv* 'fiar, cam, ceàrr' (a dh'fhaodas a bhith air cùl nan ainmean *Køyvingen* (*NSL*) agus *Keianes* (*NG* XVII, 123), ann an Nirribhidh), agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean' §16.

enclosure' or **Bygg-angjargerði* '(the) enclosure of the barley-meadow', with the stem form of the noun (ON) *bygg* nt. 'barley' + the stem form or genitive of an early form of the noun (ON) *eng* f. 'meadow' and (ON) *gerði* nt. Common Germanic **angjō* gave ON *eng* f./nt., *engi* nt. (Norw. *eng*; Ice. *engi*),[97] but the Norse name may have been borrowed into Gaelic before CSc. *a* had become *e* in this word (through fronting). CSc. **Bygg-ang-gerði* or **Bygg-angjargerði* might yield ScG ['bʲeɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi], with syncope (§44 (ii)) and under the influence of the Gaelic adjective *beag* and the Gaelic genitive feminine article *na*; despite **Beag na Geàrraidh* making no real sense in Gaelic, folk etymology of that sort may have been circulating.

However, the name ON **Bygg-ang-gerði* seems semantically unlikely, and it would be worth considering a name such as ON **Bygging-gerði* or **Bygning-gerði*, with the stem form of the noun ON *bygging* f. 'renting out land; to build something, e.g. a house or boat' (from ON *byggja* vb, earlier *byggva*, + the suffix *-ing* f.), whose meaning was extended to a 'large building; public building' in Norwegian, cf. Norw. *låvebygning* 'barn', *uthusbygning* 'building, outbuilding, outhouse (barn, stable etc.)', and, in Norway, cf. the place-name *Bygningen* (*NG* III, 176, 180, VI, 21–22), denoting a large building for workers or labourers.[98] Cleasby notes that Ice. *bygging* occurs in the sense 'buildings or houses' in the Bible (Matthew 24:1) but that it 'scarcely occurs in old writers in that sense', but cf. Norn. *biggin* 'cluster of houses' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.).

The form ON *bygning* f. is a by-form of ON *bygging*, but using the suffix *-ning* f. that arose under the influence of verbs in *-na* (Iversen 1973, 162), and ON **Bygging-gerði* or **Bygning-gerði* in the sense 'the enclosure beside the farm barn (or similar)' might give ScG ['bʲeɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi], especially with the morphemic substitution suggested above.

#50 ***Beanasbac*** ÙIG

['bʲẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k], (gen.) *Bheanasbac* ['vẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k]; NB022202. 1843–82 *Beinnusbac*, *Aird Bheinnusbac*, *Mol/—*, *Allt Bhenusbac*, *Cleite Bhenusbac*; 1860 *Benusbac*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the north side of *Loch Thamnabhaigh* (#319), in Ùig.

The 1843–82 forms *Allt Bhenusbac*, *Cleite Bhenusbac* probably mirror the pronunciation obtained; the spelling of (1843–82) *Beinnusbac* and *Aird/Mol Bheinnusbac* may be a corruption after the mountain name (1843–82)

97. But *ong* in Faroese, although the development *e* > *å* did not occur until the 17th century (Hamre 1944, 27–28).

98. Tom Schmidt (personal communication).

t-ainm seo no **Bygg-angjargerði* 'leas na h-eòrna-lèana', le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *bygg* n. 'eòrna' + bun-riochd no tuiseal ginideach cruth tràth an ainmeir (SL) *eng* b. 'lèana' agus (SL) *gerði* n. Chaidh a' Ghearmanais Bhitheanta **angjō* na SL *eng* f./n., *engi* n. (Nirr. *eng*; Tìl. *engi*),[97] ach 's dòcha gun deach an t-ainm Lochlannais air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig mus robh LB *a* air a dhol na *e* san fhacal seo (le adhartachadh). Dh'fhaodte gun deigheadh LB **Bygg-ang-gerði* no **Bygg-angjargerði* na GA ['bʲeɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi], le teasgadh meadhain (§44 (ii)) agus fo bhuaidh a' bhuadhair Ghàidhlig *beag* agus an uilt Ghàidhlig ghinidich bhoireann *na*; a dh'aindeoin 's nach dèan **Beag na Geàrraidh* fìor chiall sa Ghàidhlig, is dòcha gun robh dinnsheanchas de leithid a' dol.

Gidheadh, chan eil an t-ainm SL **Bygg-ang-gerði* ro choltach a thaobh ciallachais, agus b' fhiach beachdachadh air ainm mar SL **Bygging-gerði* no **Bygning-gerði*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *bygging* b. 'a' cur fearann a-mach air mhàl; a bhith a' togail rudeigin, m.e. taigh, bàta' (à SL *byggja* gn., na bu tràithe *byggva*, + an iar-leasachan *-ing* b.), a chaidh a chiall a shìneadh gu 'togalach mòr; togalach poblach' san Nirribhis, coim. Nirr. *låvebygning* 'sobhal', *uthusbygning* 'togalach, frith-thogalach, cùl-thogalach (sobhal, stàball ɔc)', agus, ann an Nirribhidh, coim. an t-ainm-àite *Bygningen* (*NG* III, 176, 180, VI, 21–22), a' beantainn ri togalach mòr do luchd-obrach no dubh-chosnaichean.[98] Mothaichidh Cleasby gun nochd Tìl. *bygging* san t-seagh 'togalaichean no taighean' sa Bhìoball (Mata 24:1) ach gur gann gun nochd e aig seann sgrìobhadairean sa bhrìgh seo, ach coim. Nòrn. *biggin* 'creaga, còmhlan de thaighean' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.).

Tha an cruth SL *bygning* b. na fhrith-riochd aig SL *bygging*, ach a' cleachdadh an iar-leasachain *-ning* b. a dh'èirich fo bhuaidh ghnìomhairean ann an *-na* (Iversen 1973, 162), agus dh'fhaodadh e a bhith gun deigheadh SL **Bygging-gerði* no **Bygning-gerði* sa bhrìgh 'an leas ri taobh sobhal an tuathanais (no a leithid)' na GA ['bʲeɣnəˌɣʲɑɾi], gu h-àraidh leis an ionadachadh chruitheamach a chaidh a mholadh shuas.

#50 ***Beanasbac*** ÙIG

['bʲẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k], (gin.) *Bheanasbac* ['vẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k]; NB022202. 1843–82 *Beinnusbac*, *Aird Bheinnusbac*, *Mol/—*, *Allt Bhenusbac*, *Cleite Bhenusbac*; 1860 *Benusbac*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh tuath *Loch Thamnabhaigh* (#319), ann an Ùig.

Is iongantach mana riochdaich na cruthan 1843–82 *Allt Bhenusbac*, *Cleite Bhenusbac* am fuaimneachadh a fhuaradh; is dòcha gun deach an litreachadh ann an (1843–82) *Beinnusbac* is *Aird/Mol Bheinnusbac* air iomrall an dèidh an

97. Ach *ong* anns an Fhàrothais, ged nach do thachair an leasachadh *e* > *å* gus an t-17mh linn (Hamre 1944, 27–28).

98. Tom Schmidt (conaltradh pearsanta).

Beinnisbhal (today ScG *Beinniseal* [ˈb̥ẽɲəˌʃaɬ̪][99]) NB096185, at the inner end of *Loch Reusort* ‘the loch of **Reusort*’ (#112).

ScG [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k] might originate in CSc. **Hvinsbakka* acc. ‘(the) slope of the rushing (sound)’, with genitive of the noun CSc. **hvinr* (ON *hvinr* m.) ‘shriek, sighing (of wind), rushing (of water)’ and accusative of ON *bakki* m. ‘slope’ (#23).[100] In this case, the name may have denoted the sound of water in *Allt Bheanasbac* ‘the stream of *Beanasbac*’. One would expect ScG *[ˈb̥ĩnəˌs̪pa^{h}k] rather than [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k] from CSc. **Hvinsbakka*, via delenition §33 (ii), but perhaps the pronunciation of the name was changed due to a tradition that the name was connected in some way to ScG *bean* [ˈb̥ẽn] ‘woman, wife’.

#51 *Beàrnaraigh* BRN (Eng. *Bernera*)
[ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj], (gen.) *Bheàrnaraigh* [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾaj], [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj]; NB1636. 1600+, 1630 *Bearnera*; 1702 *Bernera I.*; 1703 *Bernera*; 1714, 1750M *Bernera I.*; 1775, 1776, 1786 *Bernera*; 1790 *I. Barnera*; 1800 *Bernera*; 1801 *I Bernera*; 1804 *Bernera Ifle*; 1807 *Barnera I.*; 1809 *Barnera I.*; road sign *Bearnaraigh*.

Beàrnaraigh Mhòr
[ˌb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈvoːr], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈvoːr], (gen.) *Bheàrnaraigh Mhòr* [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈvoːr], [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈvoːr]; NB1636. 1549 *Berneray moir*; 1573 *Barray maior*; 1583 *Grand Mekill*; 1595, 1607 *Barray maior*; 1610, 1635 *Barra major*; 1636 *Barray maior*; 1654 *Bernera Moir, Balverneray*; 1680 *Bernera maior*; 1701 *Berneramoir*; 1703 *Bernera Major*; 1797 *Large Bernera*; 1832 *Gt. Barnera*; 1845 *Large Bernera*; 1974 *Great Bernera*.

Beàrnaraigh or *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* ‘greater *Beàrnaraigh*’ is an island on the west of Lewis; see the settlement names *Barra Glom* #48, *Bhalasaigh* #62, *Bòstadh* #72, *Briacleit* #78, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96, *Circeabost* #125, *Crothair* #157, *Druim a’ Ghàrraidh* #169, *Eòiriseadar* #181, *Tàcleit* #317, *Tiodaborgh* #329, *Tòpsann* #335.

Beàrnaraigh Bheag
[ˌb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈveɡ̊], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈveɡ̊],[101] (gen.) *Bheàrnaraigh Bheag* [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈveɡ̊], [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈveɡ̊]; NB1441. 1549 *Berneray beg*; 1573 *Barraÿ minor*; 1583 *Petit Mekill*; 1595 *Barray minor*; 1607 *Barray mynor*; 1610, 1635 *Barra minor*; 1636 *Barray minor*; 1654 *Bernera beg*; 1680 *Bernera minor*; 1703 *Bernera Minor, Little Berneray*;

99. ?From ON *Bendilsfjall* ‘(the) mountain of the (straw) rope’, with genitive of the noun ON *bendill* m. ‘straw rope; string’ and ON *fjall* nt. ‘mountain’. Evemalm (2017, 103) gives the solution ON **Beinisfjall*, with genitive of the man’s name *Beinir* m., but that would probably yield ScG *[ˈb̥ẽːni ʃaɬ̪].

100. The palatalised velar plosive [^{h}kʲ] would be expected if the Gaelic name were from the nominative ON *bakki*.

101. (nMO) [bjɑːɳərɛj ˈveg].

ainm beinne (1843–82) *Beinnisbhal* (an-diugh GA *Beinniseal* [ˈb̥ẽɲəˌʃaɬ̪][99]) NB096185, an ceann a-staigh *Loch Reusort* (#112).

Dh’fhaodadh GA [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k] tàrmachadh ann an LB **Hvinsbakka* cusp. ‘leathad an t-sluaisridh’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir LB **hvinr* (SL *hvinr* f.) ‘sgreuch, osna (gaoithe), sluaisreadh (uisge)’ agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *bakki* f. ‘leathad’ (#23).[100] San t-seagh seo, ’s dòcha gum beanadh an t-ainm ri fuaim an uisge ann an *Allt Bheanasbac*. Bhite an dùil ri GA *[ˈb̥ĩnəˌs̪pa^{h}k] seach [ˈb̥ẽnəˌs̪pa^{h}k] à LB **Hvinsbakka*, le dì-shèimheachadh §33 (ii), ach is dòcha gun deach fuaimneachadh an ainme atharrachadh fo bhuaidh dinnsheanchais gun robh an t-ainm ceangailte ri GA *bean* [ˈb̥ẽn] air dòigh air choreigin.

#51 *Beàrnaraigh* BRN
[ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj], (gin.) *Bheàrnaraigh* [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾaj], [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj]; NB1636. 1600+, 1630 *Bearnera*; 1702 *Bernera I.*; 1703 *Bernera*; 1714, 1750M *Bernera I.*; 1775, 1776, 1786 *Bernera*; 1790 *I. Barnera*; 1800 *Bernera*; 1801 *I Bernera*; 1804 *Bernera Ifle*; 1807 *Barnera I.*; 1809 *Barnera I.*; soighne rathaid *Bearnaraigh*.

Beàrnaraigh Mhòr
[ˌb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈvoːr], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈvoːr], (gin.) *Bheàrnaraigh Mhòr* [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈvoːr], [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈvoːr]; NB1636. 1549 *Berneray moir*; 1573 *Barray maior*; 1583 *Grand Mekill*; 1595, 1607 *Barray maior*; 1610, 1635 *Barra major*; 1636 *Barray maior*; 1654 *Bernera Moir, Balverneray*; 1680 *Bernera maior*; 1701 *Berneramoir*; 1703 *Bernera Major*; 1797 *Large Bernera*; 1832 *Gt. Barnera*; 1845 *Large Bernera*; 1974 *Great Bernera*.

Tha *Beàrnaraigh* no *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* na eilean air taobh siar Leòdhais; faic na h-ainmean tuineachaidh *Barra Glom* #48, *Bhalasaigh* #62, *Bòstadh* #72, *Briacleit* #78, *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* #96, *Circeabost* #125, *Crothair* #157, *Druim a’ Ghàrraidh* #169, *Eòiriseadar* #181, *Tàcleit* #317, *Tiodaborgh* #329, *Tòpsann* #335.

Beàrnaraigh Bheag
[ˌb̥jɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈveɡ̊], [ˈb̥jɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈveɡ̊],[101] (gin.) *Bheàrnaraigh Bheag* [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾaj ˈveɡ̊], [ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj ˈveɡ̊]; NB1441. 1549 *Berneray beg*; 1573 *Barraÿ minor*; 1583 *Petit Mekill*; 1595 *Barray minor*; 1607 *Barray mynor*; 1610, 1635 *Barra minor*; 1636 *Barray minor*; 1654 *Bernera beg*; 1680 *Bernera minor*; 1703 *Bernera Minor, Little Berneray*;

99. ?À SL **Bendilsfjall* ‘beinn an t-sìomain (connlaich)’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *bendill* f. ‘sìoman connlaich; sreang’ agus SL *fjall* n. ‘beinn’. Bheir Evemalm 2017, 103, am fuasgladh SL **Beinisfjall*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Beinir* f., ach is math dh’fhaodte gun toireadh sin GA *[ˈb̥ẽːni ʃaɬ̪].

100. Shùilichte an stadach sgannach càireanaichte [^{h}kʲ] nam b’ ann às an tuiseal ainmneach SL *bakki* a bha an t-ainm Gàidhlig.

101. (nMO) [bjɑːɳərɛj ˈveg].

1714 *Lit. Bernera*; 1718 *Little Bernera*; 1726 *Berneraveg*; 1750M, 1776 *Little Bernera*; 1789 *L. Barnera*; 1797 *Little Bernarai*; 1804, 1813, 1821, 1822 *Little Bernera*; 1832 *L. Barnera*; 1974 *Little Bernera*.

Beàrnaraigh Bheag 'lesser *Beàrnaraigh*' is an island north of *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr*, whose inhabitants were evicted c.1823 (Macdonald 1978, 161); see the settlement names *Grèineabost* #219, *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Tanganis* #321, *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340.

The name *Beàrnaraigh* is a loan from CSc. **Bjarnarøy* '*Bjǫrn*'s island', with genitive of the man's name (ON) *Bjǫrn* m. and CSc. **øy* f. 'island' (e.g. Macaulay 1972, 334).[102] The personal name *Bjǫrn* is common in Lnb. and in Norway (*GP* 41–44), and the island name *Beàrnaraigh* occurs in several other places in the Western Isles, e.g. Harris NF9182, Barra NL5680 and south-west of Lismore NM794393; cf. *Bjørnarøya* in Vestvågøy, Nordland (*NG* XVI, 314), and in Os, Hordaland (*NG* XI, 211), in Norway, and *Bjarnarey* in N-Múl and Ve, in Iceland.

The contrastive elements ScG *beag* (#8) and (sometimes) ScG *mòr* (#198) are used in the sense 'smaller, lesser' and 'larger, greater', respectively, in order to differentiate between the two islands.

Surprisingly, MacIver (1934, 31) states that *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* and ScG *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑɫ̪ə ˌs̪aj][103] NB145418, a small island 0.25 km (273 yards) to the north, were one island during the Norse period and that it was named *Ceallasaigh* after cells (ScG *ceallan* pl.) or temples, i.e. the two dedicated to St Donnan and St Michael mentioned by Martin Martin (1703, 27, 28: *Dondan*, *Michael*). However, it is likely that *Ceallasaigh* is from CSc. **Hjallsøy* '(the) island of the ledge', with genitive of (ON) *hjallr* m. 'ledge, shelf in a hillside', with an epenthetic vowel in Gaelic, cf. *Tjeltveid* in Rogaland, Norway, from ON **Hjall-þveit* (*NG* X, 323) (Cox 1987 II, 60–61).[104]

It appears that ON *hjallr* was borrowed into Gaelic: ScG **ceall* 'ledge' (< ON *hjall* acc.) is found in the plural in ScG *Na Ceallan* [nə ˈkʲʰɑɫ̪ən] NB201428 (1843–82 *Teallan*), in *An Cnoc* TSR #134 (Cox ibid., 61).

102. It is claimed that the personal name here refers to the father of Ketill Flatnefr Bjarnarsonr ('flat-nosed Ketil, son of Bjǫrn') (anon., <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Bernera>), who ruled *Suðreyjar* ('(the) southern isles', i.e. The Western Isles and Man) 874 × 884.

103. (nMO) [cɑɫəsæj].

104. Although Macaulay (1972, 333) suggests the sense 'shed for drying fish', a solution that might better suit *Ceallasaigh* NF910722, NF917713, in North Uist.

1714 *Lit. Bernera*; 1718 *Little Bernera*; 1726 *Berneraveg*; 1750M, 1776 *Little Bernera*; 1789 *L. Barnera*; 1797 *Little Bernarai*; 1804, 1813, 1821, 1822 *Little Bernera*; 1832 *L. Barnera*; 1974 *Little Bernera*.

Tha *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* na eilean tuath air *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr*, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach c.1823 (Macdonald 1978, 161); faic na h-ainmean tuineachaidh *Grèineabost* #219, *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* #268, *Tanganis* #321, *Tràigh an Teampaill* #340.

Tha GA *Beàrnaraigh* na iasad air LB **Bjarnarøy* 'an t-eilean aig *Bjǫrn*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich (SL) *Bjǫrn* f. agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean' (m.e. Macaulay 1972, 334).[102] Tha an t-ainm pearsanta *Bjǫrn* bitheanta ann an Lnb. agus ann an Nirribhidh (*GP* 41–44) agus gheibhear an t-ainm eilein *Beàrnaraigh* ann an corra àite eile sna h-Eileanan Siar, m.e. Na Hearadh NF9182, Barraigh NL5680 agus aig ceann an iar-dheas Lios Mòir NM794393; coim. *Bjørnarøya* ann an Vestvågøy, Nordland (*NG* XVI, 314), agus ann an Os, Hordaland (*NG* XI, 211), ann an Nirribhidh, agus *Bjarnarey* ann an N-Múl agus Ve, ann an Innis Tìle.

Cleachdar na h-eileamaidean iomsgaraidh GA *beag* (#8) agus (air uairean) GA *mòr* (#198) san t-seagh 'nas lugha' agus 'nas motha', fa leth, gus an dà eilean a dhealachadh ri chèile.

Gu h-iongantach, canaidh MacIver (1934, 31) gun robh *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* agus GA *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑɫ̪ə ˌs̪aj][103] NB145418, eilean beag 0.25 clm (273 slatan) mu thuath, nan aon eilean mu àm nan Lochlannach agus gun deach ainmeachadh air ceallan (cilltean) no teampaill, .i. na dhà air an coisrigeadh ris na Naoimh Donnan agus Mìcheal air an toir Màrtainn MhicGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 27, 28: *Dondan*, *Michael*) iomradh. Gidheadh, is coltach gur h-ann à LB **Hjallsøy* 'eilean a' phalla' a tha *Ceallasaigh*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir (SL) *hjallr* f. 'palla, sgeilp ann an cliathaich cnuic' agus fuaimreig còmhnaidh sa Ghàidhlig, coim. *Tjeltveid* ann an Rogaland, Nirribhidh, à SL **Hjall-þveit* (*NG* X, 323) (Cox 1987 II, 60–61).[104]

Is coltach gun deach SL *hjallr* na fhacal-iasaid dhan Ghàidhlig: gheibhear GA **ceall* 'palla, sgeilp' (< SL *hjall* cusp.) san uimhir iolra ann an GA *Na Ceallan* [nə ˈkʲʰɑɫ̪ən] NB201428 (1843–82 *Teallan*), air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134 (Cox ibid., 61).

102. Thathas a' cumail a-mach gum bean an t-ainm pearsanta a tha seo ris an athair aig Ketill Flatnefr Bjarnarsonr ('Ketil rèidh-shròn, am mac aig Bjǫrn') (gun urra, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Bernera>), a bha na riaghladair air *Suðreyjar* ('(na h-)eileanan a deas', .i. Innse Gall agus Manainn) 874 × 884.

103. (nMO) [cɑɫəsæj].

104. Ged a b' fheàrr le Macaulay (1972, 333) a' bhrìgh 'bothan airson iasg a thiormachadh', fuasgladh a b' fheàrr a fhreagradh *Ceallasaigh* NF910722, NF917713, ann an Uibhist a Tuath.

#52 *Beinn a' Bhuna* STN
[ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲə ˈvũnə],[105] (gen.) *Bheinn a' Bhuna* [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲə ˈvũnə]; NB339302. 1843–82 =; 1846 *Loch Vun*.

The name of a mountain and of an area south-west of *Steòrnabhagh* #309 where people from An Rubha had sheilings – the name (1843–82) *Airidh a' Bhuna* 'the sheiling of—' is located at NB350305; a Gaelic name, with ScG *beinn* f. 'mountain' (EG idem, oblique case of EG *benn*) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *bun* m. 'base, foot' (EG idem). In this case, it seems that *Beinn a' Bhuna* acquired its name from ScG *Loch a' Bhuna* 'the loch of the base (i.e. the loch at the base of the mountain[106])'.

#53 *Beinn Chasgro* CTL
[ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxaˌskɾo], [ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxasˌkəˌɾo], (gen.) *Bheinn Chasgro* [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxaˌskɾo], [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxasˌkəˌɾo]; NB415259. 1843–82 *Beinn Chosgro*, *Eilean Glas Beinn Chosgro*, *Allt Bun Chosgro*; 1895–1896 *Ben Casgro*, *Allt Ben Casgro*.

The name of a small settlement now a part of the township *Gruimseadar* #224, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *beinn* f. 'mountain' (#52) and a loan-name in the genitive case, perhaps from ON **Kas-gróf* '(the) hill-stream', with the stem form of the noun ON *kǫs* f. 'heap, pile, hill' and ON *gróf* f. 'stream' (#131). There are several mounds or rounded hills along the stream here. MacKenzie (1932, 297) suggests ON **Kas-gróf* in the sense '(the) creel-stream', with the stem form of the noun ON *kass* m. 'creel, box'; but cf. the extended sense 'hump (on a back)' in Nynorsk (Torp 1919, s.v. *kass*).

Regarding the 1843–82 map forms,[107] perhaps there were two separate names originally: *Beinn Chasgro* (the name of the mountain) and **Bun Chasgro* (the name of the mouth of the river), with ScG *bun* m. 'base, foot' (#52).

#54 *Beinn na Dròbh* STN (Eng. *Bennadrove*)
[ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲ(n)ə ˈd̪ɾoːv], (gen.) *Bheinn na Dròbh* [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲ(n)ə ˈd̪ɾoːv]; NB400346; 1843–82 *Beinn na Drobh*; 2007 *Beinn na Dròbh*‖*Bennadrove*; road sign *Bennadrove*.

The name of a mountain and area in Steòrnabhagh #309 where the annual cattle drove would take place, with ScG *beinn* f. 'mountain' (#52) and genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *dròbh* f. 'drove' (< Scots *drove*).[108]

105. (nMO) ['bɛiɲ ə 'vũnə].

106. The genitive case is often used in place-names to express spatial relationships, as here (Cox 2002a, 61).

107. If the stressed *o* of the 1843–82 map is not a printing error, it may be an example of *a* ~ *o* alternation §43 (ii).

108. ScG *dròbh* m. is also found; there two genitive forms (see, for example, Robertson

#52 *Beinn a' Bhuna* STN
[ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲə ˈvũnə],[105] (gin.) *Bheinn a' Bhuna* [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲə ˈvũnə]; NB339302. 1843–82 =; 1846 *Loch Vun*.

An t-ainm air beinn agus air ceàrnaidh an iar-dheas air *Steòrnabhagh* #309 far am biodh àirighean aig muinntir An Rubha – tha an t-ainm (1843–82) *Airidh a' Bhuna* air a shuidheachadh aig NB350305; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *beinn* b. (GT idem, an tuiseal claon aig GT *benn*) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *bun* f. (GT idem). San t-seagh seo, is coltach gur h-ann à GA *Loch a' Bhuna* a fhuair *Beinn a' Bhuna* a h-ainm, .i. 'loch bun na beinne (.i. an loch aig bun na beinne[106])'.

#53 *Beinn Chasgro* CTL
[ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxaˌskɾo], [ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxasˌkəˌɾo], (gin.) *Bheinn Chasgro* [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxaˌskɾo], [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲ ˈxasˌkəˌɾo]; NB415259. 1843–82 *Beinn Chosgro*, *Eilean Glas Beinn Chosgro*, *Allt Bun Chosgro*; 1895–1896 *Ben Casgro*, *Allt Ben Casgro*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag a tha an-diugh na cheàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Gruimseadar* #224, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *beinn* b. (#52) agus ainm-iasaid san tuiseal ghinideach, is dòcha à SL **Kas-gróf* '(an) cnoc-allt', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kǫs* b. 'càrn, tòrr, cnoc' agus SL *gróf* b. 'allt' (#131). Tha corra mheall ris an allt a tha seo. Cuiridh MacKenzie (1932, 297) air shùilibh SL **Kas-gróf* san t-seagh '(an) cliabh-allt', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kass* f. 'cliabh, bogsa'; ach coim. a' bhrìgh shìnte 'croit (droma)' ann an Nynorsk (Torp 1919, s.v. *kass*).

A thaobh cruthan a' mhapa 1843–82,[107] is dòcha gun robh dà ainm fa leth ann bho thùs: *Beinn Chasgro* (ainm na beinne) agus **Bun Chasgro* (ainm bun an uillt), le GA *bun* f. 'bonn' (#52).

#54 *Beinn na Dròbh* STN
[ˌbʲẽĩ̯ɲ(n)ə ˈd̪ɾoːv], (gin.) *Bheinn na Dròbh* [ˌvẽĩ̯ɲ(n)ə ˈd̪ɾoːv]; NB400346; 1843–82 *Beinn na Drobh*; 2007 *Beinn na Dròbh*‖*Bennadrove*; soighne rathaid *Bennadrove*.

An t-ainm air beinn agus ceàrnaidh ann an Steòrnabhagh #309 far an tachradh an dròbh bhliadhnail, le GA *beinn* b. (#52) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmeir GA *dròbh* b. 'iomain cruidh' (< Alb. *drove*).[108]

105. (nMO) ['bɛiɲ ə 'vũnə].

106. Cleachdar an tuiseal ginideach gu tric ann an ainmean-àite gus dàimhean àiteil a chur an cèill, mar a chleachdar an seo (Cox 2002a, 61).

107. Mana h-eil *o* bheumte a' mhapa 1843–82 na mearachd clòdha, is dòcha gur h-e eisimpleir de dh'iomlaid *a* ~ *o* a th' ann §43 (ii).

108. Chithear GA *dròbh* f. mar an ceudna; tha an dà chruth ghinideach ann (faic, mar eis-

#55 *Beinn na Saighde* STN (Eng. *Benside*)
[ˌbʲẽĩn̪(n)ə ˈs̪əiɰ̟ʲə], (gen.) *Bheinn na Saighde* [ˌvẽĩn̪(n)ə ˈs̪əiɰ̟ʲə]; NB421362. 1821, 1822 *Beinside*; 1843–82 =; 1934, 77 *Bena said*; 2007, road sign *Beinn na Saighde*‖*Benside*.

The name of a mountain and area in Steòrnabhagh #309 that was made a township in the 1850s (Lawson 2011, 55), with ScG *beinn* f. 'mountain' (#52) and genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *saighead* f. 'arrow' (OG *saiġet* < Lat. *sagitta* (*DIL*)).[109]

#56 *Beinn Thòrsadair* TSR
[ˌbʲẽĩn̪ ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖ̪ərʲ], (gen.) *Bheinn Thòrsadair* [ˌvẽĩn̪ ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖ̪ərʲ]; NB246427. 1843–82 *Beinn Thòrshader*, *Airidh Thòrshader*, *Sithean Thòrshader*, *Loch Dúbh Beinn Thòrshader*; 1856–58 (in Evemalm 2017, 143), 1903HO *Beinn Thórshader*; 1974 *Airigh Horshader*.

The name of a mountain in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with ScG *beinn* f. 'mountain' (#52) and an Old Norse loan-name that appears in several Gaelic names in the vicinity, including *Àirigh Thòrsadair* 'the sheiling of *Thòrsadair*' NB250430.

No doubt the loan-name derives from a form in final ON *sætr* nt., in the sense 'sheiling' (#296). It has been suggested that the specific is the man's name ON *Þórir* m. (Watson 1904, 270; Cox 1987 II, 12; Cox 1990b, 98–99; Evemalm 2017, 143–45). However, ON *Þórissætr* would be more likely to yield ScG *[ˈhɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪ər], while ON *Þórðssætr*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Þórðr* m., would yield ScG [ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖ̪ər] regularly.[110]

#57 *A' Bheirgh* ÙIG (Eng. *Berie*)
[ə ˈveɾ̠ʲej], [ə ˈvøɾ̠ʲøj], (gen.) *Na Beirghe* [nə ˈb̪eɾ̠ʲej], [nə ˈb̪øɾ̠ʲøj]; NB107353. 1726 *Berva* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *Berve*; 1843–82 *Beiridh*, *Beinn na Beiridhe*, *Traigh na Beiridhe*; 1846 ? *Berue*; 2007 *Beirgh*‖*Berie*.

and MacDonald, s.v. *dròbh*): *dròibh* (Class I (*o*-stem)) and *dròbha* (Class III (*i*-stem)) or, with apocope §44 (iii) (as here), *dròbh*.

109. MacIver (1934, 77) recommends a derivation from ScG *saoid*, *said* [*sic*] 'to drive cattle' – but cf. ScG *saodaich*, pronounced [ˈs̪uːd̪iç]) – before throwing the matter into further confusion by saying, 'We have [Icelandic] *setta* "to sit" [?leg Ice. *setja* vb "to seat, place"]; *set-berg* 'fishing rock' [Cleasby, s.v.: "seat-formed or saddle-formed rock"]; *Mia-said* "narrow place for driving cattle" [see ScG *miasaid* #31 (i), fn 63]'.

110. It is suggested (Cox 2006, 12, 25–26) that the loan-name in ScG *Mol Thòrsaig* [ˌmɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈhɔːˌs̪iɠ̟ʲ] NB425588, in *Gabhsann fo Dheas* (#188), derives from ON *Þórsvík*, with genitive of the god's name ON *Þórr* m.; ON *Þórðsvík* would be just as suitable from the point of view of the Gaelic pronunciation.

#55 *Beinn na Saighde* STN
[ˌbʲẽĩn̪(n)ə ˈs̪əiɰ̟ʲə], (gin.) *Bheinn na Saighde* [ˌvẽĩn̪(n)ə ˈs̪əiɰ̟ʲə]; NB421362. 1821, 1822 *Beinside*; 1843–82 =; 1934, 77 *Bena said*; soighne rathaid *Beinn na Saighde*‖*Benside*.

An t-ainm air beinn agus ceàrnaidh ann an Steòrnabhagh #309 a chaidh na baile fearainn anns na 1850an (Lawson 2011, 55), le GA *beinn* b. (#52) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmeir GA *saighead* b. (SG *saiġet* < Laid. *sagitta* (*DIL*)).[109]

#56 *Beinn Thòrsadair* TSR
[ˌbʲẽĩn̪ ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖ̪ərʲ], (gin.) *Bheinn Thòrsadair* [ˌvẽĩn̪ ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖ̪ərʲ]; NB246427. 1843–82 *Beinn Thòrshader*, *Airidh Thòrshader*, *Sithean Thòrshader*, *Loch Dúbh Beinn Thòrshader*; 1856–58 (ann an Evemalm 2017, 143), 1903HO *Beinn Thórshader*; 1974 *Airigh Horshader*.

An t-ainm air beinn ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *beinn* b. (#52) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a nochdas ann an corra ainm Gàidhlig eile air an àrainn, nam measg *Àirigh Thòrsadair* NB250430.

Chan eil teagamh nach tàrmaich an t-ainm-iasaid ann an cruth ann an SL *sætr* n. deiridh, sa bhrìgh 'àirigh' (#296). Chaidh a chur air shùilibh gum b' e an t-ainm fireannaich SL *Þórir* f. a bh' anns an t-sònraicheir a tha seo (Watson 1904, 270; Cox 1987 II, 12; Cox 1990b, 98–99; Evemalm 2017, 143–45). Gidheadh, bu choltaiche gun toireadh SL **Þórissætr* GA *[ˈhɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪ər], fhad 's a bheireadh SL **Þórðssætr*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Þórðr* f., GA [ˈhɔːˌs̪aɖ̪ər] gu riaghailteach.[110]

#57 *A' Bheirgh* ÙIG
[ə ˈveɾ̠ʲej], [ə ˈvøɾ̠ʲøj], (gin.) *Na Beirghe* [nə ˈb̪eɾ̠ʲej], [nə ˈb̪øɾ̠ʲøj]; NB107353. 1726 *Berva* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *Berve*; 1843–82 *Beiridh*, *Beinn na Beiridhe*, *Traigh na Beiridhe*; 1846 [?] *Berue*; 2007 *Beirgh*‖*Berie*.

impleir, Robertson agus MacDonald, s.v. *dròbh*): *dròibh* (Rang I (bun-*o*)) agus *dròbha* (Rang III (bun-*i*)) no, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii) (mar a tha an seo), *dròbh*.

109. Molaidh MacIver (1934, 77) bunachas à GA *saoid*, *said* [*sic*] 'iomain crodh' – ach coim. GA *saodaich*, air fhuaimneachadh [ˈs̪uːd̪iç]) – mus cuir e an gnothach an tuilleadh breislich le bhith ag ràdh, 'We have [Icelandic] *setta* "to sit" [?leugh Tìl. *setja* gn. "suidhich, cuir ann an àite"]; *set-berg* "fishing rock" [Cleasby, s.v.: "seat-formed or saddle-formed rock"]; *Miasaid* "narrow place for driving cattle" [faic GA *miasaid* #31 (i), bn 63]'.

110. Thèid a chur air shùilibh (Cox 2006, 12, 25–26) gun tàrmaich an t-ainm-iasaid ann an GA *Mol Thòrsaig* [ˌmɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈhɔːˌs̪iɠ̟ʲ] NB425588, ann an *Gabhsann fo Dheas* (#188), ann an SL **Þórsvík*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainme dè SL *Þórr* f.; bhiodh SL **Þórðsvík* a cheart cho iomchaidh a thaobh an fhuaimneachaidh Ghàidhlig.

> Oftedal 1954, 387: '**Berie.** I do not know the pronunciation of this name in the nominative, but Borgstrøm records [the genitive in] ScG *Tràigh na Beirghe* [trɑ:j nə beðè-i] "the beach of the *beirgh*" for the adjoining shore, called *Berie Sands* on the Ordnance Survey map. It must be ON *bergi*, dative of ON *berg* nt. "rock, stone, mountain"; a hill rises steeply to about 76 m (250 ft) directly behind the houses of **Berie**. According to the OS map, three other places in Lewis have the name **Berie**; one of them is situated at NB186450, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, the second just north of the mouth of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98) at NB174431, in *Borghaston* #69, and the third at NB541640, in *Cealagbhol* #101. All three are small rocky promontories. The element *berg* is also found in ScG *Beirgheasaigh* [bɛðè-əsɛj] #58, a little island off *Beàrnaraigh* #51; this is ON *Bergsøy* "(the) island of the rock".'

The name of part of the township *An Riobh* #280, in Ùig; a Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article and the loan-word ScG *beirgh* f., from ON *bergi* dat. nt. ScG *beirgh* in Lewis usually means a 'promontory with a bare, usually vertical face, sometimes with a narrow neck', cf. Far. *berg* nt. 'cliff face', Norn *berg* '(in place-names, commonly) cliff or crag' (Jakobsen 1897, 89; 1936, 23–25) (Cox 1998d; Cox 2002a, 70).

The element ScG *beirgh* is reasonably common in Lewis; in addition to this instance and the three Oftedal mentions, there are *A' Bheirgh* NB220459, in *Daile Beag* (#167), *A' Bheirgh Mhòr* NB003315,[111] in *Mangarstadh* #245, *Rubha na Beirghe* 'the point of *A' Bheirgh*' NB235474, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), and *Staca na Beirghe* 'the stack of *A' Bheirgh*' NB030360, north-west of *Crabhlastadh* #151.

For ON *berg* in loan-names, see *Beirgheasaigh* #58.

#58 *Beirgheasaigh* BRN

['ʰbɛr͡ʃe-ə ˌn̪saj], ['ʰbøɾ͡ʃø-ə ˌn̪saj], (gen.) *Bheirgheasaigh* ['vɛr͡ʃe-ə ˌn̪saj], ['vøɾ͡ʃø-ə ˌn̪saj]; NB121425. 1600+a *Berissay*, *Berrissay*; 1680 *Berisay*; 1703 *Berinsay*; 1843–82 *Bereasaidh*, *Mol Ban Bhereasaidh*; 1974 *Bearasay*.

The name of a small island north-west of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51 that, it is said, was once the home of Niall MacLeòid while an outlaw, having rebelled along

111. In this case, it seems the name of the promontory has been transferred to the cove beside it: the *beirgh* (promontory) itself is called *Staca Dhòmhnaill Chaim* 'Dòmhnall Cam's stack' (cf. #16) or *Staca na Beirghe* 'the stack of *A' Bheirgh*'; to the immediate south are two small coves with a narrow point between them: the coves are called *A' Bheirgh Mhòr* 'the large(r) *beirgh*' and *A' Bheirgh Bheag* 'the small(er) *beirgh*' ((nMO) [veðèj vo:r/veg]) and the point (≈1843–82) *Rubha Eadar Dhà Bheirgh* '(the) point between two *beirgh*s'.

> Oftedal 1954, 387: '**Berie.** Chan aithne dhomh fuaimneachadh an ainme seo san tuiseal ainmneach, ach clàraichidh Borgstrøm [an tuiseal ginideach ann an] GA *Tràigh na Beirghe* [trɑ:j nə beðè-i] airson a' chladaich ri thaobh, air a bheil *Berie Sands* air mapa na Suirbhidh Òrdanais. Feumaidh gur h-e SL *bergi* a th' ann, an tuiseal tabhartach aig SL *berg* n. 'creag, clach, beinn'; èiridh cnoc gu cas mu 76 m (250 tr.) dìreach air cùl nan taighean ann am **Berie**. A rèir a' mhapa SO, tha an t-ainm **Berie** air trì àitichean eile ann an Leòdhas; aonan dhiubh air a shuidheachadh aig NB186450, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, an dàrna fear beagan tuath air beul *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98) aig NB174431, ann am *Borghaston* #69, agus an treas fear aig NB541640, ann an *Cealagbhol* #101. 'S iad rubhaichean beaga creagach a th' anns na trì dhiubh. Lorgar an eileamaid *berg* mar an ceudna ann an GA *Beirgheasaigh* [bɛðè-əsɛj] #58, eilean beag ri taobh *Bheàrnaraigh* #51; 's e seo SL **Bergsøy* 'eilean na creige'.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *An Riobh* #280, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann agus am facal-iasaid GA *beirgh* b., à SL *bergi* tabh. n. 'S e 'rubha air a bheil aghaidh lom, mar as trice dìreach, agus air uairean le amhaich chumhaing' as trice as ciall do GA *beirgh* ann an Leòdhas, coim. Fàr. *berg* n. 'aodann creige', Nòrn *berg* '(ann an ainmean-àite, gu tric) aodann creige no creag' (Jakobsen 1897, 89; 1936, 23–25) (Cox 1998d; Cox 2002a, 70).

Tha an eileamaid GA *beirgh* cuimseach bitheanta ann an Leòdhas; a thuilleadh air an iomradh ann an seo agus na trì a dh'ainmicheas Oftedal shuas, gheibhear *A' Bheirgh* NB220459, ann an *Daile Beag* (#167), *A' Bheirgh Mhòr* NB003315,[111] ann am *Mangarstadh* #245, *Rubha na Beirghe* NB235474, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), agus *Staca na Beirghe* NB030360, an iar-thuath air *Crabhlastadh* #151.

Airson SL *berg* ann an ainmean-iasaid, faic *Beirgheasaigh* #58.

#58 *Beirgheasaigh* BRN

['ʰbɛr͡ʃe-ə ˌn̪saj], ['ʰbøɾ͡ʃø-ə ˌn̪saj], (gin.) *Bheirgheasaigh* ['vɛr͡ʃe-ə ˌn̪saj], ['vøɾ͡ʃø-ə ˌn̪saj]; NB121425. 1600+a *Berissay*, *Berrissay*; 1680 *Berisay*; 1703 *Berinsay*; 1843–82 *Bereasaidh*, *Mol Ban Bhereasaidh*; 1974 *Bearasay*.

An t-ainm air eilean beag an iar-thuath air *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51 a bha uair, a rèir aithris, na dhachaigh do Niall MacLeòid fhad 's a bha e fon choill, an dèidh ar-a-mach a thogail cuide ri feadhainn eile an aghaidh tuineachadh

111. Anns an t-seagh seo, is coltach gu bheil ainm an rubha air aiseag chun na geodha ri thaobh: 's e *Staca Dhòmhnaill Chaim* (coim. #16) no *Staca na Beirghe* a th' air a' bheirgh (rubha) fhèin; dìreach deas air sin, tha dà gheodha bhig agus rubha caol eatarra: 's iad *A' Bheirgh Mhòr* agus *A' Bheirgh Bheag* a th' air na geodhachan ((nMO) [veðèj vo:r/veg]) agus (≈1843–82) *Rubha Eadar Dhà Bheirgh* a th' air an rubha.

with others against the Fife Adventurers settling in Lewis at the beginning of the 17th century.[112]

As Oftedal (1954, 387; #57) states, this loan-name is from ON **Bergsøy* '(the) island of the promontory', with genitive of the noun (ON) *berg* nt. in the sense 'promontory' (#57) and CSc. **øy* f. 'island'; cf. ScG *Beirghsgeadh* ['bʲɤɾˠʃ̟ə ˌʃkʲaɣ] NB175431, in *Borghaston* #69, from ON *Bergsgjá*, with ON *gjá* f. 'ravine, cove', an element common in coastal Old Norse loan-names in the Western Isles and from which the loan-word ScG *geodha* f.[113] itself derives.

ON *berg* occurs as generic in several loan-names in Lewis: ScG *Banndabeirgh* ['bˠãũn̪ˠd̪əˌbʲɤɾˠʃ̟ʲ] NB209453, in *Daile Mòr* (#167), from ON **Band*(*a*)*bergi* dat. '(the) fetter-promontory or (the) promontory of the fetters', with the stem form or genitive plural of ON *band* nt. in the sense 'leash or fetter'; and ScG *Thèibeiridh* ['heːˌbʲəɾʲi], ['heːˌbʲəɾʲi] NB184435, from ON *Heið-bergi* dat., and ScG *Sròin Thèibeirgh* -['heːˌbʲəɾʲə] NB178422, from ON *Heið-berg* acc., both meaning '(the) heath-promontory', with the stem form of the noun ON *heiðr* f. 'heath; upland; mountain plain', in *Borghaston* #69.[114]

In addition to these examples of Old Norse reconstructions, whose syntax consists of specific + generic, the rarer syntax generic + specific is found in ScG *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌbʲɤɾˠʃ̟ʲ ˈl̪ɑːɣə] NB187448, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, from ON **Bergit Lága* 'the low promontory', with ON *berg* + the Old Norse suffixed (definite) article + the weak neuter form of the adjective ON *lágr* 'low'. This is one of several examples of a relatively late structure §27 (i) (e) (Cox 2007c).

In his notes, Oftedal later on favoured a derivation from ON **Byrgisøy* '(the) island of the fortification', with genitive of the noun ON *byrgi* nt. 'fortification; enclosure' (cf. Lnb. *Byrgisvík*; also *NG* XI, 10), probably because of the medial vowel *i* in the Old Norse form, although the same epenthetic vowel develops in ON **Bergsøy* > ScG ['bʲeɾˠʃ̟e-əˌn̪aj] as develops in ON **Borg-stafn* > ScG *Borghaston* #69.

#59 *Beirghro* ÙIG
['bʲeɾˠʃ̟ʲˌɾo], (gen.) *Bheirghro* ['veɾˠʃ̟ʲˌɾo]; NB045344. 1843–82 *Beiridhro*.

The name of a deserted township in Ùig whose occupants were evicted during

112. He was indicted, sentenced and hanged in Edinburgh in 1613 (MacKenzie 1932, 24–27; Macdonald 1967, 8–11).

113. Occasionally masculine.

114. Further, note ScG *Slìbridh* (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 58) ['ʃʟiːˌbʲri] (?leg. ['ʃʟʲiːˌbʲri]) NB483389, in *Col* #150, and *Thùbridh* (ibid., 38, s.v. *Hùibridh*) ['hʉːˌbʲri], ['hʉ-øˌbʲri] NB466371, in *Àird Thunga* #11; also (1843–82) ScG *Gròbridh* NB408105 and *Bratabridh* NB408099, south of *Cùiriseal* #164, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, and (1843–82) ScG *Séilabridh* NB133184, east of *Ceann Reusort* #112.

Luchd-dàna Fhìobha ann an Leòdhas aig toiseach na 17mh linne.[112]

Mar a chanas Oftedal (1954, 387; #57), 's ann à SL **Bergsøy* 'eilean an rubha' a tha an t-ainm-iasaid seo, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir (SL) *berg* n. sa bhrìgh 'rubha' (#57) agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean'; coim. GA *Beirghsgeadh* ['bʲɤɾˠʃ̟əˌʃkʲaɣ] NB175431, ann am *Borghaston* #69, à SL **Bergsgjá*, le SL *gjá* b. 'geodha', eileamaid a tha bitheanta ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ris a' mhuir ann an Innse Gall agus às an tàinig am facal-iasaid GA *geodha* b.[113] fhèin.

Nochdaidh SL *berg* na sheòrsaichear ann an corra ainm-iasaid ann an Leòdhas: GA *Banndabeirgh* ['bˠãũn̪ˠd̪əˌbʲɤɾˠʃ̟ʲ] NB209453, ann an *Daile Mòr* (#167), à SL **Band*(*a*)*bergi* tabh. '(an) taod-rubha no rubha nan taod', leis a' bhun-riochd no an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *band* n. san t-seagh 'taod no buarach'; agus GA *Thèibeiridh* ['heːˌbʲəɾʲi], ['heːˌbʲəɾʲi] NB184435, à SL **Heið-bergi* tabh., agus GA *Sròin Thèibeirgh* -['heːˌbʲəɾʲə] NB178422, à SL **Heið-berg* cusp., an dà chuid a' ciallachadh '(am) mòinteach-rubha', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *heiðr* b. 'mòinteach; bràigh; magh beinne', ann am *Borghaston* #69.[114]

A thuilleadh air na h-eisimpleirean seo de dh'ath-dhèanamhan Lochlannais, a tha an co-rèir na shònraichear + seòrsaichear, gheibhear a' cho-rèir nas ainneimhe seòrsaichear + sònraichear san ainm GA *Beirgh Làgha* [ˌbʲɤɾˠʃ̟ʲ ˈl̪ɑːɣə] NB187448, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, à SL **Bergit Lága* 'an rubha ìosal', le SL *berg* + an alt Lochlannais iar-leasaichte (deimhinnte) + cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *lágr* 'ìosal'. Tha seo air tè de chorra eisimpleir de cho-chur a tha cuibheasach anmoch §27 (i) (e) (Cox 2007c).

Na notaichean, na b' anmoiche b' fheàrr le Oftedal bunachas à SL **Byrgisøy* 'eilean na daingnich', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *byrgi* n. 'daingneach; leas' (coim. Lnb. *Byrgisvík*; cuideachd *NG* XI, 10), is math dh'fhaodte air sgàth na fuaimreige *i* mheadhain sa chruth Lochlannais, ged a dh'fhàsas an aon fhuaimreag còmhnaidh ann an SL **Bergsøy* > GA ['bʲeɾˠʃ̟e-əˌn̪aj] agus a dh'fhàsas ann an SL **Borg-stafn* > GA *Borghaston* #69.

#59 *Beirghro* ÙIG
['bʲeɾˠʃ̟ʲˌɾo], (gin.) *Bheirghro* ['veɾˠʃ̟ʲˌɾo]; NB045344. 1843–82 *Beiridhro*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn fàs ann an Ùig a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach san

112. Chaidh casaid a thogail na aghaidh, breith bàs a thoirt air agus a chrochadh ann an Dùn Èideann ann an 1613 (MacKenzie 1932, 24–27; Macdonald 1967, 8–11).

113. Air uairean fireann.

114. A thuilleadh, mothaich GA *Slìbridh* (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 58) ['ʃʟiːˌbʲri] (?leugh. ['ʃʟʲiːˌbʲri]) NB483389, ann an *Col* #150, agus *Thùbridh* (ibid., 38, s.v. *Hùibridh*) ['hʉːˌbʲri], ['hʉ-øˌbʲri] NB466371, ann an *Àird Thunga* #11; cuideachd (1843–82) GA *Gròbridh* NB408105 agus *Bratabridh* NB408099, deas air *Cùiriseal* #164, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, agus (1843–82) GA *Séilabridh* NB133184, an ear air *Ceann Reusort* #112.

the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162) and that became part of *Baile na Cille* #36. *Beirghro* is a ridge on a promontory at the inner end of a long inlet which drains and fills with the tide, an inlet with a sandy bottom except for salt marsh rills at its head.

There is another location beside this inlet where the ending [ˌɾo] occurs: ScG *Allt Rangaro* [ˌaul̪t̪ ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo] 'the stream of *Rangaro*' NB037341 and *Druim Rangaro* [ˌd̪ɾ̥ãĩm ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo] 'the ridge of—' NB038341 (1843–82 *Druim Ranngaro*), north-west of *Crabhlastadh* #151, but the origin of the element seems unlikely to be the same in both locations.

ScG **Rangaro* is probably a stream name in final ON *gróf* f. 'stream' (#131), with an epenthetic vowel §42 (i) (b), perhaps (1) from ON **Rang-gróf* '(the) rib-stream', with the stem form of the noun ON *rǫng* f. '(boat) rib',[115] ?> ScG *[ˈɾãŋgˌgɾo] > [ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo]; or (2) from ON **Hrann-gróf* '(the) hill-stream', with the stem form of the noun ON *hrǫnn* f., ?> ScG *[ˈɾãn̪ˌgɾo] ?> [ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo] (although *[ˈɾãũŋgəˌɾo] might be expected); or (3) from ON **Rangagróf* '(the) crooked stream', with the weak feminine form of the adjective ON *rangr* 'crooked' (in stream names, see *NE* 185), ?> ScG [ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo], with syncope, although *[ˈɾãŋgəˌgɾo] would be more likely. The topography would support the last solution but also the first, i.e. ON **Rang-gróf* '(the) rib-stream', after the broken appearance of the banks of the stream.

On the other hand, ON **Berg-rá* '(the) hill-nook' might suit *Beirghro*, i.e. with the stem form of the element ON *berg* nt. in the sense 'hill, mountain' (#58) and ON *rá* (also *ró*) f. 'nook, corner', or ON **Berg-rófa* '(the) hill-tail', with ON *rófa* f. 'tail → promontory'; ON *rófa* occurs as specific in the loan-name in ScG *Rubha Robhanis* [ˌɾu ˈɾo-əˌniʃ], from ON **Rófunes* #284.

MacIver (1934, 98) gives 'the berry *rof* or gap', i.e. with ON *rof* nt. 'breach, opening', but it is uncertain whether this would yield a long vowel in Gaelic,[116] cf. ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌs̪kɾo] NB194424, in *Borghaston* #69, from ON **Klifsgróf* '(the) stream of the hillside)', with genitive of ON *klif* nt. 'steep hillside, especially one with a path' and ON *gróf* f. ON *rauf* f. 'hole', however, occurs in ScG *Seilearo* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] NB034370, from ON **Sel-rauf* '(the) seal-hole',[117] with the stem form of the noun ON *selr* m. 'seal'.[118] ON *rauf* was borrowed into Gaelic as *rò* m.: ScG *An Rò* 'the hole' and *Fuaran an Rò* 'the spring of *An Rò*' NB485390, in *Am*

115. ScG *rang* f. [ɾãɣ] '(boat) rib' is a loan from ON *rǫng* (cf. Oftedal 1956, 115).

116. I.e. Had the Old Norse form had a short vowel, [ɾə] might result in Gaelic.

117. With an epenthetic vowel in Old Norse. Formally, ON **Sel-rauf* might be expected to yield ScG [ˈʃaɬ̪ˌɾo]; a derivation from ON (gen. sg.) **Selsrauf* would be impossible, and ON (gen. pl.) **Selarauf* might be expected to yield ScG *[ˈʃaɬ̪əˌɾo].

118. With ON *rauf* in the sense 'hole, opening' (Hovda 1961, 289 + fn 1), although the sense of Norw. *rauv* is 'backside, arse' today. For the function of this name in Gaelic, see #31 (i), fn 65.

19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162) agus a chaidh na chuibhreann de *Bhaile na Cille* #36. Tha *Beirghro* na dhruim air rubha an ceann a-staigh tàib fhada a thràigheas agus a lìonas leis an làn, tòb a tha a ghrunn na ghainmhich ach a cheann a-staigh na fhèithichean sàile.

Tha àite eile ri taobh an tàib seo far an tachair an dùnadh [ˌɾo]: GA *Allt Rangaro* [ˌaul̪t̪ ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo] NB037341 agus *Druim Rangaro* [ˌd̪ɾ̥ãĩm ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo] NB038341 (1843–82 *Druim Ranngaro*), an iar-thuath air *Crabhlastadh* #151, ach cha choltach gur h-ionann tùs na h-eileamaid anns an dà àite.

Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e ainm uillt ann an SL *gróf* b. 'allt' deiridh (#131), le fuaimreig còmhnaidh §42 (i) (b), a th' ann an GA **Rangaro*, is dòcha (1) à SL **Rang-gróf* '(an) rang-allt', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *rǫng* b. 'rang, asna bàta',[115] ?> GA *[ˈɾãŋgˌgɾo] > [ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo]; no (2) à SL **Hrann-gróf* '(an) cnoc-allt', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *hrǫnn* b., ?> GA *[ˈɾãn̪ˌgɾo] ?> [ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo] (ged a dh'fhaodte *[ˈɾãũŋgəˌɾo] a shùileachadh); no (3) à SL **Rangagróf* '(an t-)allt cam', le cruth lag boireann a' bhuadhair SL *rangr* 'cam' (ann an ainmean uillt, faic *NE* 185), ?> GA [ˈɾãŋgəˌɾo], le teasgadh meadhain, ged a bhiodh *[ˈɾãŋgəˌgɾo] na bu cholt-aiche. Bheireadh cruth na tìre a thaic dhan fhuasgladh mu dheireadh ach cuid-eachd dhan chiad fhear, .i. SL **Rang-gróf* '(an) rang-allt', an dèidh coltas briste bruaichean an uillt.

Air an làimh eile, is dòcha gum freagradh SL **Berg-rá* '(a') chnoc-chùil' ri *Beirghro*, .i. le bun-riochd na h-eileamaid SL *berg* n. san t-seagh 'cnoc, beinn' (#58) agus SL *rá* (cuideachd *ró*) b. 'cùil, oisean', no SL **Berg-rófa* '(an) cnoc-earball', le SL *rófa* b. 'earball → rubha'; gheibhear SL *rófa* na shònraichear san ainm-iasaid ann an GA *Rubha Robhanis* [ˌɾu ˈɾo-əˌniʃ], à SL **Rófunes* #284.

Bheir MacIver (1934, 98) 'the berry *rof* or gap', .i. le SL *rof* n. 'briseadh, fosgladh', ach cha chinnteach an toireadh seo fuaimreag fhada sa Ghàidhlig,[116] coim. GA *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌs̪kɾo] NB194424, ann am *Borghaston* #69, à SL **Klifsgróf* 'allt an leothaid', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *klif* n. 'leathad cas, gu h-àraidh fear air a bheil stiogha' agus SL *gróf* b. Nochdaidh SL *rauf* b. 'toll', ge-tà, ann an GA *Seilea-ro* [ˈʃeləˌɾo] NB034370, à SL **Sel-rauf* '(an) ròn-tholl',[117] le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *selr* f. 'ròn'.[118] Chaidh SL *rauf* air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na *rò* f.: GA *An Rò* 'an toll' agus *Fuaran an Rò* NB485390, air *A' Bhac* #23 (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 28, 52).

115. Tha GA *rang* b. [ɾãɣ] na iasad à SL *rǫng* (coim. Oftedal 1956, 115).

116. .i. Nam b' e fuaimreag ghoirid a bh' aig a' chruth Lochlannais, dh'fhaodadh [ɾə] èirigh sa Ghàidhlig.

117. Le fuaimreig còmhnaidh san Lochlannais. Gu foirmeil, dh'fhaodte sùileachadh gun toireadh SL **Sel-rauf* GA [ˈʃaɬ̪ˌɾo]; bhiodh bunachas à SL (gin. sg.) **Selsrauf* do-dhèanta, agus is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL (gin. iol.) **Selarauf* GA *[ˈʃaɬ̪əˌɾo].

118. Le SL *rauf* sa bhrìgh 'toll, fosgladh' (Hovda 1961, 289 + bn 1), ged as e 'màs, tòn' as brìgh do Nirr. *rauv* an-diugh. A thaobh dreuchd an ainme seo sa Ghàidhlig, faic #31 (i), bn 65.

Bac #23 (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 28, 52). That ON *rauf* gives ScG [ʀoː] rather than *[ʀɔː] (cf. ScG *sgòd* m. [s̪kɔːd̪̊] < ON *skaut* nt. (#7)) may be due to the influence of final ON *f*, now lost.

#60 ***Bhàcasaigh*** ÙIG

[ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj], (gen.) idem; NB116370. 1750M *Vacasay*; 1776 *Vacafa*; 1801 *Vacasa*; 1804 *Vacafa I.*; 1807 *Vacasay*; 1821, 1822 *Vaxay*; 1843–82 *Vacsey or Bhàcsaidh*, *Tòb Bhàcsaidh*, *Loch Dubh Bhàcasaidh*; 1846 *Vaxay*.

The name of an island in ÙIG, whose settlement was located at *Tòb Bhàcasaigh* 'the inlet of *Bhàcasaigh*' in the south and before that – as the name itself suggests – at *Tòb an t-Sean Bhaile* 'the inlet of the old village' in the west.

MacKenzie (1932, 273) suggests, without further explanation, that the loan-name here means 'Wayke's island'. However, it no doubt derives from CSc. **Vágsøy* '(the) island of the bay', with genitive of the noun (ON) *vágr* m. 'bay' (#98) and CSc. *øy* f. 'island' §16. In this instance, the Norse name denotes 'an island containing a bay', as does *Bhàcasaigh* NF977746, in North Uist; in *Bhàcasaigh* NB187362, east of *Beàrnaraigh* #51, however, the sense of the name is 'an island located at the entrance to a bay'.[119] In Norway, cf. *Vågsøen*, in Sogn og Fjordane (*NG* XII, 372).

Medial [xs] in CSc. **Vágsøy* became [ʰkʂ] in Gaelic, before the development of an epenthetic vowel; for the development fricative > plosive before *s*, cf. ScG *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑɬ̪] NB305304, < ON **Eiðsfjall* '(the) mountain of the isthmus', with genitive of the noun ON *eið* nt. (#75) and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain'; for the epenthetic vowel, cf. ScG *Lacasaigh* #230 < ON **Lax-á*.

#61 ***Bhalamus*** PRC

[ˈvɑɬ̪əˌməʂ], (gen.) *Bhalamuis* [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌmiʃ]; NB297016. 1776 *L. Valumis*; 1789, 1801 *Valumis*; 1804 *Loch Valumis*; 1807 *L. Valumis*; 1821 *Valines*; 1843–82 *Bhalamus*, *Bhalamus Bheag*, *Loch Bhalamuis*; 1845 *Valimas*.

The name of a deserted settlement within and on the east side of the sea loch *Loch Bhalamuis*, once the centre of the former sheep farm in A' PHÀIRC (Lawson 2011, 191).

The generic of the Old Norse loan-name here might be from ON *mosi* m. 'moss; moor, bog': the accusative ON *mosa* yielding ScG [məʂ], with apocope §44 (iii).

119. Oftedal (1972, 115–16) gives the pronunciations for these three names, as follows: (ÙIG) [ˌvaːk(ə)saj], [ˈvaːʰkəsɛj] ((nMO) [ˈvaːhkəsæj]); (east of *Beàrnaraigh*) [ˈvaːhkəsæj] ((nMO) [vɑːk(ə)saj]); (North Uist) [ˈvaːxkəsɛj], in which [x] represents pre-aspiration before /k/ in the dialect.

Is dòcha gun toir SL *rauf* GA [ʀoː] seach *[ʀɔː] (coim. GA *sgòd* f. [s̪kɔːd̪̊] < SL *skaut* n. (#7)) mar thoradh air a' bhuaidh aig SL *f* dheiridh, a-nise air chall.

#60 ***Bhàcasaigh*** ÙIG

[ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj], (gin.) idem; NB116370. 1750M *Vacasay*; 1776 *Vacafa*; 1801 *Vacasa*; 1804 *Vacafa I.*; 1807 *Vacasay*; 1821, 1822 *Vaxay*; 1843–82 *Vacsey or Bhàcsaidh*, *Tòb Bhàcsaidh*, *Loch Dubh Bhàcsaidh*; 1846 *Vaxay*.

An t-ainm air eilean ann an ÙIG, a bha a thuineachadh aig *Tòb Bhàcasaigh* san àird a deas agus roimhe sin – mar a chuireas an t-ainm fhèin air shùilibh – aig *Tòb an t-Sean Bhaile* san àird an iar.

Cuiridh MacKenzie (1932, 273) air shùilibh, gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh, gur h-e 'Wayke's island' as ciall dhan ainm-iasaid a tha seo. Gidheadh, chan eil teagamh nach ann à LB **Vágsøy* 'eilean a' bhàigh' a tha e, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir (SL) *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#98) agus LB *øy* b. 'eilean' §16. San t-seagh seo, beanaidh an t-ainm Lochlannais ri 'eilean anns a bheil bàgh', mar a bheanas *Bhàcasaigh* NF977746, ann an Uibhist a Tuath; ann an *Bhàcasaigh* NB187362, air taobh an ear *Bheàrnaraigh* #51, ge-tà, 's e 'eilean ann am beul bàigh' as brìgh dhan ainm.[119] Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Vågsøen*, ann an Sogn og Fjordane (*NG* XII, 372).

Chaidh [xs] mheadhain ann an LB **Vágsøy* na [ʰkʂ] sa Ghàidhlig, mus do dh'fhàs fuaimreag còmhnaidh; airson an leasachaidh suathach > stadach ro *s*, coim. GA *Èitseal* [ˈeːʰtʲʃɑɬ̪] NB305304, < SL **Eiðsfjall* 'beinn na h-aoidhe', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *eið* n. (#75) agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn'; airson na fuaimreig còmhnaidh, coim. GA *Lacasaigh* #230 < SL **Lax-á*.

#61 ***Bhalamus*** PRC

[ˈvɑɬ̪əˌməʂ], (gin.) *Bhalamuis* [ˈvɑɬ̪əˌmiʃ]; NB297016. 1776 *L. Valumis*; 1789, 1801 *Valumis*; 1804 *Loch Valumis*; 1807 *L. Valumis*; 1821 *Valines*; 1843–82 *Bhalamus*, *Bhalamus Bheag*, *Loch Bhalamuis*; 1845 *Valimas*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs am broinn agus air taobh an ear an locha mara *Loch Bhalamuis*, a bha uair na mheadhan dhan tuathanas chaorach a bh' anns A' PHÀIRC (Lawson 2011, 191).

Dh'fhaodadh seòrsaichear an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a tha seo tàrmachadh ann an SL *mosi* f. 'còinneach; mòinteach, boglach': an cruth cuspaireach SL *mosa* a' toirt GA [məʂ], le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii).

119. Bheir Oftedal (1972, 115–16) am fuaimneachadh airson nan trì ainmean seo, mar a leanas: (ÙIG) [ˌvaːk(ə)saj], [ˈvaːʰkəsɛj] ((nMO) [ˈvaːhkəsæj]); (an ear air *Beàrnaraigh*) [ˈvaːhkəsæj] ((nMO) [vɑːk(ə)saj]); (Uibhist a Tuath) [ˈvaːxkəsɛj], sam bi [x] a' riochdachach ro-analachadh ro /k/ san dualchainnt.

However, a generic in ON *sum*, the accusative of ON *sumr* m., seems more likely here. ON *sumr* 'sea; loch' occurs as a poetic word in *NO*, but cf. Norw. *sum* nt., used of places where animals are made to swim over to islands to graze: cf. *Sumet* and *Hestasumet* in Ryfylke, Rogaland, in Norway (Hovda 1944, 19); and cf. Norn *sum* sb. 'swimming' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.).[120] (The people of *Beàrnaraigh* #51 used to swim their cattle over to the mainland also.[121])

ON *Hvalasum* acc. '(the) sound of the whales' (with genitive plural of ON *hvalr* m.) might yield ScG [ˈvaɬ̪ˌməs̪], and perhaps ON *sumr* here indicates that livestock would be swum over the sound to *Bhalamus Bheag* 'lesser *Bhalamus*', on the west side of *Loch Bhalamuis*. For the metathesis §4o (iii), cf. ON *múla* (accusative of ON *múli* m. 'projecting mountain') > ScG [l̪əm], as in ScG *Beinn Ghuidealum* [ˌbʲɛ̃ĩn̪ ˈɣu̟ɪd̪ʲə l̪əm][122] (#81) NB235454 'the mountain of **Guidealum*', in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), with an obscure specific.

For ON *hvalr*, cf. *Bhalasaigh* #62. The whale is mentioned in several Gaelic place-names, e.g. *Cnoc Chala Muc* 'the hill of the harbour of the whales' NB2232 (#256, bn 589), in *Callanis* #94, and *Geodha na Muic* 'the cove of the whale', e.g. at NB1843, in *An Dùn* #17o, NB2749, in *Bradhagair* #74, and NB2245, in *Na Dailean* #167.

#62 *Bhalasaigh* BRN (Eng. *Valasay*)
[ˈvaɬ̪əˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaɬ̪əˌs̪aj], (gen.) idem; NB145365. 1843–82 *Bhalasaidh*, *Tob Bhalas·aidh*; 2007, road sign *Bhalasaigh*‖*Valasay*.

> Oftedal 1954, 381: '**Valasay** [vɑləsɛj].[123] A certain Norse name, as witness the initial [v], which never occurs as a radical consonant in native Gaelic words. The last component is ON *øy* (*ey*), which usually means 'island'. Now, **Valasay** is not located on an island, but on a peninsula which joins the main island of *Beàrnaraigh* #51 at *Tòpsann* #335. I have not visited the place, but the map shows that the isthmus connecting the peninsula with the main island (at *Tòpsann*) is narrow and very low; it is even cut through by a stream-like watercourse which connects the head of *Tòb Bhalasaigh* with the sea. This indicates that the peninsula may have been an island when the name was given. It is not, however, necessary to assume this, as ON *øy* could also mean "a strip of low land along the sea or a lake". The first component may be either *vals*, gen-

120. All connected with the verb ON *svim*(*m*)*a, symja* 'to swim'.

121. As in a picture in Lawson 2008, 169.

122. (1843–82) *Beinn Ghuidamul*.

123. (nMO) [vɑɬəsɛj], *Tòb Bhalasaigh* [ˌtɔːb ˈvɑɬəsɛj].

Is iongantach, ge-tà, mana biodh SL *sum*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *sumr* f., na bu cholta iche mar sheòrsaichear an seo. Tha SL *sumr* 'muir; loch' na fhacal bàrdail aig *NO*, ach coim. Nirr. *sum* n., a chleachdte air àitichean far an cuirte beathaichean air shnàmh a-null a dh'eileanan a dh'ionaltradh: coim. *Sumet* agus *Hestasumet* ann an Ryfylke, Rogaland, ann an Nirribhidh (Hovda 1944, 19); agus coim. Nòrn *sum* ainm. 'swimming' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.).[120] (Bhiodh muinntir *Bheàrnaraigh* #51 a' snàmh an cuid cruidh a-null gu tìr-mòr cuideachd.[121])

Is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **Hvalasum* cusp. 'caolas nam mucan-mara' (leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *hvalr* f.) GA [ˈvaɬ̪əˌməs̪], agus is dòcha gun robh SL *sumr* an seo a' sònrachadh gum bite a' cur na sprèidhe air shnàmh a-null air a' chaolas a *Bhalamus Bheag*, air taobh an iar *Loch Bhalamuis*. Airson an eadar-chàraidh §4o (iii), coim. SL *múla* (an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *múli* f. 'beinn stobach') > GA [l̪əm], mar a tha ann an GA *Beinn Ghuidealum* [ˌbʲɛ̃ĩn̪ ˈɣu̟ɪd̪ʲə l̪əm][122] (#81) NB235454, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), le sònraichear doilleir.

Airson SL *hvalr*, coim. *Bhalasaigh* #62. Nithear iomradh air a' mhuic-mhara ann an corra ainm-àite Gàidhlig, m.e. *Cnoc Chala Muc* NB2232 (#256, bn 589), ann an *Callanis* #94, agus *Geodha na Muic*, m.e. aig NB1843, air *An Dùn* #17o, NB2749, ann am *Bradhagair* #74, agus NB2245, anns *Na Dailean* #167.

#62 *Bhalasaigh* BRN
[ˈvaɬ̪əˌs̪ɛj], [ˈvaɬ̪əˌs̪aj], (gin.) idem; NB145365. 1843–82 *Bhalasaidh*, *Tob Bhalas·aidh*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Bhalasaigh*‖*Valasay*.

> Oftedal 1954, 381: **Valasay** [vɑləsɛj].[123] Ainm Lochlannais gu cinnteach, mar a sheallas a' [v] thoisich, nach nochd mar chonnraig bhunasaich ann am facail Ghàidhlig dhùthchasach. 'S e SL *øy* (*ey*), a chiallaicheas 'eilean' mar as trice, a th' anns an eileamaid mu dheireadh. Nise, chan ann air eilean ach air rubha a tha **Valasay** air a shuidheachadh, a cheanglar ri tìr-mòr *Bheàrnaraigh* #51 ann an *Tòpsann* #335. Cha do thadhail mi air an àite, ach seallaidh am mapa gu bheil an aoidh eadar an rubha is am prìomh eilean (ann an *Tòpsann*) cumhang is glè ìosal; tha i fiù 's air a gearradh troimhe le sruth uisge coltach ri allt, a cheanglas ceann *Thòb Bhalasaigh* ris a' mhuir. Innsidh seo gur dòcha gun robh an rubha na eilean nuair a chaidh an t-ainm a thoirt air. Chan eil e deatamach a bhith den bheachd seo, ge-tà, seach gum faodadh SL *øy* a bhith a' ciallachadh 'fad talmhainn ìsle ris a' mhuir no loch' mar an ceudna. Faodaidh aon chuid *vals*, an tuis-

120. Uile ceangailte ris a' ghnìomhair SL *svim*(*m*)*a, symja* 'snàmh'.

121. Mar a tha ann an dealbh ann an Lawson 2008, 169.

122. (1843–82) *Beinn Ghuidamul*.

123. (nMO) [vɑɬəsɛj], *Tòb Bhalasaigh* [ˌtɔːb ˈvɑɬəsɛj]

itive singular of ON *valr m.* 'falcon' (used as an appellative or as a man's name), or *hvals*, genitive singular of ON *hvalr* m. "whale". As I have no other example of a name ON **Valsøy*, I think ON **Hvalsøy* is the correct solution. There are several islands in Norway called *Hvaløy* (without the genitive *s*), and Lnb. tells about a *Hvalsøy* in Greenland. **Valasay** cannot be ON **Vallangsøy*, although the phonetics would allow us to identify it with this name (an island, now *Valsøya*, in Norway (*NG* XIII, 444–45)), because the component ON **Vallangr*, a fjord name, does not fit in here.'

The name of a small settlement that is part of the township *Tòpsann* #335, in *Beàrnaraigh*. Although the long narrow sea loch *Tòb Bhalasaigh* that Oftedal mentions reaches as far north as *Tòpsann*, the name *Bhalasaigh* itself denotes the southern end of the promontory here, at the mouth of the inlet, and where *Bhalasaigh* is almost cut off and made an island by *An Tòb Làthaich* 'the muddy/clayey inlet' NB145367. ON *ey* f. (CSc. *øy*) was at times used of promontories as well as islands (*NSL*, s.v.).

As regards the specific of this loan-name, MacKenzie (1932, 273) recommends the personal name *Vali*, but, if he intended ON *Váli* m., one would expect a long stressed vowel in Gaelic. MacIver (1934, 31) suggests *malar*, genitive of ON *mǫl* f. 'gravel, pebbles',[124] as is probably found in ScG *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃l̪ə̪ˌniʃ] NB186419, in *An Dùn* #170, from ON **Malarnes* '(the) promontory of the gravel'. On the one hand, however, *Bhalasaigh* does not have a nasal stressed vowel; on the other, radical initial [m] is unlikely to yield a radical initial [v] in Gaelic.

ScG *seabhag* m. 'hawk, peregrine falcon' is found in place-names in Lewis, e.g. ScG *Geodha an t-Seabhaig* 'the cove of the hawk' (#107) NB193452, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, and ScG *muc* f. (i.e. *muc-mara*) 'whale' is common, e.g. ScG *Mol nam Muc* 'the shingle beach of the whales' NB133388, in *Beàrnaraigh*, a name associated with catching whales according to Macaulay (1972, 322–23). Perhaps ON (gen.) *hvals* 'whale' is more likely than ON (gen.) *vals* 'hawk' as the specific of our name given the context of an island that is relatively low and where whales could be beached; cf. *Bhalamus* #61.

For the epenthetic vowel in *Bhalasaigh* < CSc. *Hvalsøy*, cf. ScG *Ceallasaigh*, from CSc. *Hjallsøy* (#51).

#63 *Bhaltos* ÙIG (Eng. *Valtos*)
[ˈvaɫt̪ɔs̪], (gen.) *Bhaltois* [ˈvaɫt̪ɔʃ]; NB095367. 1718 *Waltos*; 1726 *Vattos* [*sic*]; 1821 *Valtas*; 1822 *Valtos*; 1843–82 *Valtos or Bhaltos*, *Teampull* (*Bhaltois*); 1845 *Valtos*; 1846

124. Which was borrowed as ScG *mol* m. (#273).

eal ginideach singilte aig SL *valr* f. 'seabhag' (air a chleachdadh mar ainmear bitheanta no mar ainm fireannaich), no *hvals*, an tuiseal ginideach singilte aig SL *hvalr* f. 'muc-mara', a bhith sa chiad eileamaid. Seach nach eil eisimpleir eile agam den ainm SL **Valsøy*, saoileam gur h-e SL **Hvalsøy* am fuasgladh ceart. Tha corra eilean ann an Nirribhidh air a bheil *Hvaløy* mar ainm (gun *s* ghinideach), agus innsidh Lnb. mu *Hvalsøy* ann an Graonlainn. Chan urrainn do **Valasay** a bhith na SL **Vallangsøy*, ged a cheadaicheadh am fuaim-eòlas a aithneachadh cuide ris an ainm seo (na eilean, nise *Valsøya*, ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* XIII, 444–45)), a chionn 's nach fhreagair an eileamaid SL **Vallangr*, ainm locha mara, ann an seo.'

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag a tha na chuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Tòpsann* #335, ann am *Beàrnaraigh*. Ged a ruigeas an loch mara fada tana *Tòb Bhalasaigh* air an toir Oftedal iomradh cho fada tuath ri *Tòpsann*, beanaidh an t-ainm *Bhalasaigh* fhèin ri ceann a deas an rubha an seo, aig beul an tàib, agus far nach mòr nach tèid *Bhalasaigh* a ghearradh dheth is a dhèanamh na eilean leis *An Tòb Làthaich* NB145367. A thuilleadh air eileanan, chleachdte SL *ey* b. (LB *øy*) air rubhaichean air uairean (*NSL*, s.v.).

A thaobh sònraichear an ainm-iasaid seo, molaidh MacKenzie (1932, 273) an t-ainm pearsanta *Vali*, ach, mas e SL *Váli* f. a bha fo rùn dha, bhite an dùil ri fuaimreig bheumte fhada sa Ghàidhlig. Cuiridh MacIver (1934, 31) air shùilibh *malar*, an tuiseal ginideach aig SL *mǫl* b. 'grinneal, molagan',[124] mar as math dh'fhaodte a gheibhear ann an GA *Malanis* [ˈmɑ̃l̪ə̪ˌniʃ] NB186419, air *An Dùn* #170, à SL **Malarnes* 'rubha a' ghrinneil'. Air an dàrna làimh, ge-tà, chan e fuaimreag bheumte shrònach a th' aig *Bhalasaigh*; air an làimh eile, cha choltach gun deigheadh [m] thoisich bhunasach na [v] thoisich bhunasach sa Ghàidhlig.

Gheibhear GA *seabhag* f. ann an ainmean-àite ann an Leòdhas, m.e. GA *Geodha an t-Seabhaig* (#107) NB193452, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, agus tha GA *muc* b. (.i. *muc-mara*) bitheanta, m.e. GA *Mol nam Muc* NB133388, ann am *Beàrnaraigh*, ainm a tha a-mach air a bhith ag iasgach nam mucan-mara a rèir Mhacaulay (1972, 322–23). Is dòcha gu bheil SL (gin.) *hvals* 'muc-mara' nas coltaiche na SL (gin.) *vals* 'seabhag' mar shònraichear an ainme againn a chionn co-theags eilein a tha cuimseach ìosal agus far an gabhadh mucan-mara cur gu tìr; coim. *Bhalamus* #61.

Airson na fuaimreig còmhnaidh ann a' *Bhalasaigh* < LB **Hvalsøy*, coim. GA *Ceallasaigh*, à LB **Hjallsøy* (#51).

#63 *Bhaltos* ÙIG
[ˈvaɫt̪ɔs̪], (gin.) *Bhaltois* [ˈvaɫt̪ɔʃ]; NB095367. 1718 *Waltos*; 1726 *Vattos* [*sic*]; 1821 *Valtas*; 1822 *Valtos*; 1843–82 *Valtos or Bhaltos*, *Teampull* (*Bhaltois*); 1845 *Valtos*;

124. A chaidh air iasad na GA *mol* f. (#273).

Valtos, *Glen Valtos*;[125] 2007, road sign *Bhaltos*‖*Valtos*.

> Oftedal 1954, 387: '**Valtos** (CB) [vɑɻˌʰtɔs].[126] The name is also met with in Lochs Parish (#64), and in Skye (on the east side of Trotternish); it constitutes the last component of Eng. *Garry Valtos*, in South Uist. It is probably ON *Vatnlausa* "(the) waterless place"; the name refers either to difficult access to drinking water or to a well that frequently goes dry. Such wells are not uncommon in the Hebrides, and it is not surprising to find such a name in four different places. As a medial cluster [tɻ] is seldom if ever found in the Hebridean Gaelic dialects, the metathesis to [ɻt] after a previous dropping of *n* is precisely what could be expected; cf. ScG *altachadh* [ɑɻtəxəɣ] "saying grace" < OG *attluġud*, ScG *ultach* [uɻtəx] "armful" < MG *utlach*.[127]
>
> '*Vatnlausa* is found as a farm name in Iceland (Lnb.). The cognate *Vaslaus* is a farm name in Norway (*NG* VII, 454).'

The name of a township in the north of Ùig;[128] a Gaelic name, from ON *Vatnlausa* '(the) waterless [place]', with the stem form of the noun ON *vatn* nt. 'water'[129] + the weak neuter form of the adjective ON *lauss* 'without' as a suffix (cf. Eng. *less*); cf. *Solløsen* < ON **Sóllausa* 'sunless; bleak, bare' (*NG* I, 210), in Sogn, Norway.

ON *vatn* yields ScG [vaʰt̪̃] regularly, e.g. ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪̃ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪̃] NB524545 < ON **Langavatn* '(the) long loch', with the neuter weak form of the adjective ON *langr*, and ScG *Loch Bhata Leòis* [ˌl̪̃ɔxˌvaʰt̪̃ə ˈɲ̊ɔːʃ] NB521541, with the genitive of ScG **Bhata Leòs*, a loan-name from ON **Vatnit Ljósa* 'the bright loch, the clear loch', with ON *vatn* + the neuter suffixed article + the neuter weak form of the adjective ON *ljóss* 'bright, clear'; but ScG *Loch Bhatan Dìob* [ˌl̪̃ɔxˌvaʰt̪̃ə ˈɲ̊ʲiːb̥], the genitive of ScG **Bhatan Dìob*, a loan-name from CSc. **Vatnit Diupa* 'the deep loch', with the neuter weak form of the adjective CSc. **diupʀ* 'deep' (#168),[130]

125. ScG *Gleann Bhaltois* 'the valley of *Bhaltos*' NB069344 is named after the township *Bhaltos*.

126. (nMO) [vɑɻˈtɔs], [vɑɻtɔs], *Gleann Bhaltois* [ɡ̊lɑɤ̃ ˈɣɑɻtʃ].

127. Note that [ɻt] in Oftedal's transcriptions equals [l̪̃t̪̃], i.e. the medial cluster in *Bhaltos* and in *altachadh* and *ultach* is identical.

128. It is said the village used to be near the old graveyard (≈1843–82) *Teampall Bhaltois* 'the church of *Bhaltos*' NB089367.

129. But the genitive in *Vaslaus* < ON **Vazlaus* (**Vatslaus*) – ON *vatn* had two genitive forms: *vatns* and *vaz* (*vats*).

130. For the syntax of these Norse names, see Cox 2007c, 17–19.

1846 *Valtos*, *Glen Valtos*;[125] 2007, soighne rathaid *Bhaltos*‖*Valtos*.

> Oftedal 1954, 387: **Valtos** (CB) [vɑɻˌʰtɔs].[126] Gheibhear an t-ainm ann an Sgìre nan Loch mar an ceudna (#64), agus san Eilean Sgitheanach (air taobh an ear Thròndairnis); 's i an eileamaid mu dheireadh ann am Brl. *Garry Valtos* ann an Uibhist a Deas. Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e SL *Vatn·lausa* '(an t-)àite gun uisge' a th' ann; bheir an t-ainm iomradh aon chuid air droch chothrom air fìor-uisge air neo air tobair a thiormaicheas gu tric. Chan eil tobraichean de leithid neo-chumanta sna h-Eileanan Siar, agus chan eil e na iongnadh a bhith a' lorg a leithid de dh'ainm ann an ceithir àitichean eadar-dhealaichte. Seach nach lorgar an còmhlan meadhain [tɻ] ach ainneamh, ma gheibhear idir e, ann an dualchainntean Gàidhlig nan Eilean Siar, 's e an t-eadar-chàradh gu [ɻt] an dèidh leagail na h-*n* an dearbh rud ris am bite an dùil; coim. GA *altachadh* [ɑɻtəxəɣ] 'ùrnaigh ro bhiadh' < SG *attluġud*, GA *ultach* [uɻtəx] 'làn nan gàirdean' < MG *utlach*.[127]
>
> Tha *Vatnlausa* na ainm tuathanais ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.). Tha an co-bhunadair *Vaslaus* na ainm tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* VII, 454).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ceann a tuath Ùig;[128] ainm Gàidhlig, à SL *Vatn·lausa* '(an t-)àite às aonais uisge, gun uisge', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *vatn* n. 'uisge'[129] + cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *lauss* 'às aonais' na iar-leasachan (coim. Brl. *less*); coim. *Solløsen* < SL **Sóllausa* 'gun ghrian; aognaidh, lom' (*NG* I, 210), ann an Sogn, Nirribhidh.

Thèid SL *vatn* n. na GA [vaʰt̪̃] gu riaghailteach, m.e. GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪̃ãŋɡ̊əˌvaʰt̪̃] NB524545 < SL **Langavatn* '(an) loch fada', le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *langr*, agus GA *Loch Bhata Leòis* [ˌl̪̃ɔxˌvaʰt̪̃ə ˈɲ̊ɔːʃ] NB521541, leis a' chruth ghinideach aig GA **Bhata Leòs*, ainm-iasaid à SL **Vatnit Ljósa* 'an loch soilleir, an loch glan', le SL *vatn* + an alt iar-leasaichte neodrach + cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *ljóss* 'soilleir, glan'; ach GA *Loch Bhatan Dìob* [ˌl̪̃ɔxˌvaʰt̪̃ə ˈɲ̊ʲiːb̥], an cruth ginideach aig GA **Bhatan Dìob*, ainm-iasaid à LB **Vatnit Diupa* 'an loch domhainn', le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair LB **diupʀ* 'domhainn' (#168),[130] far an deach an

125. Tha GA *Gleann Bhaltois* NB069344 air ainmeachadh air a' bhaile fearainn *Bhaltos*.

126. (nMO) [vɑɻˈtɔs], [vɑɻtɔs], *Gleann Bhaltois* [ɡ̊lɑɤ̃ ˈɣɑɻtʃ].

127. Mothaich gur h-e [l̪̃t̪̃] as ciall do [ɻt] ann an tras-sgrìobhaidhean Oftedal, .i. gur h-ionann an còmhlan meadhain ann an *Bhaltos* agus am fear ann an *altachadh* agus *ultach*.

128. A rèir aithris, b' àbhaist dhan bhaile a bhith faisg air an t-sean chladh (≈1843–82) *Teampall Bhaltois* NB089367.

129. Ach an tuiseal ginideach ann an *Vaslaus* < SL **Vazlausa* (**Vatslaus*) – bha an dà chruth ghinideach aig SL *vatn*: *vatns* agus *vaz* (*vats*).

130. Airson co-rèir nan ainmean Lochlannais a tha seo, faic Cox 2007c, 17–19.

where the nasal has been retained before the dental in Gaelic.[131]

ON **Vatnlausa* yields EG *[ˈβaṯl̪ɔːs̪], which yields ScG *[ˈvaʰt̪l̪ɔs̪] > [ˈvaɬ̪t̪ɔs̪], with shortening of the unstressed vowel and metathesis §40 (i), regularly.

The village name Eng. *Garry Valtos* (now Eng. *Milton*) in South Uist (NF733261) may have been influenced by the form *Valtos* (ScG *Bhaltos*) in the Isle of Skye NG515638 or Lewis. *Geàrraidh Bhailteas* [ˌg̊ʲɑːɾə ˈvaʌ̊t̪ʲəs̪][132] is its Gaelic name and in his notes Oftedal recommends a derivation from ScG *geàrr·aidh* m. (#192) + a loan-name from ON **Vatnleysa*, without further comment. Although the verb ON *leysa* 'to loosen' etc. exists, it does not seem to be the likely explanation here. It seems more reasonable to suppose that we are dealing with an unattested adjective **leyss*;[133] ON *lauss* and ON **leyss* would be related forms, although the latter will have undergone front mutation (*i*-umlaut; Haugen 1976, 153), as happened to the verb ON *leysa*.[134]

#64 *Bhaltos* CTL

[ˈvaɬ̪t̪ɔs̪], (gen.) *Bhaltois* [ˈvaɬ̪t̪ɔʃ]; NB319206. 1654 *Valtos*; 1718, 1726 *Waltos*; 1776 *Valtis*; 1789, 1801 *Valties*; 1804 *Valtis*; 1807 *Vallis*; 1843–48 *Bhaltos or Valtos*; 1846 *Valtos*.

Oftedal 1954, 401: **'Valtos** [vɑɪtɔs].'[135]

131. ScG *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] NG285438, in Skye, is derived from ON **Vatn* (Taylor 2011, s.v. Eng. *Vatten*), but ON **Vatn* would yield ScG *[ˈfaḏən]; it is more likely that *Bhatan* is from ON **Vǫtnin* 'the lochs', with the nominative or accusative plural form of ON *vatn* nt. + the nominative or accusative neuter plural suffixed article; so also ScG *Bhatan* ND240544, in Caithness (MacIlleathain 2010, 44, s.v. Eng. *Watten*); but, while ON **Vǫtnin* in Skye denotes the three lochs, *Loch Bhatan*, *Loch na Faoilinn* and *Poll Ròdhag*, ON **Vǫtnin* in Caithness denotes the broad river that flows past the town, with ON *vǫtn* (pl.) being used in the sense 'waters, river' (*NO*, s.v. *vatn*), 'broad river' (*NSL*, s.v. *vatn*).

132. (nMO) [gʲɑɾə ˈvaɻʲtʲəs], [g̊ʲɑɾə ˈvaɪtʲʃəs].

133. In Icelandic, Cleasby derives the neuter nominal ending *-leysi* from the adjective *lauss*; cf. also Far. *leysur* adj. 'separated, loose'.

134. Taylor's translation of *Gearra-Bhailteas* (2011, s.v. *Milton*: 'fertile land by the river mouth') may assume that the ending of **Bhailteas* is based on ON *óss* m. 'river mouth' (#47); dismissing that notion, MacBain (1922, 81) suggests ON *áss* m. 'ridge'. For ScG *Bhaltos*, MacBain (ibid.) gives a derivation from ON **Vold-áss* '(the) field-ridge', suggesting the first element is an old form of ON *vǫllr* m. 'field' (?cf. ON *fold* f. '(level) land'); so Forbes (1923, 444) and MacIver (1934, 55). Elsewhere (ibid., 98), the latter prefers a derivation from ON **Vald-hús* '(the) power-house', so <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/1993>; Taylor (ibid., s.v. *Valtos*) gives the English translation 'river mouth' (cf. ON *óss*, as above).

135. (nMO) [vaɬ̪tɔs], (gen.) [vaɬ̪tɔʃ]; *Loch Bhaltois* [ɬɔxˈvaɬ̪tɔʃ]; *Àird Bhaltois* [ˈɑːɖˈvaɬ̪tɔʃ].

srònach a ghleidheadh ron deudach sa Ghàidhlig.[131]

Bheir SL **Vatnlausa* GT *[ˈβaṯl̪ɔːs̪], a bheir GA *[ˈvaʰt̪l̪ɔs̪] > [ˈvaɬ̪t̪ɔs̪], le giorrachadh san fhuaimreig neo-bheumte agus eadar-chàradh §40 (i), gu riaghailteach.

'S dòcha gun robh ainm a' bhaile Brl. *Garry Valtos* (a-nis Brl. *Milton*) ann an Uibhist a Deas (NF733261) fo bhuaidh an ainme *Bhaltos* (Brl. *Valtos*) san Eilean Sgitheanach NG515638 air neo ann an Leòdhas. 'S e *Geàrraidh Bhailteas* [ˌg̊ʲɑːɾə ˈvaʌ̊t̪ʲəs̪][132] ainm Gàidhlig an àite agus na notaichean molaidh Oftedal bunachas à GA *geàrraidh* f. (#192) + ainm-iasaid à SL **Vatnleysa*, gun an còrr a ràdh. Ged a tha an gnìomhair SL *leysa* 'sgaoil' ↁc ann, cha choltach gum biodh a leithid iomchaidh an seo. Is coltach gum biodh e na bu reusanta gabhail ris gur h-ann ri buadhair gun teist **leyss*, frith-riochd aig SL *lauss*, a tha sinn a' dèiligeadh an seo;[133] bhiodh SL *lauss* agus SL **leyss* nan cruthan dàimheach, ach bhiodh mùthadh toisich (*i*-umlaut; Haugen 1976, 153) air tachairt dhan fhear eile, mar a thachair dhan ghnìomhair SL *leysa*.[134]

#64 *Bhaltos* CTL

[ˈvaɬ̪t̪ɔs̪], (gin.) *Bhaltois* [ˈvaɬ̪t̪ɔʃ]; NB319206. 1654 *Valtos*; 1718, 1726 *Waltos*; 1776 *Valtis*; 1789, 1801 *Valties*; 1804 *Valtis*; 1807 *Vallis*; 1843–48 *Bhaltos or Valtos*; 1846 *Valtos*.

Oftedal 1954, 401: **Valtos** [vɑɪtɔs].[135]

131. Canar gur h-ann à SL **Vatn* a tha an t-ainm baile GA *Bhatan* [ˈfaʰt̪ən] NG285438, san Eilean Sgitheanach (Taylor 2011, s.v. Brl. *Vatten*), ach bheireadh SL **Vatn* GA *[ˈfaḏən]; tha e nas coltaiche gur h-ann à SL **Vǫtnin* 'na lochan' a tha *Bhatan*, le cruth ainmneach no cuspaireach iolra an ainmeir SL *vatn* n. + cruth ainmneach no cuspaireach neodrach iolra an uilt iar-leasaichte; mar sin cuideachd GA *Bhatan* ND240544, ann an Gallaibh (MacIlleathain 2010, 44, s.v. Brl. *Watten*); ach, fhad 's a bhiodh SL **Vǫtnin* san Eilean Sgitheanach a' sònrachadh nan trì lochan, *Loch Bhatan*, *Loch na Faoilinn* agus *Poll Ròdhag*, bhiodh SL **Vǫtnin* ann an Gallaibh a' sònrachadh na h-aibhne leithne a shruthas seachad air a' bhaile, agus SL *vǫtn* (iol.) ga chleachdadh san t-seagh 'uisgeachan, abhainn' (*NO*, s.v. *vatn*), 'abhainn leathann' (*NSL*, s.v. *vatn*).

132. (nMO) [gʲɑɾə ˈvaɻʲtʲəs], [g̊ʲɑɾə ˈvaɪtʲʃəs].

133. Anns an Tìlis, canaidh Cleasby gun tàrmaich an dùnadh ainmneach neodrach *-leysi* anns a' bhuadhair *lauss*; coim. cuideachd Fàr. *leysur* buadh. 'sgaraichte, sgaoilte'.

134. Is coltach gu bheil an tionndadh a th' aig Taylor air *Gearra-Bhailteas* (2011, s.v. *Milton*: talamh torrach aig bun na h-aibhne) an dùil gur h-ann stèidhichte air SL *óss* f. 'bun aibhne' (#47) a tha an dùnadh aig **Bhailteas*; a' cur sin an dàrna taobh, molaidh MacBain (1922, 81) SL *áss* f. 'druim beinne'. Bheir MacBain (ibid.) GA *Bhaltos* à SL **Vold-áss* '(an t-)achadh-dhruim', a' cur air shùilibh gur h-e sean chruth aig SL *vǫllr* f. 'achadh' a th' anns a' chiad eileamaid (?coim. SL *fold* b. 'talamh (rèidh)'); mar sin Forbes (1923, 444) agus MacIver (1934, 55). Nas fhaide air adhart (ibid., 98), 's fheàrr le MacIver bunachas à SL **Vald-hús* '(an) cumhachd-thaigh', mar sin <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/1993>; bheir Taylor (ibid., s.v. *Valtos*) 'river mouth' sa Bheurla (?coim. SL *óss* f., shuas).

135. (nMO) [vaɬ̪tɔs], (gin.) [vaɬ̪tɔʃ]; *Loch Bhaltois* [ɬɔxˈvaɬ̪tɔʃ]; *Àird Bhaltois* [ˈɑːɖˈvaɬ̪tɔʃ].

The name of part of a hunting estate, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; identical with *Bhaltos* #63.

#65 *Bhataisgeir* BAC (Eng. *Vatisker*)
[ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ], (gen.) idem; NB483397. 1654 *Watersky*; 1718 *Wat Skir*; 1726 *Val·skir* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776 *Watsker*; 1789 *Walscar* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Watsker*; 1821, 1822 *Valsker* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Vatsker*; 1845 *Vateikis* [*sic*]; 1846 *Valsker* [*sic*]; 2007 *Bhatasgeir*‖*Vatisker*; road sign *Bhatasgeir*.

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Bhac; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

MacIver (1934, 12) is of the opinion that ON *bátr* m. 'boat' is the specific behind the Norse loan-name here, but the stressed vowel is short in Gaelic.[136] ON **Vattasker* '(the) skerry of the gloves', with genitive plural of *vǫttr* m. and ON *sker* nt. 'skerry', would yield ScG *Bhataisgeir*, accepting the sense suited the shape of the bay; cf. *Vattedal*, in Tysnes, Norway, which may from ON **Vǫttudalr* '(the) valley of **Vatta* (a river name based on ON *vǫttr*)' (*NG* XI, 176). It is not very likely this name has anything to do with ON *vatn* nt. 'water; loch', as many loan-names in Lewis do, e.g. ScG *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋgə̯ˌvaʰt̪] (e.g. NB215438, NB197205, NB524545) from ON **Langavatn* '(the) long loch', with the neuter weak form of the adjective ON *langr* 'long' + ON *vatn*.[137]

ON *sker* also occurs as the generic element in *Sùlaisgeir* #314.

ScG *sgeir* f. (< ON *sker*), used of rocks in the sea, is a common loan-word in place-names, e.g. *An Dubh-Sgeir* 'the black-skerry' NB1743, in *Borghaston* #69, and *Sgeir na Muic* 'the skerry of the whale' NB1937, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331); cf. *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292. However, the sense of the derivative adjective *sgeireach* has been extended so that it is used of rocky, fresh-water lochs, e.g. ScG *An Lochan Sgeireach* NB208397, in *An Dùn* #170, and NB424515, in *Barbhas* #47.[138]

136. In the form in which the word appears today, it is unlikely that ScG *bàta* 'boat' is from ON *bátr* (Cox 2008b, 169–71).

137. Contrast the island name ScG *Bhatasaigh* (nMO) [ˈvɑhtəsqj] NB408236, in the mouth of *Loch Liùrboist* 'the loch of *Liùrbost*' (#239), in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, perhaps from CSc. **Vazøy* (**Vatsøy*) < **Vatnsøy* (Hanssen 1975, 38), with genitive of (ON) *vatn* and CSc. *øy* f. 'island' §16 – the two halves of this island form a marine loch between them (#94, fn 216).

138. There are several examples of the element *sgeir* and its derivatives as far from the sea as Upper Deeside, e.g. *Na Sgeirean* 'the rocks', of the cliffs above Lochnagar NO251859 (Watson and Allan 1984, 136).

An t-ainm air pàirt de dh'oighreachd seilge, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; co-ionann ri *Bhaltos* #63.

#65 *Bhataisgeir* BAC
[ˈvaʰt̪əˌʃkʲəɾʲ], (gin.) idem; NB483397. 1654 *Watersky*; 1718 *Wat Skir*; 1726 *Val·skir* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776 *Watsker*; 1789 *Walscar* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Watsker*; 1821, 1822 *Valsker* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Vatsker*; 1845 *Vateikis* [*sic*]; 1846 *Valsker*; 2007 *Bhatasgeir*‖*Vatisker*; soighne rathaid *Bhatasgeir*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Bhac; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Tha MacIver (1934, 12) den bheachd gur h-e SL *bátr* f. 'bàta, eathar' an sònraichear a tha air cùl an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a tha seo, ach tha an fhuaimreag bheumte goirid sa Ghàidhlig.[136] Bheireadh SL **Vattasker* 'sgeir nam miotagan', le SL *vǫttr* f. sa ghinideach iolra agus SL *sker* n. 'sgeir', an riochd Gàidhlig seo, a' gabhail ris gum freagradh cruth a' bhàigh ris a' bhrìgh; coim. *Vattedal*, ann an Tysnes, Nirribhidh, a dh'fhaodas a bhith à SL **Vǫttudalr* 'gleann **Vatta* (ainm aibhne air a stèidheachadh air SL *vǫttr*)' (*NG* XI, 176). Chan eil e ro cholt-ach gu bheil gnothach aig an ainm seo ri SL *vatn* n. 'uisge; loch', mar a bhitheas aig mòran ainmean-iasaid ann an Leòdhas, m.e. GA *Langabhat* [ˈl̪ãŋgə̯ˌvaʰt̪] (m.e. NB215438, NB197205, NB524545) à SL **Langavatn* '(an) loch fada', le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *langr* 'fada' + SL *vatn*.[137]

Nochdaidh SL *sker* na eileamaid sheòrsachaidh ann an *Sùlaisgeir* #314 mar an ceudna.

Tha GA *sgeir* b. (< SL *sker*), air a chleachdadh air carraighean no clachan sa mhuir, na fhacal-iasaid bitheanta ann an ainmean-àite, m.e. *An Dubh-Sgeir* NB1743, ann am *Borghaston* #69, agus *Sgeir na Muic* NB1937, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331); coim. *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292. Gidheadh, chaidh brìgh a' bhuadhair bhunachail, *sgeireach*, a shìneadh gus an tèid a chleachdadh air lochan fìor-uisge creagach, m.e. GA *An Lochan Sgeireach* NB208397, air *An Dùn* #170, agus NB424515, ann am *Barbhas* #47.[138]

136. Sa chruth sa bheil am facal an-diugh, tha e ao-coltach gur h-ann à SL *bátr* a tha GA *bàta* (Cox 2008b, 169–71).

137. Iomsgaraich ainm an eilein GA *Bhatasaigh* (nMO) [ˈvɑhtəsqj] NB408236, ann am beul *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, is dòcha à LB **Vazøy* (**Vatsøy*) < **Vatnsøy* (Hanssen 1975, 38), leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig (SL) *vatn* agus LB *øy* b. 'eilean' §16 – nì dà leth an eilein seo loch mara eatarra (#94, bn 216).

138. Tha corra eisimpleir den eileamaid GA *sgeir* agus de a bunadairean cho fada bhon mhuir ri Bràigh Dhè, m.e. *Na Sgeirean* air na creagan bhos cionn Loch na Gàire NO251859 (Watson agus Allan 1984, 136).

#66 *Bhinndeam* ÙIG
[?]; NB100177. 1843–82 *Bhìnndeam*; 1860 =.

The name of a deserted settlement near the inner end of *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112), in ÙIG, for which no pronunciation was obtained. ?Cf. ScG (1843–82) *Bhinndean* [*sic*], (MacIver 1934, 18) *Bhinndeim*, (nMO) *A' Mhuindéim* [(ə) vʂ̃ĩŋʤe·m][139] NB527453, north of *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212.

#67 *Bhuidhea Mhòr* ÙIG
[ˌvu̯ja ˈvoːɾ],[140] (gen.) idem; NB128349. 1549 *Bwya moir*; 1654 *Viia Moir*; 1680 *Wuiay major*; 1703, 1714 *Wuya*; 1750M *Wiavore*; 1754 *Wia*[141]; 1776, 1804 *Wiavore I.*; 1807 *Wiavore*; 1821, 1822 *Viavore*; 1843–82 *Bhuidha Mhòr*, cf. *Bhuidha Bheag*; 1846 *Viavore*.

The name of an island east of *An Riobh* #280, in ÙIG, which was inhabited until c.1851 (Lawson 2008, 187–88); also the name of the island settlement itself NB132350, according to the 1843–82 map.

At first sight, it seems this loan-name is an island name in CSc. *øy* f. 'island', although [aj] or [ɛj] is the usual Gaelic reflex of this element in Lewis.[142] Alternatively, ON *á* f. 'river' would suit phonetically – there is a river to the west of the settlement – except that the name of the river would have since been transferred to the village and to the island itself.

Regarding the first element of the name, either ON *viðr* m. 'wood, timber' or ON *víðr* adj. 'wide, broad' might be suitable. ON *viðr* occurs in the bay name ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌvi̯ɣʲ] #185, from ON **Við-vík* '(the) wood-bay'. CSc. **Víð-øy* '(the) broad island' would suit islands such as ScG *Fuidheigh* (nMO) [fujɑj], [ɸujaj̑][143]

139. In his notes, Oftedal asks whether the name is from ON **Vind-holmr* '(the) wind-island' (?leg. **Vind-holmi* '(the) wind-hill', for, as he notices himself, this is not an island) and draws a comparison with ScG **Bhiondalam* [ˈvĩn̪̊ʤə l̪am] NB175417, in *An Dùn* #170, from ON **Vind-holm* acc. '(the) wind-island' (Cox 2000, 213–16; for the aberrant form (nMO) [elan mẽĩnʤələm], see Cox ibid., 214–15).

140. (nMO) [ˌvu̯ja ˈvoːɾ].

141. Cited in Lawson 2008, 187.

142. And usually in all the Western Isles except for the southern Inner Isles.

143. Gen. (nMO) [ujaj]. [ɸ] would be older than [f], i.e. ON [ʊ] > EG [β] > [ɸ], with devoicing, > [f], with a bilabial fricative becoming a labio-dental fricative, as happened naturally in Gaelic. This constitutes a sort of delenition, in order to establish a radical initial (here [f]) at the start of the name, cf. ON *vaðil* acc. m. > ScG *fadhail* f. 'ford, isthmus' (see below). It is likely that initial ScG [β] lies behind the Scots form *Bwya moir* (1549) – in the same source, the Barra and Skye names are given as *Buya* and *Bwya*, respectively.

#66 *Bhinndeam* ÙIG
[?]; NB100177. 1843–82 *Bhìnndeam*; 1860 =.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs faisg air ceann a-staigh *Loch Reusort* (#112), ann an ÙIG, dha nach d' fhuaradh fuaimneachadh. ?Coim. GA (1843–82) *Bhinndean* [*sic*], (MacIver 1934, 18) *Bhinndeim*, (nMO) *A' Mhuindéim* [(ə) vʂ̃ĩŋʤe·m][139] NB527453, tuath air *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212.

#67 *Bhuidhea Mhòr* ÙIG
[ˌvu̯ja ˈvoːɾ],[140] (gin.) idem; NB128349. 1549 *Bwya moir*; 1654 *Viia Moir*; 1680 *Wuiay major*; 1703, 1714 *Wuya*; 1750M *Wiavore*; 1754 *Wia*[141]; 1776, 1804 *Wiavore I.*; 1807 *Wiavore*; 1821, 1822 *Viavore*; 1843–82 *Bhuidha Mhòr*; 1846 *Viavore*.

An t-ainm air eilean an ear air *An Riobh* #280, ann an ÙIG, air am biodh daoine a' fuireach gus c.1851 (Lawson 2008, 187–88); cuideachd an t-ainm a bh' air an tuineachadh fhèin san eilean NB132350, a rèir a' mhapa 1843–82.

Air a' chiad sealladh, is coltach gur h-e ainm eilein ann an LB *øy* b. 'eilean' a tha san ainm-iasaid seo, ged as e [aj] no [ɛj] riochd Gàidhlig àbhaisteach na h-eileamaid seo ann an Leòdhas.[142] Mana b' e LB *øy* a bh' ann, fhreagradh SL *á* b. 'abhainn' gu fuaim-eòlach – tha abhainn air taobh an iar an tuineachaidh – ach gum biodh ainm na h-aibhne air aiseag bhon uair sin chun a' bhaile agus chun an eilein fhèin.

A thaobh ciad eileamaid an ainme, dh'fhaodadh SL *viðr* f. 'fiodh, maide' no SL *víðr* buadh. 'leathann' a bhith freagarrach. Nochdaidh SL *viðr* san ainm bàigh GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌvi̯ɣʲ] #185, à SL **Við-vík* '(am) fiodh-bhàgh'. Fhreagradh LB **Víð-øy* '(an t-)eilean leathann' ri eileanan de leithid GA *Fuidheigh* (nMO) [fujɑj], [ɸujaj̑][143]

139. Na notaichean, faighnichidh Oftedal an ann à SL **Vind-holmr* '(a') ghaoth-eilean' a tha an t-ainm (?leugh **Vind-holmi* '(a') ghaoth-chnoc', oir, mar a mhothaicheas e fhèin, chan e eilean a tha fa-near an seo), a' dèanamh coimeas ri GA **Bhiondalam* [ˈvĩn̪̊ʤə l̪am] NB175417, air *An Dùn* #170, à SL **Vind-holm* cusp. '(a') ghaoth-eilean' (Cox 2000, 213–16; airson a' chrutha mhearachdaich (nMO) [elan mẽĩnʤələm], faic Cox ibid., 214–15).

140. (nMO) [ˌvu̯ja ˈvoːɾ].

141. Air ainmeachadh ann an Lawson 2008, 187.

142. Agus mar as trice sna h-Eileanan Siar uile ach gu deas am measg nan Eileanan a-Staigh.

143. Gin. (nMO) [ujaj]. Bhiodh [ɸ] na bu shine na [f], .i. SL [ʊ] > GT [β] > [ɸ], le dì-ghuthachadh, > [f], agus suathach dà-bhileach a' dol na shuathach bil-dheudach, mar a thachair gu nàdarra sa chànan. 'S e seòrsa de dhì-shèimheachadh a tha seo, gus connrag bhunasach ([f] an seo) a stèidheachadh aig toiseach an ainme, coim. SL *vaðil* cusp. f. > GA *fadhail* b. 'àth, tairbeart' (faic shìos). Is iongantach mana h-i GA [β] thoisich a laigheas air cùl a' chrutha Albais *Bwya moir* (1549) – san aon tobair, thèid na h-ainmean Barrach is Sgitheanach a thoirt mar *Buya* agus *Bwya*, fa leth.

(1843–82 *Wiay*) NF873460,[144] to the east of Benbecula, ScG *Fuidheigh* (1843–82 *Fuiay*) NF741022,[145] in Barra, and **Fuidheigh* (1843–82 *Wiay*) NG294364, south of Skye.

If neither CSc. **Víð-øy* '(the) wood-island' or **Víð-øy* '(the) broad island' is behind **Bhuidhea* in Ùig, CSc. **Víði-øy* '(the) willow-island', with the stem form of the noun (ON) *víðir* m. 'willow' might be appropriate. However, accepting that the names **Bhuidhea* in Ùig and (*)*Fuidheigh* in Benbecula, Barra and Skye probably have the same origin and that all the islands might be considered broad, CSc. **Víð-øy* '(the) broad island' seems a more likely name for all of them.[146]

Initial ON *vi* (i.e. [wi]; > [ʊi] in the 13th century) yields several reflexes in Scottish Gaelic: ON *vi* > (1) (+consonantal element, –rounding) ScG [vi], e.g. *Eilean Bhiondalam* [ˌelan ˈvĩn̥̊də l̪am] NB176416, in *An Dùn* #170, from ON **Vind-holm* acc. '(the) wind-island' (Cox 2000), or ScG [fi], with devoicing, e.g. ScG *Fìbhig* #185, cf. ScG *fadhail* f. 'ford' < ON *vaðil* acc. m.; (2) (–consonantal element, +rounding) ScG [ʊ̟], e.g. ScG *Ùig* [ʊ̟ːg̊ʲ] < ON **Vík* (#12), or ScG [ʊ̟], with further raising of the vowel, e.g. ScG *uinneag* f. ['ʊ̟ɲag̊] 'window' < ON *vindauga* nt. (ibid.), cf. ScG *Loch Uinseadair* [l̪ɔx ˈʊ̟ːˌʃad̪ə̊ɾʲ] NB049151, in Harris, < ON **Vin-sætr* '(the) meadow-sheiling' (Cox 1990b, 106); (3) (+consonantal element, +rounding) ScG [vʊ̟], [vu], e.g. ScG **Bhuidhea* ['vʊ̟ja] from CSc. **Víð-øy*, or ScG [fʊ̟], [fu], with devoicing, e.g. ScG *Fuidheigh* ['fujaj][147] (['ɸujaj]), also from CSc. **Víð-øy*.

In accepting the development ScG **Bhuidhea* < CSc. *Víð-øy* '(the) broad island', one must accept that the length of the vowel (ON) *í* has been redistributed between the consonantisation of the semivowel ON *v* and the vowel of the syllable

144. Taylor (2011, s.v. *Wiay*): (ScG) *Bhuia* or *Fùidheigh*.

145. Taylor (2011, s.v. *Fuiay*): (ScG) *Fùidheigh*.

146. Watson (1904, 266; also Taylor for the Uist and Barra names above) suggests that **Bhuidhea* is from ON **Búð-ey* '(the) house-island', with the stem form of the noun ON *búð* f. '(temporary) dwelling', i.e. that **Bhuidhea* is a lenited form, from ScG **Eilean Bhuidhea*. On the one hand, the lenited form of a Gaelic name is unlikely to be used as its radical form, even one originally derived from Old Norse; on the other hand, it would be more likely that CSc. **Búð-øy* yielded something like *['ʊ̟ːaj] (or *['ʊ̟a-aj], with shortening of the vowel length before hiatus) in Gaelic. Watson's view above was in contrast to MacBain's (1922, xiv, 36, 75) that ON **Vé-ey* '(the) house-island' was behind the name **Bhuidhea*, but CSc. **Vé-øy* might yield ScG *['ve(ː)-aj].

147. Cf. EG *fundeóc*, *fuindeóc*, Ir. *fuinneóg* 'window' (Munster [fᵘiń̃ōg], Donegal [fᵘiń̃əg]), whose initial Marstrander (1915, 109–10) sees as inorganic, cf. Ir. *fuinnseóg* 'ash (tree)' (ScG *uinnseann*, from OG *uinnius*), or via back-formation as a result of eclipsis after the genitive plural article, as in Ir. (gen. pl.) *na bhfuinneóg* 'of the windows' – although *na n-uinneóg* would be the form in Irish if the word's initial letter were a vowel.

(1843–82 *Wiay*) NF873460,[144] an ear air Beinn na Fadhla, GA *Fuidheigh* (1843–82 *Fuiay*) NF730022,[145] ann am Barraigh, agus **Fuidheigh* (1843–82 *Wiay*) NG294364, deas air an Eilean Sgitheanach.

Mana robh aon chuid LB **Víð-øy* '(am) fiodh-eilean' no **Víð-øy* '(an t-)eilean leathann' air cùl **Bhuidhea* ann an Ùig, 's dòcha gum freagradh LB **Víði-øy* '(an) seileach-eilean', le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *víðir* f. 'seileach, caol'. Ach, a' gabhail ris gur h-iongantach mana h-ionann bho thùs na h-ainmean **Bhuidhea* ann an Ùig agus (*)*Fuidheigh* ann am Beinn na Fadhla, Barraigh agus san Eilean Sgitheanach, agus gum faodte na h-eileanan uile a mheas leathann, bhiodh LB **Víð-øy* '(an t-)eilean leathann' na bu choltaiche mar ainm orra uile.[146]

Bheir SL *vi* thoisich (.i. [wi]; > [ʊi] san 13s linn) corra riochd ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann: SL *vi* > (1) (+feart connragach, –cruinneachadh) GA [vi], m.e. *Eilean Bhiondalam* [ˌelan ˈvĩn̥̊də l̪am] NB176416, air *An Dùn* #170, à SL **Vind-holm* cusp. '(a') ghaoth-eilean' (Cox 2000), no GA [fi], le dì-ghuthachadh, m.e. GA *Fìbhig* #185, coim. GA *fadhail* b. 'àth, tairbeart' < SL *vaðil* cusp. f.; (2) (–feart connragach, +cruinneachadh) GA [ʊ̟], m.e. GA *Ùig* [ʊ̟ːg̊ʲ] < SL **Vík* (#12), no GA [ʊ̟], le tuilleadh àrdachaidh san fhuaimreig, m.e. GA *uinneag* b. ['ʊ̟ɲag̊] < SL *vindauga* n. (ibid.), coim. GA *Loch Uinseadair* [l̪ɔx ˈʊ̟ːˌʃad̪ə̊ɾʲ] NB049151, sna Hearadh, < SL **Vin-sætr* '(an) lèana-àirigh' (Cox 1990b, 106); (3) (+feart connragach, +cruinneachadh) GA [vʊ̟], [vu], m.e. GA **Bhuidhea* ['vʊ̟ja] à LB **Víð-øy*, no GA [fʊ̟], [fu], le dì-ghuthachadh, m.e. GA *Fuidheigh* ['fujaj][147] (['ɸujaj]), à LB **Víð-øy* mar an ceudna.

Ann a bhith a' gabhail ris an leasachadh GA **Bhuidhea* < LB **Víð-øy* '(an t-)eilean leathann', feumar gabhail ris gu bheil fad na fuaimreige (SL) *í* air ath-sgaoileadh eadar connragachadh na leth-fhuaimreige SL *v* agus fuaimreag na

144. Bheir Taylor (2011, s.v. *Wiay*): (GA) *Bhuia* or *Fùidheigh*.

145. Bheir Taylor (2011, s.v. *Fuiay*): (GA) *Fùidheigh*.

146. Cuiridh Watson (1904, 266; mar an ceudna Taylor airson nan ainmean Uibhisteach agus Barrach shuas) air shùilibh gur h-ann à SL **Búð-ey* '(an) taigh-eilean' a tha **Bhuidhea*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *búð* b. 'fàrdach (shealach)', .i. gur h-e cruth sèimhichte a th' ann an **Bhuidhea*, à GA **Eilean Bhuidhea*. Air an dàrna làimh, cha choltach gun cleachdte cruth sèimhichte aig ainm Gàidhlig mar an cruth bunasach aige, fiù 's fear a bha a thùs às an Lochlannais; air an làimh eile, bhiodh e na bu choltaiche gun toireadh LB **Búð-øy* rud-eigin mar *['ʊ̟ːaj] (no *['ʊ̟a-aj], le giorrachadh ann am fad na fuaimreige ro bheàrnas) sa Ghàidhlig. 'S ann a bha beachd Watson shuas an ceart-aghaidh beachd MhacBain (1922, xiv, 36, 75) gur h-e SL **Vé-ey* '(am) fàrdach-eilean' a bha air cùl an ainme **Bhuidhea*, ach dh'fhaodte gun toireadh LB **Vé-øy* GA *['ve(ː)-aj].

147. Coim. GT *fundeóc*, *fuindeóc*, GE *fuinneóg* 'uinneag' (An Mhumhan [fᵘiń̃ōg], Dún na nGall [fᵘiń̃əg]), a tha a thoiseach am beachd Mharstrander (1915, 109–10) neo-thùsail, mar a tha an toiseach ann an GE *fuinnseóg* 'uinnseann' (à SG *uinnius*), air neo a chionn cùl-chinntinn mar thoradh air dùbhradh an dèidh an uilt ghinidich iolra, mar a tha ann an GE (gin. iol.) *na bhfuinneóg* 'nan uinneag(an)' – ged as e *na n-uinneóg* an cruth a bhiodh ann an Gàidhlig na h-Èireann nam b' e fuaimreag a bh' ann an toiseach an fhacail.

in Gaelic, while the rounding of the Old Norse semivowel has been preserved in the vowel ScG *u* and the palatal quality of the Old Norse vowel preserved in the palatal semivowel in Gaelic: ON *[wiːð] (> *[ʊiːð]) > EG *[βuðʲ] > ScG [vu̯j].[148]

#68 ***Borgh*** CLA (Eng. *Borve*)
[ˈb̥ɔr̃ɣ], (gen.) *Bhuirgh* [ˈvu̯ɪr̃u̯j]; NB4156. 1654 *Borg*, *Borg illé*; 1703 *Barove*; 1718 *Brow*, *Borrow*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1797 *Borve*; 1801 *Berve*; 1804, 1807, 1845 *Borve*; 2007, road sign *Borgh*‖*Borve*.

A name that denotes two townships in Sgìre a' Chladaich:

Borgh or ***Na Còig Peighinnean*** #149 or ***Còig Peighinnean Bhuirgh*** NB408560. 1843–82 *Borgh Mhòr or Cuig Peghinnean*. A township north-east of *Siadar Ìorach* (#296).

Am Baile Àrd NB412565 #32. A township north-east of *Borgh*, including an area called *Borgh Mheadhanach* 'middle Borgh' (Eng. *Mid-Borve*) NB415567,[149] to the north-east.

> Oftedal 1954, 375: '**Borve** [bɔrɔ̀ɣ][150] is ON *Borg* f. "fort, fortification" also "knoll or hill resembling a fort". As a farm name, it is found in Norway (e.g. *NG* III, 271, XV, 109, XVI, 279) and in Iceland (Lnb.). In the form *Brough* [brɔx], it is the name of four farms in Orkney (Marwick 1952, 7, 31, 62, 170).'

The settlements called *Borgh* etc., above, are named after ScG *Dùn Bhuirgh* 'the fort of *Borgh*', the site of a fort at NB418580, north of *Mealbost* #249. *Mealbost* is also called *Mealbost Bhuirgh* '*Mealbost* of *Borgh*' in order to distinguish it from *Mealbost* #248 near *Steòrnabhagh* #309. The settlement south of *Mealbost Bhuirgh* was named *Borgh Mheadhanach* 'middle *Borgh*' and that of *Na Còig Peighinnean* #149, further south again, named *Borgh* or *Borgh Mhòr* 'greater *Borgh*'. The township *Am Baile Àrd* was created in 1851, between *Borgh Mheadhanach* and *Borgh*, but *Borgh Mheadhanach*'s land was added to *Am Baile Àrd*'s in 1863 (Lawson 2008, 67–68).

ScG *Borgh* is a loan-name from ON **Borg* '(the) fort' and occurs in several other places in the Western Isles, e.g. ScG *Borgh* (with a fort at NF654013), in Barra, *Caisteal Bhuirgh* 'the castle of *Borgh*' (with a fort at NF773505), in Ben-

148. Cf. ScG *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːdʲʲæj] (1843–82 *Fuday*) NF732085, north-north-east of Barra, from ON **Hvít-ey* (possibly CSc. **Hvít-øy*) '(the) white-island'.

149. 1718 *Midborrow*; 1726, 1821 *Mid Borve*; 1822 *Midd Borve*; 1843–82 *Borgh Mheadhonach*.

150. (nMO) [bɔˈrɔɣ]; [bɔrɔ̀ɣ], (gen.) [vuŕùj̆].

lide anns a' Ghàidhlig, fhad 's a chaidh cruinneachadh na leth-fhuaimreige Lochlannais a ghleidheadh san fhuaimreig GA *u* agus feart càireanach na fuaimreige Lochlannais a ghleidheadh anns an leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich sa Ghàidhlig: SL *[wiːð] (> *[ʊiːð]) > GT *[βuðʲ] > GA [vu̯j].[148]

#68 ***Borgh*** CLA
[ˈb̥ɔr̃ɣ], (gin.) *Bhuirgh* [ˈvu̯ɪr̃u̯j]; NB4156. 1654 *Borg*, *Borg illé*; 1703 *Barove*; 1718 *Brow*, *Borrow*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1797 *Borve*; 1801 *Berve*; 1804, 1807, 1845 *Borve*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Borgh*‖*Borve*.

Ainm a bheanas ri dà bhaile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich:

Borgh no ***Na Còig Peighinnean*** #149 no ***Còig Peighinnean Bhuirgh*** NB408560. 1843–82 *Borgh Mhòr or Cuig Peghinnean*. Baile fearainn an ear-thuath air *Siadar Ìorach* (#296).

Am Baile Àrd NB412565 #32. Baile fearainn an ear-thuath air *Borgh*, a' gabhail a-steach cuibhreann air a bheil *Borgh Mheadhanach* (Brl. *Mid-Borve*) NB415567,[149] san ear-thuath.

> Oftedal 1954, 375: 'S e SL **Borve* b. a th' ann am **Borve** [bɔrɔ̀ɣ],[150] .i. 'dùn, daingeach', cuideachd 'meall no tom air a bheil coltas dùin'. Mar ainm tuathanais, gheibhear ann an Nirribhidh e (m.e. *NG* III, 271, XV, 109, XVI, 279) agus ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.). Sa chruth *Brough* [brɔx], tha e na ainm air ceithir tuathanasan ann an Arcaibh (Marwick 1952, 7, 31, 62, 170).

Tha na tuineachaidhean air a bheil *Borgh* ↄc, shuas, air an ainmeachadh air an daingnich GA *Dùn Bhuirgh*, a tha na làraich dùin aig NB418580, tuath air *Mealbost* #249. Canar *Mealbost Bhuirgh* ri *Mealbost* mar an ceudna gus a sgaradh ris a' bhaile *Mealbost* #248 faisg air *Steòrnabhagh* #309. Chaidh *Borgh Mheadhanach* a thoirt air a' cheàrnaidh deas air *Mealbost Bhuirgh* agus *Borgh* no *Borgh Mhòr* air *Na Còig Peighinnean* #149, nas fhaide a deas a-rithist. Chaidh *Am Baile Àrd* a chruthachadh ann an 1851, eadar *Borgh Mheadhanach* is *Borgh*, ach chaidh talamh *Bhuirgh Mheadhanach* a chur ri talamh *A' Bhaile Àird* ann an 1863 (Lawson 2008, 67–68).

Tha GA *Borgh* na ainm-iasaid à SL **Borg* '(an) dùn' agus gheibhear e ann an corra àite eile ann an Innse Gall, m.e. *Borgh* (is dùn aig NF654013), ann am Barraigh, *Caisteal Bhuirgh* (is dùn aig NF773505), ann am Beinn na Fadhla, agus

148. Coim. GA *Fùideigh* (nMO) [fuːdʲʲæj] (1843–82 *Fuday*) NF732085, tuath 's an iar-thuath air Barraigh, à SL **Hvít-ey* (is dòcha LB **Hvít-øy*) '(an) geal-eilean'.

149. 1718 *Midborrow*; 1726, 1821 *Mid Borve*; 1822 *Midd Borve*; 1843–82 *Borgh Mheadhonach*.

150. (nMO) [bɔˈrɔɣ]; [bɔrɔ̀ɣ], (gin.) [vuŕùj̆].

becula, and *Borbh*[151] (with a fort at NG459477), in Skye.

ScG *borgh* is a loan-word – also from ON *borg* f. – in the name *Na Buirgh* (pl.) 'the *Borgh*s' (with a fort at NG032940), in Harris, which denotes an area with more than one settlement called *Borgh*, viz *Borgh Mhòr* and *Borgh Bheag* 'greater and lesser *Borgh*'.

See *Am Baile Àrd* #32, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #149, *Mealbost* #249.

#69 *Borghaston* TSR (Eng. *Borrowston*)
['b̥ɔr̂-ə ˌn̪s̪tɔn], (gen.) *Bhorghaston* ['vɔr̂-ə ˌn̪s̪tɔn]; NB191425. 1822 *Borrowstown*; 1843–82 *Bórraston*; 1875, 88 *Boroston*; 1895, 1932, 307–08 *Borraston*; 1934, 6 *Borroston*; 1974 *Borrowston*; 2007 *Borghastan*‖*Borrowston*; 2019 *Borghastan*‖*Borrowstan*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: '**Borrowston** [bɔrɔ̀-əstɔn], [bɔrɔ̀ɣəstɔn],[152] seems to be a compound with ON *tún* nt. "yard, enclosed field". The first component may be ON *Borg-ás*- "fort-ridge-", or else ON *Borgars*, genitive of the man's name *Borgarr* m. This name is found most frequently in eastern Norway, but there is also an example of it in the Orkneys, where Orkneyinga saga mentions one *Borgarr á Knarrarstǫðum*.

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar.

In considering ON *tún* nt. as generic for this Old Norse loan-name, Oftedal is obliged to find a solution for the medial *s*: hence, ON *áss* m. 'ridge', but one might expect medial [a] in the Scottish Gaelic reflex as a result of the long Old Norse vowel. A genitive *Borgars* would be expected to yield medial [s̪] (/rs/).

The fort (called ScG *An Dùnan* 'the fortlet') to which ON *borg* f. refers stood where the quay is today, i.e. at the head of the spit that protrudes into *Loch an Dùnain* ('the loch of *An Dùnan*', the inner end of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98), around the pier). ON *stafn* m. or OWNorn **stamn* 'spit, promontory' would suit both the topography and the position of the fort, and account for the medial

151. Though ScG *Borgh* (with final [ɣ]) is represented by the form *Borve* in English, in this instance it is likely that *Borbh* is a Gaelic reflex of ON **Borg*, cf. ScG *dorbh* m. '(fishing) hand-line', from ON *dorg* f., found in Skye and on the mainland, opposite the island and up to the north of Scotland (*SGDS*, Item 336, Points 75, 90–93, 107–08, 117–38), rathar than *dorgh*, which is the usual form in other areas. See also Wentworth 2003, s.v. *dorbh*: (Wester Ross) [d̪̊[ɔrɔ]v]; Dieckhoff 1932, s.v. *dorbh*: (Glengarry) [dòʀò:v]; Borgstrøm 1941, 140: (Aultbea and Red Point) [d̪̊[ɔrɔ]v]; for a similar development in Irish, see O'Rahilly 1976, 71 + fn; for other examples in Lewis, see Oftedal 1956, 112).

152. (nMO) [bɔˈrɔ-əstɔn], [bɔˈrɔɣəstɔn].

Borbh[151] (is dùn aig NG459477), san Eilean Sgitheanach.

Tha GA *borgh* na fhacal-iasaid – à SL *borg* b. mar an ceudna – anns an ainm *Na Buirgh* (iol.) (is dùn aig NG032940), sna Hearadh, a bheanas ri ceàrnaidh sa bheil barrachd air aon tuineachadh air a bheil *Borgh*, .i. *Borgh Mhòr* agus *Borgh Bheag*.

Faic *Am Baile Àrd* #32, *Na Còig Peighinnean* #149, *Mealbost* #249.

#69 *Borghaston* TSR
['b̥ɔr̂-ə ˌn̪s̪tɔn], (gin.) *Bhorghaston* ['vɔr̂-ə ˌn̪s̪tɔn]; NB191425. 1822 *Borrowstown*; 1843–82 *Bórraston*; 1875, 88 *Boroston*; 1895, 1932, 307–08 *Borraston*; 1934, 6 *Borroston*; 1974 *Borrowston*; 2007 *Borghastan*‖*Borrowston*; 2019 *Borghastan*‖*Borrowstan*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: Is coltach gur h-e fillteach ann an SL *tún* n. 'iodhlann, achadh cuairtichte' a th' ann am **Borrowston** [bɔrɔ̀-əstɔn], [bɔrɔ̀ɣəstɔn][152]. Is dòcha gur h-e SL **Borg-ás*- 'dùn-dhruim-' a th' anns a' chiad chuid, air neo SL *Borgars*, an cruth ginideach aig an ainm fireannaich *Borgarr* f. Lorgar an t-ainm seo mar as trice air taobh an ear Nirribhidh, ach tha eisimpleir dheth ann an Arcaibh, far an dèan an Orkneyinga saga iomradh air fear *Borgarr á Knarrarstǫðum*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar.

Ann a bhith a' beachdachadh air SL *tún* n. mar sheòrsaichear san ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a tha seo, feumaidh Oftedal adhbhar a lorg dhan *s* mheadhanaich: às a sin, SL *áss* f. 'druim', ach dh'fhaodte a bhith an dùil ri [a] mheadhanaich san riochd Ghàidhlig mar bhuil air an fhuaimreig fhada san Lochlannais. Shùilichte [s̪] mheadhanach (/rs/) à SL (gin.) *Borgars*.

'S ann a bhiodh an dùn (air a bheil GA *An Dùnan* mar ainm) air an dèan SL *borg* b. iomradh na sheasamh far a bheil an cidhe an-diugh, .i. aig ceann na rinne no a' ghuib a stobas a-mach a *Loch an Dùnain* (ceann a-staigh *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98), timcheall air a' chidhe). Fhreagradh SL *stafn* f. no SNòrnI **stamn* f. 'rinn, rubha' an dà chuid cruth na tìre agus suidheachadh an dùin, agus bhiodh

151. Ged a thèid GA *Borgh* (le [ɣ] dheiridh) a riochdachadh leis a' chruth *Borve* sa Bheurla, san t-seagh seo is coltach gur h-e riochd Gàidhlig de SL **Borg* a th' ann am *Borbh*, coim. GA *dorbh* f. 'loidhne-làimhe (iasgaich)', à SL *dorg* b., a gheibhear san Eilean Sgitheanach agus air tìr-mòr, mu choinneimh an eilein agus suas gu ceann a tuath na h-Albann (*SGDS*, Facal 336, Puingean 75, 90–93, 107–08, 117–38), seach *dorgh*, an cruth àbhaisteach ann an ceàrnaidhean eile. Faic cuideachd Wentworth 2003, s.v. *dorbh*: (Ros an Iar) [d̪̊[ɔrɔ]v]; Dieckhoff 1932, s.v. *dorbh*: (Gleann Garadh) [dòʀò:v]; Borgstrøm 1941, 140: (An t-Allt Beithe agus An Rubha Dearg) [d̪̊[ɔrɔ]v]; airson leasachaidh cheudna ann an Gàidhlig na h-Èireann, faic O'Rahilly 1976, 71 + bn; airson eisimpleirean eile ann an Leòdhas, faic Oftedal 1956, 112).

152. (nMO) [bɔˈrɔ-əstɔn], [bɔˈrɔɣəstɔn].

s in the name (Cox 1992, 141). For OWNorn *stamn* as opposed to ON *stafn*, cf. OWNorn **hamn* as opposed to ON *hǫfn* (#319).

ON *Borg-stafn* '(the) fort-spit', with the stem form of the specific, would probably yield ScG [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃ɣəˌn̪̊t̪ɔn], with an epenthetic vowel, > [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃-əˌn̪̊t̪ɔn] regularly.[153]

#70 ***Borraiseadar*** CDL
[ˈb̥ɔɾiˌʃad̥̊əɾ], (gen.) *Bhorraiseadair* [ˈvɔɾiˌʃad̥̊əɾʲ]; NB321194. 1843–82 *Corriseadair*.

The name of part of the township *Tàbost* #316, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed either from ON **Barrasætr* '(the) sheiling of the ram', with genitive singular of the noun ON *barri* m. 'ram'[154] or ON **Vǫrðusætr* '(the) sheiling of the cairn', with genitive singular of the noun ON *varða* f. 'cairn', with delenition of the initial through back-formation,[155] and ON *sætr* nt. (#296). For the development of ON *rð*, see *Garrabost* #189.

The 1843–82 form must be a typesetting error: one would not expect alternation between *c* and *b* in Gaelic.

#71 ***Bòstadh*** BRN (Eng. *Bosta*)
[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gen.) [ˈvɔːˌs̪t̪aj]; NB138402. 1718, 1726 *Bosta*; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Busta*; 1821, 1822 *Bosta*; 1843–82 *Bostadh*; 2007 *Bòstadh*‖*Bosta*; road sign *Bostadh*‖*Bosta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 379: '**Bosta** [bɔːstɑɣ][156] is now only a cemetery, but was a village within living memory. It is certainly ON **Bólstaðr* "(the) farm", a name found in Norway (e.g. *NG* XI, 194, XII, 12), Iceland (Lnb.), Shetland (*Busta*, Jakobsen 1936, 100) and Orkney (*Busta* and *Bousta*, Marwick 1952, 1).'

The name of a deserted settlement in Beàrnaraigh; the same name as *Bòstadh* #72 (in An Taobh Siar), q.v., and #73 (in An Rubha).

153. Waugh (1985, 64, 337) derives the name Eng. *Borrowston* (ND329438, ND017691 and ND005681) in Caithness from ON *Borgartún*, except that the name has been influenced by the Scots word *bor(r)owstoun*, *burrowstoun* '(Eng.) borough'; cf. Eng. *Burrowston* (ND329897) in Orkney, which Marwick (1952, 54) also derives from ON **Borgartún*, explaining the English genitive ending *-s* from ON *-ar* to be the result of morphemic substitution.

154. ON *Barri* m. is a man's name or nickname in mythology, but Nn. *barre* m. occurs in the sense 'ram'.

155. Cf ScG *bàgh*, from ON *vág*, accusative of ON *vágr* m. 'bay' (#24).

156. (nMO) (gen.) [ˈvɔːstɛj].

e na fhuasgladh dhan *s* mheadhanaich san ainm (Cox 1992, 141). Airson SNòrnI *stamn* seach SL *stafn*, coim. SNòrnI **hamn* seach SL *hǫfn* (#319).

Is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **Borg-stafn* '(an) dùn-rinn', le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir, GA [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃ɣəˌn̪̊t̪ɔn], le fuaimreig còmhnaidh, > [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃-əˌn̪̊t̪ɔn] gu riaghailteach.[153]

#70 ***Borraiseadar*** CDL
[ˈb̥ɔɾiˌʃad̥̊əɾ], (gin.) *Bhorraiseadair* [ˈvɔɾiˌʃad̥̊əɾʲ]; NB321194. 1843–82 *Corriseadair*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Tàbost* #316, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad aon chuid à SL **Barrasætr* 'àirigh an rùda', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *barri* f. 'rùd, rèithe'[154] no SL **Vǫrðusætr* 'àirigh a' chàirn', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *varða* b. 'càrn', le dì-shèimheachadh an toisich le cùl-chinntinn,[155] + SL *sætr* n. (#296). Airson leasachadh SL *rð*, faic *Garrabost* #189.

Feumaidh an cruth 1843–82 a bhith na mhearachd clò-chumaidh: cha bhite an dùil ri iomlaid eadar *c* is *b* sa Ghàidhlig.

#71 ***Bòstadh*** BRN
[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gin.) [ˈvɔːˌs̪t̪aj]; NB138402. 1718, 1726 *Bosta*; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Busta*; 1821, 1822 *Bosta*; 1843–82 *Bostadh*; 2007 *Bòstadh*‖*Bosta*; soighne rathaid *Bostadh*‖*Bosta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 379: Chan eil ann am **Bosta** [bɔːstɑɣ][156] ach cladh an-diugh, ach bha e na chlachan ri linn muinntir an àite. 'S e SL **Bólstaðr* '(an) tuath-anas' a th' ann gu cinnteach, ainm a lorgar ann an Nirribhidh (m.e. *NG* XI, 194, XII, 12), ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.), ann an Sealtainn (*Busta*, Jakobsen 1936, 100) agus ann an Arcaibh (*Busta* agus *Bousta*, Marwick 1952, 1).

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann am Beàrnaraigh. An t-aon ainm ri *Bòstadh* #72 (air An Taobh Siar), q.v., agus #73 (anns An Rubha).

153. Bheir Waugh (1985, 64, 337) an t-ainm Brl. *Borrowston* (ND329438, ND017691 agus ND005681) ann an Gallaibh à SL *Borgartún* ach gun deach an t-ainm fo bhuaidh an fhacail Albais *bor(r)owstoun*, *burrowstoun* '(Brl.) borough'; coim. Brl. *Burrowston* (ND329897) ann an Arcaibh, a bheir Marwick (1952, 54) à SL **Borgartún* mar an ceudna, a' mìneachadh an dùnaidh ghinidich Bheurla *-s* à SL *-ar* mar thoradh air ionadachadh cruitheamach.

154. Tha SL *Barri* f. na ainm no far-ainm fireannaich ann am miotas-eòlas, ach gheibhear Nn. *barre* f. sa bhrìgh 'rùd'.

155. Coim. GA *bàgh*, à SL *vág*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#24).

156. (nMO) (gin.) [ˈvɔːstɛj].

#72 *Bòstadh* TSR

['ɓɔː ˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gen.) ['vɔː ˌs̪t̪aj]; NB184409. 1843–82 *Bòsta.*

This name is identical with *Bòstadh* #71, in Beàrnaraigh, and #73, in An Rubha. The name refers to an area at the inner end of the road into and part of the village *An Dùn* #170, in An Taobh Siar. It seems likely that *Bòstadh* once denoted the farm belonging to the stronghold (*An Dùn*) here.

A Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Bólstað* acc. The primary sense of the place-name element ON *bólstaðr* m. is 'farm', a compound noun made up of ON *ból* nt. 'farm; dwelling-place; sleeping-quarters; den' and ON *staðr* m. 'place; residence; village' (Gammeltoft 2001, 31–36).[157] ON *ból* occurs by itself as an element in Old Norse loan-names in Gaelic on both the west (Tiree and Mull) and east of Scotland (East Sutherland and Easter Ross) (Cox 1994, 50–57), and as a loan-word in Gaelic, at least in Lewis, although it hardly survives except in a few place-names: *Bòl Phluic* NB2346 and *Bòl Ruairidh* NB2347 '*Pluic*'s and *Ruairidh*'s[158] lying-place (for animals)', in *Siabost a Deas* (#295).

The name **Bólstaðr* would have been declined in the Norse language.[159] It may be that the Norse endings were simply dropped when the name was borrowed into Gaelic, but **Bólstað* coincides with the accusative and dative singular form.

As a stand-alone element, the long vowel in ON **Bólstað* is preserved in Gaelic, but the following lateral is lost;[160] in the second syllable, as a result of the loss of the final consonant (*ð*),[161] the vowel *a* is lengthened temporarily, yielding EG

157. For the origin of the compound noun itself and the range of senses of the elements *ból* and *staðr*, see ibid. 31–32.

158. Where *Pluic* is a family nickname (Cox 2002a, 186) and *Ruairidh* a man's name from EG *Rúaiḋrí* (Cox 2002a, 186) rather than ON *Hrórek* acc. (Oftedal 1983, 55), which would yield the stressed vowel [eː].

159. (Nom.) *bólstaðr*, (acc. and dat.) *bólstað* – but (dat.) *staði* is also found on occasion (Rygh 1898, 76–78: 77, s.v. *staðr*) – (gen.) *bólstaðar*; (nom. pl.) *bólstaðir*, (acc.) *bólstaði*, (dat.) *bólstǫðum*, (gen.) *bólstaða*. For further on the question of the retention of case endings in Old Norse loan-names, see Cox 2009a, 23–25.

160. It seems that the lateral was longer lasting in the south, yielding a diphthong as opposed to a long monophthong in ScG *Bobhsta* ['ɓɔuʂ̪t̪a] (Eng. *Boust*) NG360372, in Skye. ScG *Bobhst* [ɓɔuʂ̪t̪] (Eng. *Bousd*) NM253634, in Coll, might be included here, but it is difficult to justify the loss of the final syllable in this way, and it is possible that a resolution to the name may be found in ON **Bólshagi* (< genitive of ON *ból* + ON *hagi* m. 'enclosure or field'), or similar, > EG *['bɔːɬ̪s̪aː] > ScG *['ɓɔuʂ̪a] > ScG *['ɓɔuʂ̪t̪], with final ([a]) replaced by ([t̪]) under the influence of names in *-bost* – while ON **Bólshagi*, or similar, lies behind names such as ScG *Bòlsa* NR386775, *Gròbasadh* NR333600 and *Coilleabus* NR320438, in Islay (Cox 1994, 46, 48, 50, 57–61).

161. ON *ð* was a dental fricative [ð], a consonant also found in Early Gaelic, until about 1200 when it became [ɣ], but one cannot say that final [ɣ] in ScG ['ɓɔː ˌs̪t̪aɣ] derives

#72 *Bòstadh* TSR

['ɓɔː ˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gin.) ['vɔː ˌs̪t̪aj]; NB184409. 1843–82 *Bòsta.*

Is ionann an t-ainm seo agus *Bòstadh* #71, ann am Beàrnaraigh, agus #73, anns An Rubha. Sònraichidh an t-ainm àrainn ann an ceann a-staigh rathad *Na Dùine* #170 agus earrann den bhaile sin, air An Taobh Siar. Is coltach gun sònraicheadh *Bòstadh* tuathanas na daingnich (*An Dùn*) ann an seo uair.

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Bólstað* cusp. 'S e 'tuathanas' prìomh bhrìgh na h-eileamaid ainm-àite SL *bólstaðr* f., ainmear fillte air a dhèanamh à SL *ból* n. 'tuathanas; àite-fuirich; àite-cadail; saobhaidh' agus SL *staðr* f. 'àite; fàrdach; clachan, baile' (Gammeltoft 2001, 31–36).[157] Tha SL *ból* leis fhèin na eileamaid ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais anns a' Ghàidhlig an dà chuid air taobh an iar (Tiriodh agus Muile) agus air taobh an ear na h-Albann (Cataibh an Ear agus Ros an Ear) (Cox 1994, 50–57), agus na fhacal-iasaid sa Ghàidhlig, co-dhiù ann an Leòdhas, ged nach mòr gum mair e an-diugh ach ann an corra ainm-àite: *Bòl Phluic* NB2346 agus *Bòl Ruairidh* NB2347 'an t-àite-laighe (do bheathaichean) aig *Pluic* agus *Ruairidh*',[158] ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295).

Bhite a' claonadh an ainme **Bólstaðr* san Lochlannais.[159] Is dòcha gun do leigeadh na dùnaidhean Lochlannais às nuair a chaidh an t-ainm air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig, ach is ionann **Bólstað* agus an cruth cuspaireach is tabhartach singilte.

Mar eileamaid na seasamh na h-aonar, thèid fuaimreag fhada na Lochlannais ann am **Bólstað* a ghleidheadh sa Ghàidhlig, ach caillear an taobhach na dèidh;[160] san dàrna lide, mar thoradh air call na connraige mu dheireadh (*ð*),[161]

157. Airson tùs an ainmeir fhillte fhèin agus raon brìghean nan eileamaidean *ból* agus *staðr*, faic ibid. 31–32.

158. Far a bheil *Pluic* na fhar-ainm teaghlaich (Cox 2002a, 186) agus *Ruairidh* na ainm fireannaich à GT *Rúaiḋrí* (Cox 2002a, 186) seach SL *Hrórek* cusp. (Oftedal 1983, 55), a bheireadh an fhuaimreag bheumte [eː].

159. Ainmn. *bólstaðr*, (cusp. agus tabh.) *bólstað* – ach gheibhear cuideachd (tabh.) *staði* air uairean (Rygh 1898, 76–78: 77, s.v. *staðr*) – (gin.) *bólstaðar*; (ainmn. iol.) *bólstaðir*, (cusp.) *bólstaði*, (tabh.) *bólstǫðum*, (gin.) *bólstaða*. Airson tuilleadh mu bhith a' gleidheadh dhùnaidhean tuiseil ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, faic Cox 2009a, 23–25.

160. Is coltach gun robh an taobhach na bu sheasmhaiche mu dheas agus dà-fhoghar seach aon-fhoghar fada ann am GA *Bobhsta* ['ɓɔuʂ̪t̪a] (Brl. *Boust*) NG360372, san Eilean Sgitheanach. Dh'fhaodte GA *Bobhst* [ɓɔuʂ̪t̪] (Brl. *Bousd*) NM253634, ann an Cola, a chur ri seo, ach tha e duilich call na lide mu dheireadh fhìreanachadh air an dòigh seo, agus 's dòcha gum faighear fuasgladh don ainm ann an SL **Bólshagi* (< an cruth ginideach aig SL *ból* + SL *hagi* f. 'leas no achadh'), no a leithid, > GT *['bɔːɬ̪s̪aː] > GA *['ɓɔuʂ̪a] > GA *['ɓɔuʂ̪t̪], le [a] dheiridh air a cur às a h-àite le [t̪] fo bhuaidh ainmean ann am *-bost* – tha SL **Bólshagi*, no a leithid, air cùl ainmean mar GA *Bòlsa* NR386775, *Gròbasadh* NR333600 agus *Coilleabus* NR320438, ann an Ìle (Cox 1994, 46, 48, 50, 57–61).

161. Bha SL *ð* na suathach deudach [ð], connrag a lorgte sa Ghàidhlig Thràth mar an ceudna, gus mu 1200 nuair a chaidh i na [ɣ], ach chan fhaodar a ràdh gun tig [ɣ] dheiridh ann

[aː], before shortening in Modern Gaelic, as happened to long vowels generally in unstressed syllables in the language: ON *Bólstað* > EG **Bólstaḋ* > EG **Bóstá* > ScG **Bòsta* [ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪a], which becomes *Bòstadh* with closing of the final open syllable, as occurs in the dialect (Cox 2017, 101, fn 22), which yields *Bhòstaidh* regularly in the genitive case.

In name final position, the element incurs weak stress only, the stressed vowel is shortened and the final unstressed syllable lost: ScG **-bòsta* > ScG **-bosta* > ScG *-bost* (cf. *Siabost* #295).

#73 *Bòstadh* RBH
*[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gen.) *[ˈvɔːˌs̪t̪aj]; ?NB4930. 1930 *Bosta*.[162]

The name of a place or area in *Suardal* #313, in An Rubha, ?now lost. This name is probably identical with *Bòstadh* #71, in Beàrnaraigh, and #72, in An Taobh Siar, q.v.

#74 *Bradhagair* CLA (Eng. *Bragar*)
(1) *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌɣəɾʲ], (gen.) *Bhradhagair* [ˈvɾa-aˌɣəɾʲ]; (2) *Bràgair* [ˈb̥ɾaːˌɣəɾʲ], (gen.) *Bhràgair* [ˈvɾaːˌɣəɾʲ]; NB2947. 1600+ *Braiggarry*; 1630 *Braiggarie*; 1654 *Bragairth*; 1703 *Brago*, *Bragar*, *Bragir*; 1714 *Brago*; 1718 *Bragir*, *Braygar*; 1726 *Bragar*; 1753–66 *Bragir*; 1776, 1789 *Bragar*; 1790 *Bragas* [*sic*]; 1797 *Bragir*; 1801, 1804, 1807, 1845 *Bragar*; 1843–82 *Bragair*; 1846 *Bragor*; 1846JW *Bragar*; 1869 *Bragor*; 1932, 306 *Bragar*; 1973 *Bradhagar*; 1974 *Bragar*; 2007 *Bragar*‖*Bragar*; 2016 *Bragar*.

Pronunciation (1) is heard locally.[163] This is the form that appears in the title of the song 'Eathar Dubh à Bradhagair' (a black boat from *Bradhagair*) composed by Dòmhnall MacLeòid an Greusaiche between 1901–1914,[164] and the form recorded by Iain MacAonghuis (John MacInnes) from Aonghas Phàdraig (Angus MacLeod of *Bradhagair a Deas*) for the School of Scottish Studies in 1964 (Matheson 1970, 183–84).

The name of two townships in Sgìre a' Chladaich, distinguished from each other by the adverbial phrases ScG *a deas* and *a tuath* in the sense 'southern, northern' (EG *andess*, *adtúaiḋ* 'from the south, from the north'); cf. ScG *fo dheas*, *fo thuath* (#166):

from ON *ð*, for that would have resulted in ScG *[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪əɣ].

162. Recorded in Duncan 1930 (a source now lost §15), quoted in Gammeltoft 2001, 97.

163. (nMO) (Donald MacLeod, from *Bradhagair*) [b̥ɾa-a̠gəð̠], [b̥ɾa-a̠ɣəð̠], (gen.) [vɾa-a̠ɣəð̠].

164. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/orain/eathar_dubh_a_bradhagair/>.

gheibhear fadachadh san fhuaimreig *a* gu sealach, a' toirt GT [aː], mus tèid a giorrachadh san Nua-Ghàidhlig, mar a thachair do dh'fhuaimreagan fada san fharsaingeachd ann an lidean neo-bheumte sa chànan: SL **Bólstað* > GT **Bólstaḋ* > GT **Bóstá* > GA **Bòsta* [ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪a], a thèid na GA *Bòstadh* agus lide dheiridh fhosgailte an ainme air a dùnadh mar a thachair san dualchainnt (Cox 2017, 101, bn 22), a bheir *Bhòstaidh* gu riaghailteach san tuiseal ghinideach.

Ann an suidheachadh deiridh ainme, gun ach beum lag air an eileamaid, thèid fuaimreag bheumte na h-eileamaid a ghiorrachadh agus tuitidh an lide dheiridh neo-bheumte dheth: GA **-bòsta* > GA **-bosta* > GA *-bost* (coim. *Siabost* #295).

#73 *Bòstadh* RBH
*[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gin.) *[ˈvɔːˌs̪t̪aj]; ?NB4930. 1930 *Bosta*.[162]

An t-ainm air àite no ceàrnaidh ann an *Suardal* #313, anns An Rubha, ?a-nise air chall. Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ionann an t-ainm seo agus *Bòstadh* #71, ann am Beàrnaraigh, agus #72, air An Taobh Siar, q.v.

#74 *Bradhagair* CLA
(1) *Bradhagair* [ˈb̥ɾa-aˌɣəɾʲ], (gin.) *Bhradhagair* [ˈvɾa-aˌɣəɾʲ]; (2) *Bràgair* [ˈb̥ɾaːˌɣəɾʲ], (gin.) *Bhràgair* [ˈvɾaːˌɣəɾʲ]; NB2947. 1600+ *Braiggarry*; 1630 *Braiggarie*; 1654 *Bragairth*; 1703 *Brago*, *Bragar*, *Bragir*; 1714 *Brago*; 1718 *Bragir*, *Braygar*; 1726 *Bragar*; 1753–66 *Bragir*; 1776, 1789 *Bragar*; 1790 *Bragas* [*sic*]; 1797 *Bragir*; 1801, 1804, 1807, 1845 *Bragar*; 1843–82 *Bragair*; 1846 *Bragor*; 1846JW *Bragar*; 1869 *Bragor*; 1932, 306 *Bragar*; 1973 *Bradhagar*; 1974 *Bragar*; 2007 *Bragar*‖*Bragar*; 2016 *Bragar*.

Cluinnear fuaimneachadh (1) gu h-ionadail.[163] 'S e seo an cruth a nochdas ann an tiotal an òrain 'Eathar Dubh à Bradhagair' (a rinneadh le Dòmhnall MacLeòid an Greusaiche eadar 1901–1914[164]), agus an cruth a chaidh a chlàradh le Iain MacAonghuis aig Aonghas Phàdraig (Aonghas MacLeòid à *Bradhagair a Deas*) às leth Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba ann an 1964 (Matheson 1970, 183–84).

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich, air an dealachadh ri chèile leis na h-abairtean co-ghnìomhaireach GA *a deas* agus *a tuath* sa bhrìgh 'san àird a deas, san àird a tuath' (GT *andess*, *adtúaiḋ* 'às an àird a deas, às an àird a tuath'); coim. GA *fo dheas*, *fo thuath* (#166):

an GA [ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪aɣ] à SL *ð*, a chionn 's gun toireadh sin GA *[ˈb̥ɔːˌs̪t̪əɣ].

162. Air a chlàradh ann an Duncan 1930 (tobar a tha a-nise air chall §15), air a thogail ann an Gammeltoft 2001, 97.

163. (nMO) (Dòmhnall MacLeòid, à *Bradhagair*): [b̥ɾa-a̠gəð̠], [b̥ɾa-a̠ɣəð̠], (gin.) [vɾa-a̠ɣəð̠].

164. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/orain/eathar_dubh_a_bradhagair/>.

Bradhagair a Deas
[ˌbˠra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈʤʲæsˠ], (gen.) *Bhradhagair a Deas* [ˌvra(-a)ɣəɾʲ ə ˈʤʲæsˠ]; NB287476. 1821, 1822 *South Bragor*; 1843–82 *Bragair a Deas*.

Bradhagair a Tuath
[ˌbˠra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə], (gen.) *Bhradhagair a Tuath* [ˌvra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə]; NB287476. 1821, 1822 *North Bragor*; 1843–82 *Bragair a Tuath*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Bragor** [brɑ:gəð]. If the spelling *Bragairth* on Blaeu's map is not entirely fortuitous, it indicates that the name contains ON *garðr* m. 'farm; farmyard; fence'. The first component may be *Brár-*, a contraction of ON *brúar* (genitive of *brú* f. "bridge") frequently found in Norwegian farm names. There is no **Brárgarðr* in Norway, but cf. **Brúarland* (*NG* XII, 505), **Brúarsetr* (*NG* VII, 156) and **Brúarvellir* (*NG* XII, 493). The contracted form of *brúar* is usually regarded as relatively late and it is rather unexpected to find it here, but still this derivation of [brɑ:gəð] is more probable than the only apparent alternative: ON **Bráðakr* "(the) field where the crop comes early" (cf. *NG* V, 24). For final [ð], not [r], compare *Crothair* #157.'

Bradhagair is a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. (1654) *Bragairth* represents either a Gaelic form ending in devoiced [ɣʲ] but in Scots orthography, or a Scots form in which a Gaelic name has been interpreted as though it ended in Scots *garth* 'enclosed ground, yard, garden'. Final ON *garð* acc. 'enclosure' yields ScG [ɡəɾʲ] regularly, cf. the development of ON *-arð* in ScG *Rothasgair* < ON **Rauðaskarð* #282 and in ScG *Druim Thangabhair* [ˌd̪ɾə̃m ˈhãŋɡə̯ˌvəɾʲ] NB196421, in *Cirbhig* #124, with a loan-name from ON **Tangavarða* 'the cairn of the tongue (promontory)', with ON *varða* f. 'cairn' (Cox 2007b, 63–64) (for ON *tangi*, see *Tangaidh* #320), although (1600+) *Braiggarry* and (1630) *Braiggarie* may represent the position before loss of the final syllable in Gaelic.

If ON *brú* f. is the origin of the specific in this Old Norse name, perhaps it denoted a bridge over *Allt na Muilne* 'the stream of the mill', between *Loch an Dùna* 'the loch of the fort' and *Loch Òrdais*, although the chronology of the genitive form ON *brár* puts doubt on the derivation. Alternatively, it may be that the fort in *Loch an Dùna* (see *An Dùn* #170) is behind the name. ON **Borg-árgarð* '(the) enclosure of the fort-river', with the stem form of the noun ON *borg* f. 'fort' and genitive of the noun ON *á* f. 'river',[165] might yield EG **Borɣá-* *[ˈbɔɾɣaː] in the first instance, with loss of final *r* in Gaelic §85 (iv) (b) (ð). However, by morphemic substitution,

165. Or ON **Borgarár-*, with genitive of ON *borg*.

Bradhagair a Deas
[ˌbˠra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈʤʲæsˠ], (gin.) *Bhradhagair a Deas* [ˌvra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈʤʲæsˠ]; NB287476. 1821, 1822 *South Bragor*; 1843–82 *Bragair a Deas*.

Bradhagair a Tuath
[ˌbˠra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə], (gin.) *Bhradhagair a Tuath* [ˌvra(-a)ˌɣəɾʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə]; NB287476. 1821, 1822 *North Bragor*; 1843–82 *Bragair a Tuath*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Bragor** [brɑ:gəð]. Mana h-e fìor thuiteamas a th' anns an litreachadh *Bragairth* air mapa Bhlaeu, innsidh e gu bheil SL *garðr* f. 'tuathanas; iodhlann; gàrradh, feansa' anns an ainm. Is dòcha gur h-e *Brár-* a tha sa chiad eileamaid, teannachadh air SL *brúar* (an tuiseal ginideach aig *brú* b. 'drochaid') a gheibhear gu tric ann an ainmean tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh. Chan fhaighear **Brárgarðr* ann an Nirribhidh, ach coim. **Brúarland* (*NG* XII, 505), **Brúarsetr* (*NG* VII, 156) agus **Brúarvellir* (*NG* XII, 493). Tuigear mar as trice gu bheil an cruth teannaichte aig *brúar* cuibheasach anmoch agus cha mhòr gun sùilichear an seo e, ged a tha am bunachas seo à [brɑ:gəð] nas dòcha na an aon roghainn eile a chithear: SL **Bráðakr* '(an t-)achadh far an abaich am bàrr tràth' (coim. *NG* V, 24). Airson [ð] seach [r] dheiridh, dèan coimeas ri *Crothair* #157.

Tha *Bradhagair* na ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais. Riochdaichidh (1654) *Bragairth* aon chuid cruth Gàidhlig aig a bheil an dùnadh dì-ghuthaichte [ɣʲ] ach ann an ceart-sgrìobhadh Albais, air neo cruth Albais far an deach ainm Gàidhlig a mhìneachadh mar gur h-ann a' dùnadh ann an Alb. *garth* 'talamh cuairtichte, iodhlann, gàrradh' a bha e. Bheir SL *garð* cusp. deiridh 'leas' GA [ɡəɾʲ] gu riaghailteach, coim. an leasachadh aig SL *-arð* ann an GA *Rothasgair* < SL **Rauðaskarð* #282 agus ann an GA *Druim Thangabhair* [ˌd̪ɾə̃m ˈhãŋɡə̯ˌvəɾʲ] NB196421, ann an *Cirbhig* #124, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Tangavarða* 'càirn na teanga (rubha)', le SL *varða* b. 'càirn' (Cox 2007b, 63–64) (airson SL *tangi*, faic *Tangaidh* #320), ged as dòcha gun riochdaich (1600+) *Braiggarry* agus (1630) *Braiggarie* an suidheachadh mus deach an lide dheiridh sa Ghàidhlig air chall.

Mas e SL *brú* b. tùs an t-sònraicheir san ainm Lochlannais a tha seo, 's dòcha gum beanadh an eileamaid ri drochaid thar *Allt na Muilne*, eadar *Loch an Dùna* 'loch an dùin' agus *Loch Òrdais*, ged a chuireas ùineadaireachd a' chrutha ghinidich SL *brár* teagamh sa bhunachas. Air an làimh eile, faodar gu bheil an dùn ann an *Loch an Dùna* (faic *An Dùn* #170) air cùl an ainme. Dh'fhaodadh SL **Borg-árgarð* 'leas na dùn-aibhne', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *borg* b. 'daingneach' agus tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *á* b. 'abhainn',[165] a bhith a' toirt GT **Borɣá-* *[ˈbɔɾɣaː] sa chiad char, le call na h-*r* deiridh sa Ghàidhlig §85 (iv) (b) (ð). Ach, le iona-

165. No SL **Borgarár-*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *borg*.

ON **Borg-á-* could become EG **Broġaá* *[ˈbɾɔɣ(ə)aː] or **Braġaá* *[ˈbɾaɣ(ə)aː], with genitive of the noun EG *bruġ*, *bruiġ* f. (ScG *brugh*) '(fortified) abode, castle'. With loss of the medial fricative and shortening of the long, unstressed vowel, EG *[ˈbɾaɣ(ə)aː] would yield ScG *[ˈb̥ɾa-a] regularly, cf. ScG *lugha* comparative adj. 'smaller' [ˈl̪u-ɯ], [ˈl̪u-ə] (< OG *luġu*) and ScG *bogha* m. [ˈb̥o-o], [ˈb̥o-ə] 'bow' (< ON *boga* obl., < ON *bogi* m.).

If ScG *Bradhagair* is the original name form in Gaelic, one must accept that [a-a] (with hiatus – really [āā], with no break and with falling tone) has been interpreted as long [aː] in other areas, hence ScG *Bràgair* §43 (vii) (b).

#75 ***Bràigh na h-Aoidhe*** STN (Eng. *Branahuie*)
[ˌb̥ɾa· nə ˈhəijə], (gen.) *Bhràigh na h-Aoidhe* [ˌvɾa· nə ˈhəijə]; NB463322. 1654 *Branahuy*, *Huy*; 1750M, 1776, 1807 *Branahie*; 1821 *Branachie*; 1821W MS *Brana·huie*; 1822 *Branachie*; 1843–82 *Braigh na*[ ]*h-Uidhe*; 2007, road sign *Braigh na h-Aoidhe*‖*Branahuie*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: '**Branahuie** [?][166] is obviously a Gaelic name containing ScG *bràigh* m. "upper part; brae"; the Gaelic form is almost certainly *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* "(the) brae of the isthmus", which suits the place excellently. ScG *aoidh* [ui], [əi] "isthmus" is a loan from ON *eið* nt.'

The name of a township in Steòrnabhagh, at the head of a long strip of land that connects the large headland called *An Rubha* 'the promontory' §3 (iv) to mainland Lewis.

The loan-word here was borrowed into Gaelic from the Common Scandinavian form **aið*, i.e. before the diphthong was raised, yielding ON *eið*, from which one would expect ScG [ei] (Cox 2007d, 140–41).

In Lewis, ScG *aoidh* f. means either 'isthmus' (also ScG *tairbeart*), or 'ford' (also ScG *fadhail*[167]).

#76 ***Brèibhig*** BAC (Eng. *Brevig*)
[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ], (gen.) *Bhrèibhig* [ˈvɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ]; NB4839. 1843–82 *Geodha Mhor Bhreidh·bhig*; 2007 *Brèibhig*‖*Brevig*; road sign *Breibhig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 392: '**Breivig** [?]. Borgstrøm records [brʼeːvikʼ] for *Brèibhig*, a village in Barra.[168] If the Lewis name is pronounced correspondingly

166. (nMO) [ˌbɾa nə ˈhui-ə], and *Loch Bhràigh na h-Aoidhe* [ʟɔx vranə ˈhɤ̝jjə] 'the loch of *B*—'.

167. ScG *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] is a loan-word from ON *vaðil*, accusative of ON *vaðill* m.

168. Cf. *Brèibhig* NL693988, in Barra (Borgstrøm 1936, 292).

dachadh cruitheamach, dh'fhaodadh SL **Borg-á-* a dhol na GT **Broġaá* *[ˈbɾɔɣ(ə)aː] no **Braġaá* *[ˈbɾaɣ(ə)aː], le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GT *bruġ*, *bruiġ* b. (GA *brugh*) 'fàrdach (dhaingnichte), caisteal'. Le call an t-suathaich mheadhain agus giorrachadh san fhuaimreig fhada neo-bheumte, bheireadh GT *[ˈbɾaɣ(ə)aː] GA *[ˈb̥ɾa-a] gu riaghailteach, coim. GA *lugha* buadh. coimeasach [ˈl̪u-ɯ], [ˈl̪u-ə] (< SG *luġu*) agus GA *bogha* f. [ˈb̥o-o], [ˈb̥o-ə] (< SL *boga* cl., < SL *bogi* f.).

Mas ceart gur h-e GA *Bradhagair* cruth tùsail an ainme seo sa Ghàidhlig, feumar gabhail ris gun deach [a-a] (le beàrnas – ann an da-rìribh [āā], gun bhriseadh agus le fonn tuiteim) a mhìneachadh mar [aː] fhada ann an ceàrnaidhean eile, às a sin GA *Bràgair* §43 (vii) (b).

#75 ***Bràigh na h-Aoidhe*** STN
[ˌb̥ɾa· nə ˈhəijə], (gin.) *Bhràigh na h-Aoidhe* [ˌvɾa· nə ˈhəijə]; NB463322. 1654 *Branahuy*, *Huy*; 1750M, 1776, 1807 *Branahie*; 1821 *Branachie*; 1821W MS *Brana·huie*; 1822 *Branachie*; 1843–82 *Braigh na*[ ]*h-Uidhe*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Braigh na h-Aoidhe*‖*Branahuie*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: Chan eil teagamh nach e ainm Gàidhlig sa bheil GA *bràigh* f. 'earrann uarach, talamh àrd' a th' ann am **Branahuie** [?];[166] cha mhòr nach eil e cinnteach gur h-e *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* 'talamh àrd an tairbeirt' an cruth Gàidhlig, a fhreagras gu ro-mhath. Tha GA *aoidh* [ui], [əi] 'tairbeart, àth' na iasad à SL *eið* n.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Steòrnabhagh, aig ceann pìos fada talmhainn a cheanglas an àird mhòr air a bheil *An Rubha* §3 (iv) mar ainm ri mòrthìr Leòdhais.

Thàinig am facal-iasaid seo a-steach dhan Ghàidhlig às a' chruth Lochlannais Bhitheanta **aið*, .i. mus deach an dà-fhoghar àrdachadh, a' toirt SL *eið*, às am bite a' sùileachadh GA [ei] (Cox 2007d, 140–41).

Ann an Leòdhas, 's e as ciall dhan fhacal GA *aoidh* b. aon chuid 'tairbeart, talamh eadar dà raoin uisge' no 'fadhail,[167] àite cumhang thairis air allt no loch'.

#76 ***Brèibhig*** BAC
[ˈb̥ɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ], (gin.) *Bhrèibhig* [ˈvɾʲeːˌviɣ̊ʲ]; NB481393. 1843–82 *Geodha Mhor Bhreidh·bhig*; 2007 *Brèibhig*‖*Brevig*; soighne rathaid *Breibhig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 392: **Breivig** [?]. Clàraidh Borgstrøm [brʼeːvikʼ] airson *Brèi·bhig*, baile ann am Barraigh.[168] Mas ann air an aon dòigh a thèid an t-ainm

166. (nMO) [ˌbɾa nə ˈhui-ə], agus *Loch Bhràigh na h-Aoidhe* [ʟɔx vranə ˈhɤ̝jjə].

167. Tha GA *fadhail* [ˈfə-əl] na fhacal-iasaid à SL *vaðil*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *vaðill* f.

168. Coim. *Brèibhig* NL693988, ann am Barraigh (Borgstrøm 1936, 292).

[bðeːvigʲ],[169] it is ON **Breið-vík* "(the) broad bay" (cf. *NG* VII, 69, XIII, 258, and XVI, 306) or possibly **Breiðavík* (quite frequent in Norway, e.g. *NG* I, 278, XIII, 240, XVI, 110). There is a *Breiðavík* in Iceland, and *Brewik* occurs in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 115).'

The name of an area in the township *Bhataisgeir* #65, in Sgìre a' Bhac; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Breið-vík* '(the) broad-bay', with the stem form of the adjective ON *breiðr* 'broad' and ON *vík* f. 'bay' (#12).

It is probable that *Brèibhig* is the old Gaelic name for *An Loch a Tuath* ('the northern loch'), cf. its name in English *Broad Bay*; cf. *Brèibhig* NB414583, in *Mealabost Bhuirgh* (#249), and *Brèibhig*[170] NB147346, in Beàrnaraigh. The Old Norse adjective *breiðr* also occurs in *Brèinis* #77, *Britheascleit* #79 and *Briacleit* #78.[171]

#77 ***Brèinis*** Ùig (Eng. *Brenish*)
['bˠɾʲẽːˌniʃ], (gen.) *Bhrèinis* ['vɾʲẽːˌniʃ];[172] NA991257. 1718 *Brenish*, *Brienish*; 1775 *Breniſh*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822 *Brenish*; 1843–82 *Brèidhnis*, *Amhuinn Bhrèidhnis*, *Aird Bhrèidhnis*; 1846 *Brenish*; 1860 *Breidhnis*; 2007, road sign *Breanais*‖*Brenish*.

Oftedal 1954, 389: '**Brenish** [?]. Although the pronunciation has not been recorded, the spelling compared with the natural features of the locality leaves practically no doubt that we are in the presence of ON **Breið-nes* "(the) broad-promontory" or perhaps **Breiðanes* "(the) broad promontory". In that case, the expected pronunciation is [bðeːniʃ].[173]'

The name of a settlement in the south-west of Ùig; a loan-name from ON **Breið-nes*, with the stem form of the adjective ON *breiðr* 'broad' (#76) and the noun ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i). Formally, ON **Breiðanes*, with the weak neuter form of the adjective, would yield ScG *['bˠɾʲe-əˌniʃ] (but note §43 (vii) (b)).

169. These transcriptions are essentially identical, except that palatal *r* is [ɾʲ] in Barra, [ð] in Lewis – which is written [ɾʲ] here §13.

170. (1843–82) *Brèidhbhig*, i.e. from ON *Breið-vík*, but spelt *Breidhebhig* in Macaulay 1972, 330, a form suggested perhaps by ON *Breiðavík*, with the feminine weak form rather than the stem form of the adjective.

171. Cf. ScG *Loch Brèibhat* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈbˠɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪], (nMO) [lɔx ˈbˠrʲe-əvaht], [lɔx ˈbˠrʲeːvaht] 'the loch of **Brèibhat*' NB330454, in *Àrnal* #20, from ON **Breið(a)vatn*, with the stem form or weak neuter form of the adjective and ON *vatn* nt. 'loch'.

172. (nMO) *Geodha Bhrèinis* [ˌgʲɔ· ˈvðeːniʃ] 'the cove of *Brèinis*'.

173. Cf. Oftedal 1972, 122: ['brʲeːniʃ].

Leòdhasach fhuaimneachadh, .i. [bðeːvigʲ],[169] 's e SL **Breið-vík* '(an) leathann-bhàgh' a th' ann (coim. *NG* VII, 69, XIII, 258, agus XVI, 306) no is dòcha **Breiðavík* (caran bitheanta ann an Nirribhidh, m.e. *NG* I, 278, XIII, 240, XVI, 110). Tha *Breiðavík* ann an Innis Tìle, agus nochdaidh *Brewik* ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 115).

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Bhataisgeir* #65, ann an Sgìre a' Bhac; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Breið-vík* '(an) leathann-bhàgh', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *breiðr* 'leathann' agus SL *vík* b. 'bàgh' (#12).

Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e *Brèibhig* an seann ainm Gàidhlig a bh' air *An Loch a Tuath*, coim. an t-ainm Beurla *Broad Bay*; coim. *Brèibhig* NB414583, ann am *Mealabost Bhuirgh* (#249), is *Brèibhig*[170] NB147346, am Beàrnaraigh. Bidh am buadhair SL *breiðr* a' nochdadh ann am *Brèinis* #77, *Britheascleit* #79 agus *Briacleit* #78.[171]

#77 ***Brèinis*** Ùig
['bˠɾʲẽːˌniʃ], (gin.) *Bhrèinis* ['vɾʲẽːˌniʃ];[172] NA991257. 1718 *Brenish*, *Brienish*; 1775 *Breniſh*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822 *Brenish*; 1843–82 *Brèidhnis*, *Amhuinn Bhrèidhnis*, *Aird Bhrèidhnis*; 1846 *Brenish*; 1860 *Breidhnis*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Breanais*‖*Brenish*.

Oftedal 1954, 389: **Brenish** [?]. Ged nach deach am fuaimneachadh a chlàradh, cha mhòr gu bheil teagamh ann bhon liteachadh an coimeas ri cruth tìre na h-àrainne nach e SL **Breið-nes* '(an) leathann-rubha' no is dòcha **Breiðanes* '(an) rubha leathann' a tha seo. San t-seagh sin, sùil-ichear am fuaimneachadh [bðeːniʃ][173].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh ann an ceann an iar-dheas Ùig; ainm-iasaid à SL **Breið-nes*, le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *breiðr* 'leathann' (#76) agus an ainmear SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i). Gu foirmeil, bheireadh SL **Breiðanes*, le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair, GA *['bˠɾʲe-əˌniʃ] (ach mothaich §43 (vii) (b)).

169. Tha na tras-sgrìobhaidhean seo co-ionann aig bun ach gu bheil *r* chaol na [ɾʲ] ann am Barraigh, [ð] ann an Leòdhas – a sgrìobhar [ɾʲ] an seo §13.

170. (1843–82) *Brèidhbhig*, .i. à SL **Breið-vík*, ach air a litreachadh *Breidhebhig* ann am Macaulay 1972, 330, cruth air a chur air shùilibh, is dòcha, le SL **Breiðavík*, le cruth lag boireann seach bun-riochd a' bhuadhair.

171. Coim. GA *Loch Brèibhat* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈbˠɾʲeːˌvaʰt̪], (nMO) [lɔx ˈbˠrʲe-əvaht], [lɔx ˈbˠrʲeːvaht] NB330454, ann an *Àrnal* #20, à SL **Breið(a)vatn*, le bun-riochd no cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair agus SL *vatn* n. 'loch'.

172. (nMO) *Geodha Bhrèinis* [ˌgʲɔ· ˈvðeːniʃ].

173. Coim. Oftedal 1972, 122: ['brʲeːniʃ].

#78 *Briacleit* BRN (Eng. *Breaclete*)
[ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ], (gen.) *Bhriacleit* [ˈvɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ]; NB161370. 1750M, 1776 *Briaghlet*; 1804 [?]*Briaghlet*; 1821, 1822 *Breaclet*; 1843–82 *Breacleit*; 1846 *Breaclet*; 2007, road sign *Breacleit*‖*Breaclete*.

> Oftedal 1954, 381: '**Breaclete**. Borgstrøm gives the pronunciation as [bði-ɑkleht′];[174] my own notations are [bðiɑhkleht′] and [bði-ɑhkleht′].[175] Usually the difference between the diphthong [iɑ] and dissyllabic [i-ɑ] is quite easy to hear; my hesitation may have been caused by an actual pronunciation including both the diphthong and dissyllabicity in the first component, something like [bðiɑ-ɑhkleht′] or [bðiɑ-əhkleht′], cf. ScG *breugha* (*brèagha*) "nice, pretty", which in the local dialect is pronounced [bðiɑ-ə].
>
> 'The last component is ON *klettr* m. "rock, eminence", also found as a generic term in ScG *cleite* [kleht′ə]. If the natives' own interpretation is correct, the name means *cleite bhrèagha* "pretty hill" and is a very interesting example of a Gaelic element entering into a Norse compound. But this interpretation can hardly be accepted because the obviously related name **Breasclete** (i.e. *Britheascleit* #79) cannot have a similar origin. This name is pronounced [bði-ɑsgleht′] or [bði-ɑsˌkleht′]. (In this case, I have the forms from different informants and the difference in notation is perhaps due to dialectal or individual variation rather than failure on my part to identify either diphthong or hiatus.) ON **Breiðiklettr* "(the) broad *klettr*" and **Breið-ás-klettr* "(the) broad-ridge-*klettr*" are satisfactory solutions from the Old Norse point of view, but as Old Norse stressed *ei* gives ScG [eː] in all certain cases in Lewis, the phonetic development can only be explained if we assume that the first element of the two names has undergone some alteration, possibly due to attraction towards ScG *breugha* mentioned above. For lack of a more self-evident explanation, we shall have to accept ON **Breiðiklettr* and **Breið-ás-klettr* tentatively. I have not found these names elsewhere. Names in *-klettr* are among the less frequent in Norway and are seldom if ever met with in Iceland – Lnb. records none. They are frequent, however, in the Scottish islands and abound in the Hebrides.'

The name of a township in Beàrnaraigh. In spite of the alternation found

174. (nMO) Borgstr[øm] [bði-ɑ-klehʧ] (sk. [b̥ði˽ɑkˈlˈe̥ʰtˈ]).
175. Also, (nMO) [bðiɑhk-lehtˈ] [*sic*].

#78 *Briacleit* BRN
[ˈb̥ɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ], (gin.) *Bhriacleit* [ˈvɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ]; NB161370. 1750M, 1776 *Briaghlet*; 1804 [?] *Briaghlet*; 1821, 1822 *Breaclet*; 1843–82 *Breacleit*; 1846 *Breaclet*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Breacleit*‖*Breaclete*.

> Oftedal 1954, 381: **Breaclete**. Bheir Borgstrøm am fuaimneachadh [bði-ɑkleht′];[174] 's iad [bðiɑhkleht′] agus [bði-ɑhkleht′][175] na tras-sgrìobhaidhean agam fhìn. Mar as trice, tha an diofar eadar an dà-fhoghar [iɑ] agus an dà-lide [i-ɑ] cuibheasach furasta a chluinntinn; is dòcha gun robh a' mhì-chinnt agamsa a chionn 's gun d' fhuaradh fuaimneachadh san robh an dà chuid an dà-fhoghar agus an dà lide sa chiad eileamaid, rudeigin coltach ri [bðiɑ-ɑhkleht′] no [bðiɑ-əhkleht′], coim. GA *breugha* (*brèagha*), a thèid fhuaimneachadh [bðiɑ-ə] san dualchainnt ionadail.
>
> 'S e SL *klettr* f. 'creag, cnoc' a th' anns an eileamaid mu dheireadh, ri lorg cuideachd mar bhriathar seòrsachaidh ann an GA *cleite* [kleht′ə]. Mas ceart mìneachadh muinntir an àite, 's i *cleite bhrèagha* as ciall dhan ainm, a tha na eisimpleir inntinnich de dh'eileamaid Ghàidhlig a' nochdadh ann am fillteach Lochlannais. Ach is gann gum faodar gabhail ris a' mhìneachadh seo a chionn 's nach urrainn dhan aon tùs a bhith aig an ainm dhlùth-cheangailte **Breasclete** (.i. *Britheascleit* #79). Thèid an t-ainm seo fhuaimneachadh [bði-ɑsgleht′] no [bði-ɑsˌkleht′]. (San t-seagh seo, fhuair mi na cruthan bho luchd-fiosrachaidh eadar-dhealaichte, agus 's dòcha gu bheil an diofar ann an tras-sgrìobhadh mar thoradh air caochlaideachd ann an dualchainnt no cainnt aon duine seach e bhith air fairtleachadh orm aon chuid dà-fhoghar no beàrnas a shònrachadh.) Tha SL **Breiðiklettr* '(an) *klettr* leathann' agus **Breið-ás-klettr* '(an) leathann-dhruim-*kh*l*ettr*' nam fuasglaidhean dòigheil bho thaobh na Lochlannais, ach seach gun toir SL *ei* beumte GA [eː] anns na suidheachaidhean cinnteach uile ann an Leòdhas, cha ghabh an leasachadh fuaim-eòlach mìneachadh ach ma dh'aidichear gu bheil ciad eileamaid an dà ainme air atharrachadh ann an dòigh air choreigin, 's dòcha air a tàladh gu GA *breugha*, shuas. Le mìneachadh nas fhollaisiche a dhìth, feumaidh sinn gabhail ri SL **Breiðiklettr* agus **Breið-ás-klettr* le mì-chinnt. Cha d' fhuair mi lorg air na h-ainmean seo an àiteigin eile. Tha ainmean ann an *-klettr* air an fheadhainn as gainne ann an Nirribhidh agus cha mhòr gum faighear iad ann an Innis Tìle – cha chlàraich Lnb. gin. Tha iad pailte, ge-tà, ann an eileanan na h-Albann, gu h-àraidh sna h-Eileanan Siar.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann am Beàrnaraigh. A dh'aindeoin na h-iomlaide

174. (nMO) Borgstr[øm] [bði-ɑ-klehʧ] (sk. [b̥ði˽ɑkˈlˈe̥ʰtˈ]).
175. Cuideachd, (nMO) [bðiɑhk-lehtˈ] [*sic*].

occasionally between a diphthong and dissyllable at the start of this name, the authoritative pronunciation heard is [ˈbˠɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ], with a diphthong. The spelling *Briacleit* recognises the diphthong [ia] found also in *Siabost* #295 and *Siadar* #296, for example; cf. Macaulay 1972, 335: *Briacleit*.[176]

Consequently, for an origin of the name *Briacleit* one needs to go no further than ON *Breið-klett* '(the) broad-mountain', with the stem form of the adjective ON *breiðr* and accusative of the generic ON *klettr* m.: ON *ð* is lost without trace here in Gaelic, and ON *ei* becomes EG [eː], which develops regularly into [ia], with breaking before a non-palatal consonant in Lewis Gaelic (Jackson 1968, 65–71; cf. #295, #296). Cf. *Britheascleit* #79.

Regarding Gaelic loan-words in Old Norse names, see §98 (iv).

For ON *klettr*, see *Cleitir* #130; for ScG *cleite*, see *Cleite Thòg* #129.

#79 ***Britheascleit*** TSR (Eng. *Breasclete*)
[ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], (gen.) *Bhritheascleit* [ˈvɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ]; NB2135. 1654 *Breasklet*; 1718 *Breasclett*; 1726 *Breskell* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776 *Briasclet*; 1789 *Brasclet*; 1790, 1801 *Braselet* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Briasclet*; 1821, 1822, 1846 *Breasclet*; 2007, road sign *Breascleit*‖*Breasclete*.

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar. Oftedal refers to this name under *Briacleit* #78, recording the pronunciation [bði-ɑsgleht′][177] or [bði-ɑsˌkleht′].

In spite of the alternation found occasionally between a dissyllable and a diphthong at the beginning of this name (cf. the same alternation in *Briacleit*), the authoritative pronunciation heard is [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], with a dissyllable.

As Oftedal (ibid.) suggests, this name is probably from ON *Breið-ás-klett* acc. '(the) broad-ridge-mountain', with the stem form of the adjective ON *breiðr* 'broad', the stem form of ON *ás* m. and accusative of ON *klettr* m. One would expect that ON *Breið-ás-klett* would yield EG [ˈbɾʲeː-aːˌʂkletʲ] in the first instance, which would yield ScG [ˈbˠɾʲe-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], with shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus and medially, which has become ScG [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], perhaps under the influence of the name *Briacleit* #78 or via morphemic substitution (cf. ScG *brèagha* [ˈbˠɾʲia-ə] 'pretty').[178]

For ON *klettr* m., see *Cleitir* #130; for ScG *cleite*, see *Cleite Thòg* #129.

176. Macaulay cites ON **Breidhr-kléttr* (for **Breiðr-kléttr*), but the strong form of the masculine adjective would not occur in this context, and *kléttr* is a Modern Icelandic form.

177. (nMO) [bði-ɑsglehʧ].

178. This name's parallel is perhaps found in (1843–82) *Breascleit* NB452401, in Sgìre a' Bhac.

a gheibhear air uairean eadar dà-fhoghar agus dà-lide aig toiseach an ainme seo, 's e GA [ˈbˠɾʲiaˌkleʰtʲ], le dà-fhoghar, am fuaimneachadh ùghdarrasail a chluinnear. Tha an litreachadh *Briacleit* ag aithneachadh an dà-fhoghair [ia] a gheibhear cuideachd, mar eisimpleir, ann an *Siabost* #295 agus *Siadar* #296; coim. Macaulay 1972, 335: *Briacleit*.[176]

Leis a sin, chan fheumar smaoineachadh ach air SL **Breið-klett* '(an) leathann-bheinn' mar thùs dhan ainm *Briacleit*, le bun-chruth a' bhuadhair SL *breiðr* agus tuiseal cuspaireach an t-seòrsaicheir SL *klettr* f.: caillear SL *ð* an seo gun lorg sa Ghàidhlig, agus thèid SL *ei* na GT [eː], a thèid gu riaghailteach na [ia], le briseadh ro chonnraig neo-chàireanaich ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais (Jackson 1968, 65–71; coim. #295, #296). Coim. *Britheascleit* #79.

A thaobh fhaclan-iasaid Gàidhlig ann an ainmean Lochlannais, faic §98 (iv).

Airson SL *klettr*, faic *Cleitir* #130; airson GA *cleite*, faic *Cleite Thòg* #129.

#79 ***Britheascleit*** TSR
[ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], (gin.) *Bhritheascleit* [ˈvɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ]; NB216354. 1654 *Breasklet*; 1718 *Breasclett*; 1726 *Breskell* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776 *Briasclet*; 1789 *Brasclet*; 1790, 1801 *Braselet* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Briasclet*; 1821, 1822, 1846 *Breasclet*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Breascleit*‖*Breasclete*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar. Bheir Oftedal iomradh air an ainm seo fo *Briacleit* #78, a' clàradh nam fuaimneachaidhean [bði-ɑsgleht′][177] no [bði-ɑsˌkleht′].

A dh'aindeoin na h-iomlaide a gheibhear air uairean eadar dà-lide agus dà-fhoghar aig toiseach an ainme seo (coim. an aon iomlaid ann am *Briacleit*), 's e GA [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], le dà-lide, am fuaimneachadh ùghdarrasail a chluinnear.

Mar a mholas Oftedal (ibid.), 's iongantach mana h-ann à SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. '(an) leathann-dhruim-bheinn' a tha an t-ainm seo, le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *breiðr* 'leathann', bun-riochd an t-ainmeir SL *ás* f. agus cruth cuspaireach an t-ainmeir SL *klettr* f. Bhite an dùil gun toireadh SL **Breið-ás-klett* GT [ˈbɾʲeː-aːˌʂkletʲ] sa chiad àite, a bheireadh GA [ˈbˠɾʲe-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], le giorrachadh na fuaimreige beumte ro bheàrnas agus gu meadhanach, a tha air a dhol na GA [ˈbˠɾʲi-aˌʂkleʰtʲ], 's dòcha fo bhuaidh an ainme *Briacleit* #78 no le ionadachadh cruitheamach (coim. GA *brèagha* [ˈbˠɾʲia-ə]).[178]

Airson SL *klettr* f., faic *Cleitir* #130; airson GA *cleite*, faic *Cleite Thòg* #129.

176. Bheir Macaulay iomradh air SL **Breidhr-kléttr* (airson **Breiðr-kléttr*), ach chan fhaighte cruth làidir a' bhuadhair fhireann sa cho-theags seo, agus tha *kléttr* na chruth Nuadh-Thìlis.

177. (nMO) [bði-ɑsglehʧ].

178. Is dòcha gu bheil seise an ainme seo ri lorg ann an (1843–82) *Breascleit* NB452401, ann an Sgìre a' Bhac.

#80 ***Brocair*** RBH (Eng. *Broker*)
['ˌbɾɔʰkəɾʲ], (gen.) *Bhrocair* ['vɾɔʰkəɾʲ]; NB557368. 1843–82 *Breacair* [?in error, but see below]; 1885–1900, 1895–1896 *Broker*; 1902,61 *Broker Hill*; 1934, 85 *Brokair*; 2007 *Brocair*‖*Broker*; road sign *Brocair*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Broker** [?]. Doubtful.'[179]

The name of a village in An Rubha that was established in 1826, when six crofts were created along the road between *Port nan Giùran* #274 and *Port Mholair* #273; a Gaelic name, a loan-name from ON **Brokkur* '(the) slopes', with the nominative plural of the noun ON **brokka* f. 'slope', a by-form of ON *brekka* f. (see below); cf. ScG *Tinndir* < ON **Tindar* '(the) pinnacles (teeth)' (#270), also *Cleitir* #130, *Crothair* #157.

ON **brokka* is also found as a generic in compounds in Lewis, e.g. ScG *Cliasbroc* ['kʰliaˌsprɔʰk] NB257457, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), from ON **Kleifsbrokka* '(the) slope of the steep path', with genitive of the noun ON **kleif* nt. (rather than f., as is usual in Norway – *NSL*, s.v. *kleiv*) 'steep path'[180] + ON **brokka*; see also *Adabroc* #3.

ON *brokka* was apparently also borrowed into Gaelic as a loan-word, cf. ScG (pl.) *Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə 'ˌbɾɔhkəɲ], near *Suaineabost* #311;[181] ?cf. also ScG *Am Broc* NM067474, in Tiree.[182]

ON *brekka* seems to occur in its plural form in ScG (1843–82) *Breacair* [ˌbɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ][183] NB484419, in *Griais* #220, from ON **Brekkur* pl. '(the) slopes'.

#81 ***Brolum*** PRC
['ˌbɾoɫəm], (gen.) *Bhroluim* ['vɾoɫəm]; NB322031. 1776, 1789 *Brolum*; 1790 *L. Braulin*; 1801, 1804 *Brolum*; 1807 *L. Brolum*; 1821 *Loch Brolum*; 1843–82 *Brollum*, *Creag Bhrollum*, *Tob Bhrollum*, *Loch Bhrollum*, *Rudha Bhrollum*.

The name of a deserted settlement, in Ùig, on the east side of *Loch Bhroluim* 'the loch of *Brolum*'. As regards its etymology, a loan-name in final ON *múla* suggests itself, with the oblique form of ON *múli* m. 'rounded headland, pro-

179. (nMO) [ˌbɾɔhkəɾ'], < ON **Brokkur*.

180. Cf. ScG *stiogha* m. 'path up a slope', a loan-word from ON *stig*, accusative of ON *stigr* m.

181. Following his transcription, Oftedal adds '(-r'?)' and, on separate lines, '**Na Brocan*', 'See *Broker*'. Perhaps he considered that [nə 'ˌbɾɔhkəɲ] may have been in error for *[nə 'ˌbɾɔhkəɲˌ], but such a form would involve the use of the Gaelic article before a loan-name; see #31 (i).

182. <http://www.tireeplacenames.org/ruaig/brock-or-am-broc/>.

183. (MM, 9) [ˌbɾeʰkøðˌ'], [ˌbɾɛʰkøðˌ'].

#80 ***Brocair*** RBH
['ˌbɾɔʰkəɾʲ], (gin.) *Bhrocair* ['vɾɔʰkəɾʲ]; NB557368. 1843–82 *Breacair* [?air mhearachd, ach faic shìos]; 1885–1900, 1895–1896 *Broker*; 1902, 61 *Broker Hill*; 1934, 85 *Brokair*; 2007 *Brocair*‖*Broker*; soighne rathaid *Brocair*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: **Broker** [?]. Teagmhach.[179]

An t-ainm air baile anns An Rubha a chaidh a stèidheachadh ann an 1826, nuair a chaidh sia croitean a chruthachadh air an rathad eadar *Port nan Giùran* #274 agus *Port Mholair* #273; ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Brokkur* '(na) leòidean', le tuiseal ainmneach iolra an ainmeir SL **brokka* b. 'leathad', frith-riochd aig SL *brekka* b. (faic shìos); coim. GA *Tinndir* à SL **Tindar* '(na) binnein (fiaclan)' (#270), cuideachd *Cleitir* #130, *Crothair* #157.

Lorgar SL **brokka* mar sheòrsaichear ann am filltich ann an Leòdhas mar an ceudna, m.e. GA *Cliasbroc* ['kʰliaˌsprɔʰk] NB257457, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), à SL **Kleifsbrokka* 'leathad an stiogha chais', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL **kleif* n. (seach b., mar a bhitheas gu h-àbhaisteach ann an Nirribhidh – *NSL*, s.v. *kleiv*) 'stiogha cas'[180] + SL **brokka*; faic cuideachd *Adabroc* #3.

A rèir choltais, chaidh SL **brokka* na fhacal-iasaid dhan Ghàidhlig cuideachd, coim. GA (iol.) *Na Brocan* (nMO) [nə 'ˌbɾɔhkəɲ], faisg air *Suaineabost* #311;[181] ?coim. cuideachd GA *Am Broc* NM067474, ann an Tiriodh.[182]

Is coltach gum faighear SL *brekka* na chruth iolra ann an GA (1843–82) *Breacair* [ˌbɾʲɛʰkəɾʲ][183] NB484419, ann an *Griais* #220, à SL **Brekkur* iol. '(na) leòidean'.

#81 ***Brolum*** PRC
['ˌbɾoɫəm], (gin.) *Bhroluim* ['vɾoɫəm]; NB322031. 1776, 1789 *Brolum*; 1790 *L. Braulin*; 1801, 1804 *Brolum*; 1807 *L. Brolum*; 1821 *Loch Brolum*; 1843–82 *Brollum*, *Creag Bhrollum*, *Tob Bhrollum*, *Loch Bhrollum*, *Rudha Bhrollum*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs, ann an Ùig, air taobh an ear an loch mara *Loch Bhroluim*. A thaobh freumhachd, smaoinichear air ainm-iasaid ann an SL *múla* deiridh, an cruth claon aig SL *múli* f. 'àird chruinn, beinn a stobas a-mach', eileamaid a

179. (nMO) [ˌbɾɔhkəɾ'], < SL **Brokkur*.

180. Coim. GA *stiogha* f. 'ceum suas leathad', facal-iasaid à SL *stig*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *stigr* f.

181. An dèidh an tras-sgrìobhaidh aige, cuiridh Oftedal '(-r'?)' agus, air sreathan fa leth, '**Na Brocan*', 'See *Broker*'. Is dòcha gun robh e den bheachd gum faodadh [nə 'ˌbɾɔhkəɲ] a bhith na mhearachd airson *[nə 'ˌbɾɔhkəɲˌ], ach bhiodh a leithid de chruth a' cleachdadh an uilt Ghàidhlig air beulaibh ainm-iasaid; faic #31 (i).

182. <http://www.tireeplacenames.org/ruaig/brock-or-am-broc/>.

183. (MM, 9) [ˌbɾeʰkøðˌ'], [ˌbɾɛʰkøðˌ'].

truding mountain', an element found in several place-names in Lewis, e.g. (without metathesis) perhaps ScG *Guaineamol* [ˈg̊uəɾəˌmaɬ̪]ˌmɔɬ̪] [*sic*] NB259138, in A' Phàirc; (with metathesis) ScG *Beinn Ghuidealum* [ˌb̥ẽĩn̪ ˈɣuɪd̥ʲəˌl̪əm] (ˌl̪um]) (1843–82 *Beinn Ghuidamul*) NB234455, and *Lèana Bhanndalum* [ˌɲãnə ˈvãũn̪n̪d̥əˌl̪um]ˌl̪əm] (1843–82 *Liana Bhàndalum*) NB237457,[184] in *Siabost a Deas* (#295).[185]

The most notable feature of this location is the high cliff, *Creag Bhroluim* 'the cliff of *Brolum*', that runs north-south, with the village below it on the west side. ON *brún* f. had the sense 'edge, bank', but the quality, non-nasality and length of the stressed vowel in the Gaelic form would remain unexplained.

However, Nn. *bru* f. in the sense 'protruding edge' occurs in Norway (Torp 1919, s.v. ²*bru*, in compounds; *NSL*, s.v. *Bru*, in Sogn og Fjordane and Rogaland, a derivative of Common Germanic **brū* (found with the same meaning in ON *brún*, above)); cf. Norn *bru* [brū] (Jakobsen 1928, s.v. *brun* sb.: 'now commonly used' instead of *brun* < ON *brún*).[186]

ScG *Brolum*, then, might originate in OWNorn **Bru-múla* acc. '(the) brow-mull', with the stem form of OWNorn **bru* and accusative of the generic, with metathesis §40 (i), although the short stressed vowel still requires explaining.

#82 ***Brù*** CLA (Eng. *Brue*)
[b̥ɾʊː], (gen.) *Bhrù* [vɾʊː]; NB335502. 1821, 1822, 1843–82 *Brue*; 2007 *Brù*‖*Brue*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376: '**Brue** [bruː][187] is certainly ON **Brú* f. "bridge" – a word used both about real bridges and about causeways across wet or boggy land. It is not infrequent in Norway (see *NG* VI, 299, VII, 438, X, 96, XI, 11).'

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Chladaich. It was once located on the east side of *Loch Mòr Bharbhais* 'the great loch of *Barbhas*', beside *Barbhas Ìorach* #47 but early in the 1800s the township was split and *Brù* moved to the western side of the loch (Lawson 2008, 94). The name probably arose on account of a

184. With a specific from ON **Band*(*a*)*múla* acc. '(the) fetter-point, or (the) point of the fetters', with the stem form or genitive plural of ON *band* nt. in the sense 'leash or fetter'.

185. ON *múla* was itself borrowed as ScG *mùl*(*a*) m.: *Mùl na Caillich* [ˌmũ·l̪ nə ˈkʰaɲ̊içˌ] 'the mull of the old woman' NB244083, in A' Phàirc, and (gen.) ScG *Àird a' Mhùlaidh* [ˌɑ·ʂʈ ə ˈvũːl̪i] 'the headland of the mull' NB187107, in Harris. ScG *mùl*(*a*) is not the same element as ScG *mulla* 'mull, rounded promontory' (< Scots *mull* (< ON *múli*)), found in ScG *Mulla fo Dheas* and *Mulla fo Thuath*, the names of two peaks on the mountain *Cliseam* (#132), in Harris (Cox 2016, 209–10).

186. Regarding the etymology of these words, see also de Vries 1961, s.v. ON [1,2]*brún*, and Vendryes, s.v. EG [3]*brú*.

187. (nMO) [b̥ɾuː].

gheibhear ann an corra ainm ann an Leòdhas, m.e. (gun eadar-chàradh) is dòcha GA *Guaineamol* [ˈg̊uəɾəˌmaɬ̪]ˌmɔɬ̪] [*sic*] NB259138, anns A' Phàirc; (le eadar-chàradh) *Beinn Ghuidealum* [ˌb̥ẽĩn̪ ˈɣuɪd̥ʲəˌl̪əm] (ˌl̪um]) (1843–82 *Beinn Ghuidamul*) NB234455, agus *Lèana Bhanndalum* [ˌɲãnə ˈvãũn̪n̪d̥əˌl̪um]ˌl̪əm] (1843–82 *Liana Bhàndalum*) NB237457,[184] ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295).[185]

'S e am feart as mothachaile san àite a' chreag àrd no bearradh, air a bheil *Creag Bhroluim*, a ruitheas bho thuath gu deas, agus am baile na laighe fòidhpe air an taobh an iar. B' e 'oir, bruach' a bu chiall do SL *brún* b., ach bhiodh feart, neo-shrònachd agus fad na fuaimreig beumte sa chruth Ghàidhlig gun am mìneachadh.

Gidheadh, lorgar Nn. *bru* b. sa bhrìgh 'oir a stobas a-mach' ann an Nirribhidh (Torp 1919, s.v. ²*bru*, ann am filltich; *NSL*, s.v. *Bru*, ann an Sogn og Fjordane agus Rogaland, a tha na bhunadair às a' Ghearmanais Bhitheanta **brū* (a gheibhear san aon chèill ann an SL *brún*, shuas)); coim. Nòrn *bru* [brū] (Jakobsen 1928, s.v. *brun* ainm.: 'now commonly used' seach *brun* < SL *brún*).[186]

Dh'fhaodte, a-rèist, gun tàrmaich GA *Brolum* ann an SNòrnI **Bru-múla* cusp. '(a') mhàla-mhaol', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SNòrnI **bru* agus cruth cuspaireach an t-seòrsaicheir, le eadar-chàradh §40 (i), ged a tha an fhuaimreag bheumte ghoirid ri mìneachadh fhathast.

#82 ***Brù*** CLA
[b̥ɾʊː], (gin.) *Bhrù* [vɾʊː]; NB335502. 1821, 1822, 1843–82 *Brue*; 2007 *Brù*‖*Brue*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376: Is cinnteach gur h-e SL **Brú* b. 'drochaid' a th' ann am **Brue** [bruː][187] – facal a chleachdar an dà chuid air fìor dhrochaidean agus air cabhsairean thairis air talamh bog fliuch. Chan ainneamh ann an Nirribhidh e (faic *NG* VI, 299, VII, 438, X, 96, XI, 11).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich. Bha e uair air taobh an ear *Loch Mòr Bharbhais*, ri taobh *Bharbhais Ìoraich* #47 ach tràth sna 1800an chaidh am baile fearainn a sgaradh agus *Brù* a ghluasad gu taobh an iar an locha (Lawson 2008, 94). Is iongantach man do dh'èirich an t-ainm seo à drochaid no

184. Le sònraichear à SL **Band*(*a*)*múla* cusp. '(an) taod-rubha, no rubha nan taod', leis a' bhun-riochd no an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *band* n. san t-seagh 'taod no buarach'.

185. Chaidh SL *múla* fhèin iasadachadh na GA *mùl*(*a*) f.: *Mùl na Caillich* [ˌmũ·l̪ nə ˈkʰaɲ̊içˌ] NB244083, anns A' Phàirc, agus (gin.) GA *Àird a' Mhùlaidh* [ˌɑ·ʂʈ ə ˈvũːl̪i] NB187107, sna Hearadh. Chan ionann GA *mùl*(*a*) agus an eileamaid GA *mulla* 'maol, rubha cruinn' (< Alb. *mull* (< SL *múli*)), a gheibhear ann an GA *Mulla fo Dheas* agus *Mulla fo Thuath*, na h-ainmean air dà bhinnean air a' bheinn *Cliseam* (#132), sna Hearadh (Cox 2016, 209–10).

186. A thaobh freumhachd nam facal seo, faic cuideachd de Vries 1961, s.v. SL [1,2]*brún*, Vendryes, s.v. SG [3]*brú*.

187. (nMO) [b̥ɾuː].

bridge or bridges (or causeways) used at the inner end of the loch, i.e. between the sea and the loch.

Cf. ScG *Bruthairnis* NF722024 (Eng. *Bruernish*) from ON **Brúarnes* '(the) point of the bridge', with genitive of *brú* (Borgstrøm 1936, 291); and ScG *Brùra* (Dorian 1978, 115) /pruːra/ (Eng. *Brora*) NC904039, in Sutherland, from ON **Brárá* '(the) river of the bridge', with genitive of the noun ON *brú* f. 'bridge' – for the genitive form, see *Bradhagair* #74 – and ON *á* f. 'river' (cf. Henderson 1910, 154; Taylor 2011, s.v. *Brora*).

#83 ***Bruach Màiri*** STN (Eng. *Marybank*)
[ˌb̥ruəx ˈmãːɾʲi], (gen.) *Bhruach Màiri* [ˌvruəx ˈmãːɾʲi]; NB409338. 1843–82 *Mary Bank*; 2007 *Bruach Màiri*‖*Marybank*; 2016, road sign *Marybank*.

The name of a recent suburb of *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Lawson 2011, 58), south of *Cnoc Màiri* #143; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *bruach* f. 'river bank etc.' (EG idem – see under *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13) and genitive of the woman's name ScG *Màiri*,[188] a loan from Eng. *Mary*. This location lies above *Allt nam Bròg* 'the stream of the shoes'. There is no indication who this *Màiri* was, but cf. *Cnoc Màiri* #143. The name is translated into English as *Marybank*.

#84 ***Bruinigil*** PRC
[ˈb̥rɯ̃ɪnəˌɡʲil], (gen.) *Bhruinigil* [ˈvrɯ̃ɪnəˌɡʲil]; NB278158. 1776 *Brenigal*; 1801 *Benigal* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Brenigal*; 1821 *Brinigal*; 1843–82 *Bruinagil*.

The name of a deserted settlement in A' Phàirc, west-south-west of *Ceann Shìophort* #113; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, very possibly from ON **Brynugil* '(the) ravine of the river **Bryna*', with genitive of the river name ON **Bryna* f., based on the verb ON *bryna* (a by-form of ON *bruna*) 'to rush', and ON *gil* nt. 'ravine', a word borrowed into Scottish Gaelic (see *Gil Thàiseadair* #205). ON **Brynugil* would yield ScG [ˈb̥rɯ̃ɪnəˌɡʲil] regularly.

#85 ***A' Bhuaile a-Muigh*** NIS
[əˌvuələ ˈmũj], (gen.) *Na Buaile a-Muigh* [nəˌb̥uələ ˈmũj]; NB536634. 1843–82 *Buail' a Mùigh*.

Oftedal 1954, 372: '**Buail' a Muigh** is Gaelic "the outer fold".'

The name of a small settlement south of *Cealagbhol* #101, in Nis, with the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *buaile* f. 'enclosed field (for cattle)' (EG *búaile*) + the adverb ScG *a-muigh* used adjectivally in the sense 'further out, further away'.

188. Cf. Ir. *Máire* (Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990, s.v.). Contrast the woman's name ScG *Moire* (Ir. *Muire*), i.e. the name of Jesus's mother, < Lat. *Maria* (Calder 1972, 144).

drochaidean (no cabhsairean) a chleachdte air ceann a-staigh an locha, .i. eadar am muir is an loch.

Coim. GA *Bruthairnis* NF722024 (Brl. *Bruernish*) à SL **Brúarnes* 'rubha na drochaid', le tuiseal ginideach SL *brú* (Borgstrøm 1936, 291); agus GA *Brùra* (Dorian 1978, 115) /pruːra/ (Brl. *Brora*) NC904039, ann an Cataibh, à SL **Brárá* 'abhainn na drochaid' – a thaobh a' chrutha ghinidich, faic *Bradhagair* #74 – agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn' (coim. Henderson 1910, 154; Taylor 2011, s.v. *Brora*).

#83 ***Bruach Màiri*** STN
[ˌb̥ruəx ˈmãːɾʲi], (gin.) *Bhruach Màiri* [ˌvruəx ˈmãːɾʲi]; NB409338. 1843–82 *Mary Bank*; 2007 *Bruach Màiri*‖*Marybank*; 2016, soighne rathaid *Marybank*.

An t-ainm air fo-bhaile ùr aig *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Lawson 2011, 58), deas air *Cnoc Màiri* #143; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *bruach* b. 'bruach aibhne ꝛc' (GT idem – faic fo *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm boireannaich GA *Màiri*,[188] na iasad à Brl. *Mary*. Tha an t-àite seo bhos cionn *Allt nam Bròg*. Chan eil lorg air cò *Màiri* a bha seo, ach coim. *Cnoc Màiri* #143. Tha an t-ainm air eadar-theangachadh dhan Bheurla na *Marybank*.

#84 ***Bruinigil*** PRC
[ˈb̥rɯ̃ɪnəˌɡʲil], (gin.) *Bhruinigil* [ˈvrɯ̃ɪnəˌɡʲil]; NB278158. 1776 *Brenigal*; 1801 *Benigal* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Brenigal*; 1821 *Brinigal*; 1843–82 *Bruinagil*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs anns A' Phàirc, an iar 's an iar-dheas air *Ceann Shìophort* #113; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, is math dh'fhaodte à SL **Brynugil* 'gil na h-aibhne **Bryna*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm aibhne SL **Bryna* b., air a bhonntachadh air a' ghnìomhair SL *bryna* (frith-riochd aig SL *bruna*) 'dian-ruith', agus SL *gil* n. 'gleann cumhang', facal a chaidh air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig (faic *Gil Thàiseadair* #205). Bheireadh SL **Brynugil* GA [ˈb̥rɯ̃ɪnəˌɡʲil] gu riaghailteach.

#85 ***A' Bhuaile a-Muigh*** NIS
[əˌvuələ ˈmũj], (gin.) *Na Buaile a-Muigh* [nəˌb̥uələ ˈmũj]; NB536634. 1843–82 *Buail' a Mùigh*.

Oftedal 1954, 372: Tha **Buail' a Muigh** 'an cotan a-muigh' na ainm Gàidhlig.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag deas air *Cealagbhol* #101, ann an Nis, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *buaile* b. 'achadh cuairtichte (do chruidh)' (GT *búaile*) + an co-ghnìomhair GA *a-muigh* air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'nas fhaide a-muigh, nas fhaide air falbh'.

188. Coim. GE *Máire* (Ó Corráin agus Maguire 1990, s.v.). Iomsgaraich an t-ainm boireannaich GA *Moire* (GE *Muire*), .i. ainm màthair Ìosa, < Laid. *Maria* (Calder 1972, 144).

#86 *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* RBH (Eng. *Clay Park Road*)
[əˌvuələˈxɾʲia-a], (gen.) *Na Buaile Crèadha* *[nəˌb̥uələˈkʰɾʲia-a][189]; NB507330. Taylor 2011, 44 =; 2007 *A Bhuaile Chrèadha*‖*Clay Park Road*; road sign *Buaile Chreadha.*

The name of an area in the south-west of *Garrabost* #189, in An Rubha; a Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article + ScG *buaile* f. 'enclosed field (for cattle)' (#85) and the genitive of ScG *crèadh* f. 'clay' (EG *cré*, (gen.) *críad*, (dat.) *críaid*), named after the seam of red clay found there, and where a brick factory was established by Sir James Matheson shortly after purchasing Lewis in 1844 – *Garrabost Brick Works* appears on the 1843–82 map – although the business failed (Macdonald 1978, 41–43).[190] The name *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* is translated into English as *Clay Park Road*.

Lawson (≈2011, 101) gives *Buaile na Crèadha*. Where a specific element refers to the nature of the generic or material from which it is made, both structures are found: *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* with noun followed by genitive noun, cf. *Loch Gainmhich* 'the loch of sand' #241 and *Creagan Ghreòid*[191] 'the hillock of gravel' NB1938, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331); and *Buaile na Crèadha* with noun followed by genitive article + noun, cf. *Cnoc an Aoil* NB189426 'the hill of the lime', in *Borghaston* #69, and *Loch Tana na Crèadha* NB2934 'the shallow loch of the clay', in *Britheascleit* #79.[192]

#87 *Buaile na Cloich* STN (Eng. *Stoneyfield*)
[ˌb̥uələ nəˈkʰl̪̊aç], (gen.) *Bhuaile na Cloich* [ˌvuələ nəˈkʰl̪̊aç]; NB442311. 1843–82 *Buaile nan Clach or Stony Field*; 1846HO *Stonyfield*; 2007 *Buaile na Cloich*‖ *Stoneyfield*; 2016 *Stoney Field*.

The name of a farm and its environs, south of *Steòrnabhagh* #309; a Gaelic name, with ScG *buaile* f. 'cattle fold' (#85) and genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + ScG *clach* f. (EG *cloch*), translated into English as *Stoney Field*.

In the Ordnance Survey Name Book OS1/27/72/67, it is indicated that the

189. Not recorded; (gen.) *[nəˌb̥uələˈxɾʲia-a] is also likely today.

190. Cf. use of the adjective *crèadhach* in ScG *A' Bhuaile Chrèadhach* NB50056273, in *Cros* #155 (*ECC*, 186).

191. With genitive of the collective noun ScG *greòd* [g̊ɾʲɔːd̪̊] 'course earth, stones' < ON *grjót* nt. 'stones' (Cox 2002a, 254–55), with lenition the result of dative usage, or as though it were genitive plural (cf. ScG *triùir chloinne* (gen. sg.) 'three children').

192. Charles M. Robertson (in King 2019, 56) briefly mentions the former structure, e.g. *an Tom-corc*, *an Tom-calltuinn*, *an Cnoc-beithe* [*sic*], and the latter structure without example, but it seems when or why one or the other is used has not been explained. (Cf. the structures in #107.)

#86 *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* RBH
[əˌvuələˈxɾʲia-a], (gin.) *Na Buaile Crèadha* *[nəˌb̥uələˈkʰɾʲia-a][189]; NB507330. Taylor 2011, 44 =; 2007 *A Bhuaile Chrèadha*‖*Clay Park Road*; soighne rathaid *Buaile Chreadha.*

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh an ceann an iar-dheas *Gharraboist* #189, anns An Rubha; leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + GA *buaile* b. 'achadh cuairtichte (do chruidh)' (#85) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig GA *crèadh* b. (GT *cré*, (gin.) *críad*, (tabh.) *críaid*), air ainmeachadh air an t-sreath de chrèadha ruaidh a gheibhear ann, agus far an deach ionad-obrach bhreigichean a stèidheachadh leis an Ridire Seumas MacMhathain beagan an dèidh dha Leòdhas a cheannach ann an 1844 – tha *Garrabost Brick Works* air ainmeachadh air a' mhapa 1843–82 – ged a bhris an gnothachas (Macdonald 1978, 41–43).[190] Tha *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* air a thionndadh dhan Bheurla na *Clay Park Road*.

Bheir Lawson (≈2011, 101) *Buaile na Crèadha*. Far am bean eileamaid shònrachaidh ris an nàdar de no susbaint às a bheil an seòrsaichear air a dhèanamh, gheibhear an dà cho-rèir: *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* le ainmear air a leantainn le ainmear ginideach, coim. *Loch Gainmhich* #241 agus *Creagan Ghreòid*[191] 'cnoc a' mhorghain' NB1938, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331); agus *Buaile na Crèadha* le ainmear air a leantainn le alt + ainmear ginideach, coim. *Cnoc an Aoil* NB189426, ann am *Borghaston* #69, agus *Loch Tana na Crèadha* NB2934, ann am *Britheascleit* #79.[192]

#87 *Buaile na Cloich* STN
[ˌb̥uələ nəˈkʰl̪̊aç], (gin.) *Bhuaile na Cloich* [ˌvuələ nəˈkʰl̪̊aç]; NB442311. 1843–82 *Buaile nan Clach or Stony Field*; 1846HO *Stonyfield*; 2007 *Buaile na Cloich*‖*Stoneyfield*; 2016 *Stoney Field*.

An t-ainm air tuathanas agus a àrainn, deas air *Steòrnabhagh* #309; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *buaile* b. (#85) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an tuiseal ginideach aig GA *clach* b. (GT *cloch*), air a thionndadh na *Stoney Field* sa Bheurla.

Ann an Ainm-leabhar na Suirbhidh Òrdanais OS1/27/72/67, thèid a shòn-

189. Gun a chlàradh; tha (gin.) *[nəˌb̥uələˈxɾʲia-a] coltach an-diugh mar an ceudna.

190. Coim. cleachdadh a' bhuadhair *crèadhach* ann an GA *A' Bhuaile Chrèadhach* NB50056273, ann an *Cros* #155 (*ECC*, 186).

191. Le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir thrusaidh GA *greòd* [g̊ɾʲɔːd̪̊] 'morghan, clachan' < SL *grjót* n. 'clachan' (Cox 2002a, 254–55), le sèimheachadh a chionn cleachdaidh thabhartaich, no mar gur h-ann san tuiseal ghinideach iolra a bha e (coim. GA *triùir chloinne* (gin. sg.)).

192. Nì Charles M. Robertson geàrr-iomradh (ann an King 2019, 56) air a' chiad cho-rèir, m.e. *an Tom-corc*, *an Tom-calltuinn*, *an Cnoc-beithe* [*sic*], agus air an dàrna fear gun eisimpleir, ach cha choltach gun do mhìnicheadh cuin no carson a thèid fear seach fear dhiubh a chleachdadh. (Coim. na co-chuir ann an #107.)

recorded form *Buaile na Cloch* should be changed to *Buaile nan Clach or Stony Field*. *Buaile na Cloch* must be a spelling or transcription error – it is neither *Buaile nan Clach*, with genitive plural, or *Buaile na Cloich*(*e*), with genitive singular of the specific.

#88 ***Bun Chorcabhig*** PRC
[ˌb̥ũn ˈxɔɾkəˌviɠʲ], (gen.) *Bhun Chorcabhig* [ˌvũn ˈxɔɾkəˌviɠʲ]; NB262032. 1843–82 =, *Allt Bun Chorcabhig*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the west side of *Loch Cloidh* (#209), in A' Phàirc, whose inhabitants were evicted sometime early in the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162); a Gaelic name, with ScG *bun* m. 'foot, (river) mouth' (EG idem) and genitive of ScG **Corcabhig*, a Norse loan-name with a generic in ON *vík* f. 'inlet, bay' (#12).

The first element in ON **Korkavík*, with genitive of the specific, might contain ON *korki* m. 'oats', a loan-word from OG *corca*, *coirce* (ScG *coirce* m.), or ON *korki* m., itself a loan-word from OG *corcur* m. (Jakobsen 1928, s.v. †*korki*; *DSL*, s.v. *korkir*) 'a type of lichen' (*DIL*, s.v. *corcair*). The nature of the place suggests it is more likely the name indicates that *corcar* grew in the vicinity than that oats were grown there particularly, although there are traces of run-rigs (raised beds), as would be expected, to the west of the bay; cf. ScG *Druim a' Chrotail* 'the ridge of the crotal (lichen)' NB185411, in *An Dùn* #170.

#89 ***Buthanis*** PRC
[ˈb̥ụ-ụˌniʃ], (gen.) *Bhuthanis* [ˈvụ-ụˌniʃ]; NB333099. 1821 [?] *Bornish*; 1843–82 *Budhanais*; 1934, 61 *Búanis*.

The name of a deserted settlement, in A' Phàirc, that was cleared in 1826 (Lawson 2011, 186–87); a loan-name perhaps from ON **Búðanes* '(the) promontory of the bothies', with genitive plural of the noun ON *búð* f. 'bothy; abode, dwelling place'[193] and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i), with loss of medial ON *ð* (cf. ON *boða*, accusative of ON *boði* m., > ScG *bodha* m. [b̥o-o] 'submerged rock') and shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus; cf. *Buarøya*, in Sør-Trøndelag, Norway, from ON **Búðarøy* '(the) island of the bothy' (*NG* XIV, 3).

The settlement is commemorated in the names *Rubha a' Bhaile* 'the promontory of the village' and *Cleite a' Bhaile* 'the mountain—', in front of and behind the settlement, respectively.

#90 ***Cabharstaidh*** CDL (Eng. *Caversta*)
[ˈkʰavəˌʂ̪taj], (gen.) *Chabharstaidh* [ˈxavəˌʂ̪taj]; NB365201. 1843–82 *Cabharstaigh*,

193. In association with place-names, the meaning of the element ON *búð* appears to be limited to 'bothy' (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

rachadh gum bu chòir an cruth clàraichte *Buaile na Cloch* atharrachadh gu *Buaile nan Clach or Stony Field*. Feumar gur h-e mearachd litreachaidh no tras-sgrìobhaidh a th' ann am *Buaile na Cloch* – chan e aon chuid *Buaile nan Clach*, le ginideach iolra, no *Buaile na Cloich*(*e*), le ginideach singilte an t-sònraicheir, a th' ann.

#88 ***Bun Chorcabhig*** PRC
[ˌb̥ũn ˈxɔɾkəˌviɠʲ], (gin.) *Bhun Chorcabhig* [ˌvũn ˈxɔɾkəˌviɠʲ]; NB262032. 1843–82 =, *Allt Bun Chorcabhig*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh an iar *Loch Cloidh* (#209), anns A' Phàirc, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach uaireigin tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162); ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *bun* f. 'bonn, beul (aibhne)' (GT idem) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig GA **Corcabhig*, ainm-iasaid Lochlannais le seòrsaichear ann an SL *vík* b. 'tòb, bàgh' (#12).

Dh'fhaodadh a' chiad eileamaid ann an SL **Korkavík*, le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir, a bhith na SL *korki* f. 'coirce', facal-iasaid à SG *corca*, *coirce*, no SL *korki* f. 'corcar', e fhèin na fhacal-iasaid à SG *corcur* f. (Jakobsen 1928, s.v. †*korki*; *DSL*, s.v. *korkir*) 'seòrsa crotail' (*DIL*, s.v. *corcair*). Cuiridh nàdar an àite air shùilibh gur coltaiche gun sònraich an t-ainm gum biodh corcar a' fàs air an àrainn na gun cuirte coirce ann gu h-àraidh, ged a tha lorg air feannagan, mar a bhite an dùil, air taobh an iar a' bhàigh; coim. GA *Druim a' Chrotail* NB185411, air *An Dùn* #170.

#89 ***Buthanis*** PRC
[ˈb̥ụ-ụˌniʃ], (gin.) *Bhuthanis* [ˈvụ-ụˌniʃ]; NB333099. 1821 [?] *Bornish*; 1843–82 *Budhanais*; 1934, 61 *Búanis*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs, anns A' Phàirc, a chaidh fhàsachadh ann an 1826 (Lawson 2011, 186–87); ainm-iasaid is dòcha à SL **Búðanes* 'rubha nam bothan', le ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *búð* b. 'both, bothan; fàrdach, àite-fuirich'[193] agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i), le call SL mheadhain (coim. SL *boða*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *boði* f., > GA *bodha* f. [b̥o-o]) agus giorrachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ro bheàrnas; coim. *Buarøya*, ann an Sør-Trøndelag, Nirribhidh, à SL **Búðarøy* 'eilean a' bhothain' (*NG* XIV, 3).

Tha an tuineachadh air a chumail air chuimhne sna h-ainmean *Rubha a' Bhaile* agus *Cleite a' Bhaile*, air beulaibh agus air cùlaibh an tuineachaidh, fa leth.

#90 ***Cabharstaidh*** CDL
[ˈkʰavəˌʂ̪taj], (gin.) *Chabharstaidh* [ˈxavəˌʂ̪taj]; NB365201. 1843–82 *Cabharstaigh*,

193. Ceangailte ri ainmean-àite, is coltach gu bheil ciall na h-eileamaid SL *búð* air a chuingealachadh ri 'both, bothan' (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

Rudha Chabharstaigh, Amhuinn Chabharstaigh, Tòb Chabharstaigh; 2007 *Cabharstadh‖Caversta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 403: '**Caversta** [kʌvəsʈɑj][194] is possibly identical with the Norwegian farm name ON **Kofrastaðir* which occurs twice in Norway (*NG* IV[1], 141, and IV[2], 77). It means "*Kofri*'s farm" and contains ON *Kofri* m., a man's name or surname (also found as a generic term for "hood", OFr. *couvrechef*). There is a general tendency in the Hebrides, and especially in Lewis, to unround *o* to [ɑ] (see Borgstrøm 1940, 199ff.); in *Torfhstaidh* #337, there is still vacillation.
>
> 'This derivation is far from being self-evident. The name *Kofri* is not a frequent one and is only attested in eastern Norway and in Sweden. It is, however, the only acceptable solution that can be found for the time being. Watson's conjecture [1904, 271] **Kafastaðr*[195] "(the) diving-stead" is, of course, impossible, both because such a compound is almost inconceivable in Old Norse – it would be **Kaf-staðr* or **Kafsstaðr*[196] – and because it lacks a medial *r*.'[197]

The name of a township beside a narrow inlet east of *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Oftedal is of the view that this is a loan-name in final ON *staðr* m. 'farm' (#331, fn 803), as is Evemalm (2017, 104), who gives the radical form *Cabhorstadh*. One might also consider ON **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* '(the) landing place of the chest', with the stem form (or genitive) of the noun ON *kofr* nt. 'chest, coffer', from OFr. *cofre* (de Vries 1962, s.v. *kofr*);[198] cf. ON *kista* f. 'chest' (from OEng. *ciste*) and the way it is used in the sense 'narrow pass between two hills' (*NG* V, 335).[199] In this instance, ON **Kofr* might denote the narrow ravine to the east of the inlet (although there is a larger narrow ravine at the inner end of the inlet that would also be suitable). For ON *stǫð* f. 'landing place', cf. the loan-name ScG *Stoth* [st̪oʰ] NB523659, in Nis; see also *Sgiogarstaidh* #294.

194. (nMO) [kʌvəsʈɑj], (gen.) [xʌvəsʈɑj], *Abhainn Chabharstaidh* [ãviɲ ˈxʌvəsʈɑj], *Rubha Chabharstaidh* [rɯ ˈxʌvəsʈɑj].

195. I.e. with ON *kafa* vb 'to dive'.

196. I.e. with the stem form or genitive of ON *kaf* nt. 'diving'.

197. Cf. the phonemic form of *Cabharstaidh*, viz /kʌvəʀsdɑj/.

198. Cf. EG *cófra* m. 'chest' from MEng. (and Fr.) *cofre* (*DIL*); MacBain (1911, s.v. *cobhan*) associates ScG *cobhan* 'chest' with Ir. *cófra*, deriving them from Eng. *coffin*, *coffer*.

199. ScG *ciste* (EG idem, < OEng. idem (*DIL*)) is probably used in the same way in ScG *Ciste nam Bataichean* 'the pass of the sticks or crooks' NB1839, in *An Dùn* #170 (Cox 2002a, 206).

Rudha Chabharstaigh, Amhuinn Chabharstaigh, Tòb Chabharstaigh; 2007 *Cabharstadh‖Caversta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 403: Is dòcha gur h-ionann **Caversta** [kʌvəsʈɑj][194] is an t-ainm tuathanais SL **Kofrastaðir* a gheibhear dà uair ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* IV[1], 141, IV[2], 77). 'S e 'an tuathanas aig *Kofri*' as ciall dha, le SL *Kofri* f., ainm fireannaich no sloinneadh (ri lorg cuideachd mar sheòrsaichear sa bhrìgh 'currac', SFr. *couvrechef*). Thathas dualtach ann an Innse Gall, agus gu h-àraidh ann an Leòdhas, a bhith a' dì-chruinneachadh *o* na [ɑ] (faic Borgstrøm 1940, 199 ɾa); ann an *Torfhstaidh* #337, gheibhear teabachdainn fhathast.
>
> Is fhada am bunachas seo bho bhith follaiseach. Chan e ainm bitheanta a th' ann an *Kofri* agus chan fhaighear teist air ach air taobh an ear Nirribhidh agus san t-Suain. 'S e an t-aon fhuasgladh, ge-tà, a ghabhas lorg aig an àm sa. Neo-ar-thaing nach eil meòrachadh Watson [1904, 271] **Kafastaðr*[195] '(an) tumadh-fhàrdach' do-dhèanta, an dà chuid a chionn 's nach mòr gun gabh a leithid de dh'fhillteach anns an Lochlannais creidsinn – 's e **Kafstaðr* no **Kafsstaðr*[196] a bhiodh ann – agus a chionn 's gu bheil *r* mheadhain a dhìth air.[197]

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ri taobh tàib chumhaing an ear air *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* #192, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Tha Oftedal den bheachd gur h-e ainm-iasaid a' crìochnachadh ann an SL *staðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#331, bn 803) a tha seo, mar a tha Evemalm (2017, 104), aig a bheil an cruth bunasach *Cabhorstadh*. Dh'fhaodte beachdachadh cuideachd air SL **Kofr*(*s*)*stǫð* 'laimrig na ciste', le bun-riochd (no tuiseal ginideach) an ainmeir SL *kofr* n. 'ciste', à SFr. *cofre* (de Vries 1962, s.v. *kofr*);[198] coim. SL *kista* b. 'ciste' (à SBrl. *ciste*) agus an dòigh air an tèid a chleachdadh sa bhrìgh 'bealach cumhang eadar dà chnoc' (*NG* V, 335).[199] San t-seagh seo, dh'fhaodadh SL **Kofr* a bhith a' beantainn ris a' ghil chumhaing air taobh an ear an tàib (ged a tha gil chumhang nas motha aig ceann a-staigh an tàib a bhiodh freagarrach mar an ceudna). A thaobh SL *stǫð* b. 'laimrig', coim. an t-ainm-iasaid GA *Stoth* [st̪oʰ] NB523659, ann an Nis; faic cuideachd *Sgiogarstaidh* #294.

194. (nMO) [kʌvəsʈɑj], (gin.) [xʌvəsʈɑj], *Abhainn Chabharstaidh* [ãviɲ ˈxʌvəsʈɑj], *Rubha Chabharstaidh* [rɯ ˈxʌvəsʈɑj].

195. .i. Le SL *kafa* gn. 'tum, dàibh'.

196. .i. Leis a' bhun-riochd no an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *kaf* n. 'tumadh'.

197. Coim. an cruth fuinn-eòlach aig *Cabharstaidh*, .i. /kʌvəʀsdɑj/.

198. Coim. GT *cófra* f. 'ciste' à MBrl (agus Fr.) *cofre* (*DIL*); nì MacBain (1911, s.v. *cobhan*) dàimh eadar GA *cobhan* 'ciste' agus GE *cófra*, gan tàrmachadh ann am Brl. *coffin*, *coffer*.

199. Is iongantach mana tèid GA *ciste* (GT idem, < SBrl. idem (*DIL*)) a chleachdadh air an aon dòigh san ainm GA *Ciste nam Bataichean* NB1839, air *An Dùn* #170 (Cox 2002a, 206).

#91 *Càiriseadar* ÙIG (Eng. *Carishader*)
[ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaʰdəɾ], (gen.) *Chàiriseadair* [ˈxaːɾʲiˌʃaʰdəɾʲ]; NB100330. 1821, 1822 *Carishader*; 1843–82 *Càrashader*, *Cleite Chàrashader*; 1846 *Carishader*; 2007, road sign *Cairisiadar*‖*Carishader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385–86: '**Caryshader** (CB) [kɑːðiʃɑðər][200] is doubtful. It seems to contain an Old Norse sound sequence *Kár-* followed by a front vowel (because of the ScG palatal [ð], it cannot be ON **Kárasetr*, from the man's name ON *Kári* m.; nor can it be ON **Kárssetr*, from the name ON *Kárr* m., because this would almost certainly have yielded ScG *[kɑːsɑdəð]). One might think of ON **Kárhildr*, a woman's name that appears to occur in two or three Norwegian farm names (see *NG* XII, 528), but as this name is otherwise unattested, I hesitate to propose **Kárhildarsetr* as the Old Norse equivalent of **Caryshader**. For the same reason, I must reject a derivation from a man's name ON **Kárekr*, known only from one Norwegian farm name, *Kårstad* (*NG* XII, 304), spelled *í Karekstodum* c.1360. The only acceptable solution I have found is ON **Kárinssetr*, from the surname ON *Kárinn* "curly-headed". This name is attested in one instance; a certain *Jón Kárinn* is mentioned in Sturlunga saga.'

The name of a township in ÙIG; a Gaelic name, a loan from a form in ON *-sætr* nt. 'sheiling' (as opposed to ON *setr* nt, see #296). As regards the first element in the Old Norse name, although Oftedal is correct in principle that one would expect a form that would result in a palatal *r* in Gaelic, there are plenty of examples where interchange between non-palatal [ɾ] /r/ and palatal [ɾʲ] ([ðʲ]) /rʲ/ occurs, e.g. ON **Þaragjá* '(the) cove of the seaweed' > ScG *Taraigea* [ˈt̪ʰaɾiˌɡ̊ʲa] NB278496, in *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, besides > ScG *Tairigeadh* [ˈt̪ʰaɾʲiˌɡ̊ʲaɣ] NB182416, in *An Dùn* #170 (Cox 1990b, 103).

In addition, then, to ON **Kárasætr* with the man's name ON *Kári* m. and ON **Kárinssætr* with the man's name ON *Kárinn* m., one might consider ON **Kórasætr*, with the man's name ON *Kóri* m., the name of an Irish slave in Iceland according to *Landnámabók* (1774, Part II, Chap. XXIV); for the alternation *o* ~ *a* in Gaelic, see §43 (i).

#92 *Caithiseadar* NIS
(1) [ˈkʰa-iˌʃaʰdəɾ], (2) [ˈkʰaiˌʃaʰdəɾ], (gen.) *Chaithiseadair* (1) [ˈxa-iˌʃaʰdəɾʲ], (2) [ˈxaiˌʃaʰdəɾʲ]; NB553607. 1821, 1822 *Caishadder*; 1843–82 *Caithaseadair*, *Druim Chaithascadair* [*sic*], *Amhuinn Chaithaseadair*; 1846 *Caishadder*.

200. (nMO) [kʿaːðɪʃatəð̠], [kʿaːðɪʃætəð̠].

#91 *Càiriseadar* ÙIG
[ˈkʰaːɾʲiˌʃaʰdəɾ], (gin.) *Chàiriseadair* [ˈxaːɾʲiˌʃaʰdəɾʲ]; NB100330. 1821, 1822 *Carishader*; 1843–82 *Càrashader*, *Cleite Chàrashader*; 1846 *Carishader*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cairisiadar*‖*Carishader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385–86: Tha **Caryshader** (CB) [kɑːðiʃɑðər][200] teagmhach. Is coltach gu bheil an sreath Lochlannais *Kár-* ann, air a leantainn le fuaimreig thoisich (a chionn na [ð] càireanaich sa Ghàidhlig, chan urrainn do SL **Kárasetr* a bhith ann, às an ainm fireannaich SL *Kári* f.; cha mhotha as urrainn do SL **Kárssetr* a bhith ann, às an ainm SL *Kárr* f., a chionn 's nach mòr nach cinnteach gun toireadh seo GA *[kɑːsɑdəð]). Dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air SL **Kárhildr*, ainm boireannaich a nochdas ann a dhà no a trì de dh'ainmean tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh (faic *NG* XII, 528), ach, seach gu bheil an t-ainm seo gun teist air mhodh eile, tha teagamh annam a bhith a' cur SL **Kárhildarsetr* air adhart na sheise Lochlannais do **Charyshader**. Air an aon adhbhar, feumaidh mi bunachas às an ainm fireannaich SL **Kárekr* a chur an dàrna taobh, ainm nach eil ri lorg ach anns an aon ainm tuathanais, *Kårstad* (*NG* XII, 304), air a litreachadh *í Karekstodum* c.1360. 'S e an t-aon fhuasgladh freagarrach air an d' fhuair mi lorg SL **Kárinssetr*, às an t-sloinneadh SL *Kárinn* 'air a bheil falt dualach'. Gheibhear an t-ainm seo an aon uair; thèid iomradh a thoirt air *Jón Kárinn* ann an Sturlunga saga.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ÙIG; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à cruth ann an SL *-sætr* n. 'àirigh' (seach SL *setr* n., faic #296). A thaobh ciad eileamaid an ainme Lochlannais, ged a tha Oftedal ceart ann am prionnsabal gun sùilichear cruth a bheireadh *r* chàireanach sa Ghàidhlig, tha eisimpleirean gu leòr ann far an tèid [ɾ] /r/ agus [ɾʲ] ([ðʲ]) /rʲ/ air iomlaid, m.e. SL **Þaragjá* 'geodha na feamann' > GA *Taraigea* [ˈt̪ʰaɾiˌɡ̊ʲa] NB278496, ann am *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, ri taobh > GA *Tairigeadh* [ˈt̪ʰaɾʲiˌɡ̊ʲaɣ] NB182416, air *An Dùn* #170 (Cox 1990b, 103).

A thuilleadh, a-rèist, air SL **Kárasætr* leis an ainm fireannaich SL *Kári* f. agus SL **Kárinssætr* leis an ainm fireannaich SL *Kárinn* f., dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air SL **Kórasætr*, leis an ainm fireannaich SL *Kóri* f., an t-ainm a bh' air tràill Èireannach ann an Innis Tìle a rèir *Landnámabók* (1774, Pàirt II, Caib. XXIV); airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a* sa Ghàidhlig, faic §43 (i).

#92 *Caithiseadar* NIS
(1) [ˈkʰa-iˌʃaʰdəɾ], (2) [ˈkʰaiˌʃaʰdəɾ], (gin.) *Chaithiseadair* (1) [ˈxa-iˌʃaʰdəɾʲ], (2) [ˈxaiˌʃaʰdəɾʲ]; NB553607. 1821, 1822 *Caishadder*; 1843–82 *Caithaseadair*, *Druim Chaithascadair* [*sic*], *Amhuinn Chaithaseadair*; 1846 *Caishadder*.

200. (nMO) [kʿaːðɪʃatəð̠], [kʿaːðɪʃætəð̠].

The name of the location of a group of old sheilings,[201] in Nɪs; a Gaelic name, a loan from Old Norse.

Pronunciation (2) is the commoner;[202] for the reduction from hiatus to a diphthong, cf. *Britheascleit* #79 and *Iarsadar* #225. ScG *Caithiseadar* might derive from ON **Kofasætr* '(the) sheiling of the hut (or huts)', with genitive singular (or plural) of the noun ON *kofi* m. '(ecclesiastical) cell; hut, shed' and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling' (#296). For loss of the medial fricative, cf. ScG *clobha* ['kʰl̪̊o-ə] 'tongs' < ON *klofa*, oblique case of ON *klofi* m. in the sense 'forked stick; clamp'; for the alternation *o* ~ *a*, see §43 (i).

Were the first element a loan-word in Old Norse, from EG *cáe* (*caí*, *coí*) 'path' (Cox 1990b, 98), it seems the word was already a disyllable in Gaelic,[203] hence ScG *cadha*, which could be relevant here in the sense 'ravine'; cf. *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253.

#93 *Calbost* CDL (Eng. *Calbost*)
['kʰaʃ̫a̤ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) *Chalboist* ['xaʃ̫a̤ˌb̥ɔʃt̪ʲ]; NB413174. 1821 *Calbost*; 1843–82 *Calabost*, *Camus Chalaboist*; 1846 *Callbost*; 2007 *Calabost*‖*Calbost.*

> Oftedal 1954, 404: '**Calbost** [kɑʟàbɔst] is an ON *-bólstaðr* name, but the first component is difficult to determine. It may be the noun ON *kalfr* m. 'calf' in the genitive plural, as in ON **Kalfabotn* (*NG* XII, 230), **Kalfaland* (*NG* X, 441, XI, 238 and 264), and a good many other Norwegian farm names. This is the most probable derivation. There is also the badly attested man's name or surname ON *Kalfi* m., (gen.) *Kalfa*,[204] which is possibly the first component of the farm name *Kalvestad* (*NG* XIII, 186). Further, [kɑʟàbɔst] may have developed from ON **Kaldbólstaðr* "(the) cold farm"; the adjective ON *kaldr* is a very common component of both Norwegian and Icelandic place-names; cf. also *Calset*, Orkney (Marwick 1952, 87), ?from ON **Kaldsetr*. ON **Kol-bólstaðr* "(the) coal-farm" is another possibility, from ON *kol* nt. "(char)coal". There was hardly enough wood left in Lewis during the Norse period to permit the practice of coal-charring, but the name may refer to the dark colour

201. Once the site of a farm: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/129548/lewis-caiashader>.

202. E.g. *Caidhsiadar* in *ECC*, 113.

203. Contrast Ir. *caoi* (EG *cáe*); regarding EG *cáe* being disyllabic, see O'Rahilly 1976, 142–45: 143.

204. It is not recorded in Lind 1915.

An t-ainm air àite far a bheil làraichean àirighe,[201] ann an Nɪs; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad Lochlannais.

'S e fuaimneachadh (2) as bitheanta;[202] airson an lùghdachaidh bho bheàrnas gu dà-fhoghar, coim. *Britheascleit* #79 is *Iarsadar* #225. Is math dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich GA *Caithiseadar* ann an SL **Kofasætr* 'àirigh a' bhotha (no nam both)', le tuiseal ginideach singilte (no iolra) an ainmeir SL *kofi* f. 'ceall (eaglaise); both, bothan, seada' agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh' (#296). Airson call an t-suathaich mheadhain, coim. GA *clobha* ['kʰl̪̊o-ə] 'teanchair' < SL *klofa*, an tuiseal claon aig SL *klofi* f. sa bhrìgh 'bioran gobhlach; clabhd, clampa'; airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a*, faic §43 (i).

Mas e 's gur h-e facal-iasaid anns an Lochlannais a bh' anns a' chiad eileamaid, à GT *cáe* (*caí*, *coí*) 'slighe' (Cox 1990b, 98), is coltach gun robh am facal na dhà-lide mar-thà sa Ghàidhlig,[203] às a sin GA *cadha*, a dh'fhaodadh a bhith freagarrach an seo sa bhrìgh 'slugaid'; coim. *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253.

#93 *Calbost* CDL
['kʰaʃ̫a̤ˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) *Chalboist* ['xaʃ̫a̤ˌb̥ɔʃt̪ʲ]; NB413174. 1821 *Calbost*; 1843–82 *Calabost*, *Camus Chalaboist*; 1846 *Callbost*; 2007 *Calabost*‖*Calbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 404: 'S e ainm ann an SL *-bólstaðr* a th' ann an **Calbost** [kɑʟàbɔst], ach is duilich a' chiad eileamaid a shocrachadh. Faodaidh e bhith gur h-e an t-ainmear SL *kalfr* f. 'laogh' san tuiseal ghinideach iolra a th' ann, mar a tha ann an SL **Kalfabotn* (*NG* XII, 230), **Kalfaland* (*NG* X, 441, XI, 238 agus 264) agus uimhir mhòr eile de dh'ainmean tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh. 'S e seo am bunachas as coltaiche. Tha an t-ainm fireannaich no sloinneadh SL *Kalfi* f., (gin.) *Kalfa*,[204] ann cuideachd, ainm air nach eil ach droch theist, a dh'fhaodas a bhith na chiad eileamaid san ainm tuathanais *Kalvestad* (*NG* XIII, 186). A thuilleadh, dh'fhaodte gur h-ann ann an SL **Kaldbólstaðr* '(an) tuathanas fuar' a thàrmaich [kɑʟàbɔst]; 's i eileamaid bhitheanta a th' anns a' bhuadhair SL *kaldr* ann an ainmeanàite an dà chuid ann an Nirribhidh agus ann an Innis Tìle; coim. cuideachd *Calset* ann an Arcaibh (Marwick 1952, 87), ?à SL **Kaldsetr*. Tha e na chomas gur h-e SL **Kol-bólstaðr* '(an) gual-thuathanas' a th' ann, à SL *kol* n. 'gual, gual-fiodha'. Is gann gun robh de dh'fhiodh air fhàgail ann an Leòdhas ri linn nan Lochlannach na cheadaicheadh a bhith ri gual-losgadh, ach faodaidh an t-ainm a bhith a' sònrachadh tuar dorch creige 7c

201. Far an robh tuathanas uair: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/129548/lewis-caiashader>.

202. M.e. *Caidhsiadar* ann an *ECC*, 113.

203. Iomsgaraich GE *caoi* (GT *cáe*); a thaobh GT *cáe* a bhith dà-lideach, faic O'Rahilly 1976, 142–45: 143.

204. Chan eil e air a chlàradh ann an Lind 1915.

of local rock etc., as it undoubtedly does in some Norwegian names; see, for example, *NG* X, 184. Finally, we cannot exclude the possibility that [kɑʟàbɔst] contains a personal name in ON *Kol-*, preferably one in which the consonant next to *l* would require a svarabhakti vowel and whose genitive does not end in *s*, a consonant which is not readily dropped. ON **Kolbjarnarbólstaðr* "*Kolbjǫrn*'s (m.) farm" would fulfil the requirements. Very few Hebridean place-names of Norse origin have more than four syllables; the great majority have two or three. Longer Old Norse names can hardly avoid contraction, and we must be prepared to meet with many names that cannot be explained except by substantial interpolation. Needless to say, all reconstructions obtained in this way must be regarded as highly conjectural.'

The name of a township in Ceann a Deas nan Loch. If the origin of this name is ON **Kolbjarnarbólstað* acc., it is unlikely that confirmatory evidence will be forthcoming.[205]

ON **Kaldbólstað* acc. would be more likely to yield ScG *[ˈkʰɑl̪̊tə ˌb̥ɔs̪̊t̪̊], with ON *ld* becoming ScG /ɪt/, as happened to EG /ɪd/ in Gaelic.[206, 207]

ON **Kol-bólstað*[208] acc. would easily yield ScG [ˈkʰɑ͡l̪̊ə ˌb̥ɔs̪̊t̪̊], with ON *o* > ScG *a*, cf. the man's name ScG *Tormod* [ˈt̪̊ʰa͡ɾəmɔ̊d̪̊] < ON *Þormund* acc. m. and the place-name ScG *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːg̊am][209] NB168431 < ON **Krák-holm* '(the) crow-island' or **Krǫ́kuholm* or **Krák*(*n*)*aholm* '(the) island of the crows or of the crow), with accusative of ON *holmr* m. 'island' and with the stem form, genitive singular or genitive plural of ON *kráka* f. 'crow'; but, as Oftedal says, the

205. Cf. Oftedal's deliberations (1972) on how a Norse name like ON **Arinbjarnarstaðir* might be borrowed into Gaelic.

206. E.g. ScG *gallda* 'foreign' (usually written *gallta* today) and *callda* (also written *callta*), with medial [l̪̊t] /ɪt/ (Cox 2000, 215; Cox 2017, 151–52, fn 5).

207. The adjective ON *kaldr* occurs in St Kilda in Macaulay's form (1764, 101) *Tober Childa Chalda*, i.e. ScG **Tobar Chealta Calta*, with a specific from ON **Keldan Kalda* 'the cold well', with ON *kelda* f. 'well' + the suffixed article + the weak feminine form of the adjective ON *kaldr* 'cold' (≈Cox 2007c, 21–22), which would yield ScG *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪̊tə ˈkʰɑl̪̊tə].

208. With *kol-* 'coal', or with *Kol-* representing a contracted personal name.

209. (nMO) [kɾaːgam].

san àite, mar a bhitheas e gun teagamh ann an cuid de dh'ainmean ann an Nirribhidh; faic, mar eisimpleir, *NG* X, 184. Mu dheireadh, chan fhaodamaid dol às àicheadh gur dòcha gun gabh [kɑʟàbɔst] a-steach ainm pearsanta ann an SL *Kol-*, fear a bha a chonnrag ri taobh na h-*l* ag iarraidh fuaimreag còmhnaidh agus nach crìochnaicheadh a chruth ginideach ann an *s*, connrag nach leigear às gu luath. Dheigheadh na feumalachdan a choileanadh le SL **Kolbjarnarbólstaðr* 'an tuathanas aig *Kolbjǫrn* (f.)'. 'S e glè bheag de dh'ainmean-àite sna h-Eileanan Siar aig a bheil barrachd air ceithir lidean; 's e a dhà no a trì a th' aig a' mhòr-mhòr-chuid. Cha mhòr gun seachain ainmean Lochlannais nas fhaide teannachadh, agus feumaidh sinn a bhith deiseil coinneachadh ri mòran ainmean nach gabh mìneachadh gu furasta ach tro in-shuidheachadh nach beag. Cha ruigear a leas a ràdh gum feumar dèiligeadh ri ath-chruthachaidhean sam bith a fhuaradh air an dòigh seo mar sgeòil mu thuaiream.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch. Mas e SL **Kol·bjarnarbólstað* cusp. tùs an ainme seo, cha choltach gun nochd a dh'fhianais a dhearbhas.[205]

Bhiodh e na bu choltaiche gun toireadh SL **Kaldbólstað* cusp. GA *[ˈkʰɑl̪̊tə ˌb̥ɔs̪̊t̪̊], le SL *ld* a' dol na GA /ɪt/ mar a thachair do GT /ɪd/ sa Ghàidhlig.[206, 207]

Bheireadh SL **Kol-bólstað*[208] cusp. GA [ˈkʰɑ͡l̪̊ə ˌb̥ɔs̪̊t̪̊] gu furasta, le SL *o* > GA *a*, coim. an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Tormod* [ˈt̪̊ʰa͡ɾəmɔ̊d̪̊] < SL *Þormund* cusp. f. agus an t-ainm-àite GA *Cràgam* [ˈkʰɾaːg̊am][209] NB168431 < SL **Krák-holm* '(am) feannag-eilean' no **Krǫ́kuholm* no **Krák*(*n*)*aholm* 'eilean nam feannag no na feannaige', leis a' chruth chuspaireach aig SL *holmr* f. 'eilean' agus leis a' bhun-riochd, a' ghinideach shingilte no a' ghinideach iolra aig SL *kráka* b. 'feannag, starrag'; ach, mar a chanas Oftedal, cha fhreagair am bunachas

205. Coim. am meòrachadh aig Oftedal (1972) agus e a' beachdachadh air mar a dh'fhaodadh ainm Lochlannais a leithid SL **Arinbjarnarstaðir* a dhol air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig.

206. M.e. GA *gallda* (mar as trice air a sgrìobhadh *gallta* an-diugh) agus *callda* (cuideachd air a sgrìobhadh *callta*), le [l̪̊t] /ɪt/ mheadhain (Cox 2000, 215; Cox 2017, 151–52, bn 5).

207. Nochdaidh am buadhair SL *kaldr* ann an Hiort sa chruth aig Macaulay (1764, 101) *Tober Childa Chalda*, .i. GA **Tobar Chealta Calta*, le sònraichear à SL **Keldan Kalda* 'an tobar fuar', le SL *kelda* b. 'tobar' + an alt iar-leasaichte + cruth boireann lag a' bhuadhair SL *kaldr* 'fuar' (≈Cox 2007c, 21–22), a bheireadh GA *[ˌkʲʰɑl̪̊tə ˈkʰɑl̪̊tə].

208. Le *kol-* 'gual', no le *Kol-* a' riochdachadh ainm pearsanta air a theannachadh.

209. (nMO) [kɾaːgam].

derivation **Kol-bólstað* '(the) coal-farm' does not suit so well semantically.[210]

The most likely derivation is ON **Kalfabólstað* acc., in the sense '(the) farm of the lambs' – seeing that the personal name *Kalfi* is unattested – which would yield ScG *['kʰaɬ̪avəˌb̥ɔsʈ̪] > *['kʰaɬ̪-əˌb̥ɔsʈ̪], with loss of ON *f*,[211] > *Calbost* ['kʰaɬ̪ˌb̥ɔsʈ̪]; cf. ON *torf-skeri* m. 'peat-iron' > ScG *['ʈ̪ʰaɾ̂af ˌʃkʲəɾʲ] > ScG *tarfh-sgeir* ['ʈ̪ʰaɾ̂aˌʃkʲəɾʲ],[212] and ON **Klifsgróf* '(the) stream of the steep slope' > ScG *['kʰlifˌʂkɾo] > *Cliosgro* ['kʰliˌʂkɾo] NB195425, in *Borghaston* #69.

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#94 *Callanis* TSR (Eng. *Callanish*)
['kʰaɬ̪aˌniʃ], (gen.) *Challanis* ['xaɬ̪aˌniʃ]; NB211329. 1703 *Claffernifs*; 1714 *Classernis*; 1718 *Calderness* (*Callernish*); 1726 *Callarnish*; 1750M *Calernish*; 1788 *Callarnish*; 1791SM *Calernish*; 1795 *Callernish*; 1797 *Calarnish*; 1807 *Calernish*; 1821 *Cotternish* [*sic*]; 1822 *Callernish*; 1832 *Calarnish*; 1843–82, 1845, 1846, 1869 *Callernish*; 1875, 165, 175 *Callarnish*, *Callanish*; 1932, 263, 1934, 9 *Callanish*; 1973 *Calanais*; 1974 *Callanish*; 2007, road sign *Calanais*‖*Callanish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 382–83: '**Callanish** [kaʟanɪʃ][213] is doubtlessly ON **Kallaðarnes*, i.e. the promontory from where one used to call for a ferryboat to come across a sound. *Kallaðar-* is found in several combinations in Norse names, such as **Kallaðarberg*, **Kallaðarland* and others. **Kallaðarnes* is found in Norway (*NG* VI, 247), in Shetland (*Kallines*, Jakobsen 1936, 86) and in Iceland. The element *kallaðar* is perhaps originally the genitive of a masculine noun *kallaðr* a "caller". The peninsula where **Callanish** is situated contains two promontories, either of which may have given rise to the name. One of them[214] is opposite

210. ScG *Cailigeadh* NB2548 ['kʰaliˌg̊ʲaɣ], the name of a cove in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), has been derived from ON **Kol-gjá* '(the) coal-cove', with the stem form of the specific + ON *gjá* f. 'ravine' (Cox 1987 II, 54), but that would depend upon an epenthetic vowel arising in Old Norse itself; ON **Kol-gjá* would be likely to yield ScG *['kʰaɬ̪aˌg̊ʲaɣ] and ON (gen. pl.) **Kolagjá* ScG *['kʰaɬ̪əˌg̊ʲaɣ]; cf. *Kolestrand* < ON **Kolastrǫnd* in Rogaland, Norway (*NG* X, 45).

211. In this instance [v], but [f] beside a voiceless consonant.

212. The cluster *rfh* is written here to show stressed epenthesis and suggest the etymology; *fh* is normally only found in Gaelic at the beginning of a word or at the beginning of the second element in a compound, e.g. ScG *forfhais* 'information, knowledge' ['fɔr̂-aʃ] etc., < EG *for* + *fess* 'knowledge' (MacBain 1911, s.v. *forfhais*, *foras*).

213. (nMO) [kaɬanɪʃ].

214. This promontory is called *Srèiminis* (NB211325), from ON **Straum-nes* '(the) current-promontory' §3 (i), with the stem form of ON *straumr* m. 'stream' and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory'. It appears ON **Straum-nes* developed into EG ['ʂʈ̪ɾ̃:mʲˌnʲiʃ] > ['ʂʈ̪ɾ̃ĕ:mʲˌnʲiʃ], with raising of the stressed vowel under the influence of the palatal

**Kol-bólstað* '(an) gual-thuathanas' ro mhath a thaobh cèille.[210]

Is iongantach mana h-e am bunachas as coltaiche SL **Kalfabólstað* cusp., sa bhrìgh 'tuathanas nan laogh' – agus an t-ainm pearsanta *Kalfi* gun teist – a bheireadh GA *['kʰaɬ̪avəˌb̥ɔsʈ̪] > *['kʰaɬ̪-əˌb̥ɔsʈ̪], le call SL *f*,[211] > *Calbost* ['kʰaɬ̪ˌb̥ɔsʈ̪]; coim. SL *torf-skeri* f. 'sgrath-sgian' > GA *['ʈ̪ʰaɾ̂af ˌʃkʲəɾʲ] > GA *tarfhsgeir* ['ʈ̪ʰaɾ̂aˌʃkʲəɾʲ],[212] agus SL **Klifsgróf* 'allt an leothaid chais' > GA *['kʰlifˌʂkɾo] > *Cliosgro* ['kʰliˌʂkɾo] NB195425, ann am *Borghaston* #69.

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#94 *Callanis* TSR
['kʰaɬ̪aˌniʃ], (gin.) *Challanis* ['xaɬ̪aˌniʃ]; NB211329. 1703 *Claffernifs*; 1714 *Classernis*; 1718 *Calderness* (*Callernish*); 1726 *Callarnish*; 1750M *Calernish*; 1788 *Callarnish*; 1791SM *Calernish*; 1795 *Callernish*; 1797 *Calarnish*; 1807 *Calernish*; 1821 *Cotternish* [*sic*]; 1822 *Callernish*; 1832 *Calarnish*; 1843–82, 1845, 1846, 1869 *Callernish*; 1875, 165, 175 *Callarnish*, *Callanish*; 1932, 263, 1934, 9 *Callanish*; 1973 *Calanais*; 1974 *Callanish*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Calanais*‖*Callanish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 382–83: Chan eil teagamh nach ann à SL **Kallaðarnes* a tha **Callanish** [kaʟanɪʃ],[213] .i. an t-àite às am bite a' gairm air bàt'-aiseig thairis air caolas. Gheibhear *Kallaðar-* ann an corra fhillteach ann an ainmean Lochlannais, mar a tha **Kallaðarberg*, **Kallaðarland* is eile. Gheibhear **Kallaðarnes* ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* VI, 247), ann an Sealtainn (*Kallines*, Jakobsen 1936, 86) agus ann an Innis Tìle. Is dòcha gur h-e an cruth ginideach aig ainmear fireann *kallaðr* 'neach-èigheachd' a th' ann an *kallaðar* bho thùs. Tha dà rubha san àird air a bheil **Callanish** na laighe, is is urrainn do dh'fhear seach fear dhiubh a bhith air cùl an ainme. Tha fear dhiubh[214]

210. Chaidh GA *Cailigeadh* NB2548 ['kʰaliˌg̊ʲaɣ], ainm air geodha ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), a thoirt à SL **Kol-gjá* '(a') ghual-gheodha', le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir + SL *gjá* b. 'geodha' (Cox 1987 II, 54), ach bhiodh sin an urra ri fuaimreig còmhnaidh ag èirigh san Lochlannais fhèin; is coltach gun toireadh SL **Kol-gjá* GA *['kʰaɬ̪aˌg̊ʲaɣ] agus SL (gin. iol.) **Kolagjá* GA *['kʰaɬ̪əˌg̊ʲaɣ]; coim. *Kolestrand* < SL **Kolastrǫnd* ann an Rogaland, Nirribhidh (*NG* X, 45).

211. San t-seagh seo [v], ach [f] ri taobh connraige neo-ghuthaich.

212. Sgrìobhar an còmhlan *rfh* an seo gus còmhnadh beumte a shònrachadh agus gus an fhreumhachd a chur air shùilibh; is àbhaist gun a bhith a' faighinn *fh* sa Ghàidhlig ach aig toiseach facail no aig toiseach na dàrna h-eileamaid ann am fillteach, m.e. GA *forfhais* 'fiosrachadh, eòlas' ['fɔr̂-aʃ] ꝛc, < GT *for* + *fess* 'fios' (MacBain 1911, s.v. *forfhais*, *foras*).

213. (nMO) [kaɬanɪʃ].

214. 'S e GA *Srèiminis* a th' air an rubha sa (NB211325), à SL **Straum-nes* '(an) sruth-rubha', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *straumr* f. 'sruth' agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i). Is coltach gun deach SL **Straum-nes* na GT ['ʂʈ̪ɾ̃:mʲˌnʲiʃ] > ['ʂʈ̪ɾ̃ĕ:mʲˌnʲiʃ], le àrdachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte fo bhuaidh a' chòmhlain chaoil [mʲnʲ], mus deach sin fhèin na GA ['ʂʈ̪ɾ̃ĕ:mˌniʃ] agus na

the village *Lìnseadar* #236; the other faces the small island of *Ceartaigh* #121, which is uninhabited today but was "inhabit and manurit, fertill and fruitful" in 1549, according to Dean Monro.'

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, from ON **Kallaðarnes*.[215]

As regards the sense of the Norse name, Rygh (*NG* I, 290–91: *Kallesten*) suggests 'en Participform, den raabende [a participle form, the caller]' and Kjær (*NG* VI, 247: *Kalnes*; especially *NG* IX, 89: *Kaddeland*) 'en Person-betegnelse, *kallaðr* (egentlig **kǫlluðr*, Gen. *kallaðar*), en Person, som raaber [a person designation, ON *kallaðr* (properly ON **kǫlluðr*, (gen.) *kallaðar*), someone who calls]'; as opposed to Fritzner (1883–96, s.v. *Kallaðarberg*, *Kallaðarland*, *Kallaðarnes*) who suggests the regular noun ON *kallaðr* m. 'call'. In Hoel 2007, 48–49 (*Kallesten*), Schmidt concludes that ON *kallaðr* should be taken as a 'verbalabstrakt', a noun in the sense 'call', from the present particple of the verb ON *kalla* 'to call'. Hence, we might translate ON **Kallaðarnes* as 'the promontory of the call'.

The *r* of the earlier documentary forms may not represent a realisation of the Old Norse consonant (cf., for example, the island name ScG *Bhatasaigh* NB408236, frequently written *Bhatarsaigh* in Gaelic (e.g. 1843–82) and *Vatersay* in English (e.g. Watson 1904, 266);[216] if it does not originate in a mis-spelling, it may be the result of folk etymology.

Cf. (1843–82) *Aird Challernish* 'the promontory of—' NB173337 and *Tòb Aird Challernish* 'the inlet of—', in *Crùlabhig* #159 (apparently also with a loan-name from ON **Kallaðarnes*), and the entirely Gaelic creations *Rubha na h-Èigheach* 'the promontory of the call' NB156340, in *Iarsadar* #225, and *Rubha na Glaodh·aich* 'the promontory of the shouting' NA989139, in Sgarp in Harris.

#95 *Caolas an Eilein* PRC
[ˌkʰɯ·ɬəs̪ əˈn̪elaɲ], (gen.) *Chaolas an Eilein* [ˌxɯ·ɬəs̪ əˈn̪elaɲ]; NB280019. Cf. 1843–82 *Caolas Eilean Thinngarstaigh*, *Eilean Thinngarstaigh*.

The name of a deserted settlement in A' Phàirc, opposite *Eilean Thiongarstaidh*,

cluster [mʲnʲ], before that in turn became ScG [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃:mˌniʃ] and ScG [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃:məˌniʃ] with epenthesis today; for the vowel affection, cf. *Laidhmiseadar* #232; for ON *straumr*, see *An Sròm* #306 and *Sròmas* #307. For an alternative explanation, see #203, fn 452.

215. A derivation from ON **Kjalar-nis* '(the) promontory of the keel' (MacBain 1922, 103; Fraser 1978, 10) is unlikely as that would yield initial [kʲʰ] in Gaelic, a point W. J. Watson raises (in MacBain ibid., xxi), but who suggests the man's name ON *Kali* m.

216. ScG /vɑtəsqj/, from CSc. **Vatsøy* (≈Oftedal 1956, 105) '(the) island of the (tidal) loch', with the genitive of (ON) *vatn* nt. in the sense 'loch' and CSc. **øy* f. 'island' (#65, fn 137).

mu choinneimh a' bhaile *Lìnseadar* #236; tha am fear eile mu choinneimh an eilein bhig *Ceartaigh* #121, a tha gun duine air an-diugh ach a bha air a thuineachadh is air a mhathachadh, sìolmhor is torrach ann an 1549, a rèir an Deadhain Rothaich.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, à SL **Kallaðarnes*.[215]

A thaobh brìgh an ainme Lochlannais, cuiridh Rygh (*NG* I, 290–91: *Kall·esten*) air shùilibh 'en Participform, den raabende [cruth pàirteir, an t-èigheadar]' agus Kjær (*NG* VI, 247: *Kalnes*; gu h-àraidh *NG* IX, 89: *Kaddeland*) 'en Person-betegnelse, *kallaðr* (egentlig **kǫlluðr*, Gen. *kallaðar*), en Person, som raaber [sònrachadh pearsain, SL *kallaðr* (gu ceart SL **kǫlluðr*, (gin.) *kallaðar*), duine a dh'èigheas]'; seach Fritzner (1883–96, s.v. *Kallaðarberg*, *Kallaðarland*, *Kallaðarnes*) a mholas an t-ainmear àbhaisteach SL *kallaðr* f. 'èighe'. Ann an Hoel 2007, 48–49 (*Kallesten*), co-dhùinidh Schmidt gum bu chòir gabhail ri SL *kallaðr* mar 'verbalabstrakt', ainmear san t-seagh 'èighe', às a' phàirtear làthaireach aig a' ghnìomhair SL *kalla* 'èigh'. Às a sin, dh'fhaodamaid SL **Kallaðarnes* eadar-theangachadh mar 'rubha na h-èighe'.

Is dòcha nach riochdaich *r* nan sgrìobhainnean a bu tràithe a' chonnrag Lochlannais (coim., mar eisimpleir, ainm an eilein GA *Bhatasaigh* NB408236, gu tric air a sgrìobhadh *Bhatarsaigh* sa Ghàidhlig (m.e. 1843–82), agus *Vatersay* sa Bheurla (m.e. Watson 1904, 266);[216] mana tàrmaich i ann am mearachd litreachaidh, 's dòcha gur h-ann à freumhachd beul-aithrise a dh'èireas i.

Coim. (1843–82) *Aird Challernish* NB173337 agus *Tòb Aird Challernish*, ann an *Crùlabhig* #159 (a rèir choltais le ainm-iasaid à SL **Kallaðarnes*, mar an ceudna), agus na cruthachaidhean gu tur Gàidhlig *Rubha na h-Èigheach* NB156340, ann an *Iarsadar* #225, agus *Rubha na Glaodhaich* NA989139, san Sgarp sna Hearadh.

#95 *Caolas an Eilein* PRC
[ˌkʰɯ·ɬəs̪ əˈn̪elaɲ], (gin.) *Chaolas an Eilein* [ˌxɯ·ɬəs̪ əˈn̪elaɲ]; NB280019. Coim. 1843–82 *Caolas Eilean Thinngarstaigh*, *Eilean Thinngarstaigh*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs anns A' Phàirc, mu choinneimh *Eilean Thiongar·*

GA [ˈs̪t̪ɾɛ̃:məˌniʃ] le còmhnadh an-diugh; airson na buaidhe fuaimreagaich, coim. *Laidhmiseadar* #232; airson SL *straumr*, faic *An Sròm* #306 agus *Sròmas* #307. Airson mìneachaidh eile, faic #203, bn 452.

215. Tha bunachas à SL **Kjalar-nis* 'rubha an droma bàta' (MacBain 1922, 103; Fraser 1978, 10) ao-coltach seach gun toireadh sin [kʲʰ] thoisich sa Ghàidhlig, puing a thogas W. J. Watson (ann am MacBain ibid., xxi), ach a mholas an t-ainm fireannaich SL *Kali* f.

216. GA /vɑtəsqj/, à LB **Vatsøy* (≈Oftedal 1956, 105) 'eilean an locha (thràghaidh)', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir (SL) *vatn* n. san t-seagh 'loch' agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean' (#65, bn 137).

named after the straits between *Eilean Thiongarstaidh* and the mainland where the settlement was situated, with ScG *caolas* m. 'strait(s), narrows' (from EG *cáel* + the suffix *-as* (Cox 2002a, 60; Cox 2017, 121)) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + ScG *eilean* m. 'island' (EG *ailén* from EG *ail* 'rock' + the suffix *-án* (Cox 2002a, 59; Cox 2017, 123–24)). Alias *Caolas Eilean Thiongarstaidh* 'the straits of the island of **Tiongarstadh*'.

Locations beside straits are frequently named in this way, with the name of the straits transferred to the mainland; cf. *Caolas an Eilein* NB176415, in *An Dùn* #170, and at NB238461, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295).

ScG **Tiongarstadh* (if that is the radical form of the loan-name here) is perhaps from ON **Þingvallarstaða* acc. '(the) place of the assembly-field', with genitive of ON *þingvǫllr* m. 'assembly-field' and accusative of ON *staðir* m. pl. 'place; farm' (#331, fn 803).[217] ON *þingvǫllr* probably occurs in the name ScG **Cnocan Tiongalairidh* approx. NB193379, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331) – recorded as *Cnoc an Tiongalairidh* (Cox 2002a, 220) – with ScG **Tiongalairidh*, from ON **Þingvall-ærgi*[218] '(the) assembly-field-milking-place'.[219]

#96 *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* BRN
[ˌkʰɯːɬəs̪ ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj], (gen.) *Chaolas Bheàrnaraigh* [ˌxɯːɬəs̪ ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj]; NB143400. Cf. 1843–82 *Caolas Bhearnaraidh Bheag*.

The name of a deserted settlement in Beàrnaraigh, between *Crothair* #157 and *Bòstadh* #72, named after the straits between the islands *Beàrnaraigh* (*Mhòr*) and *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51; a Gaelic name, with ScG *caolas* m. 'strait(s), narrows' (#95) and genitive of the island name *Beàrnaraigh Bheag*.

Alias *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh Bheag* 'the straits of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag*'.

217. On the suggestion of Prof. Barbara Crawford, the likelihood of the island being a meeting site is recognised by Sanmark (2017, 178), although the name is misspelt *Eileann Thinngartsaigh*, which may be behind the translation '(the) assembly-fence-island', ?i.e. from CSc. **Þing-garðsøy* '(the) island of the meeting-enclosure', with the stem form of (ON) *þing* + genitive of (ON) *garðr* m. (#182).

218. ScG **Tiongalairidh* could not derive from ON (gen.) **Þingvallar-*; in this instance, ON *æ* *[ɛː] would yield ScG short [a] (from EG long *[aː], shortened naturally in half-stressed position), while ON *gi* would yield ScG short [i] (from EG long *[iː], cf. EG *áirġe* *[ˈaːɾʲjə] > early ScG *[ˈaːɾʲiː] > ScG *àirigh* [ˈaːɾʲi] 'sheiling' (#13); cf. ON *gerði* > ScG *geàrraidh* *[ˈɡ̊ʲɑːɾi] (#192)).

219. 'Milking-place' was the primary sense of EG *áirġe* f. (> ScG *àirigh* 'sheiling'), which was borrowed into Old Norse as *ærgi* nt. (#13) (ibid.; Cox 1992, 139).

staidh, air ainmeachadh air a' chaolas eadar *Eilean Thiongarstaidh* agus tìr-mòr far an robh an tuineachadh, le GA *caolas* f. 'caol, sruth cumhang a cheanglas dà raon uisge' (à GT *cáel* + an iar-leasachan *-as* (Cox 2002a, 60; Cox 2017, 121)) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + GA *eilean* f. 'innis, talamh air a chuairteachadh le uisge' (GT *ailén* à GT *ail* 'creag, carragh' + an iar-leasachan *-án* (Cox 2002a, 59; Cox 2017, 123–24)). Air mhodh eile, *Caolas Eilean Thiongarstaidh*.

Is tric a thèid àitichean ri taobh chaolas ainmeachadh air an dòigh seo agus ainm a' chaolais air aiseag bhon chaolas fhèin gu tìr-mòr; coim. *Caolas an Eilein* NB176415, air *An Dùn* #170, agus aig NB238461, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295).

Is dòcha gur h-ann ann an SL **Þingvallarstaða* cusp. a thàrmaicheas GA **T*(*h*)*iongarstadh* (mas e sin cruth bunasach an ainm-iasaid a tha seo) 'làrach an tionail no còmhdhalach', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *þingvǫllr* f. 'tional-raon' agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *staðir* f. iol. 'làrach, àite; tuath-anas' (#331, fn 803).[217] Is math dh'fhaodte gum faighear SL *þingvǫllr* san ainm GA **Cnocan Tiongalairidh* mu NB193379, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331) – air a chlàradh na *Cnoc an Tiongalairidh* (Cox 2002a, 220) – le GA **Tiongalairidh*, à SL **Þingvall-ærgi*[218] '(an) tional-raon-àite-bleoghain'.[219]

#96 *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh* BRN
[ˌkʰɯːɬəs̪ ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj], (gin.) *Chaolas Bheàrnaraigh* [ˌxɯːɬəs̪ ˈvjɑːɳəˌɾɛj]; NB143400. Coim. 1843–82 *Caolas Bhearnaraidh Bheag*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann am Beàrnaraigh, eadar *Crothair* #157 agus *Bòstadh* #72, air ainmeachadh air a' chaolas eadar na h-eileanan *Beàrnaraigh* (*Mhòr*) agus *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *caolas* f. (#95) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig ainm an eilein *Beàrnaraigh Bheag*.

Air mhodh eile *Caolas Bheàrnaraigh Bheag*.

217. Air moladh an Oll. Barbara Crawford, tha coltas an eilein mar àite-tionail air aithneachadh le Sanmark (2017, 178), ged a thèid an t-ainm a dhroch litreachadh na *Eileann Thinngartsaigh*, a dh'fhaodas a bhith air cùl an eadar-theangachaidh '(the) assembly-fence-island', ?.i. bho LB **Þing-garðsøy* 'eilean an tional-liosa', le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *þing* + an tuiseal ghinideach aig (SL) *garðr* f. (#182).

218. Cha b' urrainn do GA **Tiongalairidh* tàrmachadh ann an SL (gin.) **Þingvallar-*; san t-seagh seo, bheireadh SL *æ* *[ɛː] GA [a] ghoirid (à GT *[aː] fhada, air a giorrachadh gu nàdarra ann an suidheachadh leth-bheumte), fhad 's a bheireadh SL *gi* GA [i] ghoirid (à GT *[iː] fhada, coim. GT *áirġe* *[ˈaːɾʲjə] > GA thràth *[ˈaːɾʲiː] > GA *àirigh* [ˈaːɾʲi] (#13); coim. SL *gerði* > GA *geàrraidh* *[ˈɡ̊ʲɑːɾi] (#192)).

219. B' e 'àite-bleoghain' a bu phrìomh chiall do GT *áirġe* b. (> GA *àirigh*), a chaidh na iasad na *ærgi* n. dhan Lochlannais (#13) (ibid.; Cox 1992, 139).

#97 *Capadal* ÙIG
[ˈkʰaʰpəˌd̥əɬ̪], (gen.) *Chapadail* [ˈxaʰpəˌd̥əl];[220] NB037319. 1819 *Capadle* (in Lawson 2008, 220); 1821, 1822 *Capital*; 1843–82 =.

The name of part of the township *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, in ÙIG, that was once a township in its own right (Lawson 2008, 220–21); a Gaelic name borrowed either from ON **Kappadal* acc. '(the) valley of the hero[221] (or heroes)', with genitive singular (or plural) of ON *kappi* m. 'hero, champion' and the accusative of ON *dalr* f. 'valley',[222] or (more likely on account of the topographical evidence) ON **Koppadal* acc. 'the valley of the helmets (knolls)', with genitive plural of ON *koppr* m., which has two meanings: 'cup or bowl' and 'the top of a helmet'; cf. in Shetland, Norn *kopp* (in place-names, frequently *kapp* (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.)) is found used either in the sense 'hollow' or 'rounded elevation'. The meaning 'the top of a helmet' > 'mound, rocky knoll' suits the location as there are several small rocky knolls in the area.

For the alternation *o* ~ *a* in Gaelic, see §43 (i).

#98 *Càrlabhagh* TSR (Eng. *Carloway*)
[ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ], (gen.) *Chàrlabhaigh* [ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj]; NB2042. 1573, 1583, 1595 *Radamach*;[223] 1600+ *Charluy* [the area], *Loch garlua*; 1630 *Charlnay*, *Loghgarlua*; 1607, 1610, 1635, 1636 *Radamach*; 1654 *Kadlowa oc.*; 1680 *Loch of Carluvay*, *Loch Carluvay*; 1703 *Loch-Carlvay*; 1776 *Carlowa*; 1804 *Loch Carlowa*; 2007 *Càrlabhagh*‖*Carloway*; road sign *Carlabhagh*‖*Carloway*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: '**Carloway** [kɑːl̪əvaɣ][224] is ON **Karlavágr* "*Karli*'s bay", from the man's name ON *Karli* m. It is also possible to take *Karla-* as the genitive plural of ON *karl* m. "man; yeoman", but the derivation from a proper name is preferable. *Karli* occurs in place-names in Norway (**Karlaruð*, *NG* VI, 374; **Karlaberg*, *NG* IX, 198) and in Iceland (*Karlastaðir* [Lnb.]). The element ON *vágr* is often preceded by a personal name, as *Eiríksvágr*, *Geirmundarvágr* and *Flókavágr* in Iceland [Lnb.].'

220. (nMO) [kʿahpəd̥əl̪̊], [kʿahpətəl̪̊], [kʿɑʰpətəʟ].

221. So Watson 1904, 265–66: 'champion'.

222. A form which may be behind the name *Kappedal* in Sogn og Fjordane, Norway (*NG* XII, 118).

223. It is easy to believe the documentary form *Radamach* comes from the Gaelic phrase *an rathad a-mach* [əˌɾɑ·d̥ ə ˈmãx] 'the road out' (e.g. to the moor) and that the phrase was interpreted as a place-name in error (see §15).

224. (nMO) [kɑːl̪əvaɣ], (gen.) [ɑj], *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* [ɬɔx ˈxɑːl̪əvaj], *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh* [ãviɲ ˈxɑːl̪əvaj].

#97 *Capadal* ÙIG
[ˈkʰaʰpəˌd̥əɬ̪], (gin.) *Chapadail* [ˈxaʰpəˌd̥əl];[220] NB037319. 1819 *Capadle* (ann an Lawson 2008, 220); 1821, 1822 *Capital*; 1843–82 =.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, ann an ÙIG, a bha uair na bhaile fearainn air a cheann fhèin (Lawson 2008, 220–21); ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad aon chuid à SL **Kappadal* cusp. 'gleann a' ghaisgich[221] (no nan gaisgeach)', leis an tuiseal ghinideach shingilte (no iolra) aig SL *kappi* f. 'gaisgeach' agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *dalr* f. 'gleann',[222] no (nas coltaiche a chionn fianais cruth na tìre) SL **Koppadal* cusp. 'gleann nan clogaidean (cnuic)', le ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *koppr* f., aig a bheil an dà chèill: 'cupa, copan' agus 'mullach clogaide'; coim. ann an Sealtainn, far an lorgar Nòrn *kopp* (ann an ainmean-àite, gu tric *kapp* (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.)) air a chleachdadh aon chuid san t-seagh 'lag' no 'àirde chruinn'. Freagraidh a' chiall 'mullach clogaide' > 'cnap, meall cnocach' ris an àite agus corra chnap beag creagach mun cuairt.

Airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a* sa Ghàidhlig, faic §43 (i).

#98 *Càrlabhagh* TSR
[ˈkʰɑːl̪əˌvaɣ], (gin.) *Chàrlabhaigh* [ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj]; NB2042. 1573, 1583, 1595 *Radamach*;[223] 1600+ *Charluy* [an sgìre], *Loch garlua*; 1630 *Charlnay*, *Loghgarlua*; 1607, 1610, 1635, 1636 *Radamach*; 1654 *Kadlowa oc.*; 1680 *Loch of Carluvay*, *Loch Carluvay*; 1703 *Loch-Carlvay*; 1776 *Carlowa*; 1804 *Loch Carlowa*; 2007 *Càrlabhagh*‖*Carloway*; soighne rathaid *Carlabhagh*‖*Carloway*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: 'S e SL **Karlavágr* 'am bàgh aig *Karli*' a th' ann an **Carloway** [kɑːl̪əvaɣ],[224] às an ainm fireannaich SL *Karli* f. Faodaidh *Karla-* a bhith na chruth ginideach iolra aig SL *karl* f. 'fireannach; neach-tuatha' cuideachd, ach 's fheàrr am bunachas à ainm sònraichte. Lorgar *Karli* ann an ainmean-àite ann an Nirribhidh (**Karlaruð*, *NG* VI, 374; **Karlaberg*, *NG* IX, 198) agus ann an Innis Tìle (*Karlastaðir* [Lnb.]). Gheibhear ainm pearsanta gu tric air thoiseach air SL *vágr*, mar *Eiríksvágr*, *Geirmundarvágr* agus *Flókavágr* ann an Innis Tìle [Lnb.].

220. (nMO) [kʿahpəd̥əl̪̊], [kʿahpətəl̪̊], [kʿɑʰpətəʟ].

221. Mar sin Watson 1904, 265–66: 'champion'.

222. Cruth a dh'fhaodas a bhith air cùl an ainme *Kappedal* ann an Sogn og Fjordane, Nirribhidh (*NG* XII, 118).

223. Tha e furasta a chreidsinn gur h-ann às an abairt Ghàidhlig *an rathad a-mach* [əˌɾɑ·d̥ ə ˈmãx] (m.e. chun na mòintich) a tha *Radamach* nan sgrìobhainnean seo agus gun deach an abairt a thuigsinn mar ainm-àite air mhearachd (faic §15).

224. (nMO) [kɑːl̪əvaɣ], (gin.) [ɑj], *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* [ɬɔx ˈxɑːl̪əvaj], *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh* [ãviɲ ˈxɑːl̪əvaj].

Càrlabhagh is the name of an area in An Taobh Siar, taking in several townships: *Borghaston* #69, *Na Geàrrannan* #202, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, *An Cnoc* (*Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh*) #134, *Cirbhig* #124 and *An Dùn* #170.[225] These townships border on a long sea loch called *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* 'the loch of *Càrlabhagh*'.

Apart from being the name of an area, the loan-name *Càrlabhagh* occurs in the genitive case in the names *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* and *Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh*, as above, and in *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh* 'the river of *Càrlabhagh*', *Drochaid*/— 'the bridge—', *Leathad*/— 'the slope—', *Rathad*/— 'the road—' and *Drèana Mhòr*/— 'the large drain—'.[226]

Unfortunately, it is not possible to establish whether or not this name's specific element was a proper name. As for the alternative case, one might compare ScG *Trialabhat* ['t̪ʰriaɬ̪əˌvaʰt̪] NB088358, in *A' Chlibh* #132, from ON **Þrælavatn* '(the) loch of the slaves', with genitive plural of the noun ON *þræll* m. 'servant, slave', and ScG *Beinneachan*[227] *nan Sgalag* NB226374, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), with genitive plural of ScG *sgalag* m. 'labourer, farm servant', from EG *scolóc* (< Lat. *schola* 'school', with the suffix EG *-óc* (ScG *-ag*, Cox 2017, 124)).[228]

Cf. ScG *Còrlabhal* ['kʰɔːl̪əˌvaɬ̪] NB308089 (also ['kʰɔːl̪əˌvaɣ]), the name of a mountain in A' Phàirc (1843–82 *Còrlabhadh*; cf. 1934, 62 *L. Carlava*), ?< ON **Karlafjall* '(the) mountain of—', with vowel alternation §43 (ii) (a).

#99 *Càrnis* ÙIG (Eng. *Carnish*)
['kʰɑːˌn̪ɪʃ], (gen.) *Chàrnis* ['xɑːˌn̪ɪʃ]; NB030322. 1718, 1726, 1750M *Carnish*; 1776, 1789, 1801 *Cainish* [*sic*]; 1804 *Canish* [*sic*]; 1807, 1821, 1822 *Carnish*; 1843–82 *Carnis*, *Machair Charnis*, *Port Charnis*, *Druim Charnis*, *Eirustadh Charnis*; 1846 *Avon Carnish*; 2007 *Càrnais*‖*Carnish*; road sign *Carnais*‖*Carnish*.

Oftedal 1954, 388: '**Carnish** [?].[229] An ON *-nes* nt. name.'

225. The Carloway Registry (for births, deaths and marriages) includes the villages from *Geàrrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 down to *Siabost a Tuath* (#295) §3.

226. *Càrlabhagh* does not have to have been the original name of the sea loch here: it may have been the name of a bay within it, e.g. at *Laidhmiseadar* #232, and that the original Norse name for the sea loch has been lost. *Loch an Dùnain* 'the loch of the fort' is the name of the loch around about the quay (i.e. *An Dùnan* 'the fort', see *Borghaston* #69) and *An Tòb Làthaich* 'the muddy or clayey creek' the name of the innermost part.

227. I.e. *beanntan* 'mountains', an alternative plural form of ScG *beinn* f. (Cox 2002a, 56–59: 57).

228. MacIver's derivation (1934, 62) with ON *kollr* m. 'hill' is unlikely: ON *koll-* would not yield ScG [kʰɑː̪] /kɑːʀl'/.

229. (nMO) [kʻɑːn̪iʃ].

'S e ainm ceàrnaidh air An Taobh Siar a th' ann an *Càrlabhagh*, a' gabhail a-steach corra bhaile fearainn: *Borghaston* #69, *Na Geàrrannan* #202, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, *An Cnoc* (*Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh*) #134, *Cirbhig* #124 agus *An Dùn* #170.[225] Cuairtichidh na bailtean seo loch mara fada air a bheil *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* mar ainm.

A bharrachd air a bhith na ainm ceàrnaidh, lorgar an t-ainm-iasaid *Càrlabhagh* san tuiseal ghinideach sna h-ainmean *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*, *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* agus *Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh*, mar a tha shuas, agus ann an *Abhainn*/—, *Drochaid*/—, *Leathad*/—, *Rathad*/— agus *Drèana Mhòr*/—.[226]

Chan eil dòigh ann, gu mì-fhortanach, air am b' urrainnear a dhearbhadh an e ainmear pearsanta a th' ann an sònraichear an ainme seo no nach e. Gus taobh eile na cùise a chur, dh'fhaodte coimeas a dhèanamh ri GA *Trialabhat* ['t̪ʰriaɬ̪əˌvaʰt̪] NB088358, anns *A' Chlibh* #132, à SL **Þrælavatn* 'loch nan tràillean', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *þræll* f. 'sgalag, tràill', agus GA *Beinneachan*[227] *nan Sgalag* NB226374, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig GA *sgalag* f. 'dubh-chosnaiche, searbhant tuathanais', à GT *scolóc* (< Laid. *schola* 'sgoil', leis an iar-leasachan GT *-óc* (GA *-ag*, Cox 2017, 124)).[228]

Coim. GA *Còrlabhal* ['kʰɔːl̪əˌvaɬ̪] NB308089 (cuideachd ['kʰɔːl̪əˌvaɣ]), an t-ainm air beinn anns A' Phàirc (1843–82 *Còrlabhadh*; cf. 1934, 62 *L. Carlava*), ?< SL **Karlafjall* 'beinn—', le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (ii) (a).

#99 *Càrnis* ÙIG
['kʰɑːˌn̪ɪʃ], (gin.) *Chàrnis* ['xɑːˌn̪ɪʃ]; NB030322. 1718, 1726, 1750M *Carnish*; 1776, 1789, 1801 *Cainish* [*sic*]; 1804 *Canish* [*sic*]; 1807, 1821, 1822 *Carnish*; 1843–82 *Carnis*, *Machair Charnis*, *Port Charnis*, *Druim Charnis*, *Eirustadh Charnis*; 1846 *Avon Carnish*; 2007 *Càrnais*‖*Carnish*; soighne rathaid *Carnais*‖*Carnish*.

Oftedal 1954, 388: **Carnish** [?].[229] Ainm ann an SL *-nes* nt. 'rubha'.

225. Gabhaidh Sgìre Clàraidh Chàrlabhaigh (airson bhreithean, bhàs is phòsaidhean) a-steach na bailtean bho *Gheàrrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197 sìos a *Shiabost a Tuath* (#295) §3.

226. Chan fheum e a bhith gur h-e *Càrlabhagh* an t-ainm a bh' air an loch mara a tha seo bho thùs: 's dòcha gun robh e na ainm air bàgh na bhroinn, m.e. aig *Laidhmiseadar* #232, agus gu bheil an t-ainm Lochlannais tùsail a bh' air an loch mara air chall. 'S e *Loch an Dùnain* an t-ainm a th' air a' phàirt den loch mu thimcheall air a' chidhe (.i. *An Dùnan*, faic *Borghaston* #69) agus *An Tòb Làthaich* an t-ainm a th' air a' phàirt as fhaide a-staigh.

227. .i. 'beanntan', cruth iolra eile aig GA *beinn* b. (Cox 2002a, 56–59: 57).

228. Tha bunachas le SL *kollr* f. 'cnoc' (MacIver 1934, 62) ao-coltach: cha toireadh SL *koll-* GA [kʰɑː̪] /kɑːʀl'/.

229. (nMO) [kʻɑːn̪iʃ].

The name of a township west of *Tràigh Chapadail* (#97), in Ùig, which was cleared in the 1850s but divided into crofts again in 1921;[230] a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

In his notes, Oftedal suggests a derivation from ON **Karlsnes*, with genitive of the noun ON *karl* m. 'man; yeoman; old man', but it is difficult to justify a development from **Karlsnes* to ScG [ˈkʰɑːˌɳʲʃ].

Perhaps ScG *Càrnis* is simply ON **Korn-nes* '(the) corn-promontory', with the stem form of the noun ON *korn* nt. 'corn, grain, especially barley', cf. *Kuven* in Hordaland, Norway, from ON **Korn-vin* '(the) corn-meadow' (*NG* XI, 214); for the alternation *o* ~ *a* in Gaelic, see §43 (i). As the name ScG *Machair Chàrnis* 'the sandy, arable land of *Càrnis*' suggests, it is probable the land here suited the growing of barley.[231]

#100 ***Càros*** CDL (Eng. *Caros*)
[ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪], (gen.) *Chàrois* [ˈxaːˌɾɔʃ];[232] NB390200. 1843–82 =, *Gob Glas Chàrois*, *Sgeir Chàrois*; 2007 *Càros*‖*Caros*.

The name of a deserted settlement, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, whose land is part of the township *Crò Mòr* #154; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Considering the derivation of this name in his notes, Oftedal writes '[a]pparently no [ON] *óss* "outlet" here', suggesting ON **Kárahaus* acc. '*Kári*'s hill', with genitive of the man's name ON *Kári* m. and accusative of the noun ON *hauss* m. 'skull', used in the sense 'rounded hill' (*NSL*). ON **Kárahaus* would yield EG *[ˈkaːɾəˌhɔːs̪] in the first instance, which would likely be contracted to ScG [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪].

However, there is an outlet where *Abhainn Thorfhstaidh* 'the river of *Torfhstaidh* #337' runs into *Tòb na Muilne* 'the inlet of the mill' beside which *Càros* is situated. ON **Káraóss* '(the) outlet of the gust or of the ripple', with genitive of the noun ON *kári* m. 'gust; ripple' and ON *óss* m. 'outlet', would yield ScG [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] as well. In Gaelic, cf. *Camas Osaig* [ˌkʰãməs̪ ˈɔs̪æɡ̊ʲ] 'the bay of the gust' NB205331, in An Taobh Siar, with the genitive of ScG *osag* f. 'blast, gust of wind' (Cox 2002a, 198).[233]

For ON *óss* and ScG *òs*, see *Barbhas* #47.

230. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/3217>.

231. MacIver (1934, 93) gives ON **Kvern-nes*, with the stem form of ON *kvern* b. 'quern, hand-mill', but the phonetic development is not clear. He states that quern stones were made at *Càrnis* and that some could still be seen – the 1843–82 map shows two corn mills west of the promontory.

232. (nMO) [kɑːrɔs], (gen.) [xɑːrɔʃ], *Sgeir Chàrois* [sceð ˈxɑːrɔʃ] 'the skerry of *Càros*'.

233. MacIver (1934, 59) derives the first element of this loan-name from ScG *carra*, i.e. *carragh* f. 'rock', but a long vowel from a short vowel like this is unexpected.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh an iar *Thràigh Chapadail* (#97), ann an Ùig, a chaidh fhàsachadh sna 1850an ach a roinn na chroitean a-rithist ann an 1921;[230] ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Na notaichean, cuiridh Oftedal am bunachas SL **Karlsnes* air shùilibh, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *karl* f. 'fireannach; neach-tuatha; bodach', ach tha e doirbh fàs à **Karlsnes* gu GA [ˈkʰɑːˌɳʲʃ] fhìreanachadh.

Is dòcha gur h-e dìreach SL **Korn-nes* '(an t-)arbhar-rubha', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *korn* n. 'arbhar, gràn, gu h-àraidh eòrna', a th' ann an GA *Càrnis*, coim. *Kuven* ann an Hordaland, Nirribhidh, à SL **Korn-vin* '(an t-)arbhar-lèana' (*NG* XI, 214); airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a* sa Ghàidhlig, faic §43 (i). Mar a chuireas an t-ainm GA *Machair Chàrnis* air shùilibh, is math dh'fhaodte gum freagradh an talamh an seo ri bhith a' cur eòrna.[231]

#100 ***Càros*** CDL
[ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪], (gin.) *Chàrois* [ˈxaːˌɾɔʃ];[232] NB390200. 1843–82 =, *Gob Glas Chàrois*, *Sgeir Chàrois*; 2007 *Càros*‖*Caros*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, a tha a thalamh na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Crò Mòr* #154; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

A' beachdachadh air bunachas an ainme seo na notaichean, sgrìobhaidh Oftedal '[a]pparently no [SL] *óss* "òs" here', a' moladh SL **Kárahaus* cusp. 'an cnoc aig *Kári*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Kári* f. agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *hauss* f. 'claigeann', air a chleachdadh sa bhrìgh 'cnoc cruinn' (*NSL*). Bheireadh SL **Kárahaus* GT *[ˈkaːɾəˌhɔːs̪] sa chiad àite, dham bu dual teannachadh gu GA [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪].

Gidheadh, tha òs ann far an ruith *Abhainn Thorfhstaidh* (#337) a-steach a *Thòb na Muilne* a tha *Càros* ri thaobh. Bheireadh SL **Káraóss* 'òs na deò gaoithe no na crithe uisge', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *kári* f. 'deò gaoithe; crith uisge, caitean' agus SL *óss* f. 'òs, beul aibhne', GA [ˈkʰaːˌɾɔs̪] mar an ceudna. Sa Ghàidhlig, coim. *Camas Osaig* [ˌkʰãməs̪ ˈɔs̪æɡ̊ʲ] NB205331, air An Taobh Siar, leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig GA *osag* b. 'gonadh, oiteag gaoithe' (Cox 2002a, 198).[233]

Airson SL *óss* agus GA *òs*, faic *Barbhas* #47.

230. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/3217>.

231. Bheir MacIver (1934, 93) SL **Kvern-nes*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kvern* b. 'brà, muilinn-làimhe', ach chan eil an leasachadh fuaim-eòlais soilleir. Canaidh e gum bite a' dèanamh chlachan bràthainn ann an *Càrnis* is gum faicte cuid ann fhathast – seallaidh am mapa 1843–82 dà mhuilinn arbha an iar air an rubha.

232. (nMO) [kɑːrɔs], (gin.) [xɑːrɔʃ], *Sgeir Chàrois* [sceð ˈxɑːrɔʃ].

233. Bheir MacIver (1934, 59) ciad eileamaid an ainm-iasaid seo à GA *carra*, .i. *carragh* b. 'creag, clach', ach tha fuaimreag fhada à fuaimreag ghoirid mar seo ao-coltach.

#101 *Cealagbhol* NIS (Eng. *Port of Ness*)
[ˈkʲʰɑl̪əɣ̊ˌvɔl̪], [234] (gen.) *Chealagbhol* [ˈçɑl̪əɣ̊ˌvɔl̪]; NB536637. 1827 *Port Cealaqoul* (in Lawson 2008, 24); 1843–82 *Port Chealagbhal or Port of Ness*, *Traigh Chealagbhal*; MacIver 1934, 75 *Cealokabhat*, *Tràigh Cealogamhol*[235]; 2007 *Callicbhol*, *Port Nis*‖*Port of Ness*.[236]

> Oftedal 1954, 372: '**Callicvol** [?] is presumably a Norse name, but I do not venture any interpretation.'

The name of a township in Nis, also called ScG *Am Port* [ə ˈmpʰɔʂʈ] 'the harbour' (a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + ScG *port* m. 'landing place, harbour' (#273)) and ScG *Port Nis* [ˌpʰɔʂʈ ˈniʃ][237] 'the harbour of *Nis*' (with the Old Norse loan-name *Nis* (§3 (i)) in the genitive); in English, *Port of Ness*. Essentially, *Am Port* denotes the harbour at the eastern end of the village, while *Port Nis* uses the name of the area to which it belongs to indicate its location.

ScG *Cealagbhol* is an ON loan-name and, although ON *vǫll*, the accusative of ON *vǫllr* m. 'field', might suit from the point of view of the topography, one would expect final ScG *[vəl̪] from a short vowel, as opposed to [vɔl̪] or *[vɑl̪].

ON *hóll* m. 'small round hill' is found in several loan-names, e.g. ScG *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːl̪əɾʲ] NB183428, in *Borghaston* #69, from ON **Hólar* nom. pl. '(the) hills'; ScG **Mille Thòla* [ˌmĩ̠ʲə ˈhɔːl̪ə][238] NB181413, in *An Dùn* #170, from ON **Milli Hóla* 'between (the) hills', with the accusative plural of ON *hóll*; and ScG *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə ˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə ˌɾɑl̪] NB181406, in *An Dùn*, from ON **Toptarhóll* '(the) hill of the site', with genitive singular of ON *topt* m. 'house site etc.' (#339).

However, ON *hóll* (> Norw. *hol*), with contraction (Iversen 1973, 29), derives from CSc. **hóall* (a compound of CSc. **hór* adj. 'high' + the suffix *-all*), which also yields Norw. *kvål*: CSc. **hóall* > ON **huáll*, with stress shift (Haugen 1976, 154), > ON *hváll* > ONorw. *kváll*, with differentiation

234. PN 1966-17-A15: (Aonghas Caimbeul from *Suaineabost* #311) ?[ˈkʰaləɣ̊ˌb̥ɔl̪] in error.

235. MacIver 1934, 75: '*Cealokabhat*: the sands at Port. Here they yoked the horses to haul their boats on rollers high and dry'; MacIver suggests a derivation from ON *kjǫlr* m. 'keel', ON *oka* vb 'to yoke' and ON *bátr* m. 'boat'; he continues: '*Tràigh Cealogamhol*: where *mǫl* b. ['pebble beach'] is used for *bátr* in Ordnance Survey.'

236. No pronunciation was obtained for ScG (1843–82) *Sgarabhol*, a ?skerry on the north side of the harbour.

237. Gen. *Phort Nis* [ˌfɔʂʈ ˈniʃ]. It is taken that (gen.) *Puirt Nis* (Caimbeul 1973, 100), with inflection of *port*, is a hypercorrection (Cox 1917, 92, §72 (i) (a)).

238. I.e. the specific in the name ScG *Loch Mille Thòla*.

#101 *Cealagbhol* NIS
[ˈkʲʰɑl̪əɣ̊ˌvɔl̪], [234] (gin.) *Chealagbhol* [ˈçɑl̪əɣ̊ˌvɔl̪]; NB536637. 1827 *Port Cealaqoul* (ann an Lawson 2008, 24); 1843–82 *Port Chealagbhal or Port of Ness*, *Traigh Chealagbhal*; MacIver 1934, 75 *Cealokabhat*, *Tràigh Cealogamhol*[235]; 2007 *Callicbhol*, *Port Nis*‖*Port of Ness*.[236]

> Oftedal 1954, 372: 'S fheudar gur h-e ainm Lochlannais a th' ann an **Callicvol** [?], ach cha mheantraig mi mìneachadh sam bith.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis, ris an canar cuideachd GA *Am Port* [ə ˈmpʰɔʂʈ] (ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + GA *port* f. 'laimrig, cala' (#273)) agus GA *Port Nis* [ˌpʰɔʂʈ ˈniʃ][237] (leis an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais *Nis* (§3 (i)) san tuiseal ghinideach); sa Bheurla, *Port of Ness*. Aig bun, sònraichidh *Am Port* an cala aig ceann an ear a' bhaile agus cleachdaidh *Port Nis* ainm na ceàrnaidh dham buin e gus a àite a shònrachadh.

Tha GA *Cealagbhol* na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais agus, ged a dh'fhaodadh SL *vǫll*, an cruth cuspaireach aig SL *vǫllr* f. 'achadh', a bhith freagarrach airson na dàrna h-eileamaid a thaobh cruth na tìre, bhite an dùil ri GA *[vəl̪] deiridh à fuaimreig ghoirid, seach [vɔl̪] no *[vɑl̪].

Gheibhear SL *hóll* f. 'tom beag cruinn' ann an corra ainm-iasaid, m.e. GA *Tòlair* [ˈt̪ʰɔːl̪əɾʲ] NB183428, ann am *Borghaston* #69, à SL **Hólar* ainmn. iol. '(na) tomannan'; GA **Mille Thòla* [ˌmĩ̠ʲə ˈhɔːl̪ə][238] NB181413, air *An Dùn* #170, à SL **Milli Hóla* 'eadar (na) tomannan', leis a' chruth chuspaireach iolra aig *hóll*; agus GA *Totarol* [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə ˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ə ˌɾɑl̪] NB181406, air *An Dùn*, à SL **Toptarhóll* 'tom na làraich', leis a' chruth ghinideach shingilte aig SL *topt* f. 'làrach taighe ꝛc' (#339).

Gidheadh, 's ann ann an LB **hóall* (fillteach air a dhèanamh à LB **hór* buadh. 'àrd' + an iar-leasachan *-all*) a thàrmaicheas SL *hóll* (> Nirr. *hol*), le teannachadh (Iversen 1973, 29), ach a bheir cuideachd Nirr. *kvål*: LB **hóall* > SL **huáll*, le gluasad beuma (Haugen 1976, 154), > SL *hváll* > SNirr. *kváll*, le eadar-dhealachadh

234. PN 1966-17-A15: (Aonghas Caimbeul à *Suaineabost* #311) ?[ˈkʰaləɣ̊ˌb̥ɔl̪] air mhearachd.

235. MacIver 1934, 75: *Cealokabhat*: a' ghainmheach aig *A' Phort*; chuirte na h-eich fon chuing an seo gus na bàtaichean aca a tharraing tioram tràighte air lunnan. Molaidh MacIver bunachas à SL *kjǫlr* f. 'druim bàta', SL *oka* gn. 'cuir fo chuing' agus SL *bátr* f. 'bàta', agus leanaidh e air: *Tràigh Cealogamhol*: far an cleachdar SL *mǫl* b. 'mol' an àite *bátr* san t-Suirbhidh Òrdanais.

236. Cha d' fhuaras fuaimneachadh an ainme GA (1843–82) *Sgarabhol*, ?sgeir air taobh tuath a' phuirt.

237. Gin. *Phort Nis* [ˌfɔʂʈ ˈniʃ]. Gabhar ris gu bheil (gin.) *Puirt Nis* (Caimbeul 1973, 100), le mùthadh ann am *port*, na os-cheartachadh (Cox 1917, 92, §72 (i) (a)).

238. .i. An sònraichear san ainm GA *Loch Mille Thòla*.

(Seip 1955, 292–93[239]), > MNorw. *kvál*, with shortening of an over-long syllable, > Norw. *kvål* (*NSL*, s.v. *hol*).

For phonetic reasons, then, neither ON *vǫllr* 'field' nor ON *hóll* 'hill' are suitable generics, but a late OWNorn or MWNorn **kváll* would probably yield ScG [ĝvɔɬ̪], [kvɔɬ̪] /gvɔʟ/ in weakly stressed position, and an OWNorn or MWNorn **Kjal-kváll* '(the) ridge-hill', with the stem form of the noun (ON) *kjǫlr* m. 'keel; (in place-names) extended ridge or edge' (here perhaps denoting the long promontory *A' Bheirgh*[240] (coim. #57)), would probably yield ScG [ˈkʲʰɑɬ̪əĝˌvɔɬ̪], with an epenthetic vowel §42 (i) (b).

#102 *Ceann a' Bhàigh* STN
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj], (gen.) *Cheann a' Bhàigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj]; NB422331. 1785, 1797 *Bay·head*; c.1800 *Bay Head*; 1843–82 *Amhuinn Ceann a Bhaigh*; 1845 *Bay-head*; 1895 *Am*[*huinn*] *Ceann a Bhaigh*; 1895–1896 *Bayhead River*; 1921–1930 *Bayhead River*; road sign *Bayhead*.

The name of an area of *Steòrnabhagh* #309, around the head of *Bàgh Steòrna·bhaigh* 'the bay of *Steòrnabhagh*', with the noun ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' (EG *cenn*) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *bàgh* m. 'bay' (#24); rendered *Bayhead* in English.

#103 *Ceann a' Bhàigh* BRN
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj], (gen.) *Cheann a' Bhàigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj]; NB144316. 1843–82 *Ceann a Bhaigh*.

The name of a deserted settlement at the head of *Loch Dhrobhanis* (#10), in Beàrn·araigh; the same name as #102.

#104 *An Ceann Beag* RBH
[əˌŋkʲʰãũn̪ ˈb̥eĝ], (gen.) *A' Chinn Bhig* [əˌçẽĩn̪ ˈviĝʲ] §31 (i); NB558377.

The name of the north end of the township *Port nan Giùran* #274, in An Rubha. The name was transferred from the promontory called *An Ceann Beag* 'the little headland', where two new crofts were established in 1871 (Lawson 2011, 127); with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *ceann* m. (#102), in the sense 'headland' rather than 'end', + the adjective ScG *beag* 'little' (#8).

#105 *Ceann Chrìonaig* PRC
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈxɾʲĩũnɛĝʲ], (gen.) *Cheann Chrìonaig* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈxɾʲĩũnɛĝʲ]; NB311055.

239. For the incidence of the modern forms from ON *hv-* (i.e. *kv*, *gv-*, *v-*), see Helleland and Papazian 1981, 20, 33.

240. Cited as *Beirghe* in *ECC*, 62.

(Seip 1955, 292–93[239]), > MNirr. *kvál*, le giorrachadh ann an lide ro-fhada, > Nirr. *kvål* (*NSL*, s.v. *hol*).

Air adhbharan fuaim-eòlais, a-rèist, cha fhreagair SL *vǫllr* 'achadh' no SL *hóll* 'tom' mar shònraichear, ach 's math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SNòrnI no MNòrnI **kváll* GA [ĝvɔɬ̪], [kvɔɬ̪] /gvɔʟ/ ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, agus 's math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SNòrnI no MNòrnI **Kjal-kváll* '(an) druim-chnoc', le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *kjǫlr* f. 'druim bàta; (ann an ainmean-àite) druim tìre sìnte no oir' ('s dòcha an seo a' beantainn ris an rubha fhada *A' Bheirgh*[240] (coim. #57)), GA [ˈkʲʰɑɬ̪əĝˌvɔɬ̪] le fuaimreig còmhnaidh §42 (i) (b).

#102 *Ceann a' Bhàigh* STN
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj], (gin.) *Cheann a' Bhàigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj]; NB422331. 1785, 1797 *Bayhead*; c.1800 *Bay Head*; 1843–82 *Amhuinn Ceann a Bhaigh*; 1845 *Bay-head*; 1895 *Am*[*huinn*] *Ceann a Bhaigh*; 1895–1896 *Bayhead River*; 1921–1930 *Bayhead River*; soighne rathaid *Bayhead*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh de *Steòrnabhagh* #309, timcheall air ceann *Bhàgh Steòrnabhaigh*, leis an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (SG *cenn*) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *bàgh* f. (#24); na *Bayhead* sa Bheurla.

#103 *Ceann a' Bhàigh* BRN
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj], (gin.) *Cheann a' Bhàigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ə ˈvaːj]; NB144316. 1843–82 *Ceann a Bhaigh*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann *Loch Dhrobhanis* (#10), ann am Beàrn·araigh; an t-aon ainm ri #102.

#104 *An Ceann Beag* RBH
[əˌŋkʲʰãũn̪ ˈb̥eĝ], (gin.) *A' Chinn Bhig* [əˌçẽĩn̪ ˈviĝʲ] §31 (i); NB558377.

An t-ainm air ceann a tuath a' bhaile fearainn *Port nan Giùran* #274, anns An Rubha. Chaidh an t-ainm aiseag bhon rubha air a bheil *An Ceann Beag* mar ainm, far an deach dà chroit ùir a stèidheachadh ann an 1871 (Lawson 2011, 127); leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102), sa bhrìgh 'rubha' seach 'crìoch', + a' bhuadhair GA *beag* (#8).

#105 *Ceann Chrìonaig* PRC
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈxɾʲĩũnɛĝʲ], (gin.) *Cheann Chrìonaig* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈxɾʲĩũnɛĝʲ]; NB311055.

239. Airson tuiteamas nan nua-chruth à SL *hv-* (.i. *kv*, *gv-*, *v-*), faic Helleland is Papazian 1981, 20, 33.

240. Air ainmeachadh *Beirghe* ann an *ECC*, 62.

1821 *Kaunrinaig*; 1843–82 =, *Eilean Glas Cheann Chrìonaig*, *Gleann Chrìonaig*, *Amhuinn Cheann Chrìonaig*, *Crionaig*, *Crionaig Mhor*, *Crionaig Bheag*; 1845 *Benn Chrianeg*.

The name of a deserted settlement at the inner end of *Loch Bhroluim* (#81), in A' Phàirc, whose inhabitants were evicted early in the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162); a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *ceann* m. (#102) and ScG *Crìonaig* in the genitive as specific. *Crìonaig* is the name of an area and ScG *Crìonaig Mhòr* and *Crìonaig Bheag* 'greater and lesser **Crìonag*' are the names of mountains. ScG **Crìonag* ((dat.) *Crìonaig*, (gen.) *Crìonaig*(*e*)) is most probably a stream name in origin, from the adjective ScG *crìon* 'withered, decrepit, dry' (EG *crín*) + the suffix *-ag* (Cox 2002a, 59–60; Cox 2017, 124); cf. *Allt Chrìonaig* 'the stream of **Crìonag*' NB302319, in *Callanis* #94 (Cox 2002a, 161).

#106 *Ceann Chùisil* ÙIG

[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈxu̯ːʃiɲ́], [241] (gen.) *Cheann Chùisil* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈxu̯ːʃiɲ́]; NB034214. 1819 *Kenchusli* (in Lawson 2008, 220); 1821 *Kaunhusil, a pendicle of Carnish*; 1822 *Kaunhusil*; 1843–82 =, *Amhuinn Cheann Chùisil*; 1860 *Cheann Chuisil* [*sic*].

The name of a deserted settlement, in Ùig, whose occupants were evicted by 1825 (Macdonald 1978, 161–62, who writes *Ceann Chaolais* in error); a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *ceann* f. 'head, end' (#102) and the genitive of ScG **Cùiseal*, a loan-name from ON **Kvísla* f., a river name based on ON *kvísl* f. 'fork in a river or confluence of rivers' and which is reasonably common in Norway (*NE* 136), with metathesis §40 (i) (cf. ScG *Teacal* < ON **Hekla* (#315 (iv), fn 768).

ON **Kvísla* appears to have denoted the present-day *Abhainn Cheann Chùisil* 'the river of *Ceann Chùisil*' or perhaps *Allt na Muilne* 'the stream of the mill'.

ScG **Cùiseal* cannot derive from ScG *cuisle* 'vein' f. (despite the by-form *cuisil* found in the Western Isles (Dòmhnallach 1999, 68; *CG* IV, 214; Dwelly, s.v. *cuisle*)): the appellative has a short stressed vowel while the place-name has a long one.

The rounding of initial ON *v* and the length of the stressed vowel (ON *í*) are represented in ScG *ù*, while the palatal quality of the original stressed vowel is preserved in the following consonant ([ʃ]); cf. ON **Vík* > ScG *Ùig* (#12).

ON *kvísl* developed into Norw. *kvissel*,[242] and the epenthetic vowel of the second syllable in the modern form must have arisen after the stressed vowel of the first syllable shortened, i.e. ON *kvísl* (with V̄CC) > ONorw. *kvisl* (V̆CC), via the Great Quantity Shift and shortening of the overlong stressed syllable (c.1250–

241. (nMO) [kˈʻɑɴ ˈxuːʃiɻˈ], *Abhainn Cheann Chùisil* [ãviɴˈ ˈçæ̃ʊ̃ ˈxuːʃiɻˈ] 'the river of *Ceann Chùisil*'.

242. As well as *kvisl*, *kvisle*, *kvitl*, *kvihl* and *kvilkj* (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

1821 *Kaunrinaig*; 1843–82 =, *Eilean Glas Cheann Chrìonaig*, *Gleann Chrìonaig*, *Amhuinn Cheann Chrìonaig*, *Crionaig*, *Crionaig Mhor*, *Crionaig Bheag*; 1845 *Benn Chrianeg*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann a-staigh *Loch Bhroluim* (#81), anns A' Phàirc, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus GA *Crìonaig* san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear. Tha *Crìonaig* na ainm air ceàrnaidh agus GA *Crìonaig Mhòr* agus *Crìonaig Bheag* nan ainmean air beanntan. Is iongantach mana h-e ainm aibhne a th' ann an GA **Crìonag* ((tabh.) *Crìonaig*, (gin.) *Crìonaig*(*e*)) bho thùs, às a' bhuadhair GA *crìon* 'seac, sean, tioram' (GT *crín*) + an iar-leasachan *-ag* (Cox 2002a, 59–60; Cox 2017, 124); coim. *Allt Chrìonaig* NB302319, ann an *Callanis* #94 (Cox 2002a, 161).

#106 *Ceann Chùisil* ÙIG

[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈxu̯ːʃiɲ́], [241] (gin.) *Cheann Chùisil* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈxu̯ːʃiɲ́]; NB034214. 1819 *Kenchusli* (ann an Lawson 2008, 220); 1821 *Kaunhusil, a pendicle of Carnish*; 1822 *Kaunhusil*; 1843–83 =, *Amhuinn Cheann Chùisil*; 1860 *Cheann Chuisil* [*sic*].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs, ann an Ùig, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach ro 1825 (Macdonald 1978, 161–62, a sgrìobhas *Ceann Chaolais* air mhearachd); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102) is cruth ginideach an ainm-iasaid GA **Cùiseal*, à SL **Kvísla* b., ainm aibhne air a bhonntachadh air SL *kvísl* b. 'gobhal ann an abhainn no comar aibhnichean' agus a tha reusanta cumanta ann an Nirribhidh (*NE* 136), le eadar-chàradh §40 (i) (coim. GA *Teacal* < SL **Hekla* (#315 (iv), bn 768).

Is coltach gun do bhean SL **Kvísla* ris an abhainn *Abhainn Cheann Chùisil* no is dòcha an sruth air a bheil *Allt na Muilne* an-diugh.

Chan urrainn do GA **Cùiseal* tàrmachadh ann an GA *cuisle* 'fèith fala' b. (a dh'aindeoin 's gu bheil am frith-riochd *cuisil* ri lorg sna h-Eileanan Siar ((Dòmhnallach 1999, 68; *CG* IV, 214; Dwelly, s.v. *cuisle*)): tha fuaimreag bheumte ghoirid aig an ainmear bhitheanta ach tè fhada aig an ainm-àite.

Thèid an cruinneachadh ann an SL *v* thoisich agus fad na fuaimreige beumte (SL *í*) a riochdachadh ann an GA *ù*, fhad 's a thèid feart càireanach na fuaimreige beumte tùsail a ghleidheadh sa chonnraig na dèidh ([ʃ]); coim. SL **Vík* > GA *Ùig* (#12).

Chaidh SL *kvísl* na Nirr. *kvissel*,[242] agus feumar gun do dh'èirich fuaimreag còmhnaidh na dàrna lide san nua-chruth an dèidh do dh'fhuaimreig bheumte na ciad lide giorrachadh, .i. SL *kvísl* (le F̄CC) > SNirr. **kvisl* (F̆CC), leis a' Mhòr-Ghluasad Faid agus giorrachadh na lide beumte ro-fhada (c. 1250–1550; Haugen

241. (nMO) [kˈʻɑɴ ˈxuːʃiɻˈ], *Abhainn Cheann Chùisil* [ãviɴˈ ˈçæ̃ʊ̃ ˈxuːʃiɻˈ].

242. Cho math ri *kvisl*, *kvisle*, *kvitl*, *kvihl* agus *kvilkj* (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

1550; Haugen 1976, 258), > *kvissel* (V̆CC), with breaking of the cluster in a final resonant and intrusion of an epenthetic vowel between *s* and *l* (by c.1250 in Norway, by c.1300 in Iceland; ibid., 206), but with preservation of the phonological shape of the stressed syllable (V̆CC).

In Scottish Gaelic, the non-initial cluster *sl* is fairly common, e.g. (palatal) *uaisle* (*uasal* 'noble'), *mìsle* < *mìlse* (*milis* 'sweet'), *dìlse* < *dìsle* (*dìleas* 'faithful'), and there is no obvious reason why ON **Kvísla* should not yield ScG **Cùisle*, but the same metathesis of final ON *-la*, (obl.) *-lu*, also occurs in ON *Hekla* > ScG *Theacal* (#315 (iv), fn 768). The Norse lateral in **Kvísla* was apparently treated in Gaelic as a lenited velarised lateral [ɬ] /l/,[243] which became unlenited velarised [ɫ̪] /ʟ/, whose genitive inflection [ʎ̪] /ʟ′/ in word-final position is regular.

#107 ***Ceann Loch Ròg*** ÙIG (Eng. *Kinlochroag*)
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ɫ̪ɔx(ə) ˈʀɔːg̊],[244] (gen.) *Cheann Loch Ròg* [ˌçãũn̪ ɫ̪ɔx(ə) ˈʀɔːg̊]; NB139237. 1821 *Kaunlochroay* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Ceann a' Loch Bhig*, *Cleite Cheann a' Loch*; cf. 1600+ *Lochrogan*; 1630 *Loghrogan*; 1680 *Loch Rogue*; 1703 *Loch-Rogue*; 1750 *L. Rag*; 1789 *Loch Roag*; 1790 *Loch Rag*; 1797, 1800 *Loch Roag*; 1801 *L. Roag*; 1804 *Loch Roag*; 1807 *L. Roag*; 1813 *Loch Roag*; 1819, 171 *Loch Roig*; 1821 *Kaunlochroay* [*sic*]; 1822 *Kaunlochroag*; 1845 *Cean Loch*; 1869, 1875, 183, 1932, 1934, 31, 1974, *Loch Roag*; 2007 *Ceann Loch Ròg*‖*Kinlochroag*; road sign *Ceann Loch Roag*‖*Kinloch Roag*.

The name of a small settlement in Ùig, at the head of *Loch Ròg Beag* 'little *Loch Ròg*'; a Gaelic name with ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' (#102) as generic and the name *Loch Ròg* [ˌɫ̪ɔx(ə) ˈʀɔːg̊] in genitive position as specific – *Loch Ròg* denotes the large sea loch around *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51, on the west of Lewis.[245]

Loch Ròg is a Gaelic name meaning 'the loch of shags', with ScG *loch* m. 'loch, lake' (#29) and genitive plural of ScG *ròg* ?m. 'shag (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*)', a loan-word from ON *hrók*, accusative of ON *hrókr* m. ScG *ròg* no longer survives in the dialect as an appellative, although ScG *sgarbh* m. 'cormorant (*Phalacrocorax carbo*)', a loan-word from ON *skarf*, accusative of ON *skarfr* m. (§8), does.

243. That has since fallen together with [ɬ] /ʟ/ (§4, fn 18).

244. (nMO) [kʻʻə̃ɴʟɔx ˈʀɔːg], *Loch Ròg* [ɬɔx ɾɔːg]).

245. More precisely, *Loch Ròg* applies to the loch between the mouth of *Loch Ròg Beag* and the southern end of *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr*, while *Loch Ròg an Iar* and *Loch Ròg an Ear* 'west and east *Loch Ròg*' apply to the lochs on the west and east side of *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr*, respectively.

1976, 258), > *kvissel* (F̆CC), le briseadh a' chòmhlain ann an glòrach deiridh agus fuaimreag còmhnaidh air a h-in-shàthadh eadar *s* agus *l* (ro c.1250 ann an Nirribhidh, ro c.1300 ann an Innis Tìle; ibid., 206), ach le cruth fuinn-eòlach na lide beumte (F̆CC) air a ghleidheadh.

Sa Ghàidhlig, tha an còmhlan neo-thoisich *sl* an ìre mhath cumanta, m.e. (càireanach) *uaisle* (*uasal*), *mìsle* < *mìlse* (*milis*), *dìlse* < *dìsle* (*dìleas*), agus chan eil adhbhar follaiseach ann nach toireadh SL **Kvísla* GA **Cùisle*, ach tachraidh an t-aon eadar-chàradh de SL *-la*, (cl.) *-lu*, ann an GA *Theacal* < SL *Hekla* (#315 (iv), bn 768). Is coltach gun deach dèiligeadh ris an taobhach Lochlannais ann an **Kvísla* sa Ghàidhlig mar gur h-e an taobhach sgannaichte sèimhichte [ɬ] /l/ a bh' ann,[243] a chaidh na [ɫ̪] /ʟ/ sgannaichte neo-shèimhichte, a tha a mhùthadh [ʎ̪] /ʟ′/ aig deireadh facail san tuiseal ghinideach riaghailteach.

#107 ***Ceann Loch Ròg*** ÙIG
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ɫ̪ɔx(ə) ˈʀɔːg̊],[244] (gin.) *Cheann Loch Ròg* [ˌçãũn̪ ɫ̪ɔx(ə) ˈʀɔːg̊]; NB139237. 1821 *Kaunlochroay* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Ceann a' Loch Bhig*, *Cleite Cheann a' Loch*; coim. 1600+*Lochrogan*; 1630 *Loghrogan*; 1680 *Loch Rogue*; 1703 *Loch-Rogue*; 1750 *L. Rag*; 1789 *Loch Roag*; 1790 *Loch Rag*; 1797, 1800 *Loch Roag*; 1801 *L. Roag*; 1804 *Loch Roag*; 1807 *L. Roag*; 1813 *Loch Roag*; 1819, 171 *Loch Roig*; 1821 *Kaunlochroay* [*sic*]; 1822 *Kaunlochroag*; 1845 *Cean Loch*; 1869, 1875, 183, 1932, 1934, 31, 1974, *Loch Roag*; 2007 *Ceann Loch Ròg*‖*Kinlochroag*; soighne rathaid *Ceann Loch Roag*‖*Kinloch Roag*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag ann an Ùig, aig ceann *Loch Ròg Beag*; ainm Gàidhlig le GA *ceann* f. (#102) na sheòrsaichear agus leis an ainm *Loch Ròg* [ɫ̪ɔx(ə) ˈʀɔːg̊] ann an suidheachadh ginideach na shònraichear – beanaidh *Loch Ròg* ris an loch mara mhòr timcheall air *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51, air taobh an iar Leòdhais.[245]

Is e ainm Gàidhlig a th' ann an *Loch Ròg* a' ciallachadh 'loch sgairbh an sgumain', le GA *loch* f. (#29) agus tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir GA *ròg* ?f. 'sgarbh an sgumain (*Phalacrocorax aristotelis*)', facal-iasaid à SL *hrók*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *hrókr* f. Cha mhair GA *ròg* tuilleadh san dualchainnt na ainmear bitheanta, ged a mhaireas GA *sgarbh* f. '*Phalacrocorax carbo*', facal-iasaid à SL *skarf*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *skarfr* f. (§8).

243. A tha air a dhol còmhla ri [ɬ] /ʟ/ bhon uair sin (§4, bn 18).

244. (nMO) [kʻʻə̃ɴʟɔx ˈʀɔːg̊], *Loch Ròg* [ɬɔx ɾɔːg]).

245. Nas mionaidiche, canar *Loch Ròg* ris an loch eadar beul *Loch Ròg Beag* agus ceann a deas *Bheàrnaraigh Mhòr*, agus *Loch Ròg an Iar* agus *Loch Ròg an Ear* ris na lochan air taobh an iar agus taobh an ear *Bheàrnaraigh Mhòr*, fa leth.

For the epenthetic vowel [ə] between *loch* and *ròg* in the Gaelic name, cf. *Loch Gainmhich* #241.

Several constructions are found in place-names containing bird (plant etc.) names: a construction with the article is common today, either with the specific in the singular (*Clach an t-Seabhaig*[246] 'the rock of the hawk' NB196428, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134) or plural (*Sgeir nan Sgarbh* 'the skerry of the cormorants' NB196370, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331)), but there are still examples without the article, either with the specific in the singular (*Creag Speireig*[247] '(the) sparrowhawk-rock' NB236375, in *An Dùn* #170) or plural, as here (cf. the structures in #86 + fn 192). 1600+ *Lochrogan* and 1630 *Loghrogan* might contain a genitive plural form with ending (i.e. ScG *ròg*an), rather than a genitive plural form without ending (i.e. *ròg*, as we have), which is the norm particularly in *o*-stem nouns (Class I in Cox 2017, 107, §83(iii)(b)).

The lack of lenition in *ròg* in [ˌl̪ɔx(ə) ˈɾɔːg̊] (as opposed to (len.) *-[ˈɾɔːg̊]) suggests the name was created before the 17th c. (cf. ScG **Cala Muc* #256, bn 589).

#108 *Ceann Loch Shealg* PRC

[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhjæl̪ɑg̊],[248] (gen.) *Cheann Loch Shealg* [ˌçãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhjæl̪ɑg̊]; NB297106. 1549 *Loch Selga*; 1680 *Loch Shell, Lochshell*; 1775, 1776 *L. Shell*; 1790 *Loch Shell*; 1797 *Lochshell*; 1801 *L. Shell*; 1804 *Loch Shell*; 1807 *L. Shell*; 1821 *Kaundehalig*; 1843–82 *Ceann Tigh Shealg, Loch Sealg or Loch Shell*; 1845 *Loch Shell, Lochshell*.

The name of a deserted settlement at the head of *Loch Shealg*, in A' Phàirc, whose inhabitants were evicted in 1843 (Macdonald 1978, 162); there was an inn here till the 1830s (Lawson 2011, 186).[249] A Gaelic name, with ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' (#102), ScG *loch* f. 'loch, lake' (#102), in genitive position, and genitive of ScG *sealg* f. 'hunting'.

In his notes, Oftedal asks whether the reason for the form *shealg* was that it was genitive plural or whether it was a Norse name in origin, but nothing suits from a Norse perspective and one would expect ScG **Loch Seilg*(*e*) 'the loch of hunting' (gen. sg.) rather than *Loch Shealg* 'the loch of huntings' (gen. pl.). However, it is probable that the name of the loch was originally ScG **Loch Sealg*(*a*), with an earlier genitive singular of ScG *sealg*, i.e. ScG *sealga* (or *sealg*, with apocope §44 (iii)) (EG *selga* – Thurneysen 1975, 183–84 §289–90), later ScG *seilge* (*seilg*), hence 1549 *Loch Selga* and 1843–82 *Loch Sealg* (without lenition),

246. EG *seḋac, seḋoc* < OE *heafoc* (*DIL*).

247. EG *speróc, spiróc* < ME *speerhauk* (*DIL*).

248. (nMO) [ɪɔx ˈhe̯æɪɑk].

249. According to another account, the inn was about two Scots miles (about 2.25 miles/3.63 km) from the sea, in (≈1843–82) *Àirigh 'An Dòmhnaill* 'Iain Dòmhnaill's sheiling' at NB268107 or NB273105, where A' Phàirc's market stance was located before the area was cleared §3 (vii) (CEnaP 2007, 17).

Airson na fuaimreig còmhnaidh [ə] eadar *loch* is *ròg* san ainm Ghàidhlig, coim. *Loch Gainmhich* #241.

Gheibhear caochladh cho-chur ann an ainmean-àite Gàidhlig agus ainmean eòin (no luis 7c) annta: tha co-chur leis an alt bitheanta an-diugh, aon chuid le sònraichear singilte (*Clach an t-Seabhaig*[246] NB196428, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134) no iolra (*Sgeir nan Sgarbh* NB196370, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331)) ach tha eisimpleirean gun an t-alt ann fhathast, aon chuid le sònraichear singilte (*Creag Speireig*[247] NB236375, air *An Dùn* #170) no iolra, mar a tha an seo (coim. na co-chuir ann an #86 + bn 192). Dh'fhaodte gur h-e cruth ginideach iolra le dùnadh (.i. GA *rògan*) a gheibhear ann an 1600+ *Lochrogan* agus 1630 *Loghrogan*, seach cruth ginideach iolra gun dùnadh (.i. *ròg*, mar a tha againne), an àbhaist gu h-àraidh ann an ainmearan buin-*o* (Rang I ann an Cox 2017, 107, §83(iii)(b)).

Cuiridh an dìth sèimheachaidh ann an *ròg* ann an [ˌl̪ɔx(ə) ˈɾɔːg̊] (seach (sèimh.) *-[ˈɾɔːg̊]) air shùilibh gun deach an t-ainm a chruthachadh ron t-17mh linn (coim. GA **Cala Muc*#256, bn 589).

#108 *Ceann Loch Shealg* PRC

[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhjæl̪ɑg̊],[248] (gin.) *Cheann Loch Shealg* [ˌçãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhjæl̪ɑg̊]; NB297106. 1549 *Loch Selga*; 1680 *Loch Shell, Lochshell*; 1775, 1776 *L. Shell*; 1790 *Loch Shell*; 1797 *Lochshell*; 1801 *L. Shell*; 1804 *Loch Shell*; 1807 *L. Shell*; 1821 *Kaundehalig*; 1843–82 *Ceann Tigh Shealg, Loch Sealg or Loch Shell*; 1845 *Loch Shell, Lochshell*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann *Loch Shealg*, anns A' Phàirc, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach an 1843 (Macdonald 1978, 162); bha taigh-òsta ann chun nan 1830an (Lawson 2011, 186).[249] Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *ceann* f. (#102), GA *loch* f. (#102), ann an suidheachadh ginideach, agus leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig GA *sealg* b.

Na notaichean, faighnichidh Oftedal an e an tuiseal ginideach iolra as coireach ris a' chruth *shealg* no an e ainm Lochlannais a bh' ann bho thùs, ach cha lorgar càil a bhiodh iomchaidh bho thaobh na Lochlannais agus bhite an dùil ri GA **Loch Seilg*(*e*) (gin. sg.) seach *Loch Shealg* (gin. iol.). Gidheadh, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e GA **Loch Sealg*(*a*) a bh' ann an ainm an locha bho thùs, le cruth ginideach singilte nas tràithe aig GA *sealg*, .i. GA *sealga* (no *sealg*, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)) (GT *selga* – Thurneysen 1975, 183–84 §289–90), na b' anmoiche GA *seilge* (*seilg*), às a sin 1549 *Loch Selga* agus 1843–82 *Loch Sealg* (gun

246. GT *seḋac, seḋoc* < SBrl. *heafoc* (*DIL*).

247. GT *speróc, spiróc* < MBrl. *speerhauk* (*DIL*).

248. (nMO) [ɪɔx ˈhe̯æɪɑk].

249. A rèir cunntais eile, is ann a bha an taigh-òsta mu dhà mhìle Albannach (mu 2.25 mìle/3.63 clm) bhon mhuir, ann an (≈1843–82) *Àirigh 'An Dòmhnaill* aig NB268107 no NB273105, far an robh ionad margaidh Na Pàirce mus deach a' cheàrnaidh fhàsachadh §3 (vii) (CEnaP 2007, 17).

except that the specific was later lenited as though it were a genitive plural noun (without the article) in order to justify the uninflected form *sealg*.

#109 ***Ceann na Caradh*** PRC
*[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ (n)əˌkʰarəɣ], (gen.) *Cheann na Caradh* *[ˌçãũn̪ (n)əˌkʰarəɣ]; NB295163. 1843–82 =.

The name of a deserted settlement at the north-east end of *Loch Shìophort*, now part of *Ceann Shìophort* #113, in A' Phàirc. A Gaelic name, with ScG *ceann* f. 'head, end' (#102) and genitive of the Gaelic feminine article + genitive of the noun ScG *caraidh* f. 'fishing weir' (EG *cora*); cf. ScG *A' Charaidh*, in *Cearsadar* #120, *Tòb na Caradh* 'the inlet of the weir' NB143321, in Beàrnaraigh, and *Acha' na Caraidh* 'the field of the weir' NB1937, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).[250]

#110 ***Ceann na Còinnich*** STN (Eng. *Mossend*)
*[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ (n)əˈkʰõːɲiç], (gen.) *Cheann na Còinnich* *[ˌçãũn̪ (n)əˈkʰõːɲiç]; NB437329. 1843–82 *Moss End*; 1955 *Moss End, Mossend Hospital*; 2007 *Ceann a' Choinnich‖Mossend*.

The Gaelic name given to an area in Steòrnabhagh called *Mossend* in English, translated from English, with the noun ScG *ceann* m. (#102) and genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *còinneach* f., although the word is masculine according to the 2007 form.

In the onomasticon, *còinneach* is found in the sense 'moss: a type of plant (*Bryophyta*)', not in the sense '(peat-)moss' as found in Eng. *Mossend*, see below; the element is also used without the article. One would expect, then, *còinnich* in the genitive without the article: *(*An*) *Ceann Còinnich* '(the) mossy end (lit. of moss)' rather than *Ceann na Còinnich* or (≈2007) *Ceann a' Chòinnich*, cf. ScG **Eilean Còinnich* '(the) mossy island', although uninflected *còinneach* is frequently found even in the genitive where it has the function and position of an attributive adjective, i.e. *Eilean Còinneach* NB231382, in *An Cnoc* TSR (Cox 2002a, 56, 274).

On the 1843–82 map, *Moss End* is located at the end of a parcel of land that appears to be moorland or uncultivated land. MacBain (1922, 91) is of the view the name is from Old Norse. ON **Mos-endi* '(the) moor-end', with the stem form

250. EG *cora* was a dental stem (Cox 2017, 101), i.e. with (gen.) *coraḋ*, (dat.) *coraiḋ*, whose dative form has since been normalised throughout the paradigm, hence ScG (rad.) *caraidh*, (gen.) *caraidh*, older *caradh* – cf. ScG *Achadh na Caraidh* (Eng. *Achnacarry*) NN176879, earlier (CMR) *Achadh na Caraõgh* (i.e. *Achadh na Caradh*) (King 2019, 245).

sèimheachadh), ach gun deach an sònraichear a shèimheachadh na b' fhaide air adhart mar gur h-e ainmear ginideach iolra (gun an t-alt) a bh' ann gus an cruth gun chlaonadh *sealg* fhìreanachadh.

#109 ***Ceann na Caradh*** CTL
*[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ (n)əˌkʰarəɣ], (gin.) *Cheann na Caradh* *[ˌçãũn̪ (n)əˌkʰarəɣ]; NB295163. 1843–82 =.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann an ear-thuath *Loch Shìophort*, a-nise na phàirt de *Cheann Shìophort* #113, anns A' Phàirc. Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *caraidh* b. 'ribe èisg' (GT *cora*); coim. GA *A' Charaidh*, ann an *Cearsadar* #120, *Tòb na Caradh* NB143321, ann am Beàrnaraigh, agus *Acha' na Caraidh* NB1937, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).[250]

#110 ***Ceann na Còinnich*** STN
*[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ (n)əˈkʰõːɲiç], (gin.) *Cheann na Còinnich* *[ˌçãũn̪ (n)əˈkʰɔːɲiç]; NB437329. 1843–82 *Moss End*; 1955 *Moss End, Mossend Hospital*; 2007 *Ceann a' Choinnich‖ Mossend*.

An t-ainm Gàidhlig a chaidh a chur air ceàrnaidh ann an Steòrnabhagh, air a bheil *Mossend* mar ainm sa Bheurla, air eadar-theangachadh bhon Bheurla, leis an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *còinneach* b., ged a tha am facal fireann a rèir a' chrutha 2007.

San ainm-bhriathradair, gheibhear *còinneach* sa bhrìgh 'seòrsa lusa (*Bryophyta*)', chan ann sa bhrìgh 'mòinteach' mar a gheibhear ann am Brl. *Mossend*, faic shìos; thèid an eileamaid a chleachdadh às aonais an uilt mar an ceudna. Bhite a' sùileachadh, a-rèist, *còinnich* san tuiseal ghinideach gun an t-alt: *(*An*) *Ceann Còinnich* '(an) ceann làn còinnich' seach *Ceann na Còinnich* no (≈2007) *Ceann a' Chòinnich*, coim. GA **Eilean Còinnich*, ged as tric a gheibhear *còinneach* gun mhùthadh fiù 's anns an tuiseal ghinideach agus an t-ainmear ann an dreuchd agus carachadh buadhair càilich, .i. *Eilean Còinneach* NB231382, air *A' Chnoc* TSR (Cox 2002a, 56, 274).

Air a' mhapa 1843–82, tha *Moss End* aig ceann cuibhreann de dh'fhearann air a bheil coltas mòintich no talmhainn nach deach àiteach. Tha MacBain (1922, 91) den bheachd gur h-ann às an Lochlannais a tha e. Is coltach gun toireadh SL **Mos-endi* '(am) mòinteach-cheann', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL

250. Bha GT *cora* na bhun deudach (Cox 2017, 101), .i. le (gin.) *coraḋ*, (tabh.) *coraiḋ*, a chaidh a chruth tabhartach bhon uair sin àbhaisteachadh air feadh a' phàtrain, às a sin GA (bun.) *caraidh*, (gin.) *caraidh*, nas sine *caradh* – coim. GA *Achadh na Caraidh* (Brl. *Achna·carry*) NN176879, ach na bu tràithe (CMR) *Achadh na Caraõgh* (.i. *Achadh na Caradh*) (King 2019, 245).

of the noun ON *mosi* m. ‘moor; moss’ and ON *endi* m. ‘end’ (or its oblique form *enda*), would likely yield ScG *[ˈmɔ̃ʃiŋ̟] (or *[ˈmɔ̃ʃəŋ̟]).

In considering a Gaelic origin for Eng. *Mossend*, one could compare ScG *Ceann a’ Mhonaidh* (Eng. *Mossend*) in Ross-shire (Watson 1904, 119),[251] but the English name *Mossend* (so also Eng. *Muirhead*) is fairly common in Scotland and the English word *moss* is used frequently in a description of the quality of lands around *Steòrnabhagh* #309 on a map at the end of the 18th century: (1785) ‘Low moss ground’, ‘Moss ground much cast up’, ‘Wore out moss’, ‘Moss ground covered with heath’ etc. Although several Gaelic names in and around *Steòrnabhagh* have been translated into English, *Mossend* appears to be an English creation that has recently been translated into Gaelic §99 (i).

#111 *Ceann nam Buailtean* STN (Eng. *Park End*)
[ˌkʲʰãũŋ̟(n)ə ˈmˠuəɻ̊tʲən], (gen.) *Cheann nam Buailtean* [ˌçãũŋ̟(n)ə ˈmˠuəɻ̊tʲən]; NB450319. 1964 *Park End*; 2007, road sign *Ceann nam Buailtean*‖*Park End*; 2016 =.

The name of a small settlement east of *Sanndabhig* #285, in Steòrnabhagh; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *ceann* f. ‘head, end’ (#102) and genitive plural of the Gaelic article + the noun ScG *buaile* f. (#85) – called *Park End* in English.

Although there is no firm evidence to say that the Gaelic name is the original one, it may well have been: the settlement is situated at the end of a series of fields shown on maps as early as 1843–82.

#112 *Ceann Reusort* Ùig
[ˌkʲʰãũŋ̟ ˈreːˌsɔd̥], (gen.) *Cheann Reusort* [ˌçãũŋ̟ ˈreːˌsɔd̥]; NB107172. 1776 *Kenrhesort* [*sic*]; 1789 *Loch Resort, Kenerbesort* [*sic*]; 1790 *L. Resort*; 1801 *Kenerbesort* [*sic*], *L. Resort*; 1804 *Kenrhesort*; 1807 *Loch Resort*; 1821, 1822 *Kaunreasort*; 1843–82 *Ceann Resort, Loch Resort*; 1845 *Resart, Loch Resart*; 1860 *Ceann Resort*. Sometimes *Ceann Loch Reusort* [ˌkʲʰãũŋ̟ ˌl̪ɔx ˈreːˌsɔd̥].

The name of a deserted settlement in Ùig, at the head of *Loch Reusort* ‘the loch of **Reusort*’, with ScG *ceann* m. ‘head, end’ (#102) and the Norse loan-name ScG **Reusort* in the genitive, perhaps from ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. ‘(the) cairn-loch’, with the stem form of the noun ON *hreysar* f. pl. ‘cairn or pile of stones’ or ON *hreysi* nt. ‘cairn; cave, den; lowly hut’ and the accusative of ON *fjǫrðr* m. ‘sea loch’ (#182).

251. Although the words ScG *mòine* ‘peat; moor’ or *mòinteach* ‘moor, moorland’ would be more likely in a Lewis context.

mosi f. ‘mòinteach’ agus SL *endi* f. ‘ceann, deireadh’ (no a chruth claon *enda*), GA *[ˈmɔ̃ʃiŋ̟] (no *[ˈmɔ̃ʃəŋ̟]).

Ann a bhith a’ beachdachadh air tùs Gàidhlig airson Brl. *Mossend*, b’ urrainnear coimeas a dhèanamh ri GA *Ceann a’ Mhonaidh* (Brl. *Mossend*) ann an Siorrachd Rois (Watson 1904, 119),[251] ach tha an t-ainm Beurla *Mossend* (mar a tha Brl. *Muirhead*) caran bitheanta ann an Albainn agus thèid am facal Brl. *moss* a chleachdadh gu tric ann a bhith a’ toirt cunntas air feabhas nam fearann timcheall air *Steòrnabhagh* #309 air mapa aig deireadh na h-18mh linne: (1785) ‘Low moss ground’, ‘Moss ground much cast up’, ‘Wore out moss’, ‘Moss ground covered with heath’ ⁊c. Ged a chaidh corra ainm Gàidhlig timcheall air *Steòrnabhagh* is na àrainn a thionndadh dhan Bheurla, is coltach gur h-e cruthachadh Beurla a chaidh a thionndadh dhan Ghàidhlig a-chianaibh a th’ ann am *Mossend* §99 (i).

#111 *Ceann nam Buailtean* STN
[ˌkʲʰãũŋ̟ (n)ə ˈmˠuəɻ̊tʲən], (gin.) *Ceann nam Buailtean* [ˌçãũŋ̟ (n)ə ˈmˠuəɻ̊tʲən]; NB450319. 1964 *Park End*; 2007; soighne rathaid *Ceann nam Buailtean*‖*Park End*; 2016 =.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag an ear air *Sanndabhig* #285, ann an Steòrnabhagh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus tuiseal ginideach iolra an uilt Ghàidhlig + an ainmear GA *buaile* b. (#85) – air a bheil *Park End* sa Bheurla.

Ged nach eil cruaidh-fhianais ann a dh’innseas gum b’ e an t-ainm Gàidhlig am fear tùsail, is math dh’fhaodte gum b’ e: tha an tuineachadh aig ceann sreatha de dh’achaidhean air an comharrachadh air mapaichean cho tràth ri 1843–82.

#112 *Ceann Reusort* Ùig
[ˌkʲʰãũŋ̟ ˈreːˌsɔd̥], (gin.) *Ceann Reusort* [ˌçãũŋ̟ ˈreːˌsɔd̥]; NB107172. 1776 *Kenrhesort* [*sic*]; 1789 *Loch Resort, Kenerbesort* [*sic*]; 1790 *L. Resort*; 1801 *Kenerbesort* [*sic*], *L. Resort*; 1804 *Kenrhesort*; 1807 *Loch Resort*; 1821, 1822 *Kaunreasort*; 1843–82 *Ceann Resort, Loch Resort*; 1845 *Resart, Loch Resart*; 1860 *Ceann Resort*. Air uairean *Ceann Loch Reusort* [ˌkʲʰãũŋ̟ ˌl̪ɔx ˈreːˌsɔd̥].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann an Ùig, aig ceann *Loch Reusort*, le GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus an t-ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA **Reusort* anns an tuiseal ghinideach, is dòcha à SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. ‘(an) càrn-loch’, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *hreysar* b. iol. ‘càrn no meall chlachan’ no SL *hreysi* n. ‘càrn; uagh, saobhaidh; both iriosal’ agus an cruth cuspaireach aig SL *fjǫrðr* f. ‘loch mara’ (#182).

251. Ged a bhiodh na facail GA *mòine* no *mòinteach* na bu choltaiche ann an co-theags Leòdhasach.

Regarding the last sense of ON *hreysi*, one might mention the beehive huts situated about 9 km (5 miles) north-east of *Ceann Reusort*;[252] there may have been others in the area.

#113 *Ceann Shìophort* CTL (Eng. *Seaforth Head*)
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], (gen.) *Cheann Shìophort* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], or *Ceann Loch Shìophort* [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], (gen.) *Cheann Loch Shìophort* [ˌçãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ]; NB280166. 1549 *Loch Sifort*; 1600+ *Loch Siward*, *Earle of Seafort*; 1630 *Logh sivard*; 1654 *Loch Sifort*; 1680 *Loch Seafort*, *Lochseafort*; 1703 *Loch-fea-fort*; c. 1710, 176 (gen.) *síthphort*, 184 (gen.) *Sithphort*; 1714 *Loch Seafort*; 1718 *Seafort*; 1726 *Seaforth*; 1775 *Loch Seafort*; 1776 *L. Seafort*; 1785 *Sea fort Lodge* [in *Steòrnabhagh* #309]; 1789 *Loch Seaforth*; 1790 *L. Seaforth*; 1797 *Loch Seaforth*; 1801 *L. Seaforth*; 1804 *Loch Seafort*; 1807 *Loch Seaforth*; 1821 *Seaforth*; 1843–82 *Sithphort*, *Loch Seaforth*; 1845 *Loch Seaforth*; 2007 *Ceann Loch Shìophort*‖*Seaforth Head*.

The name of a small settlement at the northern end of *Loch Shìophort* 'the loch of *Sìophort*', in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, from which the settlement gets its name; a Gaelic name, with ScG *ceann* m. (#102) and the genitive of the Old Norse loan-name ScG **Sìophort*.[253]

Johnston (1903, 264), Watson (1904, 267), Henderson (1910, 171) and Lawson (2011, 195–96, 198–99) either agree with or follow MacBain (1892, in 1922, 83) that ScG **Sìophort* originates in ON **Sæ-fjǫrð* or **Sjá-fjǫrð* acc., with the stem form or genitive of the noun ON *sær* or *sjár* m. 'sea; freshwater loch' and the accusative of ON *fjǫrðr* m. 'sea loch, fjord'. However, it is unlikely that there is any connection between the name ScG *Sìophort* and ON *sær* or *sjár*, cf. *Siabost* #295, from ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc.

A derivation from ON **Síð-fjǫrð* or **Síðufjǫrð* acc., with the stem form or genitive of the noun ON *síða* f., would be reasonable both from the point of view of the phonetics and the topography. ON *síða* meant 'side' and would denote the long steep mountainside on the east side of the southern part of the loch; cf *Sifjorden* in Troms, Norway, from ON **Síðufjǫrðr* (*NSL*; *NG* XVII, 78–79).

It is said that the MacKenzie family, who came into possession of Lewis in 1610, had their headquarters here, before Seaforth Lodge was built in *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Macdonald 1978, 33); the title Earl of Seaforth was created in 1623.

Regarding ON *fjǫrð* developing into ScG [fɔ̹ɖ], see *Eòrrabidh* #182.

252. NB163233, <http://canmore.org.uk/site/72083>.

253. *Baile Shìophort* [ˌb̥alə ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], with ScG *baile* m. 'village etc.' (#26), was also recorded.

A thaobh na brìghe mu dheireadh aig SL *hreysi*, dh'fhaodte na bothan beaga cruinne a chithear mu 9 clm (5 mìle) an ear-thuath air *Ceann Reusort* ainmeachadh;[252] is dòcha gun robh feadhainn eile san àrainn.

#113 *Ceann Shìophort* CTL
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], (gin.) *Cheann Shìophort* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], no *Ceann Loch Shìophort* [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], (gin.) *Cheann Loch Shìophort* [ˌçãũn̪ l̪ɔx ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ]; NB280166. 1549 *Loch Sifort*; 1600+ *Loch Siward*, *Earle of Seafort*; 1630 *Logh sivard*; 1654 *Loch Sifort*; 1680 *Loch Seafort*, *Lochseafort*; 1703 *Loch-fea-fort*; c. 1710, 176 (gin.) *síthphort*, 184 (gin.) *Sithphort*; 1714 *Loch Seafort*; 1718 *Seafort*; 1726 *Seaforth*; 1775 *Loch Seafort*; 1776 *L. Seafort*; 1785 *Sea fort Lodge* [ann an *Steòrnabhagh* #309]; 1789 *Loch Seaforth*; 1790 *L. Seaforth*; 1797 *Loch Seaforth*; 1801 *L. Seaforth*; 1804 *Loch Seafort*; 1807 *Loch Seaforth*; 1821 *Seaforth*; 1843–82 *Sithphort*, *Loch Seaforth*; 1845 *Loch Seaforth*; 2007 *Ceann Loch Shìophort*‖*Seaforth Head*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag aig ceann a tuath *Loch Shìophort*, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, às am faigh an tuineachadh a ainm; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA **Sìophort*.[253]

Leanaidh no aontaichidh Johnston (1903, 264), Watson (1904, 267), Henderson (1910, 171) agus Lawson (2011, 195–96, 198–99) ri MacBain (1892, ann an 1922, 83) gun tàrmaich GA *Sìophort* ann an SL **Sæ-fjǫrð* no **Sjá-fjǫrð* cusp., le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sær* no *sjár* f. 'cuan, muir; loch fìor-uisge' agus leis an tuiseal chuspaireach aig SL *fjǫrðr* f. 'loch mara'. Gidheadh, cha choltach gu bheil ceangal aig an ainm GA **Sìophort* ri SL *sær* no *sjár*, coim. *Siabost* #295, à SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp.

Bhiodh bunachas à SL **Síð-fjǫrð* no **Síðufjǫrð* cusp., le bun-riochd no tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *síða* b., reusanta an dà chuid a thaobh fuaim-eòlais agus cruth na tìre. B' e 'cliathaich' a bu chiall do SL *síða* agus bhiodh e a' beantainn ris a' chliathaich beinne fhada chais air taobh an ear ceann a deas an locha; coim *Sifjorden* ann an Troms, Nirribhidh, à SL **Síðufjǫrðr* (*NSL*; *NG* XVII, 78–79).

A rèir aithris, 's ann an seo a bha prìomh àite teaghlach MhicCoinnich, a fhuair seilbh air Leòdhas ann an 1610, mus deach Loidse Shìophort a thogail ann an *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Macdonald 1978, 33); chaidh an tiotal Iarla Shìophort a chruthachadh ann an 1623.

A thaobh SL *fjǫrð* a bhith a' dol na GA [fɔ̹ɖ], faic *Eòrrabidh* #182.

252. NB163233, <http://canmore.org.uk/site/72083>.

253. Chaidh *Baile Shìophort* [ˌb̥alə ˈhiːˌfɔ̹ɖ], le GA *baile* f. (#26), a chlàradh cuideachd.

#114 *An Ceann Shìos* RBH (Eng. *Garrabost Allotments*)
[əˌŋʲkʲʰãũn̪ ˈhiəs̪], (gen.) *A' Chinn Shìos* [əˌçẽĩn̪ ˈhiəs̪]; NB521335. 1964 *Garrabost Allotments*; 2007 *An Ceann Shìos*‖*Garrabost Allotments*.

The name of an area of the township *Garrabost* #189 – on its north side – in An Rubha, called *Garrabost Allotments* in English; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *ceann* m. (#102) + the adverb ScG *shìos* (OG *tís*) used adjectively in the sense 'further down'. The spatial adverbs (without motion) *shìos* 'down' ~ *shuas* 'up', (with motion to) *sìos* ~ *suas* and (with motion from) *a-nuas*[254] ~ *a-nuas* are used directionally in Gaelic in order to speak of being 'further north' or 'further south', respectively, e.g. one goes *sìos a Nis* 'down to Nis' but *suas a dh'Ùig* 'up to Ùig'.

#115 *Ceann Tarbhaigh* CTL (Eng. *Kinloch*)
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂ˌvaj], (gen.) *Cheann Tarbhaigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂ˌvaj], or *Ceann an Loch* [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ə ˈl̪ɔx], (gen.) *Cheann an Loch* [ˌçãũn̪ə ˈl̪ɔx]; NB230173. 1821 *Kaunetarva, a Pendicle of Shildnish*; 1843–82 *Ceann Tarrabhaidh*, *Tòb Cheann Tarrabhaidh*, *Amhuinn Mhor Cheann Tarrabhaidh*, *Amhuinn Bheag Cheann Tarrabhaidh*, *Sgeir Ghlas Cheann Tarrabhaidh*; 1846 *Kaunetarva*; 2007 *Ceann a Loch*‖*Kinloch*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Kintaravay** [?]. The first component is ScG *ceann* m., (gen.) *cinn*, "head". If **-taravay** is pronounced ScG *[tɑrəvɑj], it must be ON **Þaravágr* "(the) sea-bay", from ON *þari* m. "a type of seaweed (*Laminaria*)".[255] ON *þari* is not frequently found in place-names, but is known from the Isle of Man, where a rock on the coast is called *Tarra·stack*, from ON **Þarastakkr* (Marstrander 1932, 130).[256]

The name of a small settlement at the north-western end of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' (#102) and an Old Norse loan-name in genitive position as specific. This loan-name may be from ON **Torf-á* '(the) grassy-banked-river', with the stem form of ON *torf* nt. 'turf', also used in the sense 'grassy area' (Særheim 2007, 238, s.vv. *Torvastad*, *torve*), and ON *á* f. 'river'. For the alternation *o* ~ *a*, see §43 (i); for the ending ON [aː] > EG [aː] > ScG [a] > [aɣ] > (gen.) [aj], cf. ScG *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, with a specific from ON **Hrís-á*, and ScG *Lacasaigh* #230, from ON **Lax-á*.

On the other hand, ScG (rad.) **Tarbhagh* might originate in a name in *-vág*, accusative of ON *vágr* m. 'bay', cf. ScG *Càrlabhagh* #98.

254. Formally, *a-nìos*, but which has fallen together in the dialect with *a-nuas*.

255. The pronunciation rules out this derivation; cf. ScG *Taraigea* and *Tairigeadh* (#91).

256. *PNIM* VI, 181: *Tarrastock Rock*.

#114 *An Ceann Shìos* RBH
[əˌŋʲkʲʰãũn̪ ˈhiəs̪], (gin.) *A' Chinn Shìos* [əˌçẽĩn̪ ˈhiəs̪]; NB521335. 1964 *Garrabost Allotments*; 2007 *An Ceann Shìos*‖*Garrabost Allotments*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Garrabost* #189 – air a' cheann a tuath aige – anns An Rubha, air a bheil *Garrabost Allotments* sa Bheurla; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102) + a' cho-ghnìomhair GA *shìos* (SG *tís*) air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'nas fhaide shìos'. Thèid na co-ghnìomhairean àiteil (gun ghluasad) *shìos* ~ *shuas*, (le gluasad gu) *sìos* ~ *suas* agus (le gluasad bho) *a-nuas*[254] ~ *a-nuas* a chleachdadh gu h-àirdeil sa Ghàidhlig gus a bhith a' bruidhinn air a bhith 'nas fhaide a tuath' no 'nas fhaide a deas', fa leth, m.e. thèidear *sìos a Nis* ach *suas a dh'Ùig*.

#115 *Ceann Tarbhaigh* CTL
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂ˌvaj], (gin.) *Cheann Tarbhaigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈt̪ʰaɾ̂ˌvaj], no *Ceann an Loch* [ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ə ˈl̪ɔx], (gin.) *Cheann an Loch* [ˌçãũn̪ ə ˈl̪ɔx]; NB230173. 1821 *Kaunetarva, a Pendicle of Shildnish*; 1843–82 *Ceann Tarrabhaidh*, *Tòb Cheann Tarrabhaidh*, *Amhuinn Mhor Cheann Tarrabhaidh*, *Amhuinn Bheag Cheann Tarrabhaidh*, *Sgeir Ghlas Cheann Tarrabhaidh*; 1846 *Kaunetarva*; 2007 *Ceann a Loch*‖*Kinloch*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Kintaravay** [?]. Is e a' chiad chuibhreann GA *ceann* f., (gin.) *cinn*. Ma dh'fhuaimnichear **-taravay** GA *[tɑrəvɑj], feumar gur h-e SL **Þaravágr* '(am) muir-bhàgh' a th' ann, à SL *þari* f. 'seòrsa feamann (*Laminaria*)'.[255] Chan fhaighear SL *þari* gu tric ann an ainmean-àite, ach aithnichear ann am Manainn e, far a bheil *Tarrastack* mar ainm air creig ris a' mhuir, à SL **Þarastakkr* (Marstrander 1932, 130).[256]

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag aig ceann an iar-thuath *Loch Shìophort* (#113), ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais ann an suidheachadh ginideach na shònraichear. Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Torf-á* '(a') ghlasach-abhainn' a tha an t-ainm-iasaid seo, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *torf* n. 'rùsg, sgrath', air a chleachdadh cuideachd san t-seagh 'glasach, àite feurach' (Særheim 2007, 238, s.vv. *Torvastad*, *torve*), agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn'. Airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a*, faic §43 (i); airson an dùnaidh SL [aː] > GT [aː] > GA [a] > [aɣ] > (gin.) [aj], coim. GA *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* #200, le sònraichear à SL **Hrís-á*, agus GA *Lacasaigh* #230, à SL **Lax-á*.

Air an làimh eile, dh'fhaodadh GA (bun.) **Tarbhagh* tàrmachadh ann an ainm ann an *-vág*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh', coim. GA *Càrlabhagh* #98.

254. Gu foirmeil, *a-nìos*, ach a tha air a dhol còmhla ri *a-nuas* san dualchainnt.

255. Bacaidh am fuaimneachadh am bunachas seo; coim. GA *Taraigea* is *Tairigeadh* (#91).

256. *PNIM* VI, 181: *Tarrastock Rock*.

The alternative name *Ceann an Loch* includes the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *loch* f. 'loch, lake' (#29).

#116 *Ceann Thùlabhig* BRN (Eng. *Kintulavig*)
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈhuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ],[257] (gen.) *Cheann Thùlabhig* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈhuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ]; NB228308. 1600+ *Lochkeanhowliwaig*; 1630 *Logh Keanhewlivaig*; 1718 *Keanhulavick*; 1750M *Loch Kenhūlawick*; 1776 *L. Kenhulawick*; 1789, 1790 *Loch Kenhulwick*; 1797 (?) *Kenwick*; 1804, 1807 *Loch Kenhulawick*; 1843–82 *Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Cnoc Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Loch Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Sgeir Bheag Cheann Thùlabhig*, *Thùlabhig*, *Beinn Thulabhig*; 2007 *Ceann Thulabhig‖Kintulavig.*

The name of a deserted settlement (Macdonald 1978, 162), between, and south of, *Lìnseadar* #236 and *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197, in Ùig; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *ceann* m. 'head, end' (#102) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

ScG **Thùlabhig* is perhaps from ON **Huglavík* '(the) bay of the hills', with genitive plural of the noun ON **hugl* 'hill' (#315 (iii)) and ON *vík* f. (#12). In this instance, ON *g* was a fricative [ɣ]; for ON *-ug* > ScG [uː] with compensatory lengthening, cf. ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̪ṵːˌʃtʲən] (also *Buithistean* [ˈb̪ṵ-iˌʃtʲən] §43 (vii) (b), also *Am Bodha* 'the reef', *Bodha Shiaboist* 'the reef of *Siabost*') NB251485, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), perhaps from ON **Bugsstein* acc. '(the) reef of the bay', with genitive of the noun ON *bugr* m. 'bay' and accusative of the noun ON *steinn* m. 'stone; skerry, reef'.

#117 *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* CTL
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈuːɳəˌvaj],[258] (gen.) *Cheann Ùrnabhaigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈuːɳəˌvaj]; NB399263. 1821 *Kaun Hurnaway*; 1843–82 *Ceann Thùrnabhaigh*, *Rudha Thurnabhaigh*.

The name of part of the township *Gruimseadar* #224, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *ceann* m. (#102) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific. The name *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* denotes the north-west end of the township, while the name *Rubha Ùrnabhaigh* 'the promontory of **Ùrnabhagh*' denotes the south-east end and the promontory itself. The townships *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* and *Gruimseadar* were created in 1835 but *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* later became a part of *Gruimseadar* (Lawson 2011, 135).

ScG **Ùrnabhagh* is no doubt a loan-name in ON *-vág*, accusative of ON *vágr* m. 'bay' (#98), and it probably represents the Norse name for *Loch Ghruimseadair*. Regarding the specific of the Old Norse name, in his notes Oftedal sug-

257. (nMO) [cɑʁ ˈhɯːləvɨʝ].

258. (nMO) [cɑʁ ˈɯɳəvɑj], for [ɯː], *Rubha Ùrnabhaigh* [ˌɾɯˑ ˈɯːɳəvɑj] 'the promontory of **Ùrnabhagh*'.

Bheir an t-ainm eile *Ceann an Loch* a-steach an t-alt Gàidhlig ginideach fir-eann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *loch* f. (#29).

#116 *Ceann Thùlabhig* BRN
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈhuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ],[257] (gin.) *Cheann Thùlabhig* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈhuːl̪əˌviɡ̊ʲ]; NB228308. 1600+ *Lochkeanhowliwaig*; 1630 *Logh Keanhewlivaig*; 1718 *Keanhulavick*; 1750M *Loch Kenhūlawick*; 1776 *L. Kenhulawick*; 1789, 1790 *Loch Kenhulwick*; 1797 (?) *Kenwick*; 1804, 1807 *Loch Kenhulawick*; 1843–82 *Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Cnoc Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Loch Ceann Thùlabhig*, *Sgeir Bheag Cheann Thùlabhig*, *Thùlabhig*, *Beinn Thulabhig*; 2007 *Ceann Thulabhig‖Kintulavig.*

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs (Macdonald 1978, 162), eadar, agus deas air, *Lìnseadar* #236 agus *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Huglavík* 'bàgh nan cnoc' a tha GA **Thùlabhig*, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL **hugl* 'cnoc' (#315 (iii)) agus SL *vík* b. (#12). Bha SL *g* san t-seagh seo na shuathach [ɣ]; airson SL *-ug* > GA [uː] le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh, coim. GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̪ṵːˌʃtʲən] (cuideachd *Buithistean* [ˈb̪ṵ-iˌʃtʲən] §43 (vii) (b), cuideachd *Am Bodha*, *Bodha Shiaboist*) NB251485, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), 's dòcha à SL **Bugsstein* cusp. 'bodha a' bhàigh', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *bugr* f. 'bàgh' agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *steinn* f. 'clach; sgeir, bodha'.

#117 *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* CTL
[ˌkʲʰãũn̪ ˈuːɳəˌvaj],[258] (gin.) *Cheann Ùrnabhaigh* [ˌçãũn̪ ˈuːɳəˌvaj]; NB399263. 1821 *Kaun Hurnaway*; 1843–82 *Ceann Thùrnabhaigh*, *Rudha Thurnabhaigh*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Gruimseadar* #224, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *ceann* f. (#102) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear. Beanaidh an t-ainm *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* ri ceann an iar-thuath a' bhaile fearainn agus an t-ainm *Rubha Ùrnabhaigh* ris a' cheann an ear-dheas agus ris an rubha fhèin. Chaidh *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* agus *Gruimseadar* a dhèanamh nam bailtean fearainn ann an 1835 ach an dèidh sin chaidh *Ceann Ùrnabhaigh* na phàirt de *Ghruimseadar* (Lawson 2011, 135).

Chan eil teagamh nach e ainm-iasaid ann an SL *-vág*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#98), a th' ann an GA **Ùrnabhagh,* agus is iongantach mana riochdaich e an t-ainm Lochlannais a bh' air *Loch Ghruimseadair*. A thaobh sòn-

257. (nMO) [cɑʁ ˈhɯːləvɨʝ].

258. (nMO) [cɑʁ ˈɯɳəvɑj], airson [ɯː], *Rubha Ùrnabhaigh* [ˌɾɯˑ ˈɯːɳəvɑj].

gests (a) ON **Verndarvág* or **Varnarvág* '(the) defence bay', (b) ON **Yrnavág*, with a specific from ON **Yrnir* 'people from *Yrjar* (= *Ørland* in Trøndelag, Norway (see ScG *Eireastadh* #180))', and (c) ON **Hyrnuvág*, with genitive of the noun ON *hyrna* f. 'the point of an axe head'. If the last solution is correct, unless a particular tradition lies behind the name, the shape of the inner end of *Loch Ghruimseadair* – with its northern branch at right angles to the main loch – may have suggested an axe head.[259] However, ON *hyrna* (a derivative of ON *horn* nt. '(animal) horn' (*NSL*, s.v. *horn*; Hovda 1944, 22)) is found in place-names in the senses 'corner (e.g. a bend in a river or valley)' and 'protruding promontory' and perhaps the bay was named after ScG *A' Bhuaile Mhòr* 'the large enclosure' NB400252 (cf. #85) or ScG *A' Bhuaile Gharbh* 'the rough enclosure' NB401256, both protruding promontories at the inner end of *Loch Ghruimseadair*.

#118 *A' Cheannmhor* CDL

[ə ˈçãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], frequently without the article [ˈkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], (gen.) *Na Ceannmhoir* [nə ˈkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾʲ]; NB407143. 1843–82 *Ceannamhuir*, *Airidhean na Ceannamhuir*, *Mol na Ceannamhuir*.

The name of an area in A' Phàirc, where ruins of houses appear on the 1843–82 map; a promontory on the south side of *Loch Odhairn*.

According to Charles Robertson (Dwelly, s.v. *Kenmore*), the element ScG *ceann*(*a*)*mhor* is relatively common in Scotland.[260] E.g. in Applecross, Ross-shire, NG755574: (Dwelly ibid.) *A' Cheann'mhor*, (Watson 1904, 207) *a' Cheannmhor*; on the west side of Loch Fyne, Argyllshire, NN063020: (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Kenmore*) *A' Cheann-mhor*; at the eastern end of Loch Tay, Perthshire, NN772454: (Dwelly ibid.) *An Ceann'mhor*, (Taylor ibid.) *An Ceann-mhor*; for examples in Lewis, see *An Ceannmhor* #119.

As Watson (ibid.) says, ScG *ceannmhor* was originally a compound adjective,[261] i.e. with ScG *ceann* m. 'head, headland' (#102), with primary stress,

259. For types of Viking axe heads, see <http://www.vikingage.org/wiki/wiki/Axes_found_in_Britain>.

260. See also Robertson in King 2019, 14, fn 225, 25, 55.

261. This is not simply a case of the noun ScG *ceann* + the attributive adjective *mòr*, as Gillies supposes (1906, 42): '*Kenmore* is only quasi-English for *Ceann mòr*.' Regarding Applecross, the 1843–82 map has *Sròn a' Chinn Mhòir* 'the point of the large headland' for the point of the promontory here, but this seems to be a relatively modern form, based on the misunderstanding that *ceannmhor* is from *ceann* + the attributive adjective *mòr*, while Watson (loc. cit.) gives *Sròn na Ceannmhoir*. An etymology from ScG *ceann* + ScG *muir* f. 'sea' may be behind the 1843–82 forms both here and on *Loch Siophort* (#113), see #119.

raichear an ainme Lochlannais, na notaichean cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh (a) SL **Verndarvág* no **Varnarvág* '(am) bàgh dìona', (b) SL **Yrnavág*, le sònraichear à SL **Yrnir* 'daoine à *Yrjar* (= *Ørland* ann an Trøndelag, Nirribhidh (faic GA *Eireastadh* #180))', agus (c) SL **Hyrnuvág*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hyrna* b. 'an rinn air ceann tuaighe'. Mas e 's gur ceart am fuasgladh mu dheireadh, mana h-e beul-aithris àraidh mu thuaigh a tha air cùl an ainme, 's dòcha gun do chuir cruth ceann a-staigh *Loch Ghruimseadair* – le a ghèig a tuath air a ceart-uilinn ris a' phrìomh loch – cruth ceann tuaighe air shùilibh.[259] Gidheadh, thèid SL *hyrna* (a tha na bhunadair aig SL *horn* n. 'adharc' (*NSL*, s.v. *horn*; Hovda 1944, 22)) a chleachdadh ann an ainmean-àite sna brìghean 'oisean (m.e. lùb ann an abhainn no gleann)' no 'rubha stobach' agus is dòcha gun deach am bàgh ainmeachadh air GA *A' Bhuaile Mhòr* NB400252 (coim. #85) no GA *A' Bhuaile Gharbh* NB401256, na dhà nan rubhaichean stobach aig ceann a-staigh *Loch Ghruimseadair*.

#118 *A' Cheannmhor* CDL

[ə ˈçãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], gu tric às aonais an uilt [ˈkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], (gin.) *Na Ceannmhoir* [nə ˈkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾʲ]; NB407143. 1843–82 *Ceannamhuir*, *Airidhean na Ceannamhuir*, *Mol na Ceannamhuir*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh anns A' Phàirc, far an nochd làraichean taighe air a' mhapa 1843–82; rubha air taobh a deas *Loch Odhairn*.

A rèir Charles Robertson (Dwelly, s.v. *Kenmore*), tha an eileamaid GA *ceann*(*a*)*mhor* coimeasach bitheanta ann an Albainn.[260] M.e. air A' Chomraich, Siorrachd Rois, NG755574: (Dwelly ibid.) *A' Cheann'mhor*, (Watson 1904, 207) *a' Cheannmhor*; air taobh an iar Loch Fìne, Earra-Ghàidheal, NN063020: (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Kenmore*) *A' Cheann-mhor*; aig ceann an ear Loch Tatha, Siorrachd Pheairt, NN772454: (Dwelly ibid.) *An Ceann'mhor*, (Taylor ibid.) *An Ceann-mhor*; airson eisimpleirean ann an Leòdhas, faic *An Ceannmhor* #119.

Mar a chanas Watson (ibid.), 's e buadhair fillte a bh' ann an GA *ceannmhor* bho thùs,[261] .i. le GA *ceann* f. (#102), air a bheil am prìomh bheum, + am buadhair

259. Airson sheòrsaichean de chinn tuaighe Ùiginneach, faic <http://www.vikingage.org/wiki/wiki/Axes_found_in_Britain>.

260. Faic cuideachd Robertson ann an King 2019, 14, bn 225, 25, 55.

261. Chan e dìreach an t-ainmear GA *ceann* + am buadhair càileach *mòr* a th' againn an seo, mar a shaoileas Gillies (1906, 42): '*Kenmore* is only quasi-English for *Ceann mòr*.' A thaobh na Comraich, tha *Sròn a' Chinn Mhòir* aig a' mhapa 1843–82 air gob an rubha an seo, ach is coltach gur h-e cruth coimeasach ùr a tha seo, air a bhonntachadh air a' mhì-thuigse gur h-e GA *ceann* + am buadhair càileach *mòr* a th' ann an *ceannmhor*, fhad 's a tha *Sròn na Ceannmhoir* aig Watson (loc. cit.). Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-i freumhachd à GA *ceann* + GA *muir* b. a dh'adhbharaich cruthan a' mhapa 1843–82 an dà chuid ann an seo is ri taobh *Loch Siophort* (#113), faic #119.

+ the adjective ScG *mòr* 'big, large' (#2) lenited in a closed compound (Cox 2017, 117–18) and with its vowel shortened in weakly stressed position.

Nouns derived from adjectives like this are normally masculine, e.g. *An Dubh is an Gorm* ('the black and the blue/green'), the title of a book of short stories by Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn (1928–1998 (Iain Crichton Smith)). But, as a result of misunderstanding and reinterpretation, in the same way as the adjective ScG *brù-dhearg* (with primary stress on the first syllable) 'red-breasted' went from being a masculine to a feminine noun in Modern Gaelic – by virtue of ScG *brù* 'breast' being feminine (which would lenite a following attributive adjective) – *ceannmhor* m. has become a feminine noun in several places, by virtue of the lenited adjective *mhòr*, which looks feminine.

Promontories denoted by *ceannmhor* in the above examples are protruding, anvil-shaped; Taylor (ibid.) explains that someone from *A' Cheannmhor* NG755574 is called *ceann-phollan* a 'tadpole' in Ross.

Cf. *An Ceannmhor* #119.

#119 *An Ceannmhor* PRC
[ə ˈŋkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], without the article [ˈkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], (gen.) *A' Cheannmhoir* [ə ˈçãñ̪ˌvɔɾʲ]; NB222067. 1821 *Kaun Vore*; 1843–82 *Ceannamhuir, Ceannamhuir Mhor* [the name of a hill], *Tòb a Deas na Ceannamhuir*, *Tòb a Tuath na Ceannamhuir*.[262]

The name of a deserted settlement in A' Phàirc, beside a promontory on the east side of *Loch Shìophort* (#113); with the masculine Gaelic article + ScG *ceannmhor* m. '(anvil-shaped or protruding) headland'; the same name as found in *A' Cheannmhor* #118. According to the form recorded, *ceannmhor* is masculine here, although it is feminine according to the 1843–82 map, as it is in *Cleiteachan na Ceannmhuir* NB095268, west-north-west of *Giosladh* #206, and in *Cnoc na Ceannmhuir* NB126354, in *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67.

#120 *Cearsadar* CDL (Eng. *Kershader*)
[ˈkʲʰɑˌʂaɖ̪ər], (gen.) *Chearsadair* [ˈçɑˌʂaɖ̪ərʲ]; NB340201. 1821, 1822 *Kershader*; 1843–82 *Cearshadar*; 1846 *Kershader*; 2007 *Cearsiadar‖Kershader*; 2016 *Cearsiadair*.

> Oftedal 1954, 402: '**Kershader** [kˈɑʂɑdər][263] may be (a) ON **Hjart-setr* "(the) deer farm", from ON *hjǫrtr* m. "deer"; cf. ScG *Ceartaigh* [kˈɑʂtaj][264] #121 near *Callanis* #94, ON **Hjart-øy*. ON *hj-* entered Gaelic as [ç]; the

262. Spelt *Ceann a' Mhuire* in Lawson 2011, 194–95.

263. (nMO) [ˈcɑʂɑdər] (-[t]-), *Rubha Chearsadair* [rɯ̃ˑ çɑʂɑdər].

264. ?Leg. [kˈɑʂtaj].

GA *mòr* (#2) air a shèimheachadh ann am fillteach dùinte (Cox 2017, 117–18) agus le a fhuaimreig air a ghiorrachadh ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte.

Mar as àbhaist, 's ann a bhios ainmearan air an dèanamh à buadhairean mar seo fireann, m.e. *An Dubh is an Gorm*, tiotal air leabhar sgeulachdan goirid le Iain Mac a' Ghobhainn (1928–1998). Ach, tro mhì-thuigse is ath-mhìneachadh, air an aon dòigh 's a chaidh am buadhair GA *brù-dhearg* (le prìomh bheum air a' chiad fhacal) 'air a bheil broilleach dearg' bho bhith na ainmear fireann gu bhith na ainmear boireann san Nua-Ghàidhlig – fo bhuaidh an fhacail GA *brù* a bhith boireann (a bhiodh a' sèimheachadh buadhair càileach na dhèidh) – tha *ceannmhor* f. air a dhol na ainmear boireann ann an corra àite, fo bhuaidh cruth sèimhichte a' bhuadhair *mhòr* agus coltas boireann air.

Tha coltas innein no stobach air na rubhaichean ris am bean *ceannmhor* sna h-eisimpleirean a tha shuas; mìnichidh Taylor (ibid.) gun canar *ceann-phollan* ann an Ros ri duine às *A' Cheannmhoir* NG755574.

Coim. *An Ceannmhor* #119.

#119 *An Ceannmhor* PRC
[ə ˈŋkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾ], às aonais an uilt [ˈkʲʰãñ̪ˌvɔɾ]; (gin.) *A' Cheannmhoir* [ə ˈçãñ̪ˌvɔɾʲ]; NB222067. 1821 *Kaun Vore*; 1843–82 *Ceannamhuir, Ceannamhuir Mhor* [an t-ainm air cnoc], *Tòb a Deas na Ceannamhuir*, *Tòb a Tuath na Ceannamhuir*.[262]

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs anns A' Phàirc, ri taobh rubha air taobh an ear *Loch Shìophort* (#113); leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + GA *ceannmhor* f. 'àird (air chumadh innein no stobach)'. An t-aon ainm 's a gheibhear anns *A' Cheannmhor* #118. A rèir na chaidh a chlàradh, tha GA *ceannmhor* fireann san àite seo, ged a tha e boireann a rèir a' mhapa 1843–82, mar a tha ann an *Cleiteachan na Ceannmhuir* NB095268, an iar 's an iar-thuath air *Giosladh* #206, agus ann an *Cnoc na Ceannmhuir* NB126354, ann a' *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67.

#120 *Cearsadar* CDL
[ˈkʲʰɑˌʂaɖ̪ər], (gin.) *Chearsadair* [ˈçɑˌʂaɖ̪ərʲ]; NB340201. 1821, 1822 *Kershader*; 1843–82 *Cearshadar*; 1846 *Kershader*; 2007 *Cearsiadar‖Kershader*; 2016 *Cearsiadair*.

> Oftedal 1954, 402: **Kershader** [kˈɑʂɑdər],[263] is dòcha à (a) SL **Hjart-setr* '(am) fiadh-thuathanas', à SL *hjǫrtr* f. 'fiadh'; coim. GA *Ceartaigh* [kˈɑʂtaj][264] #121 faisg air *Callanis* #94, SL **Hjart-øy*. Chaidh SL *hj-* dhan

262. Air a litreachadh *Ceann a' Mhuire* ann an Lawson 2011, 194–95.

263. (nMO) [ˈcɑʂɑdər] (-[t]-), *Rubha Chearsadair* [rɯ̃ˑ çɑʂɑdər].

264. ?Leugh [kˈɑʂtaj].

radical initial [k′] was introduced according to the pattern ScG *ceann* m. [k′ɑuɴ] “head” ~ *mo cheann* [mə çɑuɴ] “my head”. **Kershader** still has [ç] in the genitive (ScG *Rubha Chearsadair* [ʀu ˈçaʂɑdər] “the promontory of *Kershader*”) and other positions where lenition is required. A farm called ON *Hjart-setr* is found in Norway (*NG* XII, 461). (b) ON **Kjarr-setr*, from ON *kjarr* nt. “copse”. There is no exact parallel in Norway or elsewhere, but **Kjarr* alone is found as a farm name in half a dozen places – curiously enough all in one small area (Vestfold fylke); see *NG* VI. In Iceland, there is a *Kjarrǫ́*[265] “(the) copse river” (Lnb.).

‘I prefer the derivation from ON **Hjart-setr* because ON *hjǫrtr* is known to enter into several Hebridean place-names, while no certain instance of ON *kjarr* has as yet been found. But ON **Kjarr-setr* can by no means be ruled out entirely.’

The name of a township on the south side of *Loch Èireasort* (#180, fn 399), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Although reduction in the medial cluster in ON **Hjart-setr* in this way is not unreasonable in Gaelic, the phonetic development from ON **Kjarr-setr* is certainly more straightforward. However, there is another solution in ON **Ker*(*s*)*sætr* ‘(the) fishtrap-sheiling or (the) sheiling of the fishtrap’, with the stem form (or genitive) of the noun ON *ker* nt. ‘fishtrap’.[266] At the western end of the village are traces of an old settlement, above an area called ScG *A’ Charaidh*, i.e. with ScG *caraidh* f. ‘fishtrap’ (EG *coraiḋ*, the dative of EG *cora*) (Cox 1990b, 105).

Regarding the use of ON *sætr* as opposed to ON *setr*, see *Siadar* #296.

#121 *Ceartaigh* BRN

[ˈkʲʰɑˌʂʈaj],[267] (gen.) *Cheartaigh* [ˈçɑˌʂʈaj]; NB198334. 1549 *Kirtay*; 1654 *Kyrta*; 1680 *Kiartay*; 1750M *Kertay*; 1776 *Kertay I.*; 1804 *Kertray* [*sic*]; 1807 *I kertay*; 1821 *Kerta I*^{d}; 1822, 1832 *Kerta*; 1843–82 *Eilean Chearstaidh*; 1846 *Kerta*; 1934, 31–32 *Kiartaigh*; 1974 *Eilean Kearstay*.

The name of an island in *Loch Ròg* (#107), between *Beàrnaraigh* #51 and *Callanis* #94, that was inhabited in the 16th century, according to Dean Donald Monro (1549), and where the ruins of houses are marked on the first Board of Ordnance map (1843–82); a Gaelic name borrowed from CSc. **Hjart-øy* ‘(the) deer-island’, with the stem form of the noun (ON) *hjǫrtr* m. ‘deer’ and the noun CSc.

265. Leg. *Kjarrá*.

266. Initial ON *ke* would also yield a palatal consonant in Scottish Gaelic, cf. ON *sker* nt. > ScG *sgeir* f. [ʂkʲeɾʲ] ‘skerry’.

267. (nMO) [cɑʂʈɑj].

Ghàidhlig na [ç]; chaidh a’ cheann-litir bhunasach [k′] a thoirt a-steach a rèir a’ phàtrain GA *ceann* f. [k′ɑuɴ] ~ *mo cheann* [mə çɑuɴ]. ’S e [ç] a bhios fhathast aig **Kershader** san tuiseal ghinideach (GA *Rubha Chearsadair* [ʀu ˈçaʂɑdər]) agus ann an suidheachaidhean eile far am bi sèimheachadh a dhìth. Gheibhear tuathanas air a bheil SL **Hjart-setr* ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* XII, 461). (b) SL **Kjarr-setr*, à SL *kjarr* n. ‘daireag, coille bheag’. Chan eil a dhearbh sheise ri lorg ann an Nirribhidh no an àitichean eile, ach tha **Kjarr* fhèin na ainm tuathanais ann an leth-dusan àite – gu neònach, uile san aon sgìre bhig (Vestfold fylke); faic *NG* VI. Tha *Kjarrǫ́*[265] ‘(an) daireag-abhainn’ ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.).

Is fheàrr leam am bunachas à SL **Hjart-setr* a chionn ’s gu bheil SL *hjǫrtr* air aithneachadh ann an corra ainm-àite ann an Innse Gall, fhad ’s nach deach eisimpleir chinnteach de SL *kjarr* a lorg fhathast. Ach chan eil rian gum faodar SL **Kjarr-setr* a chur gu buileach an dàrna taobh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh a deas *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Ged nach eil lùghdachadh sa chòmhlan mheadhain ann an SL **Hjart-setr* mar seo neo-reusanta sa Ghàidhlig, is cinnteach gu bheil an leasachadh fuaimeòlach à SL **Kjarr-setr* nas sìmplidhe. Gidheadh, tha fuasgladh eile ann an SL **Ker*(*s*)*sætr* ‘àirigh na caraidh’, le bun-riochd (no tuiseal ginideach) an ainmeir SL *ker* n. ‘caraidh’.[266] Aig ceann an iar a’ bhaile, chithear lorg air seann tuineachadh, bhos cionn àite air a bheil GA *A’ Charaidh* mar ainm, .i. le GA *caraidh* b. ‘ribe èisg’ (GT *coraiḋ*, an cruth tabhartach aig GT *cora*) (Cox 1990b, 105).

A thaobh a bhith a’ cleachdadh SL *sætr* seach SL *setr*, faic *Siadar* #296.

#121 *Ceartaigh* BRN

[ˈkʲʰɑˌʂʈaj],[267] (gin.) *Cheartaigh* [ˈçɑˌʂʈaj]; NB198334. 1549 *Kirtay*; 1654 *Kyrta*; 1680 *Kiartay*; 1750M *Kertay*; 1776 *Kertay I.*; 1804 *Kertray* [*sic*]; 1807 *I kertay*; 1821 *Kerta I*^{d}; 1822, 1832 *Kerta*; 1843–82 *Eilean Chearstaidh*; 1846 *Kerta*; 1934, 31–32 *Kiartaigh*; 1974 *Eilean Kearstay*.

An t-ainm air eilean ann an *Loch Ròg* (#107), eadar *Beàrnaraigh* #51 agus *Callanis* #94, air an robhas a’ fuireach san t-16mh linn, a rèir an Deadhain Dòmhnall Rothach (1549), agus far an comharraichear làraichean taighe air ciad mhapa a’ Bhùird Òrdanais (1843–82); ainm Gàidhlig air a thoirt air iasad à LB **Hjart-øy* ‘(am) fiadh-eilean’, le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *hjǫrtr* f. ‘fiadh’ agus

265. Leugh *Kjarrá*.

266. Bheireadh SL *ke* thoisich connrag chàireannach sa Ghàidhlig mar an ceudna, coim. SL *sker* n. > GA *sgeir* b. [ʂkʲeɾʲ].

267. (nMO) [cɑʂʈɑj].

**øy* f. ‘island’, where initial CSc. *hj* [ç] has been delenited to ScG [kʲʰ] via back-formation §33. In Norway, cf. *Hjorteland* in Rogaland, from ON **Hjǫrtuland*, with the genitive of ON **Hjarta*, a river name from ON *hjǫrtr* (*NG* X, 366[268]), and in Lewis ScG *Loch Cheartabhat* NB349434 < CSc. **Hjart(a)vatn*, with the stem form (or genitive plural) of the specific.

#122 *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug* ÙIG
[nə ˈkʲʰehəɾʲˌpʰe-iɲ̃ ˈd̪ʲiəg̊], (gen.) *Nan Ceithir Peighinn Deug* [nə ˈŋkʲʰehəɾʲˌpʰe-iɲ̃ ˈd̪ʲiəg̊]; NB0935. 1750M *Fourteen Peny Land*; 1776, 1804 *Fourteen Penny Land*.

The name of a former tack (farm), in Ùig, incorporating the townships *Bhaltos* #63, *A’ Chlibh* #132, *An Gnìp* #216, *An Riobh* #280 and *Na h-Ùigean* #345; a Gaelic name, with the plural Gaelic article + the dependent compound numeral ScG *ceithir deug* ‘fourteen’ (EG *cethair* + *déec*) + the singular form[269] of the noun ScG *peighinn* f. ‘penny’, indicating the old land valuation (#269).

#123 *Ceòs* CTL (Eng. *Keose*)
[kʲʰɔːs̪], (gen.) *Cheòis* [çɔːʃ]; NB356217. 1654 *Keoiſh*; 1702 *Keoish*; 1718, 1726 *Kioss*; 1776 *Kiose*; 1789 *Keofe*; 1790 *Loch Keose*; 1801 *Keose*; 1804, 1807 *Kiose*; 1821 *Keose*; 1843–82 *Ceos or Keos*; 1846 *Keose*; 1846JW *Loch Keose*; 2007 *Ceòs*‖*Keose*.

> Oftedal 1954, 401: ‘**Keose** [kʼɔːs][270] is ON **Kjóss* m. The name has various meanings: (1) “narrow bay”, (2) “small valley or dell”, (3) “grove or copse”. Either of the first two meanings applies to **Keose**; the third may also have been appropriate in the Norse period; cf. *Cearsadar* #120. **Kjóss* is a very common farm name in Norway, see for example *NG* III, 34 and 114, XII, 42.

The name of a township on the north side of *Loch Èireasort* (#180, fn 399), in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a loan-name from ON **Kjóss* (or **Kjós* acc.)[271] referring to the nature of the bay here, constricted as it is by a promontory.

The appellative ON *kjóss* (or *kjós* acc.) m. was borrowed into Gaelic, although

268. It is suggested that the river name **Hjarta* occurs in 12 farm names of the form *Hjorteland* in Norway (*NE*, 104). Regarding *Hjorteland* in Rogaland, however, Særheim (2007, 102) opines that it is just as likely that it contains the animal name.

269. Some nouns take a singular form with the compound numerals 13–19 in Gaelic (Cox 2017, 173).

270. (Oftedal 1980, 184) [kʼɔːs], (gen.) [çɔːʃ]. (nMO) [cʲɔːs], (gen.) [çɔːʃ], ScG *Loch Cheòis* [ɬɔx ˈçɔːʃ] ‘the loch of *Ceòs*’, ScG *Eilean Cheòis* [ˌelan ˈçɔːʃ] ‘the island of *Ceòs*’.

271. So also Henderson 1910, 143.

an ainmear LB **øy* b. ‘eilean’, far an deach LB *hj* [ç] thoisich a dhì-shèimh-eachadh na GA [kʲʰ] le cùl-chinntinn §33. Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Hjorte·land* ann an Rogaland, à SL **Hjǫrtuland*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL **Hjarta*, ainm aibhne à SL *hjǫrtr* (*NG* X, 366[268]), agus ann an Leòdhas GA *Loch Cheartabhat* NB349434 < LB **Hjart(a)vatn*, le bun-riochd (no ginideach iolra) an t-sònraicheir.

#122 *Na Ceithir Peighinn Deug* ÙIG
[nə ˈkʲʰehəɾʲˌpʰe-iɲ̃ ˈd̪ʲiəg̊], (gin.) *Nan Ceithir Peighinn Deug* [nə ˈŋkʲʰehəɾʲˌpʰe-iɲ̃ ˈd̪ʲiəg̊]; NB0935. 1750M *Fourteen Peny Land*; 1776, 1804 *Fourteen Penny Land*.

An t-ainm air seann tac (tuathanas), ann an Ùig, a bha a’ gabhail a-steach nam bailtean *Bhaltos* #63, *A’ Chlibh* #132, *An Gnìp* #216, *An Riobh* #280 agus *Na h-Ùigean* #345; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig iolra + an àireimh fhillte eisimeilich GA *ceithir deug* (GT *cethair* + *déec*) + cruth singilte[269] an ainmeir GA *peighinn* b. ‘sgillinn’, a’ sònrachadh seann luachadh an fhearainn (#269).

#123 *Ceòs* CTL
[kʲʰɔːs̪], (gin.) *Cheòis* [çɔːʃ]; NB356217. 1654 *Keoiſh*; 1702 *Keoish*; 1718, 1726 *Kioss*; 1776 *Kiose*; 1789 *Keofe*; 1790 *Loch Keose*; 1801 *Keose*; 1804, 1807 *Kiose*; 1821 *Keose*; 1843–82 *Ceos or Keos*; 1846 *Keose*; 1846JW *Loch Keose*; 2007 *Ceòs*‖*Keose*.

> Oftedal 1954, 401: ’S e SL **Kjóss* f. a th’ ann an **Keose** [kʼɔːs][270]. Tha caochladh bhrìghean aig an ainm: (1) ‘bàgh cumhang’, (2) ‘gleann beag no glac’, (3) ‘daireag no bad chraobhan’. Freagraidh tè seach tè den chiad dà bhrìgh ri **Keose**; is dòcha gun robh an treas tè iomchaidh cuideachd ri linn nan Lochlannach; coim. *Cearsadar* #120. Tha **Kjóss* na ainm tuathanais fìor chumanta ann an Nirribhidh, faic mar eisimpleir *NG* III, 34 agus 114, XII, 42.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh a tuath *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399), ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm-iasaid à SL **Kjóss* (no **Kjós* cusp.)[271] a’ beantainn ri nàdar a’ bhàigh an seo, air a chuingealachadh mar a tha e le rubha.

Chaidh an t-ainmear bitheanta SL *kjóss* (no *kjós* cusp.) f. na fhacal-iasaid dhan

268. Cuirear air shùilibh gun nochd an t-ainm aibhne **Hjarta* ann an 12 ainm tuathanais air a’ chruth *Hjorteland* ann an Nirribhidh (*NE*, 104). A thaobh *Hjorteland* ann an Rogaland, ge-tà, ’s e beachd Shærheim (2007, 102) gu bheil e a cheart cho coltach gur h-e ainm a’ bheathaich a bhios ann.

269. Gabhaidh cuid de dh’ainmearan cruth singilte leis na h-àireamhan fillte 13–19 sa Ghàidhlig (Cox 2017, 173).

270. (Oftedal 1980, 184) [kʼɔːs], (gin.) [çɔːʃ]. (nMO) [cʲɔːs], (gin.) [çɔːʃ], GA *Loch Cheòis* [ɬɔx ˈçɔːʃ], GA *Eilean Cheòis* [ˌelan ˈçɔːʃ]

271. Mar sin Henderson 1910, 143.

it is no longer extant in the dialect,[272] cf. ScG *ceòsan* m. (i.e. ScG **ceòs* + the suffix *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59)) found in the sense 'hollow, low area in the sea bed' in ScG *An Ceòsan* [ə ˈŋkʲʰɔːs̪an] at NB286488, in *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, and NB255480, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295).[273]

See also *An Glìb* #214.

#124 *Cirbhig* TSR (Eng. *Kirivick*)
[ˈkʲʰiɾʃ͡iˌviɠʲ], (gen.) *Chirbhig* [ˈçiɾʃ͡iˌviɠʲ]; NB193415. 1703 *Kirvig*; 1718 *Kiriwig*; 1726 *Kerevig*; 1750M, 1789, 1801, 1807 *Keriwick*; 1821 *Kirriewick*; 1822 *Kirrowick*; 1843–82 *Cirrabhig*; 1875, 88 *Kiriwig*; 1895, 1932 *Cirrabhig*; 1934, 6 *Kirrivig*; 1973 *Circ a Bhig* [*sic*]; 1974 *Kirivick*; 2007, road sign *Cirbhig*‖*Kirivick*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: '**Kirivick** (MO) [kʹiðìvigʹ],[274] (CB) [kʹiðəvigʹ], is undoubtedly ON **Kyr-vík* "(the) calm bay", from the adjective ON *kyrr*. The same name is found in Vanse, Norway (*NG* IX, 193).'

The name of a township on the south side of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* 'the loch of *Càrlabhagh* #98', in An Taobh Siar.

The final *rr* of the Old Norse adjective *kyrr* was part of its stem and ON **Kyrr-vík* (with the stem form of the adjective) would yield ScG **Cirrbhig* *[ˈkʲʰiɾʃ͡iˌviɠʲ], cf. ScG *oirre* [ˈɔɾə] 'on her' (EG *airre*). As a result, Oftedal (1980, 184) writes ON '**Kyr-vík*, *Kyrr-vík*', assuming there may have been a by-form with the stem form **kyr*. Contrast ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] NB1937, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), from ON **Vatnit Kyrra* 'the calm loch',[275] with the

272. But cf. (1843–82 *Tonacheois*) (nMO) [tɔnə ˈçɛˆɔʃ] NF796424, in South Uist. Oftedal asks whether this might be from ScG *Tonnach Cheòis* 'the mound of *Ceòs*'; cf. Dwelly: *tonnach* 'mound, rampart'. A derivation from ScG **Tòn a' Cheòis* 'the end of the hollow' (with ScG *tòn* f. 'bottom, lower end of something') is a more straightforward solution; cf. *tòn* used as an element in place-names in Tiree (Holliday 2016, 434: *Tòn Stòil*), in Mull (Whyte 2017, 311–13: *Tòn Tìre*, *Goirtein na Tòine*) and in Islay (Gillies 1906, 154: *Tòn Mhòr*, *Tòn Àiridh* [*Sgallaidh*]) – ScG *màs* m. 'bottom, buttock, back end' is used in the same way in Lewis, e.g. ScG *Am Màs Àrd* 'the high back end' NB221394, in *An Cnoc* TSR (= 1843–82 *Te Ard*, i.e. ScG *An Tè Àrd* 'the high one', ?with *tè* f. 'one', as opposed to *fear* m. 'one', denoting *beinn* 'mountain', which is feminine – regarding changing the name like this, cf. *Cùl ri Grèin* #165). For the phonetic development, cf. ScG *ceòl* (South Uist) [kʲʰɛɔɬ̪] 'music' (EG *ceól*).

273. *An Ceòsan* is cited in the song 'Balaich an Iasgaich' (the fisherlads), by Dòmhnall 'An Moireasdan (Comunn Gàidhealach Leódhais 1982, 170–71): *Cóignear no seisear 's an lethcheann air cluasaig, / Ulpagan cruaidhe Cheòsain* (i.e. *ulpagan cruaidh' A' Cheòsain*) ('five or six [of the lads] with their cheek on a pillow – the hard boulders of *An Ceòsan*). (It seems likely that the name here denotes *An Ceòsan* of *Bradhagair* rather than the one in *Siabost* (*pace* Cox 2002a, 205).

274. (nMO) [ciˈðiviɟ].

275. ScG *Bhata Ciorra* denotes a hollow today but ON **Vatnit Kyrra* was probably the

Ghàidhlig, ged nach mair e san dualchainnt tuilleadh,[272] coim. GA *ceòsan* f. (.i. GA **ceòs* + an t-iar-leasachan *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59)), sa bhrìgh 'lag, àite ìosal air grunnd na mara' ann an GA *An Ceòsan* [ə ˈŋkʲʰɔːs̪an] aig NB286488, ann am *Bradhagair a Deas* #74,[273] agus NB255480, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295).

Faic cuideachd *An Glìb* #214.

#124 *Cirbhig* TSR
[ˈkʲʰiɾʃ͡iˌviɠʲ], (gin.) *Chirbhig* [ˈçiɾʃ͡iˌviɠʲ]; NB193415. 1703 *Kirvig*; 1718 *Kiriwig*; 1726 *Kerevig*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1807 *Keriwick*; 1821 *Kirriewick*; 1822 *Kirrowick*; 1843–82 *Cirrabhig*; 1875, 88 *Kiriwig*; 1895, 1932 *Cirrabhig*; 1934, 6 *Kirrivig*; 1973 *Circ a Bhig* [*sic*]; 1974 *Kirivick*; 2007, soighne road *Cirbhig*‖*Kirivick*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: Chan eil teagamh nach ann à SL **Kyr-vík* '(am) bàgh ciùin', às a' bhuadhair SL *kyrr*, a tha **Kirivick** (MO) [kʹiðìvigʹ],[274] (CB) [kʹiðəvigʹ]. Gheibhear an t-aon ainm ann an Vanse, ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* IX, 193).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh a deas *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98), air An Taobh Siar.

Bha *rr* dheiridh a' bhuadhair SL *kyrr* na pàirt de bhun-riochd an fhacail agus bheireadh SL **Kyrr-vík* (le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair) GA **Cirrbhig* *[ˈkʲʰiɾʃ͡iˌviɠʲ], coim. GA *oirre* [ˈɔɾə] (GT *airre*). Mar thoradh air sin, sgrìobhaidh Oftedal (1980, 184) SL '**Kyr-vík*, *Kyrr-vík*', am beachd gur dòcha gun robh frith-riochd ann aig an robh am bun-riochd **kyr*. Iomsgaraich GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪ə ˈkʲʰiɾə] NB1937, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), à SL **Vatnit Kyrra* 'an loch ciùin',[275]

272. Ach coim. (1843–82 *Tonacheois*) (nMO) [tɔnə ˈçɛˆɔʃ] NF796424, ann an Uibhist a Deas. Cuiridh Oftedal a' cheist an ann à GA *Tonnach Cheòis* 'am meall aig *Ceòs*' a tha seo; coim. Dwelly: *tonnach* 'mound, rampart'. Bhiodh bunachas à GA **Tòn a' Cheòis* (le GA *tòn* b. 'màs, ceann ìosal rudeigin' na fhuasgladh na b' fhasa; coim. *tòn* air a chleachdadh mar eileamaid ann an ainmean-àite ann an Tiriodh (Holliday 2016, 434: *Tòn Stòil*), ann am Muile (Whyte 2017, 311–13: *Tòn Tìre*, *Goirtein na Tòine*) agus ann an Ìle (Gillies 1906, 154: *Tòn Mhòr*, *Tòn Àiridh* [*Sgallaidh*]) – cleachdar GA *màs* f. air an aon dòigh ann an Leòdhas, m.e. GA *Am Màs Àrd* NB221394, air *A' Chnoc* TSR (= 1843–82 *Te Ard*, .i. GA *An Tè Àrd*, ?le *tè* b., seach *fear* f., a' beantainn ri *beinn*, a tha boireann – a thaobh a bhith ag atharrachadh an ainme mar seo, coim. *Cùl ri Grèin* #165). Airson an leasachaidh fhuaim-eòlais, coim. GA *ceòl* (Uibhist a Deas) [kʲʰɛɔɬ̪] 'music' (GT *ceól*).

273. Thèid *An Ceòsan* ainmeachadh san òran 'Balaich an Iasgaich', le Dòmhnall 'An Moireasdan (Comunn Gàidhealach Leódhais 1982, 170–71): *Cóignear no seisear 's an lethcheann air cluasaig, / Ulpagan cruaidhe Cheòsain* (.i. *ulpagan cruaidh' A' Cheòsain*). (Is coltach gum bean an t-ainm an seo ris *A' Cheòsan* ann am *Bradhagair* seach ris an fhear ann an *Siabost* (*pace* Cox 2002a, 205).

274. (nMO) [ciˈðiviɟ].

275. Beanaidh GA *Bhata Ciorra* ri lag an-diugh ach is iongantach mana b' e SL **Vatnit Kyrra* an t-ainm a bh' aig na Lochlannaich air *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh*.

noun ON *vatn* nt. + the neuter suffixed article and weak neuter form of the adjective.

#125 *Circeabost* BRN (Eng. *Kirkibost*)
[ˈkʲʰiɾʲkʲəˌbɔsʈ], (gen.) *Chirceaboist* [ˈçiɾʲkʲəˌbɔʃtʲ]; NB189345. 1703 *Kirkiboſt*; 1718 *Kirkbost*; 1726 *Kirkabost*; 1750M *Kirabuſt* [*sic*]; 1776 *Kirabust* [*sic*]; 1797 *Kirki·bost*; 1804 *Kirabust* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *Kirkibost*; 1843–82 *Circabost*; 2007, road sign *Circebost*‖*Kirkibost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 382: '**Kirkebost** [kʹiðkʹəbɔst] is ON **Kirkjubólstaðr* "(the) farm of the church". A frequent name in the western settlements; there are four *Kirkabister*s in Shetland and, as *Kirbest* or *Kirbister*, it is found in no less than ten places in Orkney.'

The name of a township in Beàrnaraigh; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Kirkjubólstað* acc. '(the) farm of the church', with genitive singular of ON *kirkja* f. 'church'. The same Norse loan-name ScG *Circeabost* is found in Skye NG552177 and in North Uist NF780657.

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

According to Martin Martin (1703, 27), the church NB19123462 in *Circea·bost* was dedicated to St *Macrel*, although this unfamiliar name was changed to *Macra* (without explanation) in *OPS* (II, 386).[276] Beside the church,[277] there is a loch called ScG *Loch Mharcoil* [ˌɫɔx ˈvãɾkɔl][278] 'the loch of **Marcol*' NB187343 and Macaulay (1972, 325) suggests the best explanation is probably that this ScG **Marcol* was misspelt by Martin or transposed by a printer and that **Marcol* may have been connected in tradition with the biblical Mark (ScG *Marc*).[279]

#126 *Clèid* CLA (Eng. *Claide*)
[kʰleːdʲ], (gen.) *Chlèid* [xleːdʲ]; NB388538. 1843–82 *Cleider*; 1895–1896 *Cleit*. 2007 *Clèid*‖*Claide*.

Norse name for ScG *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh* 'the loch of the village (of *Tolstadh*)'.

276. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/4113/great-bernera-kirkibost-st-macras-church>.

277. Called ScG *Eaglais Mharcoil* 'the church of **Marcol*' (<https://hebrideanconnections.com/image-details/88872>).

278. With a loan-name in the genitive as specific, perhaps from ON **Mark-hól* acc., with the stem form of the noun ON *mark* nt. 'boundary (boundary mark)' and ON *hóll* m. 'hill'; cf. ScG *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾkaˌsʈəɬ] NB205361, in *Britheascleit* #79, perhaps from ON **Mark-ás-dal* acc., with the stem form of the noun ON *áss* m. 'ridge' and accusative of ON *dalr* m. 'valley' (Cox 1987 II, 186).

279. A tradition this writer has also heard.

leis an ainmear SL *vatn* n. + an alt iar-leasaichte neodrach agus cruth lag neod-rach a' bhuadhair.

#125 *Circeabost* BRN
[ˈkʲʰiɾʲkʲəˌbɔsʈ], (gin.) *Chirceaboist* [ˈçiɾʲkʲəˌbɔʃtʲ]; NB189345. 1703 *Kirkiboſt*; 1718 *Kirkbost*; 1726 *Kirkabost* ; 1750M *Kirabuſt* [*sic*]; 1776 *Kirabust* [*sic*]; 1797 *Kirki·bost*; 1804 *Kirabust* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *Kirkibost*; 1843–82 *Circabost*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Circebost*‖*Kirkibost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 382: 'S e SL **Kirkjubólstaðr* 'tuathanas na h-eaglaise' a th' ann an **Kirkebost** [kʹiðkʹəbɔst]. Ainm bitheanta anns na tuineachaidhean an iar; tha ceithir *Kirkabister*an ann an Sealtainn agus, mar *Kirbest* no *Kir·bister*, lorgar e ann an deich àitichean aig a' char as lugha ann an Arcaibh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann am Beàrnaraigh; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Kirkjubólstað* cusp. 'tuathanas na h-eaglaise', le SL *kirkja* b. 'eaglais' san tuis-eal ghinideach shingilte. Lorgar an t-aon ainm-iasaid GA *Circeabost* san Eilean Sgitheanach NG552177 agus an Uibhist a Tuath NF780657.

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

A rèir Mhàrtainn MhicGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 27), bha an eaglais NB19123462 ann an *Circeabost* air a coisrigeadh ris an Naomh *Macrel*, ged a chaidh an t-ainm neo-aithnichte seo atharrachadh gu *Macra* (gun mhìneachadh) ann an *OPS* (II, 386).[276] Ri taobh na h-eaglaise,[277] tha loch air a bheil GA *Loch Mharcoil* [ˌɫɔx ˈvãɾkɔl][278] NB187343 agus cuiridh Macaulay (1972, 325) air shùilibh gur math dh'fhaodte gur h-e am mìneachadh as fheàrr gun deach GA **Marcol* seo a mhì-litreachadh le MacGilleMhàrtainn no a thar-chur le clò-bhualadair agus gur dòcha gun robh **Marcol* air a cho-cheangal ann am beul-aithris ri *Marc* sa Bhìoball.[279]

#126 *Clèid* CLA
[kʰleːdʲ], (gin.) *Chlèid* [xleːdʲ]; NB388538. 1843–82 *Cleider*; 1895–1896 *Cleit*. 2007 *Clèid*‖*Claide*.

276. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/4113/great-bernera-kirkibost-st-macras-church>.

277. Air a bheil GA *Eaglais Mharcoil* mar ainm (<https://hebrideanconnections.com/im·age-details/88872>).

278. Le ainm-iasaid san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear, is dòcha à SL **Mark-hól* cusp., le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *mark* n. 'crìoch (comharra crìche)' agus SL *hóll* f. 'cnoc'; coim. GA *Marcasdal* [ˈmãɾkaˌsʈəɬ] NB205361, ann am *Britheascleit* #79, is dòcha à SL **Mark-ás-dal* cusp., le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *áss* f. 'druim' agus an tuiseal chu-spaireach aig SL *dalr* f. 'gleann' (Cox 1987 II, 186).

279. Beul-aithris a chuala an sgrìobhadair sa cuideachd.

The name of part of the township *Siadar Uarach* (#296), in SGÌRE A' CHLADAICH; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *clèid* f. 'slope' (#127).

It seems more likely that 1843–82 *Cleider* is based on similar examples elsewhere, e.g. *Clèidir* #127, in ÙIG, than that the name in *Siadar Uarach* has lost its final syllable. Those responsible for 1895–1896 *Cleit* may have assumed a connection with ScG *cleit* f. 'hill, mountain' (#128).

#127 *Clèidir* ÙIG
[ˈkʰleːʲəɾʲ], (gen.) *Chlèidir* [ˈxleːʲəɾʲ]; NB034341. 1843–82 =, *Màs Chlèidir*, *Sgeir* /—, *Loch* /—.

The name of a deserted settlement west of *Crabhlastadh* #151, in ÙIG.

At first sight, this name appears to be from an Old Norse form with a plural ending, cf. ScG *Brocair* #80 from ON *Brokkur* pl. '(the) slopes'. It certainly has nothing to do with ON *klettr* m. 'hill, mountain' as MacIver (1934, 82, 91, 96) suggests, because of the length of the stressed vowel and the quality of the following consonant; contrast ScG *Cleitir* #130, from ON **Klettar* pl.

Clèidir is probably a Gaelic form based on EG *clíath* f. 'hurdle' – cf. the derivative forms EG *clíath* + the suffix *-ach* > EG *clíathach* f. 'chest, breast' > ScG *cliath·ach*, *cliathaich* 'side (e.g. of the body)'; EG *clíath* + the suffix *-án* > EG *clíathán* 'the side (of the body)' > ScG *cliathan* 'ribcage'; EG *clíath* + the suffix *-(i)d* > ScG *clèid* f.: in ScG *Clèid* #126, in *Siadar Uarach* (#296), and, with the article, *A' Chlèid* [ə ˈxleːʲ] NB235449, denoting a hillside in *Daile Beag* (#167), and as specific in ScG *Loch Dubh Chlìd* [ˌl̪ɔx ˌd̪u ˈxliːʲ] 'the black loch of **Clìd*' NB329384,[280] on *Bradhagair* moor #74 – for the suffix, cf. ScG *A' Mhiasaid* [ə ˈvĩəs̪iʲ] 'the basin' NB197379, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), from ScG *mias* f. (EG *mías* < Lat. *mensa* (*DIL*)) + *-id*; ScG *Loch Lomaidean* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈl̪ɔ̃miʲən] NB193428, in *Borghaston* #69, with a plural specific from ScG *lom* 'bare' (EG *lomm*) + *-id*.

ScG *Clèidir* may derive, then, from EG *clíath* + the suffixes *-(i)d* + *-ar*. Regarding *-ar*, cf. *Na Gleadhairean* [nə ˈgl̪əɣəɾʲən] 'the slopes' NB229343, in *Callanis* #94, a plural form from ScG *gleadh* 'attack' (?cf. EG *gliaḋ*, genitive of EG *gleo* 'fight') + *-ar*; ScG *Iolairean* [ˈjuˌl̪əɾʲən] '(the) ledges' NB197396, in *An Dùn* #170, from ScG *iola* 'ledge' (< ON **hylla*, cf. Nn. *hylle*)[281] + *-ar*; ScG *Loch nan Gortairean* [ˌl̪ɔx nə ˈŋgɔʂ̪t̪aɾʲən] (?for **[ˌl̪ɔx nə ˈŋgɔʂ̪t̪əɾʲən]*) 'the loch of

280. (1843–82) *Loch Lèiter*; ?cf. ScG *leitir* f. 'slope, hillside' [ˈl̪̊eʰtʲəɾʲ] < EG *leittir*, ?< *leth* 'half (i.e. 'steep')' + *tír* 'land' (*DIL*), but with a short stressed vowel.

281. Although O'Rahilly (1931, 66) suggests ScG *iola* is a by-form of ScG *eala* 'altar stone' and *ula* 'tomb', now *ulaidh* 'treasure' (EG *ailaḋ*, *aulaḋ*, *elaḋ*, *ilaḋ*, *ulaḋ* etc.).

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Siadar Uarach* (#296), ann an SGÌRE A' CHLADAICH; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *clèid* b. 'leathad' (#127).

Tha e nas coltaiche gu bheil 1843–82 *Cleider* air a bhonntachadh air eisimpleirean eile de leithid, m.e. *Clèidir* #127, ann an ÙIG, na gun do chaill an t-ainm ann an *Siadar Uarach* a lide dheiridh. Is dòcha gun robh an fheadhainn a bha an urra ri 1895–1896 *Cleit* am beachd gun robh ceangal aig an ainm ri GA *cleit* b. (#128).

#127 *Clèidir* ÙIG
[ˈkʰleːʲəɾʲ], (gin.) *Chlèidir* [ˈxleːʲəɾʲ]; NB034341. 1843–82 =, *Màs Chlèidir*, *Sgeir* /—, *Loch* /—.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs an iar air *Crabhlastadh* #151, ann an ÙIG.

Air a' chiad sealladh, is coltach gur h-ann à cruth Lochlannais aig an robh dùnadh iolra a tha an t-ainm seo, coim. GA *Brocair* #80 à SL **Brokkur* iol. '(na) leòidean'. Is cinnteach nach eil gnothaich aige ri SL *klettr* f. 'cnoc, beinn' mar a chuireas MacIver (1934, 82, 91, 96) air shùilibh, a chionn fad na fuaimreige beumte agus feabhas an deudaich na dèidh; iomsgaraich GA *Cleitir* #130, à SL **Klettar* iol.

Is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil *Clèidir* na chruth Gàidhlig stèidhichte air GT *clíath* b. 'cliath' – coim. na cruthan bunachail GT *clíath* + an t-iar-leasachan *-ach* > GT *clíathach* b. 'cliabh, broilleach' > GA *cliathach*, *cliathaich* 'taobh (m.e. na bodhaige)'; GT *clíath* + an t-iar-leasachan *-án* > GT *clíathán* 'taobh (na bodhaige)' > GA *cliathan* 'cnàimh a' chlèibh'; GT *clíath* + an t-iar-leasachan *-(i)d* > GA *clèid* b.: ann an GA *Clèid* #126, ann an *Siadar Uarach* (#296), agus, leis an alt, GA *A' Chlèid* [ə ˈxleːʲ] NB235449, a' beantainn ri leathad cnuic ann an *Daile Beag* (#167), agus na shònraichear ann an GA *Loch Dubh Chlìd* [ˌl̪ɔx ˌd̪u ˈxliːʲ] NB329384,[280] air mòintich *Bhradhagair* #74 – airson an iar-leasachain, coim. GA *A' Mhiasaid* [ə ˈvĩəs̪iʲ] 'am mias, an lag' NB197379, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), à GA *mias* b. (GT *mías* < Laid. *mensa* (*DIL*)) + *-id*; GA *Loch Lomaidean* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈl̪ɔ̃miʲən] NB193428, ann am *Borghaston* #69, le sònraichear iolra à GA *lom* (GT *lomm*) + *-id*.

Is dòcha gun tàrmaich GA *Clèidir* a-rèist à GT *clíath* + na h-iar-leasachain *-(i)d* + *-ar*. A thaobh *-ar*, coim. *Na Gleadhairean* [nə ˈgl̪əɣəɾʲən] 'na leòidean' NB229343, ann an *Callanis* #94, cruth iolra à GA *gleadh* 'ionnsaigh' (?coim. GT *gliaḋ*, an tuiseal ginideach aig GT *gleo* 'còmhrag') + *-ar*; GA *Iolairean* [ˈjuˌl̪əɾʲən] '(na) pallachan' NB197396, air *An Dùn* #170, à GA *iola* 'palla' (< SL **hylla*, coim. Nn. *hylle*)[281] + *-ar*; GA *Loch nan Gortairean* [ˌl̪ɔx nə ˈŋgɔʂ̪t̪aɾʲən] (?airson **[ˌl̪ɔx nə ˈŋgɔʂ̪t̪əɾʲən]*) 'loch nam

280. (1843–82) *Loch Lèiter*; ?coim. GA *leitir* b. 'leathad' [ˈl̪̊eʰtʲəɾʲ] < GT *leittir*, ?< *leth* 'cas' + *tír* 'tìr' (*DIL*), ach le fuaimreig bheumte ghoirid.

281. Ged a chuireas O'Rahilly (1931, 66) air shùilibh gu bheil GA *iola* na fhrith-riochd aig GA *eala* 'leac altair' agus *ula* 'uaigh, tuam', a-nise *ulaidh* 'ionmhas, beartas' (GT *ailaḋ*, *aulaḋ*, *elaḋ*, *ilaḋ*, *ulaḋ* ↄc).

the ?enclosures' NB209377, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais*, with a plural form from ScG *gort*, *gart* m. 'field' (EG *gort*) + *-ar*.[282]

Cf. *Clèidir* ['kʰle:ʤʲəɾʲ], (gen.) *Chlèidir* ['xle:ʤʲəɾʲ] NA997286, in *Ìslibhig* #228, but for which Oftedal recorded the pronunciation (nMO) [kʻle:g̬ʼəð]: cf. ScG *Loch Dhìobadail* (nMO) [lɔx 'g̬ʼi:bəd̪əl] NB050236 (#168), ?either from (nMO) [ɬɔx 'ǰi:b̪əd̪əlˀ], [ɬɔx 'ǰib̪əd̪əl̪], by back-formation, or from a radical *['g̊ʲi:b̪əd̪əl̪] < *['ʤʲi:b̪əd̪əl̪], with *g* ~ *d* alternation in Gaelic, cf. *geal* for ScG *deal* (*deala*) 'leech' (OG *del*) (Calder 1972, 67).

#128 *An Cleit* CTL
[ə 'ŋkʰleʰtʲ], (gen.) *A' Chleit* [ə 'xleʰtʲ]; NB246175.

The name of part of the township *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *cleit*(*e*) m. (usually f.) 'mountain, hill' (#129). The place was probably named after a *cleite* in the vicinity, e.g. (≈1843–82) *Cleite Cliath a' Chruidh* to the west. *Cliath-chruidh* is the Gaelic phrase used for Eng. *cattle grid* today, but in this instance *cliath* probably meant 'stockade' (cf. Dwelly, s.v. *cliath*) – lit. 'the hill of the stockade of the cattle'.

#129 *Cleite Thòg* BRN
[ˌkʰleʰtʲə 'hɔ:g̊], (gen.) *Chleite Thòg* [ˌxleʰtʲə 'hɔ:g̊]; NB138255. 1821 *Clelachoag*; 1822 *Cletachoag*; 1843–82 =; 1934, 98 *Cleita Hoag*[283].

The name of a deserted settlement on the east side of *Loch Ròg Beag* (#107), in Ùig, which became a part of the farm at *Sgealasgro* #291 in 1819 (Lawson 2008, 173–74); a Gaelic name, with ScG *cleite* f. 'mountain, hill', from ON *klett* (or *kletti*), the accusative (or dative) of ON *klettr* m., and an Old Norse loan-name in genitive position.

**Thòg* is probably from ON **Hauka* f., a river name based on ON *haukr* m. 'hawk'.[284] ON **Hauka* is found in many places in Norway, denoting somewhere frequented by hawks, a river with steep banks or a steep river (*NE*, 93–95, s.v.), any

282. In place-names, an adjective or noun + suffix(es) would be used to indicate the particular quality of a place, in the same way that ScG *fàsach* m./f. 'a place that is *fàs* "deserted"', for example, describes a desert or ScG *buidheagan* (also *buidhean*, *buidheag*) 'something that is *buidhe* "yellow"' describes the yolk of an egg. For further examples of the use of these suffixes in place-name elements, see Watson 1904, xxxiii–xxxix, Cox 2002a, 59–60.

283. This is probably the same name, although MacIver (idem) writes, 'a high ridge on the border of Harris'.

284. MacIver (ibid.) suggests a derivation with the noun ON *haugr* m. 'hill', but *g* represents the fricative [ɣ] in this word.

?buailtean' NB209377, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais*, le cruth iolra à GA *gort*, *gart* f. 'achadh' (GT *gort*) + *-ar*.[282]

Coim. *Clèidir* ['kʰle:ʤʲəɾʲ], (gin.) *Chlèidir* ['xle:ʤʲəɾʲ] NA997286, ann an *Ìslibhig* #228, ach dhan d' fhuair Oftedal am fuaimneachadh (nMO) [kʻle:g̬ʼəð]: coim. GA *Loch Dhìobadail* (nMO) [lɔx 'g̬ʼi:bəd̪əl] NB050236 (#168), ?aon chuid à (nMO) [ɬɔx 'ǰi:b̪əd̪əlˀ], [ɬɔx 'ǰib̪əd̪əl̪], le cùl-chinntinn, no às an tuiseal bhunasach *['g̊ʲi:b̪əd̪əl̪] < *['ʤʲi:b̪əd̪əl̪], le iomlaid *g* ~ *d* sa Ghàidhlig, coim. *geal* airson GA *deal* (*deala*) (SG *del*) (Calder 1972, 67).

#128 *An Cleit* CTL
[ə 'ŋkʰleʰtʲ], (gin.) *A' Chleit* [ə 'xleʰtʲ]; NB246175.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Àirigh a' Bhruthaich* #13, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *cleit*(*e*) f. (mar as trice b.) 'beinn, cnoc' (#129). Is math dh'fhaodte gun deach an t-àite ainmeachadh air cleite san àrainn, m.e. (≈1843–82) *Cleite Cliath a' Chruidh* chun na h-àirde an iar. 'S e *cliath-chruidh* a chanar ri Brl. *cattle grid* san latha an-diugh, ach is iongantach mana h-e 'crò aig an robh ballachan fiodha' a bu chiall do *cliath* san t-seagh seo (coim. Dwelly, s.v. *cliath*).

#129 *Cleite Thòg* BRN
[ˌkʰleʰtʲə 'hɔ:g̊], (gin.) *Chleite Thòg* [ˌxleʰtʲə 'hɔ:g̊]; NB138255. 1821 *Clelachoag*; 1822 *Cletachoag*; 1843–82 =; 1934, 98 *Cleita Hoag*.[283]

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh an ear *Loch Ròg Beag* (#107), ann an Ùig, a chaidh na chuibhreann den tuathanas ann an *Sgealasgro* #291 ann an 1819 (Lawson 2008, 173–74); ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *cleite* b. 'beinn, cnoc', à SL *klett* (no *kletti*), an tuiseal cuspaireach (no tabhartach) aig SL *klettr* f., agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais ann an suidheachadh ginideach.

Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL **Hauka* b. a tha **Thòg*, ainm aibhne air a stèidheachadh air SL *haukr* f. 'speireag'.[284] Tha SL **Hauka* ri lorg ann am mòran àitichean ann an Nirribhidh, a' beantainn ri àite far am faicear speireagan, abh-

282. Ann an ainmean-àite, chleachdte buadhair no ainmear + iar-leasacha(i)n mar dhòigh air an fheart àraidh a bh' aig àite a shònrachadh, air an aon dòigh 's a chleachdar, mar eisimpleir, GA *fàsach* f./b. 'àite a tha fàs' gus a bhith a' bruidhinn air dìthreabh no GA *buidheagan* (cuideachd *buidhean*, *buidheag*) 'rudeigin a tha buidhe' gus a bhith a' bruidhinn air buidheagan uighe. Airson tuilleadh eisimpleirean den chleachdadh seo, faic Watson 1904, xxxiii–xxxix, Cox 2002a, 59–60.

283. Is math dh'fhaodte an t-aon ainm, ged a sgrìobhas MacIver (idem), 'a high ridge on the border of Harris'.

284. Molaidh MacIver (ibid.) bunachas leis an ainmear SL *haugr* f. 'cnoc', ach riochdaichidh *g* an suathach [ɣ] san fhacal seo.

of which might be more or less appropriate here – the river in this instance is ScG *Allt na Muilne* 'the stream of the mill'.

In Arran, ScG *cleite* is found in the sense 'cliff', e.g. ScG *Cleiteadh* NR944210 (glossed as 'ridge of rocks' in Carmichael-Watson CW42, p. 23); in St Kilda, in the sense 'storehouse' (Maclean 1977, 65–66). For the bird, cf. ScG *Creag Speireig* 'the crag of the hawk' (#107) NB236375, in *An Dùn* #170.

#130 *Cleitir* CDL
['kʰleʰtʲəɾʲ], (gen.) *Chleitir* ['xleʰtʲəɾʲ]; NB288197. 1821 *Cleter*; 1843–82 *Cleiter*, *Beinn Chleiteir*, *Tòb Chleiteir*, *Eilean Glas Tòb Chleiteir*, *Sgeir Mhòr Tòb Chleitir*; 1846 *Cleter*.

The name of a deserted settlement whose land is now part of the township *Silltinis* #299, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch (Lawson 2011, 158); a loan-name from ON **Klettar* '(the) mountains', with the plural of ON *klettr* m. 'hill, mountain'. It is likely that ON **Klettar* denoted ScG *Beinn Chleitir* 'the mountain of *Cleitir*' NB291197, ScG *A' Bheinn Mheadhanach* 'the middle mountain' NB295197 and ScG *Cnoc Loch an Iarainn* 'the hill (of the loch of the iron)' NB300198 together; cf. ScG *Cleitir* at NB161346 in *Tàcleit* #317, in Beàrnaraigh.

ON *klettar* pl. is also found in the loan-names *Fileascleitir* #186 and *Thèicleitir* #326; ON *klett* acc. sg. is found in *Britheascleit* #79, *Briacleit* #78, *Tàcleit* and *Èinicleit* #178 and #179.

For the loan-word ScG *cleite*, see *Cleite Thòg* #129.

#131 *Cliasgro* CTL (Eng. *Cleascro*)
['kʰliaˌsˠkɾo], ['kʰliaˠsˠkəˌɾo], (gen.) *Chliasgro* ['xliaˌsˠkɾo], ['xliaˠsˠkəˌɾo]; NB330284. 1843–82 =; 2007 *Cleascro*‖*Cleascro*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Cliasgro** [kliaskəro][285] is the name of a relatively new settlement. It is originally a burn name ending in ON *gróf* f. "burn, brook", an element found in the names of numerous smaller streams in Lewis. The first component is difficult to identify; but it is not improbable that it is ON *Klæ*(*i*)*ngr* or *Klø*(*i*)*ngr* m., a man's name. Both ON **Klæ*(*i*)*ngsgróf* and **Klø*(*i*)*ngsgróf* might conceivably yield ScG [kliaskəro].'

The name of a settlement east of *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch.[286]

285. (nMO) [kliæˇskəro].

286. Both houses and ruins of houses are shown on the 1843–82 map. To the east, the houses to the west of *Barraid a' Chamshronaich* #348 are called ScG *Rathad Chliasgro* (road sign *Rathad Chleascro*‖*Cleascro Road*).

ainn air a bheil bruaichean casa no abhainn chas (*NE*, 93–95, s.v.), agus brìgh sam bith dhiubh an ìre mhaith iomchaidh an seo – 's e GA *Allt na Muilne* an abhainn san t-seagh seo.

Ann an Arainn, gheibhear GA *cleite* sa bhrìgh 'creag, bearradh', m.e. GA *Cleiteadh* NR944210 (air a mhìneachadh le 'ridge of rocks' ann an Carmichael-Watson CW42, d. 23); ann an Hiort, sa bhrìgh 'bothan stòir' (Maclean 1977, 65–66). Airson an eòin, coim. GA *Creag Speireig* (#107) NB236375, air *An Dùn* #170.

#130 *Cleitir* CDL
['kʰleʰtʲəɾʲ], (gin.) *Chleitir* ['xleʰtʲəɾʲ]; NB288197. 1821 *Cleter*; 1843–82 *Cleiter*, *Beinn Chleiteir*, *Tòb Chleiteir*, *Eilean Glas Tòb Chleiteir*, *Sgeir Mhòr Tòb Chleitir*; 1846 *Cleter*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs a tha a thalamh na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Silltinis* #299 a-nis, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch (Lawson 2011, 158); ainm-iasaid à SL **Klettar* '(na) beanntan', leis a' chruth iolra aig SL *klettr* f. 'cnoc, beinn'. Is coltach gum beanadh an t-ainm SL **Klettar* ri GA *Beinn Chleitir* NB291197, GA *A' Bheinn Mheadhanach* NB295197 agus GA *Cnoc Loch an Iarainn* NB300198 le chèile; coim. GA *Cleitir* aig NB161346 ann an *Tàcleit* #317, ann am Beàrnaraigh.

Gheibhear SL *klettar* iol. cuideachd sna h-ainmean-iasaid *Fileascleitir* #186 agus *Thèicleitir* #326; gheibhear SL *klett* cusp. sg. ann am *Britheascleit* #79, *Briacleit* #78, *Tàcleit* agus *Èinicleit* #178 is #179.

Airson an fhacail-iasaid GA *cleite*, faic *Cleite Thòg* #129.

#131 *Cliasgro* CTL
['kʰliaˌsˠkɾo], ['kʰliaˠsˠkəˌɾo], (gin.) *Chliasgro* ['xliaˌsˠkɾo], ['xliaˠsˠkəˌɾo]; NB330284. 1843–82 =; 2007 *Cleascro*‖*Cleascro*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: Tha **Cliasgro** [kliaskəro][285] na ainm air tuineachadh a tha caran ùr. 'S e ainm uillt a th' ann bho thùs, a' crìochnachadh ann an SL *gróf* b. 'allt, feadan', eileamaid a lorgar ann an iomadach ainm uillt ann an Leòdhas. Tha a' chiad eileamaid duilich a shònrachadh; ach chan eil e ao-coltach gur h-e SL *Klæ*(*i*)*ngr* no *Klø*(*i*)*ngr* f. a th' ann, .i. ainm fireannaich. Chan eil e do-chreidsinneach gun toireadh an dà chuid SL **Klæ*(*i*)*ngsgróf* agus **Klø*(*i*)*ngsgróf* GA [kliaskəro].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh an ear air *An Achadh Mhòr* #2, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch.[286]

285. (nMO) [kliæˇskəro].

286. Tha an dà chuid taighean agus làraichean thaighean air an sealltainn air a' mhapa 1843–82. Canar GA *Rathad Chliasgro* (soighne rathaid *Rathad Chleascro*‖*Cleascro Road*) ris na taighean san àird an ear, an iar air *Barraid a' Chamshronaich* #348.

This settlement lies beside ScG *Allt Chliasgro* 'the stream of *Cliasgro*', a stream that runs down between slopes from the north-east. Despite Oftedal's suggestion, ScG *Cliasgro* is probably from ON **Kleifsgróf* '(the) stream of the steep slope', with genitive of the noun ON **kleif* nt.[287] 'steep slope; path up a steep slope' and ON *gróf* f. 'stream'; cf. ScG *Cliasbroc* ['kʰliaˌsprɔʰk], from ON **Kleifsbrokka* '(the) slope of the steep slope' (#80), and ScG *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰliaʂəmˌkʰɾʲeg̊][288] NB205402, in *Cirbhig* #124, perhaps from ON **Kleifsholm-krek* '(the) hill of the steep slope-rock', where **krek* represents a loan-word in Old Norse from EG *crec* f. (ScG *creag*). For ON *ei* > ScG [eː] > [ia], cf. ScG *Briacleit* #78, from ON *Breið-klett* acc.; for the loss of ON *f* in Gaelic, cf. ScG *Cliosgro* (#132), from ON **Klifsgróf*.

It is not uncommon to find an epenthetic vowel in loan-names from final ON *-sgróf* in Gaelic, e.g. *Cnoc Fàsgro* [ˌkʰɾõʰk 'faːʂkəˌɾo] (< [ˌkʰɾõʰk 'faːˌʂkɾo]) 'the hill of **Fàsgro*' NB209415, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134, and *Beinn Chasgro* [ˌb̥ẽĩn̪ 'xaʂkəˌɾo] (< [ˌb̥ẽĩn̪ 'xaˌʂkɾo]) #53, in *Gruimseadar* #224.

#132 *A' Chlibh* ÙIG (Eng. *Cliff*)
[ə 'xlif], (gen.) *Na Clibheadh* [nə 'kʰlivəɣ]; NB083358. 1821 *Cleaf*; 1843–82 *Clibh*, *Mullaichean na Clibhe*, *Loch na Clibhe*, *Amhuinn na Clibhe*, *Camus na Clibhe*, *Traigh na Clibhe*; 2007, road sign *Cliobh‖Cliff*.

> Oftedal 1954, 387–88: '**Cliff** (CB) [klif], (gen.) [nə klivəɣ]. The same name occurs near *Crò Mòr* #154, where there is a place called [ə 'xlif], [ə 'xliv].[289] This word represents ON *klif* nt. "steep hillside; road up a steep hillside". The presence of the article suggests that the word entered the Gaelic dialect as an appellative. I have not found the word used in current Lewis dialects, but Dwelly gives ScG *cliof* f. "cliff". The vowel [i] instead of the expected [ə] indicates that the loan is not from modern English, cf. ScG *cliobhar* [kləvər] "quick" from Eng. *clever*, ScG *riof* [ʀəf] from Eng. *reef* (in a sail).[290]
>
> *Klif* is found as a farm name in Iceland (Lnb.) and in Norway (*NG* XI, 485, 543: *Klyve*). *De Klivens* (pl.) occurs in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 67).'

287. Rather than ON *kleif* f., but cf. *Kleivsfjellet* in Vest-Agder, in Norway, from ON *kleif* f. + secondary genitive in *-s* (*NG* IX, 151, s.v. *Kleifsfjeldet*). ON *kleif* is related to ON *klif* nt. (#132).

288. (nMO) [ɬɔx 'xliɑsəmxðeɟ] [*sic*].

289. I.e. *A' Chlibh* (nMO) [ə 'xlif], (gen.) *Na Clibh* (nMO) [nə 'klif] NB397203, cf. (1843–82) *Loch na Clibhe* 'the loch of *A' Chlibh*'.

290. For the ÙIG township, Oftedal records *A' Chlibh* (nMO) [xlif] (with aphaeresis), (gen.) *Na Clibheadh* [nə 'kʿlivəɣ], but also (rad.) [xlɪf] from one informant, i.e. with a pronunciation based on the English word *cliff*.

Tha an tuineachadh seo ri taobh GA *Allt Chliasgro*, allt a ruitheas sìos eadar leòidean bhon ear-thuath. A dh'aindeoin moladh Oftedal, is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL **Kleifsgróf* 'allt an leothaid chais' a tha GA *Cliasgro*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL **kleif* n.[287] 'leathad cas; stiogha suas leathad cas' agus SL *gróf* b. 'allt'; coim. GA *Cliasbroc* ['kʰliaˌsprɔʰk], à SL **Kleifsbrokka* 'leathad an leothaid chais' (#80), agus GA *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰliaʂəmˌkʰɾʲeg̊][288] NB205402, ann an *Cirbhig* #124, is dòcha à SL **Kleifsholm-krek* 'cnoc an leothaid-chreag', far an riochdaich **krek* facal-iasaid anns an Lochlannais à GT *crec* b. (GA *creag*). Airson SL *ei* > GA [eː] > [ia], coim. GA *Briacleit* #78, à SL **Breið-klett* cusp.; airson call SL *f* sa Ghàidhlig, coim. GA *Cliosgro* (#132), à SL **Klifsgróf*.

Chan eil e ao-cumanta fuaimreag còmhnaidh a lorg ann an ainmeaniasaid à SL *-sgróf* dheiridh sa Ghàidhlig, m.e. *Cnoc Fàsgro* [ˌkʰɾõʰk 'faːʂkəˌɾo] (< [ˌkʰɾõʰk 'faːˌʂkɾo]) NB209415, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134, agus *Beinn Chasgro* [ˌb̥ẽĩn̪ 'xaʂkəˌɾo] (< [ˌb̥ẽĩn̪ 'xaˌʂkɾo]) #53, ann an *Gruimseadar* #224.

#132 *A' Chlibh* ÙIG
[ə 'xlif], (gin.) *Na Clibheadh* [nə 'kʰlivəɣ]; NB083358. 1821 *Cleaf*; 1843–82 *Clibh*, *Mullaichean na Clibhe*, *Loch na Clibhe*, *Amhuinn na Clibhe*, *Camus na Clibhe*, *Traigh na Clibhe*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cliobh‖Cliff*.

> Oftedal 1954, 387–88: **Cliff** (CB) [klif], (gin.) [nə klivəɣ]. Nochdaidh an t-aon ainm faisg air *Crò Mòr* #154, far a bheil àite air a bheil [ə 'xlif], [ə 'xliv].[289] Riochdaichidh am facal seo SL *klif* n. 'leathad cas; rathad suas leathad cas'. Cuiridh cleachdadh an uilt air shùilibh gun deach am facal dhan dualchainnt na ainmear bitheanta. Cha d' fhuair mi lorg air an fhacal ga chleachdadh ann an dualchainntean Leòdhais an-diugh, ach bheir Dwelly GA *cliof* b. 'creag, bearradh'. Tha [i] an àite an [ə] a shùilichear na chomharradh nach ann às an Nua-Bheurla a tha an t-iasad, coim. GA *cliobhar* [kləvər] 'luath' à Brl. *clever*, GA *riof* [ʀəf] à Brl. *reef* (ann an seòl).[290]
>
> Gheibhear *Klif* na ainm tuathanais an Innis Tìle (Lnb.) is Nirribhidh (*NG* XI, 485, 543: *Klyve*). Nochdaidh *De Klivens* (iol.) ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 67).

287. Seach SL *kleif* b., ach coim. *Kleivsfjellet* ann an Vest-Agder, ann an Nirribhidh, à SL *kleif* b. + dàrnacha ginideach ann an *-s* (*NG* IX, 151, s.v. *Kleifsfjeldet*). Tha SL *kleif* an dàimh ri SL *klif* n. (#132).

288. (nMO) [ɬɔx 'xliɑsəmxðeɟ] [*sic*].

289. .i. *A' Chlibh* (nMO) [ə 'xlif], (gin.) *Na Clibh* (nMO) [nə 'klif] NB397203, coim. (1843–82) *Loch na Clibhe*.

290. Airson a' bhaile fearainn ann an ÙIG, clàraichidh Oftedal *A' Chlibh* (nMO) [xlif] (le teasgadh toisich), (gin.) *Na Clibheadh* [nə 'kʿlivəɣ], ach cuideachd (bun.) [xlɪf] aig aon neach-fiosrachaidh, .i. le fuaimneachadh air a bhonntachadh air an fhacal Bheurla *cliff*.

The name of a township in Ùig.

The loan-word *clibh* is pronounced in Gaelic with [v], after ON *f* [v] (in this situation), but it is clear there is a tendency for final ScG [v] to become [f], through devoicing, as occurs naturally in the dialect before a pause in speech, e.g. ScG *damh* 'stag etc.' [d̪ãv], [d̪ãf].[291]

In the genitive, there is a tendency to close the final open syllable ([ə]) with the fricative [ɣ], as often happens in the dialect (e.g. ScG *feòl* 'meat', (gen.) *feòla*, *feòladh* ['fjɔːl̪ə(ɣ)]), while [v] is maintained in medial position.

The village is situated at the foot of a long cliff on the east side of a narrow valley; *Loch na Clibheadh* (1843–82 *Loch na Clibhe*) 'the lake of the cliff' is situated at the foot of another long cliff on the west side of the valley, south of (1843–82) *Clibh Thall* 'the *Clibh* over there', a name that doubtless denotes the cliff on the west side of the valley.

The loan-word ScG *clibh* is also found in ScG *Loch na Clibheadh* (nMO) [lɔx nə 'kʻlivəɣ], [lɔx nə 'kʻliv·əɣ][292] 'the loch of the cliff' NB010247 and ScG *Loch Clibh Chracabhal* (nMO) [lɔx kʻlif 'xrɑhkəvɑɻ̥] 'the loch (of the cliff of the mountain *Cràcabhal*)' NB020253, in *Brèinis* #77. In loan-names, cf. *Cliosgro* ['kʰli ˌs̪krɔ] NB194424, in *Borghaston* #69, from ON **Klifsgróf* '(the) stream of the cliff', with genitive of ON *klif* and ON *gróf* f. 'stream', and ScG *Cliseam* ['kʰliʃam] NB154073, in Harris, from ON **Klifsholm* acc. '(the) mountain of the cliff', with accusative of ON *holmr* m. 'hill' (or perhaps ON **Klifshvamm* acc. '(the) corrie of the cliff', with accusative of ON *hvammr* m. 'corrie') (Cox 2016).

#133 *An Cnoc* RBH (Eng. *Knock*)
[ə 'ŋkʰɾõʰk], (gen.) *A' Chnuic* [ə 'xɾṵɪʰkʲ]; NB492317. 1750M, 1776 *Knock*; 1801 *Kirk* [*sic*]; 1807, 1821 *Knock*; 1843–82 *Cnoc*; 1845, 1846 *Knock*; 2007, road sign *Cnoc*, *An Cnoc*‖*Knock*.

Oftedal 1954, 394: '**Knock** [?][293] must be ScG *Cnoc* "hill, hillock".'

The name of a township in An Rubha; a Gaelic name, with the Gaelic masculine article + the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (EG *cnocc*).

291. Watson (1904, 240) mentions ScG *A' Chliubh* (Eng. *Cliff*) (along with *Tigh na Cliubha* 'the house of *A' Chliubh*') in Gairloch, opining the name corresponds with ON *klif* in meaning, noting that the form ScG *cliof* appears in the HSD dictionary, 'which is exactly parallel to N[orse] *rif* nt. "reef"'. Final -[v] in ScG *A' Chliubh* corresponds with ON *klif* (with final -[v]); *cliof* seems to have final -[f], from Eng. *cliff*. For ON *rif*, see *An Riobh* #280.

292. [v·] ?= [v], devoiced at the end of the segment.

293. (nMO) [kʻrɔ̃ˆhk], without the article.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig.

Thèid am facal-iasaid *clibh* fhuaimneachadh sa Ghàidhlig le [v], an dèidh SL *f* [v] (sa charachadh seo), ach is lèir gur dual gun tèid GA [v] dheiridh na [f], air a dì-ghuthachadh, mar a thachras gu nàdarra san dualchainnt ro stad labhairte, m.e. GA *damh* [d̪ãv], [d̪ãf].[291]

San tuiseal ghinideach, is dual gun tèid an lide dheiridh fhosgailte ([ə]) a dhùnadh leis an t-suathach [ɣ], mar a thachras gu tric san dualchainnt (m.e. GA *feòl*, (gin.) *feòla*, *feòladh* ['fjɔːl̪ə(ɣ)]), agus [v] air a gleidheadh ann an suidheachadh meadhanach.

Tha am baile na laighe aig bonn creige fada air taobh an ear glinne chumhaing; laighidh *Loch na Clibheadh* (1843–82 *Loch na Clibhe*) aig bonn creige fada eile air taobh an iar a' ghlinne, deas air (1843–82) *Clibh Thall*, ainm a bheanas gun teagamh ris a' chreig air taobh an iar a' ghlinne.

Gheibhear am facal-iasaid GA *clibh* mar an ceudna ann an GA *Loch na Clibheadh* (nMO) [lɔx nə 'kʻlivəɣ], [lɔx nə 'kʻliv·əɣ][292] NB010247 agus GA *Loch Clibh Chràcabhal* (nMO) [lɔx kʻlif 'xrɑhkəvɑɻ̥] NB020253, ann am *Brèinis* #77. Ann an ainmean-iasaid, coim. GA *Cliosgro* ['kʰli ˌs̪krɔ] NB194424, ann am *Borghaston* #69, à SL **Klifsgróf* 'allt na clibheadh', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *klif* agus SL *gróf* b. 'allt', agus GA *Cliseam* ['kʰliʃam] NB154073, sna Hearadh, à SL **Klifsholm* cusp. 'beinn na clibheadh', leis an tuiseal chuspaireach aig SL *holmr* f. 'cnoc' (no is dòcha SL **Klifshvamm* cusp. 'coire na clibheadh', leis an tuiseal chuspaireach aig SL *hvammr* f. 'coire, gleann cruinn') (Cox 2016).

#133 *An Cnoc* RBH
[ə 'ŋkʰɾõʰk], (gin.) *A' Chnuic* [ə 'xɾṵɪʰkʲ]; NB492317. 1750M, 1776 *Knock*; 1801 *Kirk* [*sic*]; 1807, 1821 *Knock*; 1843–82 *Cnoc*; 1946 *Knock*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cnoc*, *An Cnoc*‖*Knock*.

Oftedal 1954, 394: Feumaidh gur h-e GA *Cnoc* a th' ann an **Knock** [?].[293]

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (GT *cnocc*).

291. Nì Watson (1904, 240) iomradh air GA *A' Chliubh* (Brl. *Cliff*) (cho math ri *Tigh na Cliubha*) ann an Geàrrloch, a' beachdachadh gun co-fhreagair an t-ainm ri SL *klif* a thaobh cèille, a' mothachadh gur h-e GA *cliof* a nochdas san fhaclair HSD, 'which is exactly parallel to N[orse] *rif* n. "reef"'. Co-fhreagraidh -[v] dheiridh ann an GA *A' Chliubh* ri SL *klif* (le -[v] dheiridh); is coltach gur h-e -[f] dheiridh a th' aig *cliof*, à Brl. *cliff*. Airson SL *rif*, faic *An Riobh* #280.

292. [v·] ?= [v] air a dì-ghuthachadh aig deireadh a' chuibhrinn.

293. (nMO) [kʻrɔ̃ˆhk], às aonais an uilt.

#134 *An Cnoc* TSR (Eng. *Knock*)
[ə ˈŋkʰɾõʰk], (gen.) *A' Chnuic* [ə ˈxɾu̟ɪʰkʲ]; NB200428. 1654 *Knock*, *Knockillé* §15; 1821, 1822 *Knock*; 1843–82 *Cnoc Charlobhaidh* NB200425; 1846 *Knock*; 2007 *Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh*‖*Knock*.

The name of a township at the head of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* 'the loch of *Càrla·bhagh*', in An Taobh Siar; the same as the township name *An Cnoc* #133 in An Rubha, distinguished from it on occasion by use of the alias *Cnoc Chàrla·bhaigh*, from ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the name of the area *Càrla·bhagh* #98.

#135 *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* BAC (Eng. *Milkinghill*)
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈvlɔ-iɲ], (gen.) *Chnoc a' Bhleoghain* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈvlɔ-iɲ]; NB457369. 1964 *Milking Hill*; 2007 *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain*‖*Milkinghill*.

The name of part of the village *Àird Thunga* #11, in Sgìre a' Bhac; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *bleoghan* m. 'milking' (EG *bleġon*), translated and now written *Milkinghill* in English.

#136 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* ÙIG
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈxɑːɳan], (gen.) *Chnoc a' Chàrnain* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈxɑːɳan]; NB092369. 1843–82 *Cnoc a Chàrnain*.

The name of an area in the north of the township *Bhaltos* #63, in Ùig. A Gaelic name, with ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the Gaelic masculine article + genitive of the noun ScG *càrnan* m., a diminutive of ScG *càrn* m. 'cairn, pile of stones; rocky hill; mountain' (EG *carn*) + the suffix *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59).

#137 *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* STN
*[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈɟɑːɾi], (gen.) *Chnoc a' Gheàrraidh* *[ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈɟɑːɾi]; NB439325. 1843–92 *Sandwick Cottage*; 1846 *Sandwick Lodge*; 1895–1896, 1919HG *Manse*; 1964 *Knockgarry*.

The name of a farm in Steòrnabhagh, set up sometime before 1868, when it was enlarged by relocating the village *Tolm* #330 (Lawson 2011, 70); a Gaelic name, with ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the Gaelic masculine article + genitive of ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure; the land around a building',[294] a loan-word from ON *gerði* nt. (#192), presumably once the name of the hill at the location.

294. <http://www.ceuig.co.uk/places/shielings/> has the sense 'cluster of sheilings'.

#134 *An Cnoc* TSR
[ə ˈŋkʰɾõʰk], (gin.) *A' Chnuic* [ə ˈxɾu̟ɪʰkʲ]; NB200428. 1654 *Knock*, *Knockillé* §15; 1821, 1822 *Knock*; 1843–82 *Cnoc Charlobhaidh* NB200425; 1845, 1846 *Knock*; 2007 *Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh*‖*Knock*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn aig ceann *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*, air An Taobh Siar; co-ionann ri ainm a' bhaile fearainn *An Cnoc* #133 anns An Rubha, air a dhealachadh ris air uairean le bhith a' cleachdadh an ainme eile *Cnoc Chàrla·bhaigh*, à GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig ainm na ceàrnaidh *Càrla·bhagh* #98.

#135 *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain* BAC
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈvlɔ-iɲ], (gin.) *Chnoc a' Bhleoghain* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈvlɔ-iɲ]; NB457369. 1964 *Milking Hill*; 2007 *Cnoc a' Bhleoghain*‖*Milkinghill*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile *Àird Thunga* #11, ann an Sgìre a' Bhac; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *bleoghan* f. (GT *bleġon*), air eadar-theangachadh agus a-nise air a sgrìobhadh *Milkinghill* sa Bheula.

#136 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* ÙIG
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈxɑːɳan], (gin.) *Chnoc a' Chàrnain* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈxɑːɳan]; NB092369. 1843–82 *Cnoc a Chàrnain*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an ceann a tuath a' bhaile fearainn *Bhaltos* #63, ann an Ùig. Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *càrnan* f., cruth meanbhach aig GA *càrn* f. 'càrn chlachan; cnoc creagach; beinn' (GT *carn*) + an iar-leasachan *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59).

#137 *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* STN
*[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈɟɑːɾi], (gin.) *Chnoc a' Gheàrraidh* *[ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈɟɑːɾi]; NB439325. 1843–82 *Sandwick Cottage*; 1846 *Sandwick Lodge*; 1895–1896, 1919HG *Manse*; 1964 *Knock·garry*.

An t-ainm air tuathanas ann an Steòrnabhagh a chaidh a dhèanamh uair-eigin ro 1868, nuair a chaidh a leudachadh le bhith a' gluasad a' bhaile *Tolm* #330 (Lawson 2011, 70); ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas; an talamh timcheall air togalach',[294] facal-iasaid à SL *gerði* n. (#192), is iongantach ainm a' chnuic san àite uair.

294. Tha a' bhrìgh 'grioglachan de dh'àirighean' aig <http://www.ceuig.co.uk/places/shielings/>.

It is uncertain whether this is the correct Gaelic form of English *Knockgarry*; it may be that it was ScG *Cnoc a' Ghàrraidh* 'the hill of the dyke', with genitive of the noun ScG *gàrradh* m. 'dyke, wall' (#182), rather than *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh*.

1843–82 *Sandwick Cottage* and 1846 *Sandwick Lodge* use the areal name as specific, see *Sanndabhig* #285.

#138 *Cnoc an Ruagain* BRN
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈɾuəg̊an], (gen.) *Chnoc an Ruagain* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈɾuəg̊an]; NB214293. 1754 *Cnockrougan* (in Lawson 2008, 142); 1821, 1822 *Knockrougan*; 1843–82 *Cnoc a' Ruagain*; 1846 *Knockrougan*; 1934, 10 *Cnoc-a-ruagain*.[295]

The name of a deserted settlement on a hill south of *Grìomarstadh* #223, in Beàrnaraigh. According to tradition, this was the abode of the hero An Cochall Glas ('the green hood', i.e. John MacDonald, fl. early 17th century) (Macdonald 1967, 66–67, 70–74).

A Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *ruagan* m. MacIver (1934, 10) states that this was 'the hill from which the sheep [were] driven far and wide in summer' and he is probably suggesting that the noun *ruagan* is connected to ScG *rua*(*i*)*g* vb 'to chase, rout' and *ruagadh* m. 'chasing'; cf. ScG *Cnoc an Tearbaidh* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈn̪ᵗʲʰaɾ̂abi] 'the hill of the separating or weaning' NB2237, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), with genitive of the noun ScG *tearbadh* m. (EG *terbad*).

However, it might be better to consider a derivation from *ScG ruag* + the suffix *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59; 2017, 123–24) in the sense 'slope'; cf. how ScG *maidhm* f. (*maoim*),[296] *buaim* f. (cf. Dwelly *buatham*)[297] and *gleadh* m. (+ suffixes)[298] are used in the sense 'slope', an extension of the sense 'attack'.

#139 *Cnoc an t-Solais* BAC (Eng. *Lighthill*)
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈn̪ᵗʰɔl̪ʲiʃ], (gen.) *Chnoc an t-Solais* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈn̪ᵗʰɔl̪ʲiʃ]; NB480405. 1895–1896, 1895–1897 *Cnoc an t-Soluis*; 2007 *Cnoc an t-Soluis*‖*Lighthill*; road sign *Cnoc an t-Soluis*.

295. Macdonald (1978, 162) gives *Knockmagem*; it is not clear whether this form is a misprint or being cited from elsewhere.

296. ScG *A' Mhaidhm* [ə ˈvə̃ĩm] NB314301, in *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2; (nMO) A' *Mhaidhm* [vɔiṃ], *aig A' Mhaidhm* [eg̊ ə ˈvɔiṃ] 'at *A' Mhaidhm*' NB420516 and *Feadan na Maidhme* 'the stream of—' NB549564; cf. Ir. *madhm* 'pass or chasm' (Joyce 1901, 176) (Cox 2002a, 339).

297. ScG *Bealach nam Buaim* 'the pass of the slopes' [ˌb̪jaɫ̪ˠx nə ˈmᵇ̪ũ̃əm] NB2743, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295); *Druim Mòr na Buaim* 'the large ridge of—' NB300397 (Cox 2002a, 175).

298. ScG *Na Gleadhairean* [nə ˈg̊ləɣəɾʲən] NB240421, in *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258; *Gleadhairean* NB2234, in *Callanis* #94 (Cox 2002a, 60, 299–300).

Chan eil e cinnteach an e seo an cruth Gàidhlig ceart aig a' Bheurla *Knockgarry*; faodaidh e a bhith gur h-e GA *Cnoc a' Ghàrraidh* a bh' ann, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *gàrradh* f. (#182), seach *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh*.

Cleachdaidh 1843–82 *Sandwick Cottage* is 1846 *Sandwick Lodge* ainm na ceàrnaidh na shònraichear, faic *Sanndabhig* #285.

#138 *Cnoc an Ruagain* BRN
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈɾuəg̊an], (gin.) *Chnoc an Ruagain* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈɾuəg̊an]; NB214293. 1754 *Cnockrougan* (ann an Lawson 2008, 142); 1821, 1822 *Knockrougan*; 1843–82 *Cnoc a' Ruagain*; 1846 *Knockrougan*; 1934, 10 *Cnoc-a-ruagain*.[295]

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs a bh' air cnoc deas air *Grìomarstadh* #223, ann am Beàrnaraigh. A rèir beul-aithrise, b' ann an seo a bha an gaisgeach An Cochall Glas a' fuireach (.i. Iain MacDhòmhnaill, fl. tràth san 17mh linn) (Macdonald 1967, 66–67, 70–74).

Ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *ruagan* f. Canaidh MacIver (1934, 10) gum b' e seo an cnoc bhom bite ag iomain nan caorach fad is farsaing as t-samhradh agus is iongantach mana bi a' cur air shùilibh gu bheil an t-ainmear *ruagan* co-cheangailte ri GA *rua*(*i*)*g* gn. agus *ruagadh* f.; coim. GA *Cnoc an Tearbaidh* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈn̪ᵗʲʰaɾ̂abi] NB2237, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *tearbadh* f. 'sgapadh' (GT *terbad*).

Is dòcha gum b' fheàrr, ge-tà, beachdachadh air bunachas à GA *ruag* + an iar-leasachan *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59; 2017, 123–24) sa bhrìgh 'leathad'; coim. mar a thèid GA *maidhm* b. (*maoim*),[296] *buaim* b. (coim. Dwelly *buatham*)[297] agus *gleadh* f. (+ iar-leasachain)[298] a chleachdadh sa bhrìgh 'leathad', brìgh air a sìneadh à 'ionnsaigh'.

#139 *Cnoc an t-Solais* BAC
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ə ˈn̪ᵗʰɔl̪ʲiʃ], (gin.) *Chnoc an t-Solais* [ˌxɾõʰk ə ˈn̪ᵗʰɔl̪ʲiʃ]; NB480405. 1895–1896, 1895–1897 *Cnoc an t-Soluis*; 2007 *Cnoc an t-Soluis*‖*Lighthill*; soighne rathaid *Cnoc an t-Soluis*.

295. Bheir Macdonald (1978, 162) *Knockmagem*; chan eil e soilleir an e mearachd clòdha a th' anns a' chruth seo no a bheil e ga ainmeachadh à àite eile.

296. GA *A' Mhaidhm* [ə ˈvə̃ĩm] NB314301, air *An Achadh Mhòr* #2; (nMO) *A' Mhaidhm* [vɔiṃ], *aig A' Mhaidhm* [eg̊ ə ˈvɔiṃ] NB420516 agus *Feadan na Maidhme* NB549564; coim. GE *madhm* 'bealach no gil' (Joyce 1901, 176) (Cox 2002a, 339).

297. GA *Bealach nam Buaim* [ˌb̪jaɫ̪ˠx nə ˈmᵇ̪ũ̃əm] NB2743, ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295); *Druim Mòr na Buaim* NB300397 (Cox 2002a, 175).

298. GA *Na Gleadhairean* [nə ˈg̊ləɣəɾʲən] NB240421, ann am *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258; *Gleadhairean* NB2234, ann an *Callanis* #94 (Cox 2002a, 60, 299–300).

The name of an area in the township *Am Bac* #23, in Sgìre a' Bhac; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *solas* f. 'light' (previously spelt *solus*; EG *solus*, *solas*). According to report, this location acquired its name because two weavers there in former days had particularly bright lights above their looms (Lawson 2011, 29). Translated into English as *Lighthill*. Cf. ScG (1843–82) *Loch Uisge an t-Soluis* 'the loch of the water of the light' NB372309, west of *Àranis* #19.

#140 ***An Cnoc Àrd*** NIS (Eng. *Knockaird*)
[əˌŋkʰɾõʰkˈɑːd̥], (gen.) *A' Chnuic Àird* [əˌxɾṹɨʰkʲˈɑːd̥]; NB531644. 1654 *Knock*; 1821 *Knockair* [*sic*]; 1822 *Knockaird*; 1843–82 *Cnoc Àrd* [*sic*]; 1895–1896 *Knockaird*; 2007, road sign *Cnoc Ard, An Cnoc Àrd‖Knockaird*.

Oftedal 1954, 372: '**Knockaird**[299] is ScG *Cnoc Àrd* "high knoll".

The name of a township in Nis that was part of the township *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148 until 1754. It was originally located beside *Loch Stiapabhat*[300] and known as ScG *Na Geàrrannan* (1654 *Ghearen*;[301] 1703 *Garieu*; 1726 *Five Pennies/Pennys and Gearin*; cf. *Na Geàrrannan* #202 in An Taobh Siar),[302] before being moved to the hill where it is situated today (Lawson 2011, 31); a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) + the adjective ScG *àrd* 'high, tall' (#32).

#141 ***Cnoc Eòrsadair*** ÙIG
*[ˌkʰɾõʰkˈjɔːˌʂaɖ̥əɾʲ], (gen.) *Chnoc Eòrsadair* *[ˌxɾõʰkˈjɔːˌʂaɖ̥əɾʲ]; NB094368. 1843–82 *Cnoc Iòrshader*.

The name of a hill in the township *Bhaltos* #63, in Ùig; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and with an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific, whose generic was certainly ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296), but whose specific is obscure.

#142 ***Cnoc Ìomhair*** STN
[ˌkʰɾõʰkˈĩəvəɾʲ], (gen.) *Chnoc Ìomhair* [ˌxɾõʰkˈĩəvəɾʲ]; NB439331. 1821 *Knockivor*; 1821W MS *Crockiver Hill*; 1822 *Knockiver*; 1843–82 *Cnoc Iobhair*.

The name of an area of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309; a Gaelic name, with the

299. (nMO) [kʻɾõʰkˈɑːd̥].

300. [ˌɬɔxˈʃʊiaʰpəˌvaʰt̪], with a loan-name from ON **Steypavatn* '(the) loch of the steeping', with the verb ON *steypa* 'to steep' and ON *vatn* nt. 'loch' (Cox 2006, 24).

301. Note that both *Ghearen* and *Knock* appear on the 1654 map.

302. Located at NB53066426 in *ECC*, 48.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Am Bac* #23, ann an Sgìre a' Bhac; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *solas* f. (air a litreachadh *solus* roimhe; GT *solus*, *solas*). A rèir aithris, fhuair an t-àite a ainm a chionn 's gun robh dithis bhreabadair an sin san t-sean aimsir aig an robh solais air leth deàlrach bhos cionn nam beairtean aca (Lawson 2011, 29). Air a thionndadh na *Lighthill* sa Bheurla. Coim. GA (1843–82) *Loch Uisge an t-Soluis* NB372309, an iar air *Àranis* #19.

#140 ***An Cnoc Àrd*** NIS
[əˌŋkʰɾõʰkˈɑːd̥], (gin.) *A' Chnuic Àird* [əˌxɾṹɨʰkʲˈɑːd̥]; NB531644. 1654 *Knock*; 1821 *Knockair* [*sic*]; 1822 *Knockaird*; 1843–82 *Cnoc Àrd* [*sic*]; 1895–1896 *Knockaird*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cnoc Ard, An Cnoc Àrd‖Knockaird*.

Oftedal 1954, 372: 'S e GA *Cnoc Àrd* a th' ann an **Knockaird**.[299]

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis a bha na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148 gu 1754. Bha e air a shuidheachadh ri taobh *Loch Stiapabhat*[300] bho thùs agus air ainmeachadh GA *Na Geàrrannan* (1654 *Ghearen*;[301] 1703 *Garieu*; 1726 *Five Pennies/Pennys and Gearin*; coim. *Na Geàrrannan* #202 air An Taobh Siar),[302] mus deach a ghluasad gu mullach a' chnuic air a bheil e an-diugh (Lawson 2011, 31); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) + a' bhuadhair GA *àrd* (#32).

#141 ***Cnoc Eòrsadair*** ÙIG
*[ˌkʰɾõʰkˈjɔːˌʂaɖ̥əɾʲ], (gin.) *Chnoc Eòrsadair* *[ˌxɾõʰkˈjɔːˌʂaɖ̥əɾʲ]; NB094368. 1843–82 *Cnoc Iòrshader*.

An t-ainm air cnoc anns a' bhaile fearainn *Bhaltos* #63, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus le ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear, ainm-iasaid aig a bheil seòrsaichear ann an SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296) gu cinnteach, ach aig a bheil sònraichear doilleir.

#142 ***Cnoc Ìomhair*** STN
[ˌkʰɾõʰkˈĩəvəɾʲ], (gin.) *Chnoc Ìomhair* [ˌxɾõʰkˈĩəvəɾʲ]; NB439331. 1821 *Knockivor*; 1821W MS *Crockiver Hill*; 1822 *Knockiver*; 1843–82 *Cnoc Iobhair*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309; ainm Gàidhlig, leis

299. (nMO) [kʻɾõʰkˈɑːd̥].

300. [ˌɬɔxˈʃʊiaʰpəˌvaʰt̪], le ainm-iasaid à SL **Steypavatn* 'loch a' bhogaidh', leis a' ghnìomhair SL *steypa* 'cuir am bogadh' agus SL *vatn* n. 'loch' (Cox 2006, 24).

301. Mothaich gum faighear an dà chuid *Ghearen* agus *Knock* air a' mhapa 1654.

302. Air a chur aig NB53066426 ann an *ECC*, 48.

noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the man's name ScG *Ìomhar*[303] (EG *Íṁar* < ON *Ívar*, accusative of ON *Ívarr* m., with nasal *í* (Oftedal 1956, 96), cf. OEng. *Inwer* (Marstrander 1915, 9, 67, 150)). The area is named after the hill.

Along with the men's names ScG *Murchadh*, *Ruairidh* and *Donnchadh*, *Ìomhar* is one the commonest personal names found in place-names in Lewis (Evemalm 2017, 84–87: 87); it also occurs in the surname ScG *MacÌomhair* (Eng. *MacIver*).

#143 *Cnoc Màiri* STN (Eng. *Maryhill*)
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈmãːɾʲi], (gen.) *Chnoc Màiri* [ˌxɾõʰk ˈmãːɾʲi]; NB406341. 1843–82 *Mary Hill*; 2007 *Cnoc Màiri*‖*Maryhill*; 2016 =.

The name of a suburb of *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Lawson 2011, 58), north of *Bruach Màiri* #83; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the woman's name ScG *Màiri* (#83); Eng. *Maryhill*.

The Ordnance Survey Name Book OS1/27/71/10 notes that the land here belonged to 'Mr James Matheson', and Evemalm (2017, 72) suggests that the hill may have been named after Lady Mary Matheson, the wife of Sir James Matheson (who owned Lewis from 1844 until his death in 1878). If so, the place may have been named in English first.

#144 *An Cnoc Mòr* RBH (Eng. *School Park*)
[əˌŋkʰɾõʰk ˈmoːɾ], (gen.) *A' Chnuic Mhòir* [əˌxɾṵɪʰkʲ ˈvoːɾʲ]; NB495319. 1964 *School Park*; 2007 *An Cnoc Mòr*‖*School Park*.

The name of part of the township *An Cnoc* #133, in An Rubha; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) + the adjective ScG *mòr* 'large' (#2), built on a park (field) behind the school (NB491320) and named in Gaelic after the hill on which it stands (NB494320), but in English after the park, hence *School Park*.

#145 *Cnoc nan Gobhar* STN (Eng. *Goat Hill*)
[ˌkʰɾõʰk nə ˈŋɡ̊o-əɾ], (gen.) *Chnoc nan Gobhar* [ˌxɾõʰk nə ˈŋɡ̊o-əɾ]; NB431335. 1777 *Knocknagour* (Lawson 2011, 213); 1785 *Goat Hill*; 1797 *Goathill*; 1843–82 *Goathill, Cnoc nan Gabhar or Goat Hill*; 1845 *Goat-hill*; 1846HO, 2016 *Goat Hill*; road sign *Rathad Chnoc nan Gobhar*‖*Goathill Road*.

The name of an area of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309 that was once a separate

303. Anglicised as *Ivor*.

an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Ìomhar*[303] (GT *Íṁar* < SL *Ívar*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *Ívarr* f., le *í* shrònaich (Oftedal 1956, 96), coim. SBrl. *Inwer* (Marstrander 1915, 9, 67, 150)). Tha a' cheàrnaidh air a h-ainmeachadh air a' chnoc.

Còmhla ris na h-ainmean fireannaich GA *Murchadh*, *Ruairidh* is *Donnchadh*, tha *Ìomhar* air fear de na h-ainmean pearsanta as bitheanta a lorgar ann an ainmean-àite ann an Leòdhas (Evemalm 2017, 84–87: 87); nochdaidh e san t-sloinneadh GA *MacÌomhair* (Brl. *MacIver*) mar an ceudna.

#143 *Cnoc Màiri* STN
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈmãːɾʲi], (gin.) *Chnoc Màiri* [ˌxɾõʰk ˈmãːɾʲi]; NB406341. 1843–82 *Mary Hill*; 2007 *Cnoc Màiri*‖*Maryhill*; 2016 =.

An t-ainm air fo-bhaile aig *Steòrnabhagh* #309 (Lawson 2011, 58), tuath air *Bruach Màiri* #83; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm boireannaich GA *Màiri* (#83); Brl. *Maryhill*.

Canaidh Ainm-leabhar na Suirbhidh Òrdanais OS1/27/71/10 gum buineadh am fearann an seo do 'Mr James Matheson', agus cuiridh Evemalm (2017, 72) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-ann air a' Bhaintighearna Mary Matheson, bean an Ridire Seumas MacMhathain (a bha Leòdhas na sheilbh bho 1844 gu ruige a bhàs ann an 1878), a chaidh an cnoc ainmeachadh. Mas fìor sin, chan eil fhios nach deach an t-àite ainmeachadh sa Bheurla an toiseach.

#144 *An Cnoc Mòr* RBH
[əˌŋkʰɾõʰk ˈmoːɾ], (gin.) *A' Chnuic Mhòir* [əˌxɾṵɪʰkʲ ˈvoːɾʲ]; NB495319. 1964 *School Park*; 2007 *An Cnoc Mòr*‖*School Park*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearann *An Cnoc* #133, anns An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) + a' bhuadhair GA *mòr* (#2), air a thogail air pàirc (achadh) air cùl na sgoile (NB491320) agus air ainmeachadh sa Ghàidhlig air a' chnoc air a bheil i (NB494320), ach sa Bheurla air a' phàirc, às a sin *School Park*.

#145 *Cnoc nan Gobhar* STN
[ˌkʰɾõʰk nə ˈŋɡ̊o-əɾ], (gin.) *Chnoc nan Gobhar* [ˌxɾõʰk nə ˈŋɡ̊o-əɾ]; NB431335. 1777 *Knocknagour* (Lawson 2011, 213); 1785 *Goat Hill*; 1797 *Goathill*; 1843–82 *Goathill, Cnoc nan Gabhar or Goat Hill*; 1845 *Goat-hill*; 1846HO, 2016 *Goat Hill*; soighne rathaid *Rathad Chnoc nan Gobhar*‖*Goathill Road*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309 a bha uair na chlachan

303. Air an cuirear *Ivor* sa Bheurla.

village (Lawson ibid.). A Gaelic name, with ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and the genitive plural Gaelic article + genitive plural of ScG *gobhar* m. 'goat' (EG *gabor*); translated into English as *Goat Hill*.

#146 *Cnoc Shanndabhig* STN (Eng. *Sandwickhill*)
[ˌkʰrõʰk ˈhãũn̪n̪̊dəˌviɸʲ], (gen.) *Chnoc Shanndabhig* [ˌxrõʰk ˈhãũn̪n̪̊dəˌviɸʲ]; NB442324. 1821, 1822 *Knock Sandwick*; 1821W MS, 1821W *Sandwick Hill*; 1843–82 *Sandwick Hill*; 1941 *Sandwickhill*.

The name of a township in Steòrnabhagh #309, created in the 1820s, that is divided into *An t-Sràid an Ear* 'the eastern street' (Eng. *East Street*) #305 and *An t-Sràid a Tuath* 'the northern street' (Eng. *North Street*) #304; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and the Old Norse loan-name ScG *Sanndabhig* #285 in the genitive as specific.

#147 *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* TSR
[ˌkʰrõʰk ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ], (gen.) *Chnoc Theòraiseadair* [ˌxrɔ̃ʰk ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ]; NB202426. 1843–82 *Cnoc Eírshader*; 1903 *Fjori-Shader*; 1932 *Fiorishader*, 1974 *Cnoc Eirshader*.

The name of a small hill in *An Cnoc* #134, in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific, perhaps from ON **Þjórasætr* '(the) sheiling of the bulls', with genitive plural of the noun ON *þjórr* m. 'bull' and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296).

The 1843–82 form *Cnoc Eírshader* is probably a typesetting error for **Cnoc Eòrshader*, i.e. ScG **Cnoc Eòraiseadair* *[ˌkʰrõʰk ˈjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ], with a specific that might be a weakened form of [ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ], cf. [ˈjɔːˌʂaɖ̪̊əɾ], occasionally heard for *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌʂaɖ̪̊əɾ] #327.

Documentary forms in initial *f* might have originated in order to facilitate a derivation from ON *fjara* f. 'ebb tide; beach' (e.g. Mackenzie 1903), although that would not suit because of the length of the stressed vowel. ScG [ˈfjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] was heard (as a radical form) only once and might be the result of analogy with the nearby name ScG (without the article) *Fideach*, (with the article) *An Fhideach* NB201425.[304] ScG [ˈʃɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] was heard once as a radical form, although ScG *[ˈtʲʰɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] would be just as reasonable as a radical form from (lenited) [ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] (Cox 1990b, 99–100).

Cf. ScG *Theòrsadar* #327.

304. ScG [ˈfiɸʲɔx], [ə ˈn̪iɸʲɔx], from ScG **fid* (a loan-word from ON *fit* f. 'meadow beside water') + the suffix *-ach* (Cox 2002a, 60, 281–82).

fa leth (Lawson ibid.). Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach iolra + an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig GA *gobhar* f. (GT *gabor*); air eadar-theangachadh dhan Bheurla na *Goat Hill*.

#146 *Cnoc Shanndabhig* STN
[ˌkʰrõʰk ˈhãũn̪n̪̊dəˌviɸʲ], (gin.) *Chnoc Shanndabhig* [ˌxrõʰk ˈhãũn̪n̪̊dəˌviɸʲ]; NB442324. 1821, 1822 *Knock Sandwick*; 1821W MS, 1821W *Sandwick Hill*; 1843–82 *Sandwick Hill*; 1941 *Sandwickhill*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Steòrnabhagh #309, a chaidh a chruthachadh sna 1820an, a tha air a roinn na *An t-Sràid an Ear* (Brl. *East Street*) #305 agus *An t-Sràid a Tuath* (Brl. *North Street*) #304; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA *Sanndabhig* #285 san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

#147 *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* TSR
[ˌkʰrõʰk ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ], (gin.) *Chnoc Theòraiseadair* [ˌxrɔʰk ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ]; NB202426. 1843–82 *Cnoc Eírshader*; 1903 *Fjori-Shader*; 1932 *Fiorishader*, 1974 *Cnoc Eirshader*.

An t-ainm air cnoc beag air *A' Chnoc* #134, air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear, 's dòcha à SL **Þjórasætr* 'àirigh nan tarbh', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *þjórr* f. 'tarbh' agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296).

Is iongantach mana h-eil (1843–82) *Cnoc Eírshader* na mhearachd clò-chumaidh airson **Cnoc Eòrshader*, .i. GA **Cnoc Eòraiseadair* *[ˌkʰrõʰk ˈjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ], le sònraichear a dh'fhaodadh a bhith na chruth lagaichte aig GA [ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾʲ], coim. [ˈjɔːˌʂaɖ̪̊əɾ] a chualas air uairean an àite *Theòrsadar* [ˈhjɔːˌʂaɖ̪̊əɾ] #327.

Dh'fhaodte gun do thàrmaich na cruthan sgrìobhainne ann an *f* thoisich gus bunachas à SL *fjara* b. 'reothairt; tràigh' fhasachadh (m.e. Mackenzie 1903), ged nach fhreagair sin a chionn fad na fuaimreige beumte. Cha chualas GA [ˈfjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] (mar chruth bunasach) ach an aon uair agus dh'fhaodte gun robh sin mar thoradh air co-rèiteachadh ris an ainm ri-làimh GA (gun an t-alt) *Fideach*, (leis an alt) *An Fhideach* NB201425.[304] Chualas GA [ˈʃɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] uair mar chruth bunasach, ged a bhiodh GA *[ˈtʲʰɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] a cheart cho ciallach mar chruth bunasach à GA [ˈhjɔːrɪˌʃaɖ̪̊əɾ] (sèimhichte) (Cox 1990b, 99–100).

Coim. GA *Theòrsadar* #327.

304. GA [ˈfiɸʲɔx], [ə ˈn̪iɸʲɔx], à GA **fid* (facal-iasaid à SL *fit* b. 'lèana ri taobh uisge') + an iar-leasachan *-ach* (Cox 2002a, 60, 281–82).

#148 *Na Còig Peighinnean* NIS (Eng. *Fivepenny*)
[nə ˈkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən]; (gen.) *Nan Còig Peighinnean* [nə ˈŋkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən]; NB524647. 1654 *Koig pein*; 1718 *Fivepennymore*, *Fivepenny land of Ness*, *Fivepenny·more of Ness*; 1726 *Five Pennies and Gearin*, *Five Pennys and Gearin*;[305] 1821, 1822 *Fivepenny*; 1843–82 *Cuig Peghinnean*; 2007 *Na Còig Peighinnean*‖*Fivepenny*; road sign *Coig Peighinnean*, *Na Coig Peighinnean*‖*Fivepenny* (*Ness*).

> Oftedal 1954, 371–72: '**Five Penny Ness** is a translation of the ScG *Còig Peighinn*;[306] it is not uncommon that villages are named in terms of the ancient land valuation (see for example Henderson 1910, 132ff). **Ness**, ScG *Nis* [nʼiʃ] §3 (i), is the name of the northernmost parish of Lewis and represents ON **Nes* acc. "(the) point of land, promontory", or rather its dative form **Nesi*. **Ness** is joined to the village name merely to distinguish it from **Five Penny Borve** (*Na Còig Peighinnean* #149).'

The name of a township in Nis; a Gaelic name, with the plural Gaelic article + the dependent numeral ScG *còig* (EG *cóic*) + the plural form of the noun ScG *peighinn* f. 'penny', indicating the old land valuation (#269).

#149 *Na Còig Peighinnean* CLA (Eng. *Fivepenny*)
[nə ˈkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən]; (gen.) *Nan Còig Peighinnean* [nə ˈŋkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən], or *Còig Peighinnean Bhuirgh* [ˌkʰoːg̊ʲˌpʰe-iɲ̊ən ˈvu̥ɾʃu̥j], (gen.) *Chòig Peighinn·ean Bhuirgh* [ˌxoːg̊ʲˌpʰe-iɲ̊ən ˈvu̥ɾʃu̥j]; NB408560. 1718 *Five Penny Borrow*, *Fivepenny Borrow*, *Fivepenny land of Borrow*; 1726 *Five Penny Borve*; 1821, 1822 *Fivepenny Borve*; 1843–82 *Borgh Mhòr or Cuig Peghinnean*; 2007 *Còig Peighinnean* (*Bhuirgh*)‖*Fivepenny*; road sign *Coig Peighinnean*.

An alternative name for the township *Borgh* #68, in Sgìre a' Chladaich; a Gaelic name, identical to *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148.

#150 *Col* BAC (Eng. *Coll*)
[kʰɔɬ̪], (gen.) *Chuil* [xu̥l]; NB467394. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804 *Cole*; 1807 *Cale*; 1843–82 *Amhuinn Chuil*; 1845 *Coll*; 2007 *Col*‖*Coll*; road sign *Col*.

The name of an area in Sgìre a' Bhac, containing several townships and neighbourhoods:

Col Uarach [ˌkʰɔɬ̪ ˈuəɾɔx], (gen.) *Chuil Uaraich* [ˌxu̥l ˈuəɾiç]; NB463391. 1654 *Kol oc.*; 1726, 1821, 1822 *Upper Coll*; 1843–82 *Coll Uarach*, *Traigh Chuil*; 1846 *Upper Coll*;

305. For *Gearin*, see *An Cnoc Àrd* #140.

306. Leg. *Na Còig Peighinnean*; in his notes in 1963, Oftedal recorded (nMO) '[nə ˈkʻoːiɡ̑ ˈpʻeːnʼən] (-[ˈpʻe-enʼən]?)'.

#148 *Na Còig Peighinnean* NIS
[nə ˈkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən]; (gin.) *Nan Còig Peighinnean* [nə ˈŋkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən]; NB524647. 1654 *Koig pein*; 1718 *Fivepennymore*, *Fivepenny land of Ness*, *Fivepenny·more of Ness*; 1726 *Five Pennies and Gearin*, *Five Pennys and Gearin*;[305] 1821, 1822 *Fivepenny*; 1843–82 *Cuig Peghinnean*; 2007 *Na Còig Peighinnean*‖*Fivepenny*; soighne rathaid *Coig Peighinnean*, *Na Coig Peighinnean*‖ *Fivepenny* (*Ness*).

> Oftedal 1954, 371–72: Tha **Five Penny Ness** na eadar-theangachadh de GA *Còig Peighinn*;[306] chan eil e ao-cumanta gu bheil bailtean air an ainm-eachadh a rèir an t-seann luachaidh fearainn (faic mar eisimpleir Hend-erson 1910, 132 ↄa). 'S e **Ness**, GA [nʼiʃ] §3 (i), an t-ainm a th' air an sgìre as fhaide a tuath ann an Leòdhas agus riochdaichidh e SL **Nes* cusp. '(an) rinn tìre, rubha', no, nas fheàrr, an riochd tabhartach aige **Nesi*. Cha chuir-ear **Ness** ri ainm a' bhaile ach gus a dhealachadh ri **Five Penny Borve** (*Na Còig Peighinnean* #149).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig iolra + an àireimh eisimeilich GA *còig* (GT *cóic*) + cruth iolra an ainmeir GA *peighinn* b. 'sgilling', a' sònrachadh seann luachadh an fhearainn (#269).

#149 *Na Còig Peighinnean* CLA
[nə ˈkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən]; (gin.) *Nan Còig Peighinnean* [nə ˈŋkʰoːg̊ʲ ˈpʰe-iɲ̊ən], no *Còig Peighinnean Bhuirgh* [ˌkʰoːg̊ʲˌpʰe-iɲ̊ən ˈvu̥ɾʃu̥j], (gin.) *Chòig Peighinn·ean Bhuirgh* [ˌxoːg̊ʲˌpʰe-iɲ̊ən ˈvu̥ɾʃu̥j]; NB408560; 1718 *Five Penny Borrow*, *Fivepenny Borrow*, *Fivepenny land of Borrow*; 1726 *Five Penny Borve*; 1821, 1822 *Fivepenny Borve*; 1843–82 *Borgh Mhòr or Cuig Peghinnean*; 2007 *Còig Peighinn·ean* (*Bhuirgh*)‖*Fivepenny*.

Ainm eile air a' bhaile fearainn *Borgh* #68, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich; ainm Gàidhlig, co-ionann ris *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148.

#150 *Col* BAC
[kʰɔɬ̪], (gin.) *Chuil* [xu̥l]; NB467394. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804 *Cole*; 1807 *Cale*; 1843–82 *Amhuinn Chuil*; 1845 *Coll*; 2007 *Col*‖*Coll*; soighne rathaid *Col*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, sa bheil corra bhaile fearainn agus àrainn:

Col Uarach [ˌkʰɔɬ̪ ˈuəɾɔx], (gin.) *Chuil Uaraich* [ˌxu̥l ˈuəɾiç]; NB463391. 1654 *Kol oc.*; 1726, 1821, 1822 *Upper Coll*; 1843–82 *Coll Uarach*, *Traigh Chuil*; 1846 *Upper Coll*;

305. Airson *Gearin*, faic *An Cnoc Àrd* #140.

306. Leugh *Na Còig Peighinnean*; na notaichean ann an 1963, chlàraich Oftedal (nMO) '[nə ˈkʻoːiɡ̑ ˈpʻeːnʼən] (-[ˈpʻe-enʼən]?)'.

2007, road sign *Col Uarach*‖*Upper Coll*.

Col Ìorach [ˌkʰɔɻˈiəɾɔx], (gen.) *Chuil Ìoraich* [ˌxu̯lˈiəɾiç]; NB465399. 1654 *Kol Ycrach, Avon Koll*; 1718 [?] *Easter Coll*; 1726 *Neather Coll*; 1821, 1822 *Nether Coll*; 1843–82 *Col Iorach, Nether Coll*; 1846 *Nether Coll*.

Ceann a-Muigh Chuil [ˌkʲʰãũn̪əˈmũjˈxu̯l]; NB460401. 2007 *Ceann a muigh Chùil* (*An Ceann a Muigh*)‖*Outend Coll*; road sign *Ceann a Muigh Chuil*‖*Outend Coll*.

Ceann a-Staigh Chuil [ˌkʲʰãũn̪əˈs̪t̪əjˈxu̯l]; NB475397. Road sign *Ceann a Stigh Chuil*‖*Inner Coll*.

> Oftedal 1954, 391–92: '**Coll** [kɔl] (?). If my notation is correct, MacBain's derivation (1922, 99) from ON *kollr* m. "round hill-top" is wrong, as this word would result in ScG *[kɔuɫ]. It may, however, be ON **Kolla*, accusative plural of the same word; this would normally yield *[kɔlə], syncopated to [kɔl] always before a following vowel and very easily so in final position. The syncopated vowel should normally be retained before a following consonant; I am not able to state whether this applies to the present case. This shows the importance of recording Lewis place-names in preconsonantal position as well as before a pause [in speech]. The same applies to *Am Bac* #23, which should have a preconsonantal form *[bɑhkə].
>
> 'ON **Kollar* nom. pl. is encountered as a farm name in Norway, now *Koller* (*NG* IV², 150). ON *kollr* is a frequent place-name element in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 70).'

Henderson (1910, 173) and MacBain (ibid.) agree with Oftedal in stating that ON *kollr* m. might be behind this name. Again (see *Am Bac* #23), only the form *Col* [kʰɔɻ] occurs, which, along with the genitive reflex *Chuil*, makes one think there is no connection with ON *kollr*. For the same reason, there is no link with ScG *call* 'hazel-tree' (OG *coll*).

In addition to the forms *Col Uarach* 'upper *Col*' and *Col Ìorach* 'lower *Col*',[307] the following are found: *Ceann a-Staigh*/*a-Muigh Chuil* 'the inner/outer end of *Col*', *Abhainn Chuil* 'the river of *Col*', *Tràigh Chuil* 'the beach of *Col*' and *Oitir Chuil* 'the shoal or sandbank of *Col*'.

In looking for a Gaelic solution to this name, it might be worth considering ScG *col* m. in the sense 'impedement, obstacle', which MacBain (1911, 96) connects with ScG *call* m. 'loss', but which has fallen together with ScG *col*

307. The adjectives ScG *uarach* and *ìorach* are dialectal reflexes of *uachdrach* 'upper' (EG *úachtarach*) and *ìochdrach* 'lower' (EG *íchtarach*), respectively.

2007, soighne rathaid *Col Uarach*‖*Upper Coll*.

Col Ìorach [ˌkʰɔɻˈiəɾɔx], (gin.) *Chuil Ìoraich* [ˌxu̯lˈiəɾiç]; NB465399. 1654 *Kol Ycrach, Avon Koll*; 1718 [?] *Easter Coll*; 1726 *Neather Coll*; 1821, 1822 *Nether Coll*; 1843–82 *Col Iorach, Nether Coll*; 1846 *Nether Coll*.

Ceann a-Muigh Chuil [ˌkʲʰãũn̪əˈmũjˈxu̯l]; NB460401. 2007 *Ceann a muigh Chùil* (*An Ceann a Muigh*)‖*Outend Coll*; soighne rathaid *Ceann a Muigh Chuil*‖*Outend Coll*.

Ceann a-Staigh Chuil [ˌkʲʰãũn̪əˈs̪t̪əjˈxu̯l]; NB475397. Soighne rathaid *Ceann a Stigh Chuil*‖*Inner Coll*.

> Oftedal 1954, 391–92: **Coll** [kɔl] (?). Mas e 's gu bheil an tras-sgrìobhadh agam ceart, tha freumhachd MhacBain (1922, 99) à SL *kollr* f. 'mullach beinne cruinn' ceàrr, seach gun toireadh am facal seo GA *[kɔuɫ]. Is dòcha, ge-tà, gur h-e SL **Kolla* a th' ann, an tuiseal cuspaireach iolra aig an aon fhacal; mar bu trice, bhiodh seo a' toirt *[kɔlə], air a theasgadh gu [kɔl] an-còmhnaidh air thoiseach air fuaimreig agus gu furasta ann an carachadh deiridh. Ghlèidhte an fhuaimreig theasgaichte mar bu trice ro chonnraig; chan urrainn dhomh a ràdh a bheil seo fìor sa chùis seo. Tha seo a' sealltainn cho cudromach 's a tha e a bhith a' clàradh ainmean-àite ro chonnraig agus ro stad labhairte. Tha an t-aon rud fìor a thaobh *Am Bac* #23, aig am bu chòir do chruth ro-chonnragach *[bɑhkə] a bhith.
>
> Gheibhear SL **Kollar* ainmn. iol. mar ainm tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh, a-nise *Koller* (*NG* IV², 150). Tha SL *kollr* na eileamaid ainm-àite bitheanta ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 70).

Thèid Henderson (1910, 173) agus MacBain (ibid.) le Oftedal ann a bhith ag ràdh gur dòcha gur h-e SL *kollr* f. a tha air cùl an ainme seo. A-rithist (faic *Am Bac* #23), chan fhaighear ach *Col* [kʰɔɻ], rud, cho math ris an riochd ghinideach *Chuil*, a bheir air duine smaoineachadh nach eil ceangal sam bith ri SL *kollr*. Air an aon adhbhar, chan eil ceangal aig an ainm ri GA *call* 'craobhchalltainn' (SG *coll*).

A thuilleadh air na cruthan *Col Uarach* is *Col Ìorach*,[307] gheibhear *Ceann a-Staigh*/*a-Muigh Chuil*, *Abhainn Chuil*, *Tràigh Chuil* agus *Oitir Chuil*.

A' sireadh fuasgladh Gàidhlig dhan ainm seo, b' fhiach beachdachadh air GA *col* f. sa bhrìgh 'bacadh', a cheanglas MacBain (1911, 96) ri GA *call* f., ach a tha co-dhiù air a dhol còmhla ri GA *col* f. 'eucoir, peacadh, col

307. .i. 'am baile *Col* as àirde/am baile *Col* as ìsle'. Tha na buadhairean GA *uarach* agus *ìorach* nan riochdan dualchainnteach aig *uachdrach* (GT *úachtarach*) agus *ìochdrach* (GT *íchtarach*), fa leth.

m. crime, sin, incest' (OG *col* nt.).[308]

Perhaps the noun ScG *col* was used in the sense 'promontory that sticks out, that is in the way', as, apparently, was ScG *crois* f. in the sense 'hindrance' in *Gob na Crois* 'the point of—' and *Cnoc na Crois* 'the hill of the hindering promontory' in *Borghaston* #69 (Cox 2002a, 234, 302). In this sense, *Col* would have originally referred to the promontory with *Rubha Bhataisgeir* (#65) at its head.[309] However, *Oitir Chuil*, a shoal of sand running for about 500 m (about 570 yards) parallel to the beach (*Tràigh Chuil*) – but today called *Druim na Luid* 'the ridge of the pool', after the pool at one end (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 20) – would have been a notable obstruction to boats making for the beach.

#151 *Crabhlastadh* ÙIG (Eng. *Crowlista*)
[ˈkʰrauɬə ˌsta̠ɣ], (gen.) *Chrabhlastaidh* [ˈxrauɬə ˌsta̠j]; NB041337. 1718, 1726 *Crau·lista*; 1821, 1822 *Cranlista* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Croulasta*, *Croulasta School*; 1846 [?] *Gran·lista*; 2007, road sign *Cradhlastadh*‖*Crowlista*.

Oftedal 1954, 388: '**Croulista** [?].[310] Apparently an ON *-staðir* name.'

The name of a township in Ùig. Taylor (2011, s.v. *Crowlista*) follows MacBain (1922, 111) in suggesting ON **Kró-hlíð-staðir* '(the) pen-slope-farm', but it is unlikely that would yield the diphthong ScG [au].

In Common Scandinavian (c.550–c.1050), /h/ was a fricative ([x/ç]) before becoming as aspirant [h] late in that period, before being lost in Old Norse (c.1050–c.1350) except in initial, pre-vocalic position (Iversen 1973, 11–13). It is difficult to be certain without further evidence but *Crabhlastadh* might originate in CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða* '**Hróðvaldr*'s farm', with accusative plural of ON *staðr* m. in the sense 'farm' and genitive of the man's name **Hróðvaldr* m. (> ON *Hróaldr*, *Róaldr*), an old personal name in Iceland and Norway (*GP*, 205–06).

From CSc. **Hróðvaldsstaða*, one might get EG *[ˈkrɔ:ðβɬə ˌsta̠ð] > *[ˈkrɔ:βɬə ˌsta̠ð], with [x] delenited to [kʰ] by back-formation §33, with *ld* > EG [ɬ̪][311] and with metathesis in the second syllable §40 (i), which would yield ScG [ˈkʰrɔuɬə ˌsta̠ɣ]

308. The word occurs in the sense 'sin' in *Artda Muirchol*, i.e. ScG *Àird nam Murchan* (Eng. *Ardnamurchan*), in Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, which Watson (1926, 93) associates with sea piracy.

309. Charles M. Robertson cites the Gaelic name forms *Col Dhochart* (NN592329, near Weem in Perthshire), *A' Chol Daroch* (NG841572, near Achnasheen in Ross-shire) and *Caisteal Col* (NC770218, or NC7616 near Dalfolly (Jacob King, personal communication) in Sutherland), but they have not been explained. (These three place-names are cited in King 2019, 311, 152, 104, respectively.)

310. (nMO) [kʻraʊləsta̠ɣ], [kʻraʊləsta̠j], *Bàgh Chrabhlastaidh* [ba̠·ɣ ˈxraʊl̥əsta̠ʝ].

311. Cf. the man's name ON *Rǫgnvald* acc. m. > ScG *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɬ̪].

feise' (SG *col* n.).[308]

'S dòcha gun robhas a' cleachdadh an ainmeir GA *col* san t-seagh 'rubha a bhios a' stobadh a-mach, a bhios san rathad', mar a bhathas, a rèir choltais, le GA *crois* 'bacadh' ann an GA *Gob na Crois* agus *Cnoc na Crois* ann am *Borgh·aston* #69 (Cox 2002a, 234, 302). San t-seagh seo, bhiodh GA *Col* a' sònrachadh bho thùs an rubha a tha *Rubha Bhataisgeir* (#65) aig a cheann.[309] Gidheadh, bhiodh *Oitir Chuil*, druim gainmhich mu 500 m (mu 570 slat) de dh'fhad co-shìnte ris an tràigh (*Tràigh Chuil*) – ach air a bheil *Druim na Luid* mar ainm an-diugh, air an lod no lòn aig an dàrna ceann dhith (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 20) – na bhacadh comharraichte do bhàtaichean a' dèanamh air an tràigh.

#151 *Crabhlastadh* ÙIG
[ˈkʰrauɬə ˌsta̠ɣ], (gin.) *Chrabhlastaidh* [ˈxrauɬə ˌsta̠j]; NB041337. 1718, 1726 *Crau·lista*; 1821, 1822 *Cranlista* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Croulasta*, *Croulasta School*; 1846 [?] *Gran·lista*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cradhlastadh*‖ *Crowlista*.

Oftedal 1954, 388: **Croulista** [?].[310] A rèir choltais, na ainm ann an SL *-staðir*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig. Leanaidh Taylor (2011, s.v. *Crowlista*) MacBain (1922, 111) ann a bhith a' cur air shùilibh SL **Kró-hlíð-staðir* '(an) crò-leathad-thuathanas', ach cha choltach gun toireadh sin an dà-fhoghar GA [au].

Bha /h/ na suathach ([x/ç]) anns an Lochlannais Bhitheanta (c.550–c.1050) mus deach i na h-analach [h] gu h-anmoch san linn sin, mus deach a call ach ro fhuaimreagan aig toiseach fhaclan san Lochlannais (c.1050–c.1350) (Iversen 1973, 11–13). Tha e duilich a bhith cinnteach gun tuilleadh fianaise ach dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich *Crabhlastadh* ann an LB **Hróðvaldsstaða* 'an tuathanas aig **Hróðvaldr*', le tuiseal cuspaireach iolra an ainmeir SL *staðr* f. sa bhrìgh 'tuath-anas' agus tuiseal ginideach an ainme fireannaich **Hróðvaldr* f. (> SL *Hróaldr*, *Róaldr*), seann ainm pearsanta ann an Innis Tìle agus Nirribhidh (*GP*, 205–06).

À LB **Hróðvaldsstaða*, dh'fhaodte gum faighte GT *[ˈkrɔ:ðβɬə ˌsta̠ð] > *[ˈkrɔ:βɬə ˌsta̠ð], le [x] air a dì-shèimheachadh gu [kʰ] le cùl-chinntinn §33, le *ld* > GT [ɬ̪][311] agus le eadar-chàradh san dàrna lide §40 (i), a bheireadh GA [ˈkʰrɔuɬə ˌsta̠ɣ] no

308. Èiridh am facal san t-seagh 'peacadh' ann an *Artda Muirchol*, .i. GA *Àird nam Murchan*, aig Ádhamhnán na *Vita Columbae*, a cheanglas Watson (1926, 93) ri spùinneadaireachd mara.

309. Tha na h-ainmean Gàidhlig *Col Dhochart* (NN592329, faisg air Baile a' Chlachain ann an Siorrachd Pheairt), *A' Chol Daroch* (NG841572, faisg air Acha na Sìne ann an Siorrachd Rois) agus *Caisteal Col* (NC770218, no NC7616 faisg air Dail Phollaidh (Jacob King, conaltradh pearsanta), ann an Cataibh) aig Charles M. Robertson, ach cha deach am mìneachadh. (Thèid na trì ainmean-àite seo ainmeachadh ann an King 2019, 311, 152, 104, fa leth.)

310. (nMO) [kʻraʊləsta̠ɣ], [kʻraʊləsta̠j], *Bàgh Chrabhlastaidh* [ba̠·ɣ ˈxraʊl̥əsta̠ʝ].

311. Coim. an t-ainm fireannaich SL *Rǫgnvald* cusp. f. > GA *Raghnall* [ˈɾəː-əɬ̪].

or [ˈkʰrauɬə ˌn̪s̪taɣ] regularly, cf. EG *coḃlach* m. *[ˈkoβ̬l̪əx]> ScG (Lewis) *cabhlach* [ˈkʰau̯l̪x] ‘fleet, navy’.

For ON *staðr* m., see #331, fn 803.

#152 *Crò Beag* CDL
[ˌkʰrɔ· ˈb̥eɡ̊], (gen.) *Chrò Beag* [ˌxrɔ· ˈb̥eɡ̊]; NB391210. 1821 *Croebeg*; 1843–82 *Cro·béag*.

The name of a small farm opposite *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Crò Mòr (#154)
[ˌkʰrɔ· ˈmoːr], (gen.) *Chrò Mòr* [ˌxrɔ· ˈmoːr], but *Loch Crò Mòr* [l̪̊ɔxˌkʰrɔ· ˈmoːr][312]; NB398212. 1776, 1804 *Cremore*; 1807 *Cremare*1821 *Croebeg*; 1843–82 *Cromòr*, *Creag Chromoir*, *Tòb Chromòir*, *Dun Chromòir*, *Loch Chromòir*; 1845 *Cromore*; 2007 *Cromòr*‖*Cromore*.

The name of a township on the south side of the mouth of *Loch Èireasort* (#180, fn 399), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch. Oftedal deals with these two names together, as is done below.

> Oftedal 1954, 403: ‘**Crobeg** and **Cromore** [krɔ ˈbeg], [krɔ ˈmoːr] ([krə ˈmoːr]) are Gaelic names: *Crò Beag* “small (sheep or cattle) fold”, *Crò Mòr* “large fold”. Note that these names are not preceded by the article, as Gaelic names of this type commonly are. “‘At **Cromore**” is *an Crò Mòr* [ə ŋhrɔ ˈmoːr], not **anns a’ Chrò Mhòr* *[ɑs[313] ə xrɔ ˈvoːr].’

It is unlikely the generic in the names *Crò Beag* and *Crò Mòr* is an appellative: not only is it not accompanied by the Gaelic article, but the specific adjectives are not inflected as would be expected: (dat.) (*ann*) *an Crò Mòr* ‘in *Crò Mòr*’ and (gen.) *Dùn Chrò Mòr* ‘the fort of *Crò Mòr*’ (although (1843–82) *Dun Chromòir* etc. suggest that palatalisation used to occur in the genitive case in *Crò Mòr*, there is no evidence of the final of the adjective in *Crò Beag* being palatalised). The generic is most likely an Old Norse loan-name. Single-element Old Norse loan-names are certainly not as common as multi-element loan-names, but they are not at all unknown, e.g. *Bòstadh* #72, *Brocair* #80, *Brù* #82 and *Dail* #166.

ON **Kró* would yield ScG [kʰrɔː] regularly. ON *kró* f. in the sense ‘fold, pen’ is a loan-word from EG *cró* f. (see *Crothair* #157, *Crùlabhig* #159).

312. With delenition.

313. Short for [ɑ̃ũs̪].

[ˈkʰrauɬə ˌn̪s̪taɣ] gu riaghailteach, coim. GT *coḃlach* f. *[ˈkoβ̬l̪əx]> GA (Leòdhas) *cabhlach* [ˈkʰau̯l̪x].

Airson SL *staðr* f., faic #331, bn 803.

#152 *Crò Beag* CDL
[ˌkʰrɔ· ˈb̥eɡ̊], (gin.) *Chrò Beag* [ˌxrɔ· ˈb̥eɡ̊]; NB391210. 1821 *Croebeg*; 1843–82 *Cro·béag*.

An t-ainm air tuathanas beag mu choinneimh *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Crò Mòr (#154)
[ˌkʰrɔ· ˈmoːr], (gin.) *Chrò Mòr* [ˌxrɔ· ˈmoːr], ach *Loch Crò Mòr* [l̪̊ɔxˌkʰrɔ· ˈmoːr][312]; NB398212. 1776, 1804 *Cremore*; 1807 *Cremare* 1821 *Croemore*; 1843–82 *Cromòr*, *Creag Chromoir*, *Tòb Chromòir*, *Dun Chromòir*, *Loch Chromòir*; 1845 *Cromore*; 2007 *Cromòr*‖*Cromore*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh a deas beul *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch. Dèiligidh Oftedal ris an dà ainm seo còmhladh; nithear mar an ceudna shìos.

> Oftedal 1954, 403: ’S e ainmean Gàidhlig a th’ ann an **Crobeg** agus **Cromore** [krɔ ˈbeg], [krɔ ˈmoːr] ([krə ˈmoːr]): *Crò Beag* ‘cotan (chaorach no cruidh) beag’, *Crò Mòr* ‘cotan mòr’. Mothaich nach tig an t-alt ro na h-ainmean seo, mar a thig gu bitheanta ann an ainmean den t-seòrsa seo. Canar *an Crò Mòr* [ə ŋhrɔ ˈmoːr], chan e **anns a’ Chrò Mhòr* *[ɑs[313] ə xrɔ ˈvoːr].

Cha choltach gu bheil an seòrsaichear sna h-ainmean *Crò Beag* is *Crò Mòr* na ainmear bitheanta: chan e a-mhàin nach nochd an t-alt Gàidhlig cuide ris ach cha chlaoin na buadhairean sònrachaidh nas motha mar a bhite a’ sùileachadh: gheibhear (tabh.) (*ann*) *an Crò Mòr* is (gin.) *Dùn Chrò Mòr* (ged a chuireas (1843–82) *Dun Chromòir* ꝛc air shùilibh gum faighte càireanachadh sa bhuadhair san tuiseal ghinideach ann an *Crò Mòr* uair, chan eil a dh’fhianais a dh’innseas am biodh deireadh a’ bhuadhair ann an *Crò Beag* a’ càireanachadh). Is ro-choltach gur h-e ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a th’ anns an t-seòrsaichear. Chan eil ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais aon-eileamaideach cho bitheanta idir ri ainmean-iasaid iomadh-eileamaideach, ach chan eil iad do-aithnichte, m.e. *Bòstadh* #72, *Brocair* #80, *Brù* #82 agus *Dail* #166.

Bheireadh SL **Kró* GA [kʰrɔː] gu riaghailteach. ’S e facal-iasaid a th’ ann an SL *kró* b. san t-seagh ‘crò, cotan, buaile’ à GT *cró* b. (faic *Crothair* #157, *Crùlabhig* #159).

312. Le dì-shèimheachadh.

313. Na ghiorrachadh air [ɑ̃ũs̪].

As specific elements, the adjectives ScG *beag* (#8) and *mòr* (#2) in these names have a contrastive function; for the lack of lenition, see §33 (i).

#153 *Crò Leatha* ÙIG
[ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈlæ-a], [ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈla-a];[314] (gen.) *Chrò Leatha* [ˌxɾɔˑ ˈlæ-a], [ˌxɾɔˑ ˈla-a]; NB104177. 1843–82 *Tom Lèatha, Loch Lèatha, Amhuinn Lèatha, Allt Lèatha*; 1860 *Lag Leatha, Tom Leatha, Loch Leatha.*

The name of a deserted settlement at the inner end of *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112), in ÙIG; Lawson (2011, 243–44: *Crola*) says there was only one house here.

ScG *Crò Leatha* is likely to consist of ScG *crò* f. 'fold, pen' and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific, perhaps from ON **Lægð-á* '(the) basin-river', with the stem form of ON *lægð* f. 'hollow, basin, low ground' and ON *á* f. 'river'. ON **Lægð-á* might well yield EG *[ˈɲɛːɣðˌaː] > early ScG *[ˈɲɛːˌaː] (with loss of the medial cluster), which would yield ScG *[ˈɲɛ-a], *[ˈɲæ-a] (with shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus and shortening of the vowel in a half- or unstressed syllable). ScG (lenited) [ˈla-a] (as opposed to *[ˈlɛ-a], [ˈlæ-a]) may have arisen by reason of euphony.[315, 316]

Loch Leatha 'the loch of—' lies within a low level valley, from which *Abhainn Leatha* 'the river of—' runs past *Tom Leatha* 'the hill of—' and down to *Crò Leatha*, beside *Loch Reusort*.[317]

#154 *Crò Mòr* CDL (Eng. *Cromore*)
[ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈmoːɾ], (gen.) *Chrò Mòr* [ˌxɾɔˑ ˈmoːɾ], but *Loch Crò Mòr* [ˌɬɔxˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈmoːɾ]; NB398212.

See under *Crò Beag* #152.

#155 *Cros* NIS (Eng. *Cross*)
[kʰɾɔsˌ], (gen.) *Chrois* [xɾɔʃ]; NB507621. 1718, 1726, 1821, 1822 *Cross*; 1843–82 *Cross, Amhuinn Chrois, Tràigh Chrois*; 1845, 1846 *Cross*; 2007, road sign *Cros*‖*Cross*.

314. (nMO) [kʿɾɔ ˈla-a].

315. Cf. ScG *Na Leth-Leòidean*, formally *[nə ˈɲeˌlɔːʤʲən], locally [nə ˈɲæˌlaʤʲən] 'the steep slopes' NB213450, in *Daile Mòr* (#167) (Cox 2002a, 313).

316. MacIver (1934, 87) has '*krok-r*, crò, a bend in the land or corner; *hlé*, shelter', but, given the stress pattern of the name *Crò Leatha* and given the names *Loch Leatha* etc., it would be difficult to justify a form like ON **Krók-hlé* '(the) corner-shelter' from the point of view of either structure or sense.

317. It is not certain whether the same element occurs in the name ScG *Lag ma Leatha* (nMO) [ˌɾʿɑg̠ mɑ ˈla-a] 'the hollow by—'; for the syntax in this name, see #48, fn 95.

Mar eileamaidean sònrachaidh, tha dreuchd dealachaidh aig na buadhairean GA *beag* (#8) is *mòr* (#2) an seo; airson an dìth sèimheachaidh, faic §33 (i).

#153 *Crò Leatha* ÙIG
[ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈlæ-a], [ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈla-a];[314] (gin.) *Chrò Leatha* [ˌxɾɔˑ ˈlæ-a], [ˌxɾɔˑ ˈla-a]; NB104177. 1843–82 *Tom Lèatha, Loch Lèatha, Amhuinn Lèatha, Allt Lèatha*; 1860 *Lag Leatha, Tom Leatha, Loch Leatha.*

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann an ceann a-staigh *Loch Reusort* (#112), ann an ÙIG; canaidh Lawson (2011, 243–44: *Crola*) nach robh ann ach an t-aon taigh.

Is coltach gur h-e GA *crò* b. 'cotan, buaile' agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear a th' ann an GA *Crò Leatha*, 's dòcha à SL **Lægð-á* '(a') mhiasaid-abhainn', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *lægð* b. 'miasaid, lag, talamh ìosal' agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn'. Is iongantach mana toireadh SL **Lægð-á* GT *[ˈɲɛːɣðˌaː] > GA thràth *[ˈɲɛːˌaː] (le call a' chòmhlain mheadhanaich), a bheireadh GA *[ˈɲɛ-a], *[ˈɲæ-a] (le giorrachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ro bheàrnas agus giorrachadh san fhuaimreig ann an lide leth- no neo-bheumte). 'S dòcha gun do dh'èirich GA [ˈla-a] (sèimhichte) (seach *[ˈlɛ-a], [ˈlæ-a]) air adh-bhar binneis.[315, 316]

Tha coltas ìosal còmhnard rèidh air a' ghleann sa bheil *Loch Leatha*, às an ruith *Abhainn Leatha*, seachad air *Tom Leatha* agus a-nuas gu *Crò Leatha*, ri taobh *Loch Reusort*.[317]

#154 *Crò Mòr* CDL
[ˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈmoːɾ], (gin.) *Chrò Mòr* [ˌxɾɔˑ ˈmoːɾ], ach *Loch Crò Mòr* [ˌɬɔxˌkʰɾɔˑ ˈmoːɾ]; NB398212.

Faic fo *Crò Beag* #152.

#155 *Cros* NIS
[kʰɾɔsˌ], (gin.) *Chrois* [xɾɔʃ]; NB507621. 1718, 1726, 1821, 1822 *Cross*; 1843–82 *Cross, Amhuinn Chrois, Tràigh Chrois*; 1845, 1846 *Cross*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cros*‖*Cross*.

314. (nMO) [kʿɾɔ ˈla-a].

315. Coim. GA *Na Leth-Leòidean*, gu foirmeil *[nə ˈɲeˌlɔːʤʲən], gu h-ionadail [nə ˈɲæˌlaʤʲən] 'na bruthaichean casa' NB213450, ann an *Daile Mòr* (#167) (Cox 2002a, 313).

316. Tha '*krok-r*, crò, a bend in the land or corner; *hlé*, shelter' aig MacIver (1934, 87), ach, a chionn pàtran beuma an ainme *Crò Leatha* agus a chionn nan ainmean *Loch Leatha* ⁊c, bhiodh e doirbh cruth mar SL **Krók-hlé* '(an t-)oisean-fhasgadh' fhìreanachadh a thaobh aon chuid co-chuir no brìghe.

317. Cha chinnteach an nochd an aon eileamaid san ainm GA *Lag ma Leatha* (nMO) [ˌɾʿɑg̠ mɑ ˈla-a]; airson co-rèir an ainme seo, faic #48, bn 95.

Oftedal 1954, 373–74: '**Cross** [?].[318] This is almost certainly ON **Kross* "(the) cross", found as a farm name in Norway[319] and Iceland.[fn] The grammatical form may be nominative singular **Kross*, accusative singular **Kros*[320] or accusative plural **Krossa*. The name has several applications in Norse toponomy; sometimes it refers to crossroads, sometimes to crosses erected for some purpose. It is difficult to decide what this particular name refers to.

fn: If the name were Gaelic, it would be preceded by the article according to general practice in Lewis, unless it were an exception like *Crò Mòr* and *Crò Beag* #152.[321] *Cross* is, however, frequent as a place-name in Ireland (Joyce 1901, 327ff.), where it can hardly be of Norse origin.

The name of a township in Nis; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Kross* '(the) cross'. Cf. ScG *Crosabost* #156, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Cf. the village name Eng. *Camuscross* NG697114, in Skye. Locally, its Gaelic name is *Camas Chros*,[322] i.e. with ScG *camas* m. 'bay' and, apparently, the Old Norse loan-name ScG **Cros*, lenited in the genitive, although the 1843–82 map has *Camas Croise* and Forbes (1923, 358) *Camus-na-Croise*, perhaps influenced by the village name *Camas na Croise* NM862524, in Morven.

Cf. also ScG *Gob na Crois* 'the point of—' NB189422 (and, above it, ScG *Cnoc na Crois* 'the hill of—' NB190423), in *Borghaston* #69, with genitive of the noun ScG *crois* f. 'cross', but perhaps with the extended sense 'hindrance', referring to the promontory (with the quay) that blocks direct route to the inner end of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* 'the loch of *Càrlabhagh* #98'. It is not known whether this extended sense has any connection with these other names, but the mouths of the bays in Skye and in Morven might be thought of as having 'hindering' promontories. However, there is no evidence to suggest that this is the sense of *Cros* in Lewis.

The sense of the specific in ScG *Tom na Croise* (nMO) [tʻəmə ˈkrɔʃ] (formally

318. (nMO) [kʻrɔsː], (gen.) [xrɔʃ], *Abhainn Chrois* [ãviɴʼ ˈxrɔʃ] 'the river of *Cros*'.

319. In single-element names in Norway, Norw. *kross* only occurs with the singular article, i.e. *Krossen* (none of which are of certain Old Norse origin), though twice in the indefinite plural *Krosser* (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

320. Leg. **Kross*; *-ss* is part of the stem of this noun (Harald Bjorvand, personal communication).

321. The present writer takes *Crò Mòr* and *Crò Beag* to be Gaelic names based upon an Old Norse loan-name (#152).

322. MacCalmain 1971, 7; but Taylor (2011, s.v. *Camuscross*): *Camas Cros*.

Oftedal 1954, 373–74: '**Cross** [?].[318] Cha mhòr nach eil e cinnteach gur h-e SL **Kross* '(a') chrois' a tha seo, air a lorg na ainm tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh[319] agus ann an Innis Tìle.[bn] Faodaidh an cruth gràmair a bhith na thuiseal ainmneach singilte **Kross*, cuspaireach singilte **Kros*[320] no cuspaireach iolra **Krossa*. Tha corra bhrìgh aig an ainm ann an ainmean-àite ann an Nirribhidh; air uairean beanaidh e ri crois-rathaid, air uairean ri croisean air an togail air adhbhar air choreigin. Tha e duilich a bhith cinnteach cò ris a bheanas an t-ainm seo.

bn: Nam b' e ainm Gàidhlig a bh' ann, bhiodh an t-alt air thoiseach air mar a b' àbhaist ann an Leòdhas, mana h-e mura-bhith a bh' ann mar a tha ann an *Crò Mòr* agus *Crò Beag* #152.[321] Tha *Cross* bitheanta, ge-tà, mar ainm-àite ann an Èirinn (Joyce 1901, 327 ꝛa), far nach mòr gur h-e tùs Lochlannais a th' aige.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Kross* '(a') chrois'. Coim. GA *Crosabost* #156, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Coim. ainm a' bhaile Brl. *Camuscross* NG697114, san Eilean Sgitheanach. 'S e *Camas Chros* an t-ainm Gàidhlig a th' air gu h-ionadail,[322] .i. le GA *camas* f. 'bàgh' agus, a rèir choltais, an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA **Cros*, air a shèimheachadh san tuiseal ghinideach, ged as e *Camas Croise* a th' air a' mhapa 1843–82 agus *Camus-na-Croise* a th' aig Forbes (1923, 358), is dòcha fo bhuaidh ainm a' bhaile *Camas na Croise* NM862524, sa Mhorbhairne.

Coim. cuideachd GA *Gob na Crois* NB189422 (agus, bhos a chionn, GA *Cnoc na Crois* NB190423), ann am *Borghaston* #69, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *crois* b., ach is dòcha leis a' bhrìgh shìnte 'bacadh', a' tarraing air an rubha (leis a' chidhe) a chuireas casg air cùrsa dìreach do cheann a-staigh *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98). Chan eil fhios a bheil ceangal aig a' bhrìgh shìnte seo ris na h-ainmean eile shuas, ach dh'fhaodte a ràdh gu bheil rubha 'bacaidh' aig beòil nam bàghannan san Eilean Sgitheanach agus sa Mhorbhairne. Chan eil dad ri ràdh, ge-tà, gur h-e seo as brìgh do *Chros* ann an Leòdhas.

Chan eil fhios dè as brìgh dhan t-sònraichear ann an GA *Tom na Croise*

318. (nMO) [kʻrɔsː], (gin.) [xrɔʃ], *Abhainn Chrois* [ãviɴʼ ˈxrɔʃ].

319. Ann an ainmean aon-eileamaideach ann an Nirribhidh, cha nochd Nirr. *kross* ach leis an alt shingilte, .i. *Krossen* (gun gin dhiubh le cinnt às an Lochlannais), dà uair san iolra neo-dheimhinnte *Krosser* (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

320. Leugh **Kross*; tha *-ss* na phàirt de bhun-riochd an ainmeir seo (Harald Bjorvand, conaltradh pearsanta).

321. Gabhaidh an t-ùghdar sa ris gur h-e ainmean Gàidhlig a th' ann an *Crò Mòr* agus *Crò Beag* air am bonntachadh air ainm-iasaid Lochlannais (#152).

322. MacCalmain 1971, 7; ach Taylor (2011, s.v. *Camuscross*): *Camas Cros*.

*[t̪ʰɔ̃ũm nə ˈkʰrɔʃ(ə)]) NB385445, the name of a hill on *Barbhas* moor #47, is unknown.

#156 *Crosabost* CTL (Eng. *Crossbost*)
[ˈkʰrɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) [ˈxrɔs̪əˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB397243. 1654 *Kroſſboſt*; 1821 *Crossbost*; 1843–82 *Crossbost*, *Crossbost Free Church*; 2007 *Crosbost*‖*Crossbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 399: '**Crossbost** [krɔsəbɔst] is hardly ON **Kross-bólstaðr* "(the) cross-farm" (like *Krossbister* in Shetland, see Jakobsen 1936, 27), as the usual spelling has led earlier investigators to believe, but ON **Krossabólstaðr* "(the) farm of the crosses" with genitive plural of ON *kross* m. It is not likely that [ə] should be a secondary development between [s] and [b], as the medial cluster [sp], phonemically /sb/, is quite common in the dialect, e.g. ScG *cuspair* [kuspɑð] "mark to aim at", ScG *uspag* [uspak] "breath of wind". The exact meaning of ON *kross* in this connection is impossible to determine. As the map shows, it cannot refer to crossroads, as it frequently does in Norway. It is more likely to denote, in its plural form, two or more crosses erected for some purpose. There are no such crosses in the place now, nor, as far as I can ascertain, any living tradition about them.'

The name of a township in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. In spite of what Oftedal says about medial [ə], one can compare the woman's name ScG *Iseabail* b. [ˈiʃəb̥al] < Eng. *Ishbel*, with epenthesis, and the 17th-century loan-shift ScG *cèiseball* m. [ˈkʲʰeːʃəˌb̥au̯ɬ̪] 'ball, handball; football', with epenthesis,[323] which originates in late MScots *caitchpell* etc. *[ˈkɛtʃˌpɛl] < *cachspell* 'the game of hand-tennis' < Older Flemish *caetsspel*.[324]

In addition to the meaning 'cross, crucifix', ON *kross* was used in the sense 'crossing-place, crossing; fork in a road'.[325] While the village may have been named after some crucifix situated, for example, on *Cnoc an Dùine* 'the hill of the fort' (cf. #170) – the hill upon which part of the village now sits – it is possible that ON **Kross-bólstað* acc. '(the) cross-farm' referred to the crossing-place

323. I.e. with morphemic substitution, cf. ScG *Somhairle* < ON *Sumarliði*, via EG *saṁairle* 'pup' (#311 (i), fn 733).

324. Scots *cach*(*e*)*pell*, *caich*(*e*)*pule*, *chachspele*, *cachespale*, *cach*(*e*)*peill*, *cachepill*, *caitchpell*, *-pill*; *cach*(*e*)*puyle*, *-puyll*, *-pull*, *caitchepull*, *catchpul*(*l*), *-poole*, *-pole*; *catch·ball*; *kachepele*, *kachepull*, *kaichspell*, *kaitchpell*, *kaichpeel*; *kaitch*(*e*)*pull*(*e*), *-pule*, *kaich·puill*, *kechpule*, *keitchepule* (*DSL*, s.vv. *cach*(*e*)*pell*, *kachepele*).

325. Most names in ON *kross* along the coast of Norway are seen as indicative of a stone or wooden cross (Arne Kruse, personal communication).

(nMO) [tʻəmə ˈkrɔʃ] (gu foirmeil *[t̪ʰɔ̃ũm nə ˈkʰrɔʃ(ə)]) NB385445, an t-ainm air cnoc air mòintich *Bharbhais* #47.

#156 *Crosabost* CTL
[ˈkʰrɔs̪əˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) [ˈxrɔs̪əˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB397243. 1654 *Kroſſboſt*; 1821 *Crossbost*; 1843–82 *Crossbost*, *Crossbost Free Church*; 2007 *Crosbost*‖*Crossbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 399: Cha mhòr gur h-e SL **Kross-bólstaðr* '(an) crois-thuathanas' a th' ann an **Crossbost** [krɔsəbɔst] (mar *Krossbister* ann an Sealtainn, faic Jakobsen 1936, 27), mar a thug an litreachadh àbhaisteach air luchd-rannsachaidh na bu tràithe a chreidsinn, ach SL **Krossabólstaðr* 'tuathanas nan croisean', leis a' chruth ghinideach iolra aig SL *kross* f. Cha choltach gur h-e dàrnacha leasachadh a bhiodh ann an [ə] eadar [s] agus [b], agus an còmhlan meadhain [sp], gu fuinn-eòlach /sb/, caran bitheanta san dualchainnt, m.e. GA *cuspair* [kuspɑð] 'comharra air am bitear ag amas', GA *uspag* [uspak] 'oiteag gaoithe'. Tha e do-dhèanta a cho-dhùnadh cò an dearbh bhrìgh a th' aig SL *kross* san t-suidheachadh seo. Mar a sheallas am mapa, chan urrainn dha a bhith a' tarraing air crois-rathaid, mar a bhitheas e gu tric ann an Nirribhidh. Tha e nas coltaiche gun riochdaich e, na chruth iolra, a dhà no barrachd a chroisean a chaidh a chur an-àirde air adhbhar air choreigin. Chan eil a leithid de chroisean san àite a-nise, no sgeul beò mun deidhinn, cho fad 's as urrainn dhomh a lorg.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. A dh'aindeoin na chanas Oftedal mu [ə] mheadhain, faodar coimeas a dhèanamh ris an ainm boireannaich GA *Iseabail* b. [ˈiʃəb̥al] < Brl. *Ishbel*, le còmhnadh, agus iasad iomlaide na 17mh linne GA *cèise-ball* f. [ˈkʲʰeːʃəˌb̥au̯ɬ̪] 'ball, ball-làimhe; ball-coise', le còmhnadh,[323] a thàrmaicheas ann am MAlb. anmoch *caitchpell* ↄc *[ˈkɛtʃˌpɛl] < *cachspell* 'an geama teanas-làimhe' < an Fhlànrais as Sine *caetsspel*.[324]

A thuilleadh air a' bhrìgh 'crois, crann-ceusaidh', chleachdte SL *kross* san t-seagh 'àite croisidh, crasg, aiseag; gobhal rathaid'.[325] Ged a dh'fhaodadh am baile a bhith air ainmeachadh air crann-ceusaidh air choreigin a bha na sheasamh, mar eisimpleir, air *Cnoc an Dùine* (coim. #170) – an cnoc air a bheil cuibhreann den bhaile an-diugh – dh'fhaodte gun robh SL **Kross-bólstað* cusp.

323. .i. Le ionadachadh cruitheamach, coim. GA *Somhairle* < SL *Sumarliði*, tro GT *saṁairle* 'cuilean' (#311 (i), bn 733).

324. Alb. *cach*(*e*)*pell*, *caich*(*e*)*pule*, *chachspele*, *cachespale*, *cach*(*e*)*peill*, *cachepill*, *caitchpell*, *-pill*; *cach*(*e*)*puyle*, *-puyll*, *-pull*, *caitchepull*, *catchpul*(*l*), *-poole*, *-pole*; *catchball*; *kachepele*, *kachepull*, *kaichspell*, *kaitchpell*, *kaichpeel*; *kaitch*(*e*)*pull*(*e*), *-pule*, *kaichpuill*, *kechpule*, *keitchepule* (*DSL*, s. vv. *cach*(*e*)*pell*, *kachepele*).

325. Thathas a' gabhail ris gum bean a' chuid as motha de dh'ainmean ann an SL *kross* am feadh oirthir Nirribhidh ri crois cloiche no fiodha (Arne Kruse, conaltradh pearsanta).

between the village of *Liùrbost* #239 to the west and *Àird Rathanis* 'the headland of *Rathanis* #277' to the east, or the crossing between the villages of *Crosabost* #156 on the north and *Suardal* #313 on the south side of *Loch Liùrboist* 'the loch of *Liùrbost*'.

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#157 *Crothair* BRN (Eng. *Croir*)
[ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ], (gen.) *Chrothair* [ˈxɾɔ-əɾʲ]; NB151400. 1821, 1822 *Chroer*; 1843–82 *Crothair*, *Mol Chrothair*, *Beinn Chrothair*; 2007, road sign *Crothair*‖*Croir*.

> Oftedal 1954, 379–80: '**Croir** [krɔ-əð] must be ON **Króar*, plural of *kró* f. In literary Old Norse, this word is synonymous with *krǫ́* (*krá*) f. "nook, interior corner of something" (as the corner of a room, or a small recess between hills or mountains). ON *kró*, however, must have had an additional meaning, the one found in Mod. Ice. *kró* "sheep-pen" and in Norwegian dialects *kru* "cattle-fold". Both Irish and Scottish Gaelic have *cró*/*crò* in the meaning "sheep-pen"; this cannot be a Norse loan according to Marstrander (1915, 122[326]); it is more likely that ON *kró* in the meaning "fold, pen" is a Gaelic loan in Norse. The meaning of ON *kró* in the name **Croir** is doubtlessly 'fold, pen'; that the Norse dialect of Lewis distinguished between *krǫ́* "nook" and *kró* "fold" is shown by the name of a locality near *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), viz ScG *Crathacro* [ˈkrɑ-əˌkro], from ON **Kráarkró* "(the) fold of the nook".[327]
>
> 'The element ON *kró* also occurs in *Crothairgearraidh* #158.
>
> 'The phonetic development from ON **Króar* to [krɔ-əð] is somewhat irregular; one would expect a non-palatalised final *r*. There are two possible solutions to this problem: (a) [krɔ-əð] represents not **Króar* but **Króir*. But this plural form is not attested and is not likely

326. As it is older that the Viking Age (ibid.).

327. I.e. with genitive of ON *krǫ́* (*krá*). This is unlikely. In his notes, Oftedal gives (nMO) [ˈkrɑ-əˌkʻro], confirming that it was indeed [ˈkʰɾa-əˌkʰɾo] he heard and recorded. However, as a rule, one would not expect post-aspiration with an initial in a half-stressed syllable, but that ScG /k/ (i.e. [kʰ]) would weaken to /g/ (i.e. [k] or [ǧ]), cf. ScG *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317, from ON **Há-klett* acc. – but ScG *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪əˈkʲʰiɾə] #124, from ON **Vatnit Kyrra*, with full stress. Furthermore, one might expect final ScG [ɔ] rather than [o], if ON *kró* were behind the name (but see *Crùlabhig* #159). If the authoritative pronunciation were ScG *Crathagro* *[ˈkʰɾa-əˌǧɾo] or *[ˈkʰɾa-əˌkɾo], we might be dealing with a loan-name in final ON *gróf* f. 'stream' (so MacIver 1934, 19, s.v. *Crathgro*).

'(an) crois-thuathanas' a' beantainn ris a' chraisg eadar am baile *Liùrbost* #239 san àird an iar agus *Àird Rathanis* (#277) san àird an ear, no ris an aiseag eadar na bailtean *Crosabost* #156 air taobh a tuath agus *Suardal* #313 air taobh a deas *Loch Liùrboist*.

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#157 *Crothair* BRN
[ˈkʰɾɔ-əɾʲ], (gin.) *Chrothair* [ˈxɾɔ-əɾʲ]; NB151400. 1821, 1822 *Chroer*; 1843–82 *Crothair*, *Mol Chrothair*, *Beinn Chrothair*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Crothair*‖*Croir*.

> Oftedal 1954, 379–80: Feumaidh e a bhith gur h-e SL **Króar* a th' ann an **Croir** [krɔ-əð], an cruth iolra aig SL *kró* b. Anns an Lochlannais litreachail, 's ann a tha am facal seo na cho-fhacal aig *krǫ́* (*krá*) b. 'cùil, an oisean a-staigh aig rudeigin' (mar a tha oisean ann an rum, no cùil bheag eadar cnuic no beanntan). Feumar gun robh ciall a bharrachd aig SL *kró*, ge-tà, an tè a gheibhear ann an Nua-Thìl. *kró* 'crò, cotan chaorach' agus ann an dualchainntean Nirribheach *kru* 'buaile'. Tha *cró*/*crò* aig an dà chuid Gàidhlig na h-Èireann agus Gàidhlig na h-Alba sa bhrìgh 'cotan chaorach'; chan urrainn dha seo a bhith na fhacal-iasaid a rèir Mharstrander (1915, 122[326]); is coltaiche gun deach a' bhrìgh 'crò, cotan' air iasad dhan Lochlannais às a' Ghàidhlig. Chan eil teagamh nach e 'crò, cotan' ciall an fhacail SL *kró* san ainm **Croir**; seallar gun dèanadh dualchainnt Lochlannais Leòdhais sgaradh eadar *krǫ́* 'cùil' agus *kró* 'cotan' le ainm air àite faisg air *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), .i. GA *Crathacro* [ˈkrɑ-əˌkro], à SL **Kráarkró* 'cotan na cùile'.[327]
>
> Gheibhear an eileamaid SL *kró* ann an *Crothairgearraidh* #158 cuideachd.
>
> Tha an leasachadh fuaim-eòlach à SL **Króar* gu GA [krɔ-əð] car neo-riaghailteach; bhite an dùil ri *r* dheiridh neo-chàireanaichte. Tha dà fhuasgladh dhan cheist seo: (a) riochdaichidh GA [krɔ-əð] chan e SL **Króar* ach **Króir*. Ach chan eil teist air a' chruth iolra seo agus cha choltach gun robh

326. Seach gu bheil e nas sine na Linn nan Ùiginneach (ibid.).

327. .i. le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *krǫ́* (*krá*). 'S ann a tha seo ao-coltach. Na notaichean, 's e (nMO) [ˈkrɑ-əˌkʻro] a th' aig Oftedal, a' dearbhadh gur h-e [ˈkʰɾa-əˌkʰɾo] gu deimhinne a chuala 's a chlàraich e. Gidheadh, gu riaghailteach, cha bhite an dùil ri iar-analachadh le toiseach ann an lide leth-bheumte mar seo, ach gun deigheadh GA /k/ (.i. [kʰ]) a lagachadh na /g/ (.i. [k] no [ǧ]), coim. GA *Tàcleit* [ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ] #317, à SL **Há-klett* cusp.; ach GA *Bhata Ciorra* [ˌvaʰt̪əˈkʲʰiɾə] #124, à SL **Vatnit Kyrra*, fo làn-bheum. A thuilleadh, 's math dh'fhaodte gum bite an dùil ri GA [ɔ] dheiridh seach [o], mas e SL *kró* a bha air cùl an ainme (ach faic *Crùlabhig* #159). Nam b' e GA *Crathagro* *[ˈkʰɾa-əˌǧɾo] no *[ˈkʰɾa-əˌkɾo] fuaimneachadh ùghdarrasail an ainme, is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil sinn a' dèiligeadh ri ainm-iasaid ann an SL *gróf* b. deiridh 'allt' (mar sin MacIver 1934, 19, s.v. *Crathgro*).

to have existed. (b) The final [ð] is due to some development in Gaelic. Note that ON *-setr*[328] is generally -[ʃɑdəð] on the west side of Lewis; ON **Sætr* is [ʃɪɑdəð]. If ScG *Bràgair* [brɑ:gəð] #74 is ON **Brárgarðr* or **Bráðakr*, this is a further example of final [ð] from ON *r* not preceded by a palatal vowel. The forms with [ð] may, in all these names, be original genitive forms, where Gaelic morphophonemics would regularly demand a palatalised consonant. Just north of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51 there is an island called (OS) *Eilean Fir Chrothair* [elan fið ˈxrɔ-əð] "the island of the **Croir** man"; the genitive form may have been generalised through this and similar compounds.

'ON **Króar* is a farm name in Norway (*NG* II, 2, 65, and *NG* X, 431) and in Orkney (*Cruar*, Marwick 1952, 66). Cf. also *De Kruens* in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 72).'

The name of a township at the north end of *Beàrnaraigh* #51.

ON **Króar* (nom. or acc. plural) could give ScG [ˈkʰɾɔ–əɾʲ] regularly. Consideration of the final palatal ScG *r* here is not a useless exercise, but the fact is that final ScG [ɾʲ] (i.e. [ð]) /rʹ/ §16 is often found in the dialect where one would formally expect [ɾ] /r/, e.g. ScG *feasgar* 'afternoon' < OG *fescor*, ScG *ministear* < Eng. *minister*, ScG *Brocair* #80 < ON *Brokkur*.

In Norway, cf. *Kro*, in Rogaland (from ON **Króar*, *NG* X, 431); in Lewis, cf. *Cnoc Chrothair* 'the hill of **Crothair*' NB202423, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134, and *Dùnan Chrothair* 'the fort of **Crothair*' NB276495, in *Bradhagair* #74.

#158 ***Crothairgearraidh*** CTL
[ˈkʰɾɔ-əɟʲˌĝʲɑʁi], (gen.) *Chrothairgearraidh* [ˈxɾɔ-əɟʲˌĝʲɑʁi]; NB356255. 1821 *Croegary*; 1843–82 *Crothairgearaidh*, *Cailleach Crothairgearaidh* (?= the name of a mountain); 1846 *Croegary*.

Oftedal 1954, 401: '**Croigary** [krɔ-əĝgʹɑʁi][329] is ON **Króargerði* "(the) pasture of the cattle-fold" ... ScG [ð] from ON *r* is due to its position immediately before the palatalised [gʹ].

The name of a small farm at the head of *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Króargerði*, with genitive singular of ON *kró* f. (#152) and ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosure' (#192).

328. Leg. ON *-sætr* (#296).
329. (nMO) [ˈkrɔ-əĝˌɟɋrih].

a leithid ann. (b) 'S e leasachadh air choreigin sa Ghàidhlig as coireach ris an [ð]. Mothaich gu bheil SL *-setr*[328] na GA -[ʃɑdəð] san fharsaingeachd air taobh siar Leòdhais; tha SL **Sætr* na [ʃɪɑdəð]. Mas e SL **Brárgarðr* no **Bráðakr* a th' ann an GA *Bràgair* [brɑ:gəð] #74, tha e na eisimpleir eile de GA [ð] dheiridh à SL *r* gun fhuaimreag chàireanach air thoiseach oirre. Dh'fhaodadh na cruthan ann an [ð], sna h-ainmean uile seo, a bhith nan cruthan ginideach bho thùs, far am biodh cruth-fhuinn-eòlas na Gàidhlig ag iarraidh connrag chàireanaichte gu riaghailteach. Astar beag tuath air *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, tha eilean ris an canar (SO) *Eilean Fir Chrothair* [elan fið ˈxrɔ-əð]; dh'fhaodte gun deach an cruth ginideach a sgaoileadh troimhe seo agus tro fhilltich cheudna.

Tha SL **Króar* na ainm tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* II, 2, 65, agus *NG* X, 431) agus ann an Arcaibh (*Cruar*, Marwick 1952, 66). Coim. cuideachd *De Kruens* ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 72).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ceann a tuath *Bheàrnaraigh* #51.

Dh'fhaodadh SL **Króar* (ainm. no cusp. iolra) a bhith a' toirt GA [ˈkʰɾɔ–əɾʲ] gu riaghailteach. Chan eacarsaich gun fheum a th' ann a bhith a' beachdachadh air tùs GA *r* deiridh càireanaich an seo, ach 's i an fhìrinn gum faighear GA [ɾʲ] dheiridh (.i. [ð]) /rʹ/ §16 gu tric san dualchainnt far am bite an dùil gu foirmeil ri [ɾ] /r/, m.e. GA *feasgar* < SG *fescor*, GA *ministear* < Brl. *minister*, GA *Brocair* #80 < SL **Brokkur*.

Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Kro*, ann an Rogaland (à SL **Króar*, *NG* X, 431); ann an Leòdhas, coim. *Cnoc Chrothair* NB202423, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134, agus *Dùnan Chrothair* NB276495, ann am *Bradhagair* #74.

#158 ***Crothairgearraidh*** CTL
[ˈkʰɾɔ-əɟʲˌĝʲɑʁi], (gin.) *Chrothairgearraidh* [ˈxɾɔ-əɟʲˌĝʲɑʁi]; NB356255. 1821 *Croegary*; 1843–82 *Crothairgearaidh*, *Cailleach Crothairgearaidh* (?= ainm beinne); 1846 *Croegary*.

Oftedal 1954, 401: 'S e SL **Króargerði* 'ionaltradh na crodhadh' a th' ann an **Croigary** GA [krɔ-əĝgʹɑʁi].[329] ... 'S e an t-àite aig SL *r* air fhìor thoiseach air [gʹ] chàireanaichte as coireach ri GA [ð].

An t-ainm air tuathanas beag aig ceann *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Króargerði*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *kró* b. (#152) agus SL *gerði* n. 'leas' (#192).

328. Leugh SL *-sætr* (#296).
329. (nMO) [ˈkrɔ-əĝˌɟɋrih].

#159 *Crùlabhig* BRN (Eng. *Crulavig*)
[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ], (gen.) *Chrùlabhig* [ˈxɾuːɬ̪əˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ]; NB170336. 1821, 1822 *Crulu·wick*; 1843–82 *Crulabhig*, *Amhuinn Chrúlabhig*, *Eilean Chrùlabhig*; 2007 *Crulabhig*‖*Crulivig*; road sign *Crulabhig.*

> Oftedal 1954, 383: '**Crolovick** [?] probably ends in ON *-vík* f. "bay"; first element not identified.'

The name of a township in Ùig that was part of the tack (farm) of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, until it was divided into crofts sometime before 1819 (Lawson 2008, 166). *Crùlabhig* lies opposite *Beàrnaraigh* (*Mhòr*), to the east of the bridge to that island.

MacIver (1934, 40) suggests that *Crùlabhig* is from ON *krá* b. (or *krǫ́* – Oftedal ibid., 379–80) 'corner, jutting point', followed by ON *lá* f. 'the sea, the sea along the shore', and ON *vík* f. 'bay', but the form ON **Krǫ́-lá-vík* does not seem very likely in terms of sense; moreover, it might be expected to yield ScG *[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪aˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ] rather than the current [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ].

The chief feature of the bay here, however, is the island called *Eilean Chrùla·bhig* 'the island of *Crùlabhig*', an island which would have been, at nearly half a hectare (about an acre),[330] significant from the point of view of coralling or grazing stock. That suggests that ON *kró* f. 'pen, fold' may be behind the name *Crùlabhig*.[331]

A form such as ON **Kró-holm* acc. '(the) fold-islet', with accusative of ON *holmr* m. 'islet' (cf. *Tolm* #330), would be appropriate as a name for this island, and ON **Kró-holm-vík* '(the) fold-islet-bay' for the bay.

Regarding the Gaelic reflex of ON *kró*, ScG [kʰɾɔː] (with open [ɔ(ː)]) is found in other Old Norse loan-names – *Crothair* #157, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Crò Mòr* #154 and *Crò Beag* #152 – where the pronunciation matches or has been assimilated to the pronunciation of the Gaelic word *crò*. Although overlapping in Lewis dialects between the phonemes /ɔ/ and /o/ on the one hand and /o/ and /u/ on the other occurs (Oftedal 1956, 72),[332] Norn *kru* (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: [krū] (more recently *krø* [krø̄])) and Nn. *kru* (Torp 1919, s.v.) suggests that the form of the word in Old

330. About 0.40 of a hectare (about 0.98 of an acre).

331. ON *kró* f. in the sense 'fold' is a loan-word from OG *cró* f. (#157; Cox 2002a, 225; de Vries 1962, s.v.).

332. Cf. the English form *Crolovick*, above, and (nMO) [kʻrðˇːɪ̯əvi̯ɣ̊ʼ], to which was added the note: '[b]ut why nas[alisation]?' (Oftedal's information in this instance was from *Mangarstadh* #245, while in Oftedal's notes the form follows the same man's [ɪ̯ɔ̃ʊ̯d̥əɪ̯̊] (*Lunndal* #243)).

#159 *Crùlabhig* BRN
[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ], (gin.) *Chrùlabhig* [ˈxɾuːɬ̪əˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ]; NB170336. 1821, 1822 *Crulu·wick*; 1843–82 *Crulabhig*, *Amhuinn Chrúlabhig*, *Eilean Chrùlabhig*; 2007 *Crulabhig*‖*Crulivig*; soighne rathaid *Crulabhig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 383: Is iongantach mana crìochnaich **Crolovick** [?] ann an SL *-vík* b. 'bàgh'; a' chiad eileamaid gun a sònrachadh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig a bha na chuibhreann den tac aig *Beàrn·araigh Bheag* #51, mus deach a roinn na chroitean uaireigin ro 1819 (Lawson 2008, 166). Tha *Crùlabhig* na laighe mu choinneimh *Bheàrnaraigh* (*Mhòr*), an ear air an drochaid chun an eilein sin.

Molaidh MacIver (1934, 40) gur h-e ainm-iasaid a th' ann an *Crùlabhig*, à SL *krá* (no *krǫ́* b. – Oftedal ibid., 379–80) san t-seagh 'oisean, rubha stobach', air a leantainn le SL *lá* b. 'am muir, am muir am feadh na tràghad', agus SL *vík* b. 'bàgh', ach chan eil an cruth SL **Krǫ́-lá-vík* ro choltach a thaobh brìghe; a thuilleadh, is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh e GA *[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪aˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ] seach [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌvi̯ɣ̊ʲ] mar a tha.

'S e prìomh feart a' bhàigh an seo, ge-tà, an t-eilean air a bheil *Eilean Chrùla·bhig* mar ainm, eilean a bha air a bhith, air mheud faisg air leth-heactair (mu acair),[330] cudromach ann a bhith a' crodhadh no ag ionaltradh bheathaichean. Cuiridh sin air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-e SL *kró* b. san t-seagh 'crò, cotan, buaile' a tha air cùl an ainme *Crùlabhig*.[331]

Bhiodh cruth mar SL **Kró-holm* cusp. '(an) crò-eilean', le cruth cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *holmr* f. 'eilean beag' (coim. *Tolm* #330), iomchaidh mar ainm air an eilean seo, agus SL **Kró-holm-vík* '(an) crò-eilean-bhàgh' air a' bhàgh.

A thaobh an riochda Ghàidhlig aig SL *kró*, gheibhear GA [kʰɾɔː] (le [ɔ(ː)] fhosgailte) ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais eile – *Crothair* #157, *Crothair·gearraidh* #158, *Crò Mòr* #154 agus *Crò Beag* #152 – agus am fuaimneachadh a' freagairt no air a cho-rèiteachadh ri fuaimneachadh an fhacail Ghàidhlig *crò*. Ged a gheibhear tar-shìneadh ann an dualchainntean Leòdhais eadar na fuinn·eaman /ɔ/ is /o/ air an dàrna làimh agus /o/ agus /u/ air an làimh eile (Oftedal 1956, 72),[332] cuiridh Nòrn *kru* (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: [krū] (nas ùire *krø* [krø̄])) agus Nn. *kru* (Torp 1919, s.v.) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-i fuaimreag àrd a bh' aig

330. Mu 0.40 heactair (mu 0.98 acair).

331. Tha SL *kró* b. san t-seagh 'crò, cotan' na fhacal-iasaid à SG *cró* b. (#157; Cox 2002a, 225; de Vries 1962, s.v.).

332. Coim. an cruth Brl. *Crolovick*, shuas, agus (nMO) [kʻrðˇːɪ̯əvi̯ɣ̊ʼ], ris an do chuireadh an nota: '[b]ut why nas[alisation]?' ('S ann à *Mangarstadh* #245 a bha fear-fiosrachaidh Oftedal san t-seagh seo agus, ann an notaichean Oftedal, an cruth a' leantainn [ɪ̯ɔ̃ʊ̯d̥əɪ̯̊] an aon duine (*Lunndal* #243)).

West Norn may have had a high vowel[333] and that ScG [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɠ̊ʲ] derives from OWNorn **Krú-holm-vík* rather than ON **Kró-holm-vík*.

Final ON *-holm* yields ScG [ɬ̪am] regularly (cf. ScG **Bhiondalam* NB175416, in *An Dùn* #170, < ON **Vind-holm* acc. '(the) wind-islet' (Cox 2000)) or, with metathesis §40 (i), ScG [məɬ̪] (cf. ScG *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməʟ] NF792484, in Benbecula, < ON **Hest(a)holm* acc. '(the) horse-islet (or the islet of the horses)'), and OWNorn **Krú-holm-vík* might yield ScG *[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əmˌviɠ̊ʲ] in the first instance and [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɠ̊ʲ] today.

#160 *Cuidhbheatotar* CLA
[ˈkʰəivəˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ], (gen.) *Chuidhbheatotair* [ˈxəivəˌn̪oʰt̪əɾʲ]; NB385552. 1843–82 *Cuibhatotair*; 1934, 23 *Knoc Chuitotar*.

The name of an area in Sgìre a' Chladaich, from where the township *Siadar Ìorach* (#296) removed in the 1840s; about 250 m (about 800 ft) from the shore (Lawson 2008, 72).

A Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with final ON *-toptir*, the nominative/accusative plural form of ON *topt*, *tupt* f. 'house; house site; ruins of a house' (#339), as generic. The first part of the Old Norse name probably contained two elements, e.g. ON *kví-*, the stem form of the noun *kví* f. 'cattle fold' (#161), and a noun beginning in *v-*, e.g. ON *vík* f. 'bay' or ON *vágr* m. 'bay'; cf. *Kvivåg* in Rogaland, Norway (Særheim 2007, 138; *NG* X, 24–25). ON **Kví-víkartoptir* (with the genitive of ON *vík*) 'the ruins of **Kví-vík*' or similar would probably be contracted in Gaelic, perhaps to [ˈkʰəivəˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ] at the end of the day; for the stressed diphthong in Gaelic from ON (*k*)*ví* + consonant, cf. *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰəiˌviɠ̊ʲ] NB229465, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), from ON **Kví-vík* '(the) fold-bay', with the stem form of the specific; see also *Cuidhir* #161.

For his own form ScG **Cuitotar*,[334] MacIver (1934, 23) gives ON **Kví-toptir*.

#161 *Cuidhir* CTL (Eng. *Quier*)
[ˈkʰu̟j(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰu̟j(ʰ)əɾʲ], (gen.) *Chuidhir* [ˈxu̟j(ʰ)əɾʲ]; NB412246. 1843–82 *Cuithir*; 1895–1896 *Quier*; 1934, 65 *Kuir*; 2007 *Cuidhir*‖*Quier*; 2016 *Cuidhir*.

> Oftedal 1954, 398–99: '**Quier** [kujhər][335] is almost certainly ON **Kvíar*, plural of ON *kví* f. "cattle fold". The name is also found in Norway, now *Kvía*, written *Kuiær* in a letter from 1332 (*NG* X, 107). The phonetic

333. But Ice. *kró*.

334. MacIver's is a contracted form: (RC) [ˈkʰuiˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ], *ECC Cuidhtotar*.

335. (nMO) [ˈkɯjhər], [kɯjhɪr], *ann an Cuidhir* [ɑʁə ˈŋhɯjhər] 'in *Cuidhir*'.

cruth an fhacail anns an t-Seann Nòrn an Iar[333] agus gur h-ann ann an SNòrnI **Krú-holm-vík* seach SL **Kró-holm-vík* a thàrmaicheas GA [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɠ̊ʲ].

Thèid SL *-holm* deiridh gu riaghailteach na GA [ɬ̪am] (coim. GA **Bhiondalam* NB175416, air *An Dùn* #170, < SL **Vind-holm* cusp. '(a) ghaoth-eilean' (Cox 2000)), no, le eadar-chàradh §40 (i), GA [məɬ̪] (coim. GA *Teastamal* (Oftedal 1980, 185) [tʼesdəməʟ] NF792484, ann am Beinn na Fadhla, < SL **Hest(a)holm* cusp. '(an t-)each-eilean (no eilean nan each)'), agus is dòcha gun toireadh SNòrnI **Krú-holm-vík* GA *[ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əmˌviɠ̊ʲ] sa chiad àite agus [ˈkʰɾuːɬ̪əˌviɠ̊ʲ] an-diugh.

#160 *Cuidhbheatotar* CLA
[ˈkʰəivəˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ], (gin.) *Chuidhbheatotair* [ˈxəivəˌn̪oʰt̪əɾʲ]; NB385552. 1843–82 *Cuibhatotair*; 1934, 23 *Knoc Chuitotar*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich, às an deach am baile fear-ainn *Siadar Ìorach* (#296) a ghluasad sna 1840an; mu 250 m (mu 800 tr.) bhon chladach (Lawson 2008, 72).

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, le SL *-toptir* deiridh, an cruth ainmneach/cuspaireach iolra aig SL *topt*, *tupt* b. 'taigh; àite air an seasadh taigh; seann taigh briste' (#339), na sheòrsaichear. Is math dh'fhaodte gun robh dà eileamaid aig ciad phàirt an ainme Lochlannais, m.e. SL *kví-*, bun-riochd an ainmeir *kví* b. 'buaile, crò cruidh' (#161), agus ainmear a' tòiseachadh le *v-*, m.e. SL *vík* b. 'bàgh' no SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh'; coim. *Kvivåg* ann an Rogaland, Nirribhidh (Særheim 2007, 138; *NG* X, 24–25). Is iongantach mana deigheadh SL **Kví-víkartoptir* (leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *vík*) 'na làraichean aig **Kví-vík*' no a leithid a theannachadh sa Ghàidhlig, is dòcha na [ˈkʰəivəˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ] aig a' cheann thall; air-son an dà-fhoghair bheumte sa Ghàidhlig à SL (*k*)*ví* + connraig, coim. *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰəiˌviɠ̊ʲ] NB229465, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), à SL **Kví-vík* '(am) buaile-bhàgh', le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir; faic cuideachd *Cuidhir* #161.

Airson a chrutha fhèin GA **Cuitotar*,[334] bheir MacIver (1934, 23) SL **Kví-toptir*.

#161 *Cuidhir* CTL
[ˈkʰu̟j(ʰ)əɾ], [ˈkʰu̟j(ʰ)əɾʲ], (gin.) *Chuidhir* [ˈxu̟j(ʰ)əɾʲ]; NB412246. 1843–82 *Cuithir*; 1895–1896 *Quier*; 1934, 65 *Kuir*; 2007 *Cuidhir*‖*Quier*; 2016 *Cuidhir*.

> Oftedal 1954, 398–99: Cha mhòr nach eil e cinnteach gur h-e SL **Kvíar*, an cruth iolra aig SL *kví* b. 'buaile', a th' ann an **Quier** [kujhər].[335] Lorgar an t-ainm ann an Nirribhidh cuideachd, a-nise *Kvía*, air a sgrìobhadh *Kuiær* ann an litir à 1332 (*NG* X, 107). Tha dà dhuilgheadas aig an leasachadh fhuaim-

333. Ach Tìl. *kró*.

334. Is e giorrachadh a th' ann an cruth MhacIver: (RC) [ˈkʰuiˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌn̪oʰt̪əɾ], *ECC Cuidhtotar*.

335. (nMO) [ˈkɯjhər], [kɯjhɪr], *ann an Cuidhir* [ɑʁə ˈŋhɯjhər].

development presents a couple of problems. The diphthong [ui] would be more likely to occur in this word than the sequence [uj], or else one might expect [uːj] as in ScG *Ùig* §3 (ix). The insertion of [h] is also unexpected. I hope to be able on a later occasion to present more material on similar problems; in the meantime, I can only refer to Borgstrøm (1940, 73), who points out that some words with obscure etymologies have clusters of consonant plus [h]: ScG *còmhladh* [kɔːʟhɑɣ] "together" (East Lewis [koːʟhəɣ] and [kõːʟɑɣ]), ScG *fàileadh* [fɑːlhəɣ] "smell", ScG *snàithlean* [sɴɑːʟhɑn][336] "thread" and ScG *ràinail* [ʀɑːnhəl] "to cry".[337] To these, I can add ScG *creithleag* [kðelhɑg] "wasp"[338].[339] It is possible that we are here in the presence of an insertion of [h] after a consonant under certain conditions and that the [j] of [kujhər] – a consonant phoneme – enters into this category of consonants.

Borgstrøm records ScG *Cnoc Chuidhir* [krõhkə xujið][340] from Nis. ON **Kvíar* appears in Orkney as *Quoyer* [kwaier] (Marwick 1952, 113) and in Shetland as *De Kwi*(*en*)*s* (Jakobsen 1936, 74).'

The name of a small settlement on the north side of the mouth of *Loch Liùrboist* 'the loch of *Liùrbost* #239', in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Kvíar*, plural of the noun ON *kví* f. 'cattle fold'.

Above, Oftedal compares ScG *Ùig* from ON **Vík* (#12); he suggests (1956, 79) that ScG [uj] rather than [ui] occurs in ScG *Cuidhir* as a result of the shortening of stressed vowels found in the dialect before hiatus. As regards ScG *Ùig* < ON **Vík*, the semi-vowel + long vowel in CSc. *ví* [wiː] yields a long vowel + semi-vowel in ScG [u̯ːi̯] (with stress advanced and the semi-vowel visible in the palatal quality of the following velar consonant, viz [u̯ːg̊ʲ]. As regards the name *Cuidhir*, an original CSc. *ví* [wiː] yields [u̯i̯], with reduction in vowel

336. Leg. [sɴɑːlhɑn].

337. Oftedal has simplified Borgstrøm's transcriptions: (CB) [kʻɔːɻhɑɣ], [fɑːlʼhəɣ], [sɴɑːlʼhɑn], [ʀɑːnhəlʼ].

338. Leg. 'cleg, horsefly'; but 'wasp' was probably given Oftedal by his informant, cf. '*culag* (*cuileag*) *nan each* [lit. "the fly of the horses"], same as *creillag* [i.e. *creithleag*] "a wasp which bites animals and humans in a bid to extract blood"' (from Loch Boisdale, in South Uist) (≈Faclan bhon t-Sluagh: search for *culag* or *wasp*).

339. Oftedal seems not to have returned to this point. In his book on the Gaelic of *Liùrbost* (1956), the following appear: [kõːʟ(h)əɣ] (p. 75), [fɑːləɣ] (p. 344), [sɴ̃ãːlɑn] (p. 357), [ʀɑːnəl] (p. 354) and [kðel(h)ɑg] (p. 110).

340. Oftedal writes (nMO) [krõhk ə xujið] (cf. 1843–82 *Cnoc a Chuidhir* NB513653, in *Eòrrabidh* #182), as though one were dealing with ScG **Cnoc a' Chuidhir*, with the Gaelic article, rather than ScG *Cnoc Chuidhir*, with genitive of ScG **Cuidhir* and an epenthetic vowel, cf. *Loch Gainmhich* #241.

eòlach. Bhiodh an dà-fhoghar [ui] na bu cholтaiche san fhacal seo na an sreath [uj], air neo is dòcha gum bite a' sùileachadh [uːj] mar a tha ann an GA *Ùig* §3 (ix). Cha bhite a' sùileachadh [h] a bharrachd. Tha mi an dòchas gum bi cothrom agam tuilleadh stutha air ceistean ceudna a thaisbeanadh uair eile; san eadar-àm, chan urrainn dhomh ach iomradh a dhèanamh air Borgstrøm (1940, 73), a dh'innseas gum faighear còmhlanan connraige + [h] ann an cuid de dh'fhacail aig a bheil freumhachdan doilleir: GA *còmhladh* [kɔːʟhɑɣ] (Leòdhas an Ear [kõːʟhəɣ] agus [koːʟɑɣ]), GA *fàileadh* [fɑːlhəɣ], GA *snàithlean* [sɴɑːʟhɑn][336] agus GA *ràinail* [ʀɑːnhəl].[337] Riutha seo, is urrainn dhomh GA *creithleag* [kðelhɑg][338] a chur.[339] Is dòcha gu bheil sinn a' dèiligeadh ri [h] ga cur a-steach an dèidh connraige ann an carachaidhean àraidh agus gu bheil [j] ann an [kujhər] – a tha na fuinneam connraige – air tè de na connragan san rang seo.

Clàraichidh Borgstrøm GA *Cnoc Chuidhir* [krõhkə xujið][340] ann an Nis. Nochdaidh SL **Kvíar* ann an Arcaibh na *Quoyer* [kwaier] (Marwick 1952, 113) agus ann an Sealtainn na *De Kwi*(*en*)*s* (Jakobsen 1936, 74).

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag air taobh a tuath beul *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na ainm-iasaid à SL **Kvíar*, an cruth iolra aig an ainmear SL *kví* b. 'buaile, crò cruidh'.

Nì Oftedal coimeas, shuas, ri GA *Ùig* à SL **Vík* (#12); cuiridh e air shùilibh (1956, 79) gur h-ann a tha GA [uj] seach [ui] ann an GA *Cuidhir* mar thoradh air a' ghiorrachadh ann am fuaimreagan beumte a gheibhear san dualchainnt air thoiseach air beàrnas. A thaobh GA *Ùig* < SL **Vík*, bheir an leth-fhuaimreag + fuaimreag fhada ann LB *ví* [wiː] fuaimreag fhada + leth-fhuaimreag ann an GA [u̯ːi̯] (leis a' bheum air adhartachadh agus an leth-fhuaimreag ri faicinn ann am feart càireanach na connraig sgannaich a thig na dèidh, .i. [u̯ːg̊ʲ]). A thaobh an ainme *Cuidhir*, bheir LB *ví* [wiː] GA [u̯i̯], le lùghdachadh ann am fad na fuaimreige. A rèir Oftedal

336. Leugh [sɴɑːlhɑn].

337. Tha Oftedal air tras-sgrìobhaidhean Bhorgstrøm a shìmpleachadh: (CB) [kʻɔːɻhɑɣ], [fɑːlʼhəɣ], [sɴɑːlʼhɑn], [ʀɑːnhəlʼ].

338. Dhan toir Oftedal a' Bheurla 'wasp'; leugh 'cleg, horsefly'; ach is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'wasp' a chaidh a thoirt dha le neach-fiosrachaidh, coim. '*culag* (*cuileag*) *nan each*, same as *creillag* [.i. *creithleag*] "a wasp which bites animals and humans in a bid to extract blood"' (à Loch Baghasdail, ann an Uibhist a Deas) (≈Faclan bhon t-Sluagh: lorg *culag* no *wasp*).

339. Is coltach nach do thill Oftedal chun na puinge seo. Na leabhar air Gàidhlig *Liùrboist* (1956), nochdaidh [kõːʟ(h)əɣ] (d. 75), [fɑːləɣ] (d. 344), [sɴ̃ãːlɑn] (d. 357), [ʀɑːnəl] (d. 354) agus [kðel(h)ɑg] (d. 110).

340. Sgrìobhaidh Oftedal (nMO) [krõhk ə xujið] (coim. 1843–82 *Cnoc a Chuidhir* NB513653, ann an *Eòrrabidh* #182), mar gun robhas a' dèiligeadh ri GA **Cnoc a' Chuidhir*, leis an alt Ghàidhlig, seach GA *Cnoc Chuidhir*, le GA **Cuidhir* san tuiseal ghinideach agus fuaimreig còmhnaidh, coim. *Loch Gainmhich* #241.

length. According to Oftedal (ibid.), shortening of the long vowel in *Cuithir* is the result of the following hiatus, except that ScG /kujhər/ obviously does not show hiatus.

Seen phonetically, then, the development may have been ON **Kvíar* > EG *[kʊ̯iːəɾ], > *[kʊ̯i-əɾ] with shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus, > ScG [kʰʊ̯iə̯ɾ], with stress advanced and aspiration of the resulting palatal semivowel, which replaces hiatus – phonemically /kujhər/.

Cf. ScG *Cuidhir* NF671033, in Barra,[341] and NL637946, in Vatersay.

ON *kví* has a specific function in the loan-names in ScG *Cuidhbheatotar* (and *Cuidhbhig*) #160, *Cuidhiseadar* #162 and *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292; cf. (Macaulay 1972, 333: *Cuidheanais*) ScG *Cuidhinis* < ON **Kvíanes* '(the) promontory of the cattle folds' (with genitive plural of the specific), in *Beàrnaraigh* #51.[342]

#162 *Cuidhiseadar* NIS

[ˈkʰʊ̯ɪ̯ˌʃaɖə̯ɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌʃaɖə̯ɾ], (gen.) *Chuidhiseadair* [ˈxʊ̯ɪ̯ˌʃaɖə̯ɾ], [ˈxəiˌʃaɖə̯ɾʲ]; NB547583. 1750M [?] *Qūishader*; 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801 *Quishader*; 1804 *Quisader* [*sic*]; 1807 *Quishader*; 1821, 1822 *Quishadder*; 1843–82 *Cuidhaseadair*; *Cladach Chuidhaseadair*.

The name of an area of moor with several ruined sheilings that belonged to the community in *An Cnoc Àrd* #140 (Lawson 2008, 7), in Nis; a loan-name from ON **Kvíasætr* '(the) sheiling of the folds', with genitive plural of the noun ON *kví*

341. Campbell (1949, 213) writes *Cui'eir* in order to indicate hiatus in this name.

342. Cf. ScG *Cuidh Raing*, today usually *A' Chuith-raing* (e.g. Taylor 2011, s.v. [Eng.] *Quirang*) NG450692, in Skye (*AFB*: idem, (gen.) *Na Cuith-raing*). The first element of this name is taken to be from ON *kví*. The second element is derived from the man's name ScG *Fraing*, cf. ScG *MacFhraing* (e.g. Henderson 1910, 60–61; Forbes 1923, 285–86), or from ON *rǫng* f. 'rib in a boat' (e.g. Robertson, in King 2019, 6), ON *rǫnd* f. 'edge, rim' (e.g. Henderson ibid., 190) or (?from the noun's sense 'shield') 'round' (e.g. MacBain 1922, 107); also, in English, the senses 'row' (from ScG *rang* m. 'file, line') and 'pillar' (from *rang* in the sense 'row > file > column', erroneously) (e.g. Forbes ibid.; Drummond 1992, 91–92, 176). The article in the Gaelic form has probably arisen as a result of common usage in English, i.e. *The Quira(i)ng*: without the article, ScG (gen.) *Chuith-raing* (Niall MacLeòid, c. 1843–1913, in Bateman 2014, 123–25); cf. 1654 *Bin Quyräga*, i.e. ScG *Beinn/—* 'the mountain of—'. The name's primary stress is on the second element and ON **Kvín Ranga* 'the crooked enclosure' (denoting the crooked plateau called *The Table* in English), with the noun ON *kví* f. + the nominative feminine suffixed article + the feminine weak form of the adjective ON *rangr*, would yield ScG [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãŋɣ̊] and, with genitive or dative inflection in Gaelic, [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲɣ̊ʲ] regularly (there is uncertainty about the provenance of the forms [kwi·rʼæŋ], [k[ui]·rʼæŋ], [kwi·ræŋ] (Gordon 1963, 85, 104)); for the syntax of this name, cf. ScG *Beirgh Làgha*, from ON **Bergit Lága* (#58).

(ibid.), chaidh an fhuaimreag bheumte a ghiorrachadh mar thoradh air a' bheàrnas na dèidh, ach gu follaiseach cha nochd GA /kujhər/ beàrnas idir.

Bho thaobh fuaim-eòlais, a-rèist, is dòcha gun do dh'èirich *Cuidhir* mar a leanas: SL **Kvíar* > GT *[kʊ̯iːəɾ], > *[kʊ̯i-əɾ] le giorrachadh anns an fhuaimreig bheumte ro bheàrnas, > GA [kʰʊ̯iə̯ɾ], leis a' bheum air adhartachadh agus le analachadh san leth-fhuaimreig chàireanaich, a thèid an àite a' bheàrnais – gu fuinn-eòlach /kujhər/.

Coim. GA *Cuidhir* NF671033, ann am Barraigh,[341] agus NL637946, ann a' Bhatarsaigh.

Tha dreuchd shònrachaidh aig SL *kví* sna h-ainmean-iasaid ann an GA *Cuidhbheatotar* (is *Cuidhbhig*) #160, *Cuidhiseadar* #162 is GA *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292; coim. (Macaulay 1972, 333: *Cuidheanais*) GA *Cuidhinis* < SL **Kvíanes* 'rubha nam buailtean' (le cruth ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir), ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51.[342]

#162 *Cuidhiseadar* NIS

[ˈkʰʊ̯ɪ̯ˌʃaɖə̯ɾ], [ˈkʰəiˌʃaɖə̯ɾ], (gin.) *Chuidhiseadair* [ˈxʊ̯ɪ̯ˌʃaɖə̯ɾ], [ˈxəiˌʃaɖə̯ɾʲ]; NB547583. 1750M [?] *Qūishader*; 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801 *Quishader*; 1804 *Quisader* [*sic*]; 1807 *Quishader*; 1821, 1822 *Quishadder*; 1843–82 *Cuidhaseadair*; *Cladach Chuidhaseadair*.

An t-ainm air earrainn mòintich air a bheil làraichean corra àirigh a bhuineadh do mhuinntir *A' Chnuic Àird* #140 (Lawson 2008, 7), ann an Nis; ainm-iasaid à SL **Kvíasætr* 'àirigh nam buailtean', le ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *kví* b. 'buaile,

341. Sgrìobhaidh Campbell (1949, 213) *Cui'eir* gus beàrnas san ainm seo a nochdadh.

342. Coim. GA *Cuidh Raing*, an-diugh mar as trice *A' Chuith-raing* (m.e. Taylor 2011, s.v. [Brl.] *Quirang*) NG450692, san Eilean Sgitheanach (*AFB*: idem, (gin.) *Na Cuith-raing*). Bheirear ciad eileamaid an ainme seo à SL *kví*. Bheirear an dàrna h-eileamaid às an ainm fireannaich GA *Fraing*, coim. GA *MacFhraing* (m.e. Henderson 1910, 60–61; Forbes 1923, 285–86), no à SL *rǫng* b. 'rong (reang, rang) ann am bàta' (m.e. Robertson, ann an King 2019, 6), SL *rǫnd* b. 'oir, faobhar' (m.e. Henderson ibid., 190) no (?à brìgh an ainmeir 'sgiath (airm)') 'cruinn' (m.e. MacBain 1922, 107); mar an ceudna, sa Bheurla, gheibhear na brìghean 'row' (à GA *rang* f. 'loidhne') agus 'pillar' (à *rang* agus a' bhrìgh 'row > file > column', air mhearachd) (m.e. Forbes ibid.; Drummond 1992, 91–92, 176). Is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil an t-alt sa chruth Ghàidhlig air èirigh mar thoradh air cleachdadh bitheanta sa Bheurla, .i. *The Quira(i)ng*: gun an t-alt, GA (gin.) *Chuith-raing* (Niall MacLeòid, c. 1843–1913, ann am Bateman 2014, 123–25); coim. 1654 *Bin Quyräga*, .i. GA *Beinn/—*. Tha prìomh bheum an ainme air an dàrna h-eileamaid agus bheireadh SL **Kvín Ranga* 'a' bhuaile cham' (a' beantainn ris an rèidhlean cham ris an canar *The Table* sa Bheurla), leis an ainmear SL *kví* b. + an alt iar-leasaichte ainmneach bhoireann + cruth lag boireann a' bhuadhair SL *rangr*, GA [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãŋɣ̊] agus, le mùthadh ginideach no tabhartach sa Ghàidhlig, [ˌkʰə(i) ˈɾãĩŋʲɣ̊ʲ] gu riaghailteach (tha mì-chinnt ann mu thùs nan cruthan [kwi·rʼæŋ], [k[ui]·rʼæŋ], [kwi·ræŋ] (Gordon 1963, 85, 104)); airson co-rèir an ainme Lochlannais a tha seo, coim. GA *Beirgh Làgha*, à SL **Bergit Lága* (#58).

f. ‘pen, fold’ (#161) + ON *sætr* nt. (#296), but often with syncope §44 (ii);[343] cf. *Kvìvåg*, in Norway, from ON **Kvíavág* acc. (Særheim 2007, 138; *NG* X, 24), and the name of the bay ScG *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰəiˌviɠʲ] NB229465, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), from ON **Kví-vík* ‘(the) fold-bay’, with the stem form of the specific.

Cf. the specific in ScG *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292; see also *Cuidhir* #161.

#163 *Cùileatotar* NIS

[ˈkʰu̟ːləˌn̪oʰt̪ər],[344] (gen.) *Chùileatotair* [ˈxu̟ːləˌn̪oʰt̪əɾʲ]; NB551540. 1843–82 *Cuila·totair*.

The name of an area south of *Dìobadal* #168, in Nis; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with final ON *-toptir*, nominative/accusative plural of ON *topt*, *tupt* f. ‘house; house site; ruins of a house’ (#339), as generic.

The first part of the Norse name is uncertain. ON *kúla* f. ‘lump, round summit’ would not suit because of the quality of the lateral [l] in Gaelic. One might consider ON *hvíla* f. ‘bed; rest’: ON **Hvílutoptir*, with genitive of the specific, might yield ScG [ˈkʰu̟ːləˌn̪oʰt̪ər], cf. *Kvilhaug* in Rogaland, Norway (Særheim 2007, 136; *NG* X, 384); for ON *hv* > ScG [k], cf. ScG *An Carbh*, with a loan-word from CSc. **hvarf* nt. (#47). One might also consider ON **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* or similar, with the stem form of the noun ON *kví* f. ‘cattle fold’ (although a different development is found in ScG *Cuidhir* #161 etc.) and the stem form (or genitive) of the noun ON *hlíð* f. ‘slope.

In addition to a solution from ON **Hvílutoptir* (above), in his notes Oftedal suggests (1) ON **Kólutoptir* (with a river name **Kóla* ‘(the) cold one’), but which would be expected to yield initial [kʲʰ] /kʹ/ in Gaelic; (2) ON **Hvélatoptir*, with genitive of ON *hvéla* nt. ‘round disc’, although one might expect medial [ɟ̪] in Gaelic and although ScG [kʰu̟ː]- from ON *hvél-* is uncertain; and (3) ON **Kúflinga·toptir*, with genitive plural of the noun ON **kúflingr*, **kúflungr*, a by-form of ON *kuflingr*, *kuflungr* m. ‘monk’, but which is unattested.

#164 *Cùiriseal* CDL

[ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɟ̪], (gen.) *Chùiriseal* [ˈxu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɟ̪]; NB410112. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Chuiri·seal*, *Sithean Chùiriseal*.

The name of a small deserted settlement on the east of Ceann a Deas nan Loch, whose inhabitants were evicted in the early 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162); a Gaelic name, perhaps from ON **Kú-risfjall* ‘(the) mountain of the cow-crest’,

343. E.g. *Cuidhsiadar* in *ECC*, 114.

344. (nMO) [ˈkuˑːləˌtohtər] (-[uː]-).

crò cruidh’ (#161) + SL *sætr* n. (#296), ach gu tric le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii);[343] coim. *Kvìvåg*, ann an Nirribhidh, à SL **Kvíavág* cusp. (Særheim 2007, 138; *NG* X, 24), agus ainm a’ bhàigh GA *Cuidhbhig* [ˈkʰəiˌviɠʲ] NB229465, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), à SL **Kví-vík* ‘(an) crò-bhàgh’, le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir.

Coim. an sònraichear ann an GA *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292; faic cuideachd *Cuidhir* #161.

#163 *Cùileatotar* NIS

[ˈkʰu̟ːləˌn̪oʰt̪ər],[344] (gin.) *Chùileatotair* [ˈxu̟ːləˌn̪oʰt̪əɾʲ]; NB551540. 1843–82 *Cuila·totair*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh deas air *Dìobadal* #168, ann an Nis; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, le SL *-toptir* deiridh, an cruth ainmneach/cuspaireach iolra aig SL *topt*, *tupt* b. ‘taigh; àite air an seasadh taigh; seann taigh briste’ (#339), na sheòrsaichear.

Chan eil cinnt à ciad phàirt an ainme Lochlannais. Cha fhreagradh SL *kúla* b. ‘meall, mullach cruinn’ a chionn feart an taobhaich [l] sa Ghàidhlig. Dh’fhaodte beachdachadh air SL *hvíla* b. ‘leabaidh; tàmh’: is dòcha gun toireadh SL **Hvílu·toptir*, le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir, GA [ˈkʰu̟ːləˌn̪oʰt̪ər], coim. *Kvilhaug* ann an Rogaland, Nirribhidh (Særheim 2007, 136; *NG* X, 384); airson SL *hv* > GA [k], coim. GA *An Carbh*, le facal-iasaid à LB **hvarf* n. (#47). Dh’fhaodte cuideachd beachdachadh air SL **Kví-hlíð*(*ar*)*toptir* no a leithid, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kví* b. ‘buaile, crò cruidh’ (ged a gheibhear leasachadh eile ann an GA *Cuidhir* #161 7c) agus bun-riochd (no tuiseal ginideach) an ainmeir SL *hlíð* b. ‘leathad’.

A thuilleadh air fuasgladh à SL **Hvílutoptir* (shuas), na notaichean cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh (1) SL **Kólutoptir* (leis an ainm aibhne **Kóla* ‘(an) tè fhuar’), ach às am bite a’ sùileachadh [kʲʰ] /kʹ/ thoisich sa Ghàidhlig; (2) SL **Hvélatoptir*, leis an tuiseal ginideach aig SL *hvéla* n. ‘lann chruinn’, ged a bhite a’ sùileachadh [ɟ̪] mheadhain sa Ghàidhlig agus ged a tha GA [kʰu̟ː]- à SL *hvél-* mì-chinnteach; agus (3) SL **Kúflingatoptir*, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL **kúflingr*, **kúflungr*, frith-riochd aig SL *kuflingr*, *kuflungr* f. ‘manach’, ach air nach eil teist.

#164 *Cùiriseal* CDL

[ˈkʰu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɟ̪], (gin.) *Chùiriseal* [ˈxu̟ːɾʲiˌʃaɟ̪]; NB410112. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Chuiri·seal*, *Sithean Chùiriseal*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag fàs air taobh an ear Cheann a Deas nan Loch, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162); ainm Gàidhlig, is dòcha à SL **Kú-risfjall* ‘beinn a’ bhò-mhullaich’, le bun-riochd an

343. M.e. *Cuidhsiadar* ann an *ECC*, 114.

344. (nMO) [ˈkuˑːləˌtohtər] (-[uː]-).

with the stem form of the noun *kýr* f. 'cow', genitive of the noun ON *ris* nt. 'crest; ridge' and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain'.

#165 *Cùl ri Grèin* STN (Eng. *Coulregrein*)
[ˌkʰuːɬ̪ ɾi ˈgɾʲẽːɲ̪], (gen.) *Chùl ri Grèin* [ˌxuːɬ̪ ɾi ˈgɾʲẽːɲ̪]; NB432339. 1843–82 *Cùl na Greine*; 1845 *Culnagrein*; 1895–1896, 1895–1897 *Coulregrain*; 1919 *Coulregrain Road*; 1955 *Coulregrain*; 2016 *Coulregrein*.

The name of a township and an area of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309. A Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cùl* m. 'back, the back part of something' and the preposition ScG *ri* (+ dat.) 'to, towards' + dative of ScG *grian* f. 'sun' (EG *gríanˊ*), the name arising from the position of the location behind *Cnoc nan Gobhar* #145, looking north, away from the sun; cf. *Cúl le Gréin* in Irish, with the same meaning (Joyce 1896, 240).

If correct, the name was changed on the 1843–82 map, although the meaning of *Cùl na Grèine* (with genitive of *a' ghrian* 'the sun') is entirely different, implying it was a sunny place.[345]

Cf. *An Grianan* #221.

#166 *Dail* NIS (Eng. *Dell*)
[d̪al], (gen.) [ɣal]. 1654 *Dall*; 1703, 1750M *Dell*; 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Dale*; 1846 *Dell*.

The name of an area in Nis that includes the township *Dail fo Dheas* and the tack (farm) *Dail fo Thuath*, although *Na Dailean* ('the *Dail*s'; cf. *Na Dailean* #167) is used to denote the two together (e.g. MacDonald 1972, 84).

The name of two townships in Nis, distinguished from each other by the adverbial phrases ScG *fo dheas* and *fo thuath* 'southern, northern' (< EG *fa ḋess*, *fa thúaidˊ* 'to the south, to the north', cf. ScG *a deas*, *a tuath* (#74)):[346]

Dail fo Dheas
[ˌd̪al fɔ ˈʝɛs̪], (gen.) *Dhail fo Dheas* [ˌɣal fɔ ˈʝɛs̪]; NB4861. 1718 *South Dell, Southdell*; 1726 *South Dell*; 1821 *South dell*; 1822 *Southdell*; 2007, road sign *Dail bho Dheas‖South Dell*.

345. Jacob King (personal communication) suggests this may be an example of gentrification, i.e. that the name was changed in case it offended the gentry's taste. Cf. ScG *Tòn ri Gaoith* '(the) bottom to (the) wind' (1445–50 *Tonregethy* (Fraser 1999, 94)) > [tɔrəˈgöː] (Holmer 1957, 62), > *Tòrr a' Ghaoth* [tɔrəˈɣöː] (ibid.), > Eng. *Thundergay* (Taylor 2011, s.v.) NR881467, in Arran; cf. Ir. *Tóin le Gaoith* (with same meaning) in Rathlin (Holmer 1942, 242).

346. These are often written *bho dheas*, *bho thuath*, as though the preposition ScG *bho*ᴸ, *o*ᴸ 'from' were present; cf. ScG *bho dheireadh* (leg. *fo dheireadh*) 'at last' (Cox 2017, 341, §359 (ix)).

ainmeir SL *kýr* b. 'bò', tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *ris* n. 'mullach, bàrr; druim' agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn'.

#165 *Cùl ri Grèin* STN
[ˌkʰuːɬ̪ ɾi ˈgɾʲẽːɲ̪], (gin.) *Chùl ri Grèin* [ˌxuːɬ̪ ɾi ˈgɾʲẽːɲ̪]; NB432339. 1843–82 *Cùl na Greine*; 1845 *Culnagrein*; 1895–1896, 1895–1897 *Coulregrain*; 1919 *Coulregrain Road*; 1955 *Coulregrain*; 2016 *Coulregrein*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn a tha cuideachd na cheàrnaidh den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309. Ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cùl* f. 'an ceann cùil aig rudeigin' agus an roimhear GA *ri* (+ tabh.) + an tuiseal thabhartach aig GA *grian* b. (GT *gríanˊ*), an t-ainm ag èirigh à suidheachadh an àite air cùl *Chnoc nan Gobhar* #145, a' coimhead gu tuath, air falbh bhon ghrèin; coim. *Cúl le Gréin* ann an Gàidhlig na h-Èireann, leis an aon chèill (Joyce 1896, 240).

Mas ceart sin, chaidh an t-ainm atharrachadh air a' mhapa 1843–82, ged a tha ciall gu tur eadar-dhealaichte aig GA *Cùl na Grèine* (leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig *a' ghrian*), is e ga chur a-mach gur h-e àite grianach a bh' ann.[345]

Cf. *An Grianan* #221.

#166 *Dail* NIS
[d̪al], (gin.) [ɣal]. 1654 *Dall*; 1703, 1750M *Dell*; 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Dale*; 1846 *Dell*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an Nis a ghabhas a-steach am baile fearainn *Dail fo Dheas* is an taca *Dail fo Thuath*, ged a chleachdar *Na Dailean* (.i. Na *Dail*ean; coim. *Na Dailean* #167) gus beantainn ris na dhà còmhladh (m.e. MacDonald 1972, 84).

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn ann an Nis, air an dealachadh ri chèile leis na h-abairtean co-ghnìomhaireach GA *fo dheas* agus *fo thuath* sa bhrìgh 'san àird a deas, san àird a tuath' (< GT *fa ḋess*, *fa thúaidˊ* 'chun na h-àird a deas, chun na h-àird a tuath', coim. GA *a deas*, *a tuath* (#74)):[346]

Dail fo Dheas
[ˌd̪al fɔ ˈʝɛs̪], (gin.) *Dhail fo Dheas* [ˌɣal fɔ ˈʝɛs̪]; NB4861. 1718 *South Dell, Southdell*; 1726 *South Dell*; 1821 *South dell*; 1822 *Southdell*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Dail bho Dheas‖South Dell*.

345. Cuiridh Jacob King air shùilibh (conaltradh pearsanta) gur dòcha gur h-e eisimpleir de dh'uaisleachadh a tha seo, .i. gun deach an t-ainm atharrachadh gun fhios nach dèanadh e oilbheum do chàil nan uaislean. Coim. GA *Tòn ri Gaoith* (1445–50 *Tonregethy* (Fraser 1999, 94)) > [tɔrəˈgöː] (Holmer 1957, 62), > *Tòrr a' Ghaoth* [tɔrəˈɣöː] (ibid.), > Brl. *Thundergay* (Taylor 2011, s.v.) NR881467, ann an Arainn; coim. GE *Tóin le Gaoith* ann an Reachrainn (Holmer 1942, 242).

346. Sgrìobhar *bho dheas*, *bho thuath* gu tric, mar gur h-e an roimhear GA *bho*ˢ, *o*ˢ a bh' ann; coim. GA *bho dheireadh* (leugh *fo dheireadh*) 'mu dheireadh' (Cox 2017, 341, §359 (ix)).

Dail fo Thuath
[ˌd̪̊al fɔ ˈhuə], (gen.) *Dhail fo Thuath* [ˌɣal fɔ ˈhuə]; NB4961. 1718, 1726, 1797, 1821, 1822 *North Dell*; 2007, road sign *Dail bho Thuath*‖*North Dell*.

> Oftedal 1954, 374: '**Dell**, ScG [dal].[347] According to Borgstrøm's notes, ScG [dal] is found as an appellative in *Beàrnaraigh* #51, meaning "long, narrow valley" (seldom used) [cf. *Na Dailean* #167]. The name as well as the appellative doubtlessly represent ON **Dali*, dative of ON **Dalr* m. "(the) valley". It is an extremely frequent farm name in Norway and is also found in Iceland, Orkney and Shetland.'

While ScG *Dail* is a loan-name from ON **Dali*, dative of ON **Dalr* m. '(the) valley', ScG *Daile Beag* and *Daile Mòr* are based on a loan-word from ON *dali* dat. (#167).

#167 ***Na Dailean*** TSR (Eng. *Dalbeg*; *Dalmore*)
[nə ˈd̪̊alən], (gen.) (formally) *Nan Dailean* *[nə n̪̊d̪̊alən], though *Na Dailean* [nə ˈd̪̊alən] is used in general. In An Taobh Siar; a name that denotes the tack *Daile Beag* and the township *Daile Mòr* collectively. 1654 *Dall*, *Dallenillé* (§15).

Daile Beag
[ˌd̪̊alə ˈb̪̊eɡ̊], (gen.) *Dhaile Beaga* [ˌɣalə ˈb̪̊eɡ̊ə]; NB231454. 1718 *Dalbeg*; 1726, 1750M *Delbeg*; 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804 *Dolbeg*; 1821 *Delbeg*; 1822 *Dellbeg*; 1843–82 *Daile Béaga*, *Bagh Dhaile Béaga*, *Delbeag Inn*; 1846 *Dellbeg*; 2007 *Dail Beag*‖*Dalbeg*.

Daile Mòr
[ˌd̪̊alə ˈmoːɾ], (gen.) *Dhaile Mòire* [ˌɣalə ˈmoːɾʲ(ə)]; NB219445. 1718 *Dellmore*; 1726 *Delinore*; 1750M, 1776 *Delmore*; 1789, 1790 *Dolmore*; 1801, 1804 *Delmore*; 1807 *Dalmore*; 1821, 1822 *Dellmore*; 1843–82 *Daile Mòr*, *Bagh Dhaile Mòra*; 1846 *Dellmore*; 2007 *Dail Mòr*‖*Dalmore*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Dalebeg** and **Dalemore** [?] are probably identical with *Dail* #166, with the Gaelic adjectives *beag* "small" and *mòr* "great" added.'

If ON *dali*, dative of ON *dalr* m. 'valley', were a loan-word in Gaelic in An Taobh Siar as well as in *Beàrnaraigh* (#166), ScG *Na Dailean* would contain the plural of ScG *dail*(*e*) 'valley'.[348] However, a vocalic plural form would yield ScG

347. (nMO) [dɑl fɔ jɛs], [d̪̊aḷ fɔˆ ˈjɛˇsː]; [dɑl fɔ huɤ], [d̪̊aḷ fɔˆ ˈhʉɤ]; *Beinn Dail* 'the mountain of *Dail*' [b̪̊ɛn̪ ˈd̪̊aḷ], *Abhainn Dail* 'the river of *Dail*' [ãvən ˈd̪̊aḷ] ?or [ãvən ˈd̪̊aḷ].

348. ScG *dail*(*e*) 'valley' from ON *dali* dat. is to be distinguished from ScG *dail* 'meadow' from Pict. **dol*, which is found frequently in mainland Scotland, e.g. ScG *An Dail* (Eng. *Dall*) NN670359, in Perthshire.

Dail fo Thuath
[ˌd̪̊al fɔ ˈhuə], (gin.) *Dhail fo Thuath* [ˌɣal fɔ ˈhuə]; NB4961. 1718, 1726, 1797, 1821, 1822 *North Dell*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Dail bho Thuath*‖*North Dell*.

> Oftedal 1954, 374: **Dell**, GA [dal].[347] A rèir notaichean Bhorgstrøm, tha GA [dal] na ainmear bitheanta am *Beàrnaraigh* #51, na 'gleann fada cumhang' (gun a chleachdadh gu tric) [coim. *Na Dailean* #167]. Chan eil teagamh nach riochdaich an t-ainm is an t-ainmear bitheanta SL **Dali*, an tuiseal tabhartach aig SL **Dalr* m. '(an) gleann'. 'S e ainm tuathanais air leth bitheanta ann an Nirribhidh a th' ann agus gheibhear an Innis Tìle, Arcaibh is Sealtainn e.

'S e ainm-iasaid à SL **Dali*, an tuiseal tabhartach aig SL **Dalr* f. '(an) gleann', a th' ann an GA *Dail*, ach tha GA *Daile Beag* agus *Daile Mòr* stèidhichte air facal-iasaid à SL *dali* tabh. (#167).

#167 ***Na Dailean*** TSR
[nə ˈd̪̊alən], (gin.) (gu foirmeil) *Nan Dailean* *[nə n̪̊d̪̊alən], ged a chleachdar *Na Dailean* [nə ˈd̪̊alən] san fharsaingeachd. Air An Taobh Siar; ainm a bheanas ris an taca *Daile Beag* is ris a' bhaile fearainn *Daile Mòr* le chèile. 1654 *Dall*, *Dallenillé* (§15).

Daile Beag
[ˌd̪̊alə ˈb̪̊eɡ̊], (gin.) *Dhaile Beaga* [ˌɣalə ˈb̪̊eɡ̊ə]; NB231454. 1718 *Dalbeg*; 1726, 1750M *Delbeg*; 1776, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804 *Dolbeg*; 1821 *Delbeg*; 1822 *Dellbeg*; 1843–82 *Daile Béaga*, *Bagh Dhaile Béaga*, *Delbeag Inn*; 1846 *Dellbeg*; 2007 *Dail Beag*‖*Dalbeg*.

Daile Mòr
[ˌd̪̊alə ˈmoːɾ], (gin.) *Dhaile Mòire* [ˌɣalə ˈmoːɾʲ(ə)]; NB219445. 1718 *Dellmore*; 1726 *Delinore*; 1750M, 1776 *Delmore*; 1789, 1790 *Dolmore*; 1801, 1804 *Delmore*; 1807 *Dalmore*; 1821, 1822 *Dellmore*; 1843–82 *Daile Mòr*, *Bagh Dhaile Mòra*; 1846 *Dellmore*; 2007 *Dail Mòr*‖*Dalmore*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ionann **Dalebeg** is **Dalemore** [?] agus *Dail* #166, leis na buadhairean Gàidhlig *beag* agus *mòr* air an cur ris.

Nan robh SL *dali*, an tuiseal tabhartach aig SL *dalr* f. 'gleann', na fhacal-iasaid sa Ghàidhlig air An Taobh Siar cho math ri ann am *Beàrnaraigh* (#166), bhiodh GA *Na Dailean* a' gabhail a-steach a' chrutha iolra aig GA *dail*(*e*) 'gleann'.[348] Gidheadh,

347. (nMO) [dɑl fɔ jɛs], [d̪̊aḷ fɔˆ ˈjɛˇsː]; [dɑl fɔ huɤ], [d̪̊aḷ fɔˆ ˈhʉɤ]; *Beinn Dail* [b̪̊ɛn̪ ˈd̪̊aḷ], *Abhainn Dail* [ãvən ˈd̪̊aḷ] ?no [ãvən ˈd̪̊aḷ].

348. Tha GA *dail*(*e*) 'gleann' à SL *dali* tabh. ri dhealachadh ri GA *dail* 'lèana' à Cr. **dol*, a gheibhear gu tric air tìr-mòr na h-Albann, m.e. GA *An Dail* (Brl. *Dall*) NN670359, ann an Siorrachd Pheairt.

daile, with an ending still seen in a handful of Gaelic place-names in the area (Cox 2002a, 56–58: 57), e.g. *Toma Dubha* '(the) black hills' NB256349 and, with apocope §44 (iii), *Na Meanbh-Chnoc*(*a*) '(the) small hills' NB1843.

Were ScG *daile* pl. the basis of the names *Daile Beag* and *Daile Mòr*, one would expect (rad.) **Daile Beaga* and **Daile Mòra*, (gen.) *Dhaile Beaga* and **Dhaile Mòra* – the very thing we have, except that they have been treated as singular names, hence *Daile Beag* and *Daile Mòr*, with apocope providing singular forms of the adjectives, although a trace of the plural is still found in the genitive *Dhaile Beaga* and *Dhaile Mòire*, except that *Dhaile Mòire* has a genitive singular (feminine) rather than genitive plural form of the adjective. Accordingly, the name *Na Dailean* is a modern form based on more modern forms of plural endings.

Were the names *Daile Beag* and *Daile Mòr* based upon a loan-name ON **Dali*, it would be difficult to reconcile the lenition and inflection of their reflexes.

Cf. *Dail* #166.

#168 *Dìobadal* NIS

[ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪əɬˠ], (gen.) *Dhìobadail* [ˈɟiːb̥əˌd̪əl]. 1821, 1822 *Alt Dibidale*; 1843–82 *Cladach Dhibadail*,[349] *Gil Dhìbadail*, *Loch Dúbh Dhìbadail*.[350]

The name of an area in Nis, north of *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), where there are two small deserted settlements:

Dìobadal Ìorach [ˌd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪əɬˠˈiəɾɔx], (gen.) *Dhìobadail Ìoraich* [ˌɟiːb̥əˌd̪əlˈiəɾiç]; NB553545, nearer to the coast than *Dìobadal Uarach* (cf. #150, fn 307). 1843–82 *Dìbadal Iorach*.

Dìobadal Uarach [ˌd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪əɬˠˈuəɾɔx],[351] (gen.) *Dìobadail Uaraich* [ˌɟiːb̥əˌd̪əlˈuəɾiç]; NB549546, further away from the coast than *Dìobadal Ìorach* (cf. #150, fn 307). 1843–82 *Dìbadal Uarach*.

> Oftedal 1954, 390: '**Dibadale** [dʼiːbədəl] was a fishing port (now deserted) situated in a short valley with steep sides. The name is connected with ON **Djúpidalr* "(the) deep valley", found in several places in Norway. There is also a *Djubadal* in Shetland, and a *Gibbdale* [dzibdəl] on the Isle of Man. The vowel [iː] is somewhat unexpected; I have at the moment no other example of the development of ON *jú*, but as ON **Kjóss* becomes ScG *Ceòs* [kʼɔːs] #123, we should expect *djúp-* to yield [dʼuːb].

349. (nMO) [kɬɑdəxˈjiːbədəɬ] [*sic*].

350. (nMO) [ɬɔxˈduˈjiːbədəɬ] [*sic*].

351. (nMO) [d̪ʲiːbədəɬ ɯərɔx].

bheireadh cruth iolra fuaimreagach GA *daile*, le dùnadh a chithear fhathast ann an dòrlach de dh'ainmean Gàidhlig san àite (Cox 2002a, 56–58: 57), m.e. *Toma Dubha* NB256349 agus, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii), *Na Meanbh-Chnoc*(*a*) NB1843.

Nam b' e GA *daile* iol. bunait nan ainmean *Daile Beag* agus *Daile Mòr*, bhite an dùil ri (bun.) **Daile Beaga* agus **Daile Mòra*, (gin.) *Dhaile Beaga* agus **Dhaile Mòra* – an dearbh rud a th' againn, ach gun deach dèiligeadh riutha mar ainmean singilte, às a sin *Daile Beag* agus *Daile Mòr*, le teasgadh deiridh a' solaradh chruthan singilte aig na buadhairean, ged a gheibhear lorg air an iolra fhathast san tuiseal ghinideach *Dhaile Beaga* agus *Dhaile Mòire*, ach ann an *Dhaile Mòire* le cruth ginideach singilte (boireann) seach ginideach iolra a' bhuadhair. A rèir seo, tha an t-ainm *Na Dailean* na nua-chruth air a stèidheachadh air dùnaidhean iolra nas ùire.

Nam b' e ainm-iasaid ann an SL **Dali* a bh' aig bun nan ainmean *Daile Beag* agus *Daile Mòr*, bhiodh e duilich an sèimheachadh agus am mùthadh sna riochdan aca a rèiteachadh.

Coim. *Dail* #166.

#168 *Dìobadal* NIS

[ˈd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪əɬˠ], (gin.) *Dhìobadail* [ˈɟiːb̥əˌd̪əl]. 1821, 1822 *Alt Dibidale*; 1843–82 *Cladach Dhibadail*,[349] *Gil Dhìbadail*, *Loch Dúbh Dhìbadail*.[350]

Ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an Nis, tuath air *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), far a bheil dà thuineachadh bheag fhàs:

Dìobadal Ìorach [ˌd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪əɬˠˈiəɾɔx], (gin.) *Dhìobadail Ìoraich* [ˌɟiːb̥əˌd̪əlˈiəɾiç]; NB553545, nas fhaide a-staigh (nas fhaisge air a' mhuir) na *Dìobadal Uarach* (coim. #150, bn 307). 1843–82 *Dìbadal Iorach*.

Dìobadal Uarach [ˌd̪ʲiːb̥əˌd̪əɬˠˈuəɾɔx],[351] (gin.) *Dìobadail Uaraich* [ˌɟiːb̥əˌd̪əlˈuəɾiç]; NB549546, nas fhaide a-muigh (nas fhaide bhon mhuir) na *Dìobadal Ìorach* (coim. #150, bn 307). 1843–82 *Dìbadal Uarach*.

> Oftedal 1954, 390: 'S e baile iasgaich (a tha a-nise fàs) a bh' ann an **Dibadale** [dʼiːbədəl], air a shuidheachadh ann an gleann goirid agus cliathaichean casa air. Tha an t-ainm ceangailte ri SL **Djúpidalr* '(an) gleann domhainn', air a lorg ann an corra àite ann an Nirribhidh. Tha *Djubadal* ann an Sealtainn mar an ceudna, agus *Gibbdale* [dzibdəl] ann am Manainn. Chan e an fhuaimreag [iː] a bhite a' sùileachadh; chan eil eisimpleir eile agam andràsta den leasachadh SL *jú* seo, ach mar a thèid SL **Kjóss* na GA *Ceòs* [kʼɔːs] #123, bhite an dùil gun toireadh *djúp-* GA [dʼuːb]. Mar as trice, bheir SL *ý* GA

349. (nMO) [kɬɑdəxˈjiːbədəɬ] [*sic*].

350. (nMO) [ɬɔxˈduˈjiːbədəɬ] [*sic*].

351. (nMO) [d̪ʲiːbədəɬ ɯərɔx].

ON *ý* usually results in ScG [iː]; if an Old Norse form with *jú* umlauted to *ý* could be found, it would establish the required correspondence. But such a form cannot easily be imagined. It is curious to note that the Manx form of the name presents the same difficulty. Marstrander (1932, 93) assumes that the first element of the diphthong carried the stress in the underlying Old Norse form ([diu̯p]); this is probably the correct explanation of the Lewis form as well.'

The name of two small settlements beside a deep valley, where the people of Nis have some sheilings, and reportedly where families evicted from *An Cnoc Àrd* #140 stayed before obtaining crofts in *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (Lawson 2011, 4). Were *Dìobadal* ever a fishing village, the only shelter for boats would have been the landing place at *Cladach Dhìobadail* 'the shore of *Dìobadal*'.

A Gaelic name, a loan-name from CSc. **Diupadal* acc. '(the) deep valley', with the weak oblique masculine form of the adjective CSc. **diupʀ* 'deep', which developed into ON *djúpr*, with stress shift.[352] Cf. *Loch Dhìobadail* (nMO) [ɬɔx ˈʃiːb̥əd̥əl̠˃], [ɬɔx ˈʃib̥əd̥əl] [353] 'the loch of *Dìobadal*' NB050236 in *Mialastadh* #252, in Ùig; *Mol Dhìobadail* [ˌmɔ̃ɬ̃ ˈʃiːb̥əˌd̥̊əl] 'the shingle beach of *Dìobadal*' NB209340 in *Callanis* #94, in An Taobh Siar; and *Dìobadal* (CB) [ʤiːbədəɬ] [354] NB474613 in *Dail fo Dheas* (#166), in Nis.[355]

However, ON *djúpr* appears to occur in ScG *Loch Diùbaig* [ˌɬ̪ɔx ˈʤ̟iuːb̥ɛɡ̊ʲ] 'the loch of *Diùbaig*' NG323541, in Skye, with a loan-name from ON **Djúp-vík* '(the) deep-bay', with the stem form of the adjective and ON *vík* f. 'small bay'.

#169 *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* BRN

[ˌd̥ɾə̃ĩm ə ˈɣɑːɾi], (gen.) *Dhruim a' Ghàrraidh* [ˌɣɾə̃ĩm ə ˈɣɑːɾi]; NB157343. 1843–82 *Druim a Ghàraidh*, *Tòb Druim a Ghàraidh*.

352. Stressed CSc. *iu* in this context became *jú* in Old Norse, with the diphthong [iu] developing into a semi-vowel + long vowel [i̯uː] through shift of stress sometime between 850–1000 (Haugen 1976, 154; Gordon 1981, 274–75).

353. Short [i] is what appears in the second of these transcriptions, ?in error; [ʟɔx ˈg̊ʲiːbəd̥əl̠] was also recorded by Oftedal, see under *Clèidir* #127.

354. To which Oftedal (nMO) adds Borgstrøm's own transcription: [d̥ʲˈʒiːpətəʟ].

355. Cf. ScG (Watson 1904, 7–8) *Dìobadal*, in Kincardine; (1843–82) *Dibidil* NM392927, in Rum (ScG (CMR) *Diobadail* [*sic*] (in King 2019, 211)); (1843–82) *Glenlibidil* NM666221 (< **Dibidil* (Whyte 2017, 22)), in Mull; (1843–82) *Glen Dibidal* NG206402, in Skye; (1843–82) *Glen Debadel* NR624947, in Jura; and ScG (Holliday 2016, 328) *Dìubadal* [ˈdʲiːabaˌdɑʟ] NL972389, in Tiree; and, with a loan from CSc. **Diup-vík* '(the) deep-bay': ScG *Dìbig*, in Beàrnaraigh (Macaulay 1972, 330); ScG **Ceann Dìbig* (1843–82 *Kendibig*) 'the head of **Dibig*' NG146980, in Harris; (1843–82) *Diabaig* (Wentworth 2003, s.v.: [d̥ʲˈ[iə]pɛkʲ], [d̥ʲˈ[iə]pɑkʲ]; Borgstrøm 1941, 81: [d̥ʲˈ[iə]pɑkʲ]) NG796602, in Gairloch.

[iː]; nan lorgte cruth Lochlannais san deach *jú* a mhùthadh na *ý*, stèidhichte an co-fhreagradh riatanach. Ach cha mhòr gun smaoinichear air a leithid de chruth. Tha e ùidheil a mhothachadh gun nochd an t-aon duilgheadas ann an cruth Manannais an ainme. Gabhaidh Marstrander (1932, 93) ris gur h-e ciad eileamaid an dà-fhoghair air an robh am beum sa chruth bhunaiteach Lochlannais ([diu̯p]); is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e seo am mìneachadh ceart airson a' chrutha Leòdhasaich mar an ceudna.

An t-ainm air dà thuineachadh bheag ri taobh glinne dhomhainn, far an robh cuid de dh'àirighean muinntir Nis, agus a rèir aithris far an robh cuid de theaghlaichean a chaidh fhuadach às *A' Chnoc Àrd* #140 a' fuireach gus an d' fhuair iad croitean ann an *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (Lawson 2011, 4). Nam b' e baile iasgaich a bh' ann an *Dìobadal* a-riamh, bha e duilich fasgadh a lorg do bhàtaichean, gun phort ach làimrig aig *Cladach Dhìobadail*.

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na ainm-iasaid à LB **Diupadal* cusp. '(an) gleann domhainn', le cruth lag claon fireann a' bhuadhair LB **diupʀ* 'domhainn', a chaidh na SL *djúpr*, le gluasad beuma.[352] Coim. *Loch Dhìobadail* (nMO) [ɬɔx ˈʃiːb̥əd̥əl˃], [ɬɔx ˈʃib̥əd̥əl] [353] NB050236 ann am *Mialastadh* #252, ann an Ùig; *Mol Dhìobadail* [ˌmɔ̃ɬ̃ ˈʃiːb̥əˌd̥̊əl] NB209340 ann an *Callanis* #94, air An Taobh Siar; agus *Dìobadal* (CB) [ʤiːbədəɬ] [354] NB474613 ann an *Dail fo Dheas* (#166), ann an Nis.[355]

Is coltach gun nochd SL *djúpr*, ge-tà, ann an GA *Loch Diùbaig* [ˌɬ̪ɔx ˈʤ̟iuːb̥ɛɡ̊ʲ] NG323541, san Eilean Sgitheanach, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Djúp-vík* '(an) domhainn-bhàgh', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair agus SL *vík* b. 'bàgh beag'.

#169 *Druim a' Ghàrraidh* BRN

[ˌd̥ɾə̃ĩm ə ˈɣɑːɾi], (gin.) *Dhruim a' Ghàrraidh* [ˌɣɾə̃ĩm ə ˈɣɑːɾi]; NB157343. 1843–82 *Druim a Ghàraidh*, *Tòb Druim a Ghàraidh*.

352. Chaidh LB *iu* bheumte sa cho-theags seo na *jú* san Lochlannais, agus an dà-fhoghar [iu] a' dol na leth-fhuaimreig + fuaimreag fhada [i̯uː] le gluasad beuma uaireigin eadar 850–1000 (Haugen 1976, 154; Gordon 1981, 274–75).

353. 'S i [i] ghoirid a nochdas san dàrna tras-sgrìobhadh a tha seo, ?air mhearachd; chaidh [ʟɔx ˈg̊ʲiːbəd̥əl̠] a chlàradh le Oftedal mar an ceudna, faic fo *Clèidir* #127.

354. Ris an cuir Oftedal (nMO) tras-sgrìobhadh Bhorgstrøm fhèin: [d̥ʲˈʒiːpətəʟ].

355. Coim. GA (Watson 1904, 7–8) *Dìobadal*, ann an Cinn Chàrdainn; (1843–82) *Dibidil* NM392927, ann an Rum (GA (CMR) *Diobadail* [*sic*] (ann an King 2019, 211)); (1843–82) *Glenlibidil* NM666221 (< **Dibidil* (Whyte 2017, 22)), ann am Muile; (1843–82) *Glen Dibidal* NG206402, san Eilean Sgitheanach; (1843–82) *Glen Debadel* NR624947, ann an Diùra; agus GA (Holliday 2016, 328) *Dìubadal* [ˈdʲiːabaˌdɑʟ] NL972389, ann an Tiriodh; agus, le iasad à LB **Diup-vík* '(an) domhainn-bhàgh': GA *Dìbig*, ann am Beàrnaraigh (Macaulay 1972, 330); GA **Ceann Dìbig* (1843–82 *Kendibig*) NG146980, sna Hearadh; (1843–82) *Diabaig* (Wentworth 2003, s.v.: [d̥ʲˈ[iə]pɛkʲ], [d̥ʲˈ[iə]pɑkʲ]; Borgstrøm 1941, 81: [d̥ʲˈ[iə]pɑkʲ]) NG796602, ann an Geàrrloch.

The name of the eastern end of the township *Tàcleit* #317, in Beàrnaraigh #51; a Gaelic name, with ScG *druim* m. 'ridge' (EG *druim*(*m*)) and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of ScG *gàrradh* m. 'dyke, wall' (< ON *garðr* m. (#182)), apparently named after the ridge here, which runs beside the village boundary, where there would once have been a *gàrradh dubh* 'turf dyke'.

#170 ***An Dùn*** TSR (Eng. *Doune*)
[ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːn], (gen.) *Na Dùine* [nə ˈd̪̊ʊ̃ːɲə];[356] NB188412. Of the fort: 1845 *Dun Charlo·way*; 1843–82 *Dùn*; 1895 *Dur Charlobhaidh* [*sic*]; 1932, 291, 330 *Dun Charloway*; 1934, 6 *Carloway Dun*; 1974 *Dùn Carloway*. Of the township etc.: 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1807, 1821, 1822, 1832 *Down*; 1845 *Dun Charloway*; 1843–83 *Dùn Charlobhaidh*, cf. *Beinn na Dùine*, *Loch na Dùine*, *Port na Dùine*; 1875, 161 *Dune Carloway*; 1974 *Doune Carloway*; 2007 *Dùn Chàrlabhaigh*‖*Doune Carloway*; road sign *Dun Charla·bhaigh*.

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar and of a fort (NB189412), from which the township gets its name; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *dùn* 'fort, fortification' (EG *dún*). Cf. *An Dùn* (1843–82 *Dùn Màra*) (nMO) [ɴʾʊ̃ːn̪] NB494631, in *Suaineabost* #311, with aphaeresis.

Originally, EG *dún* was a masculine *o*-stem (gen. *dúin*), then a neuter *s*-stem (gen. *dú*(*i*)*ne*) (*DIL*). Although *dùn* in this name (gen. *na dùine*) has the appearance of a feminine *ā*-stem, the form may derive from an earlier *s*-stem.[357] The element *dùn* evidently became an *i*-stem also in the dialect (gen. *dùna*), but it has a tendency to become an *o*-stem in place-names, in line with the modern appellative: ScG (1843–82 *Loch an Dūn*, with apocope §44 (iii)) *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə ɴʾʊ̃ːɴʲ] 'the loch of—' (with a fort at NB516304), in *Bradhagair a Deas* #74; ScG (1843–82 *Loch an Duna*) *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) [ɬɔx ə n-ʊ̃ːn̪] [*sic*] (with a fort at NB390261), north of *Crosabost* #156; ScG (1843–82 *Loch an Dūn*) *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə nʾʊ̃ːɴʾ] (with a fort at NB556358), in *Port Mholair* #273; ScG (1843–82 *Loch an Dūn*) *Loch an Dùine* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə ˈnʾʊ̃ːɴʾə] (with a fort at NB516304), in *Pabail Ìorach* (#261); ScG (1843–82 *Loch an Dùin*) *Loch an Dùine* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə ˈɴʾʊ̃ːɴʾə] (with a fort at NB392543), in *Siadar Ìorach* (#296).

The fortification here was one of the tall round forts or brochs (cf. *Borgh* #68) found in the north and west of Scotland. Macdonald (1978, 15) suggests there were four of these in Lewis: here in *An Dùn*, in *Bradhagair* #74, in *Mealbost*

356. Locally, as above; elsewhere, sometimes (gen.) *An Dùin* [ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːn̪] or even (gen.) *An Dùn* [ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːn], cf. *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) (Donald MacGregor from *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331)) [ɬɔx ə ˈʜʻʊ̃ːn]; sometimes with short [u] in weakly stressed position, e.g. *Dùn Chàrlabhaigh* 'the fort of *Càrlabhagh*' (nMO) [dun ˈxɑːl̪əvɑj].

357. Cf. (1843–82) *Dùn* NB032329, *Mol na Dùine* 'the pebble beach of—' but *Bogh' an Dùine* [leg. *Bodh'*—] 'the reef of—'.

An t-ainm air ceann an ear a' bhaile fearainn *Tàcleit* #317, ann am Beàrnaraigh #51; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *druim* f. (GT *druim*(*m*)) agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach fhireann + an tuiseal ghinideach aig GA *gàrradh* f. 'balla, feansa' (< SL *garðr* f. (#182)), air ainmeachadh a rèir choltais air an druim an seo, a ruitheas ri taobh crìoch a' bhaile, far am biodh 'gàrradh dubh' (balla fòid) uair.

#170 ***An Dùn*** TSR
[ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːn], (gin.) *Na Dùine* [nə ˈd̪̊ʊ̃ːɲə];[356] NB188412. Mun dùn: 1845 *Dun Charlo·way*; 1843–82 *Dùn*; 1895 *Dur Charlobhaidh* [*sic*]; 1932, 291, 330 *Dun Charloway*; 1934, 6 *Carloway Dun*; 1974 *Dùn Carloway*. Mun bhaile fearainn ↄc: 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1807, 1821, 1822, 1832 *Down*; 1845 *Dun Charloway*; 1843–83 *Dùn Charlo·bhaidh*, coim. *Beinn na Dùine*, *Loch na Dùine*, *Port na Dùine*; 1875, 161 *Dune Carlo·way*; 1974 *Doune Carloway*; 2007 *Dùn Chàrlabhaigh*‖*Doune Carloway*; soighne rathaid *Dun Charlabhaigh*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar agus air dùn (NB189412), bhom faigh am baile a ainm; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *dùn* 'daingneach' (GT *dún*). Coim. *An Dùn* (1843–82 *Dùn Màra*) (nMO) [ɴʾʊ̃ːn̪] NB494631, ann an *Suaineabost* #311, le teasgadh toisich.

Bho thùs, bha GT *dún* na bhun-*o* fireann (gin. *dúin*), an uair sin na bhun-*s* neodrach (gin. *dú*(*i*)*ne*) (*DIL*). Ged a tha coltas buin-*ā* bhoireann air *dùn* san ainm seo (gin. *na dùine*), is dòcha gun tàrmaich an cruth ann am bun-*s* na bu tràithe.[357] Is lèir gun deach *dùn* na bhun-*i* cuideachd san dualchainnt (gin. *dùna*), ach is dual dhan eileamaid a dhol na bhun-*o* ann an ainmean-àite, a' leantainn cruth an ainmeir bhitheanta san Nua-Ghàidhlig: GA (1843–82 *Loch an Dūn*, le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)) *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə ɴʾʊ̃ːɴʲ] (agus dùn aig NB516304), ann am *Bradhagair a Deas* #74; GA (1843–82 *Loch an Duna*) *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) [ɬɔx ə n-ʊ̃ːn̪] [*sic*] (agus dùn aig NB390261), tuath air *Crosabost* #156; GA (1843–82 *Loch an Dūn*) *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə nʾʊ̃ːɴʾ] (agus dùn aig NB556358), ann am *Port Mholair* #273; GA (1843–82 *Loch an Dūn*) *Loch an Dùine* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə ˈnʾʊ̃ːɴʾə] (agus dùn aig NB516304), ann am *Pabail Ìorach* (#261); GA (1843–82 *Loch an Dùin*) *Loch an Dùine* (nMO) [ʟɔx ə ˈɴʾʊ̃ːɴʾə] (agus dùn aig NB392543), ann an *Siadar Ìorach* (#296).

Bha an dùn an seo air fear de na dùin àrda chruinne no buirgh (coim. *Borgh* #68) a lorgar air taobh tuath agus air taobh an iar na h-Albann. Cuiridh Macdonald (1978, 15) air shùilibh gun robh ceithir dhiubh ann an Leòdhas: ann an seo air *An Dùn*, ann am *Bradhagair* #74, ann am *Mealbost Bhuirgh* (#249) agus

356. Gu h-ionadail, mar a tha shuas; an àitichean eile, air uairean (gin.) *An Dùin* [ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːn̪] no fiù 's (gin.) *An Dùn* [ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːn], coim. *Loch an Dùin* (nMO) (Dòmhnall MacGriogair à *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331)) [ɬɔx ə ˈʜʻʊ̃ːn]; air uairean le [u] ghoirid ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, m.e. *Dùn Chàrlabhaigh* (nMO) [dun ˈxɑːl̪əvɑj].

357. Coim. (1843–82) *Dùn* NB032329, *Mol na Dùine* ach *Bogh' an Dùine* [leugh *Bodh'*—].

Bhuirgh (#249) and in *Crò Mòr* #154, but brochs are also found at NB103351, beside *Loch na Beirghe* in Ùig, at NB098353, in *Loch Bharabhat* in Ùig, and at NB155355, in *Loch Bharabhat* in Beàrnaraigh. However, there may have been brochs at at least 10 other locations in the island.[358]

In addition to the form ScG *dùn*, the diminutive form ScG *dùnan* m. is found (i.e. *dùn* + the suffix *-an* (Cox 200a, 59; 2017, 123–24)), e.g. *An Dùnan* (1843–82 *Dùnan*) [ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːnan] 'the fort(let)' NB045343, in *Beirghro* #59, and *Rubha an Dùnain* (nMO) [ʀʊ ə ˈnʲʊ̃ːnaɲ] 'the promontory of the fort(let)' NB249483, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295). *An Dùnan* is the name of the area of *Borghaston* quay, whose outer end was built over the ruin of a fort (NB192421) recognised in the Norse name of the township #69.

It is said that the fortification *Dùn Bhorranis* 'the fort of *Borranis*' NB050332, near *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, was held by the giant *Ciuthach* and that his three brothers held those at *Barra Glom* #48 and *Tiodaborgh* #329 (both in Beàrnaraigh) and here at *An Dùn* (Macdonald 1978, 16).[359]

#171 *Dùn Èistean* NIS

[ˌd̪̊ʊ̃ˑn ˈeːʃtʲan], (gen.) *Dhùn Èistean* [ˌɣ̊ʊ̃ˑn ˈeːʃtʲan]; NB535650. 1703 *Dun-eiften*; 1821, 1822 *Dun Eishten*; 1843–82 *Dùn Eistein*.

The name of an intertidal stack in the township of *An Cnoc Àrd* #140, in Nis. According to tradition, this was the location of the Morrisons' stronghold (R. C. Barrowman 2015, 10, 34).

A Gaelic name, with an Old Norse loan-name as specific in the genitive after ScG *dùn* m. 'stronghold, fortification' (#170). Folk etymology links **Èistean* with the man's name ScG *Ùisdean* f. (ibid.).

358. NB154402, in *Crothair* #157; NB202454, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202; NB392542, in *Siadar Ìorach* (#296); NB461596, in *Gabhsann fo Thuath* (#188); NB488626, in *Dail fo Thuath* (#166); NB083360, in *A' Chlibh* #132; NB167343, in *Barra Glom* #48; NB527637, in *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148; NB031329, in *Càrnis* #99; NB560576, in *Lìonal* #237 (see *Fileascleitir* #186) (<https://canmore.org.uk/search/site?SIMPLE_KEYWORD=lewis%20broch>).

359. The names of his three brothers were *Dearg* (in *An Dùn*), *Glom* (in *Barra Glom*) and *Tiod* (in *Tiodaborgh*). The personal names *Glom* and *Tiod* probably make sense of their respective place-names; the name *Dearg* (i.e. from the colour ScG *dearg* 'red') occurs several times in folklore. For the name *Ciuthach* (Macdonald ibid. writes *Cuitheach*), with ScG *ciuthach* m. perhaps in the sense 'wild man or cave dweller', see Watson 1914. It is said the brothers were the sons of *Nuadharan* (*Nuadhairean*). Thomas (1890, 387) explains that *Nuadharan* means 'silver-handed', but *Nuadharan* in this instance may have been confused with EG *Nuaḋu Airgetláṁ* '*Nuaḋu* the silver-handed', the king of Tuatha De Danann who led his people into Ireland (MacKillop 1998, s.v.) (Thomas 1890, 383–88, 393–95; Morrison 1975, 21–22, in Lawson 2008, 125; Macdonald 1967, 52–53).

ann an *Crò Mòr* #154, ach tha buirgh rin lorg cuideachd aig NB103351, ri taobh *Loch na Beirghe* ann an Ùig, aig NB098353, ann an *Loch Bharabhat* ann an Ùig, agus aig NB155355, ann an *Loch Bharabhat* ann am Beàrnaraigh. Gidheadh, is dòcha gun robh buirgh aig co-dhiù 10 àitichean eile anns an eilean.[358]

A thuilleadh air a' chruth GA *dùn*, gheibhear an cruth meanbhach GA *dùnan* f. (.i. *dùn* + an t-iar-leasachan *-an* (Cox 200a, 59; 2017, 123–24), m.e. *An Dùnan* (1843–82 *Dùnan*) [ə ˈn̪̊d̪̊ʊ̃ːnan] NB045343, ann am *Beirghro* #59, agus *Rubha an Dùnain* (nMO) [ʀʊ ə ˈnʲʊ̃ːnaɲ] NB249483, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295). 'S e *An Dùnan* an t-ainm a th' air àrainn cidhe *Bhorghaston*, a chaidh a cheann as fhaide a-muigh a thogail air muin làrach dùnain (NB192421) a tha air aithneachadh ann an ainm Lochlannais a' bhaile fearainn #69.

A rèir aithris, 's e am famhair *Ciuthach* aig an robh an daingneach *Dùn Bhorranis* NB050332, faisg air *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, agus 's ann aig a thriùir bhràithrean a bha an fheadhainn ann am *Barra Glom* #48 agus *Tiodaborgh* #329 (an dà chuid ann am Beàrnaraigh) agus an seo air *An Dùn* (Macdonald 1978, 16).[359]

#171 *Dùn Èistean* NIS

[ˌd̪̊ʊ̃ˑn ˈeːʃtʲan], (gin.) *Dhùn Èistean* [ˌɣ̊ʊ̃ˑn ˈeːʃtʲan]; NB535650. 1703 *Dun-eiften*; 1821, 1822 *Dun Eishten*; 1843–82 *Dùn Eistein*.

An t-ainm air staca eadar-thràigh anns a' bhaile fearainn *An Cnoc Àrd* #140, ann an Nis. A rèir aithris, b' e seo far an robh daingneach Chloinn MhicIlleMhoire (R. C. Barrowman 2015, 10, 34).

Ainm Gàidhlig, le ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na shònraichear san tuiseal ghinideach an dèidh GA *dùn* f. 'daingneach, àite dìona' (#170). Ceanglaidh dinnsheanchas **Èistean* ris an ainm fireannaich GA *Ùisdean* f. (ibid.).

358. NB154402, ann an *Crothair* #157; NB202454, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202; NB392542, ann an *Siadar Ìorach* (#296); NB461596, ann an *Gabhsann fo Thuath* (#188); NB488626, ann an *Dail fo Thuath* (#166); NB083360, anns *A' Chlibh* #132; NB167343, ann am *Barra Glom* #48; NB527637, anns *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148; NB031329, ann an *Càrnis* #99; NB560576, ann an *Lìonal* #237 (faic *Fileascleitir* #186) (<https://canmore.org.uk/search/site?SIMPLE_KEYWORD=lewis%20broch>).

359. B' iad *Dearg* (air *An Dùn*), *Glom* (ann am *Barra Glom*) agus *Tiod* (ann an *Tiodaborgh*) ainmean a thriùir bhràithrean. Is iongantach mana dèan na h-ainmean pearsanta *Glom* agus *Tiod* ciall de na h-ainmean-àite aca; nochdaidh an t-ainm *Dearg* (.i. às an dath GA *dearg*) corra uair ann am beul-aithris. Airson an ainme *Ciuthach* (sgrìobhaidh Macdonald ibid. *Cuitheach*), le GA *ciuthach* f. is dòcha sa bhrìgh 'duine fiadhaich no duine a dh'fhuireas ann an uaimh', faic Watson 1914. A rèir aithris, b' iad na bràithrean mic *Nuadharain* (*Nuadhairein*). Mìnichidh Thomas (1890, 387) gur h-e 'airgead-làmhach' as ciall do *Nuadharan*, ach is dòcha gun deach *Nuadharan* san t-seagh seo a chothlamadh le GT *Nuaḋu Airgetláṁ* '*Nuaḋu* airgead-làmh', rìgh Thuatha De Danann a threòir a chuid sluaigh a dh'Èirinn (MacKillop 1998, s.v.) (Thomas 1890, 383–88, 393–95; Morrison 1975, 21–22, ann an Lawson 2008, 125; Macdonald 1967, 52–53).

CSc. **Austain* acc.[360] becomes **Austęin* on assimilation of the elements of the diphthong *ai* [ai], yielding *ęi* [æi] (Haugen 1976, 154), which gives EG **Óistín* (AU 874 *Oistin*;[361] cf. CSc. **Hraun-øy* > ScG *Ròna*i*gh* #281, and ON *skaut* nt. > ScG *sgòd* m. (#7)). CSc. **Austęin* becomes ON *Eystein* on raising of the diphthong CSc. *ęi* to ON *ei* [ɛi], a development that caused front mutation (*i*-umlaut; Haugen 1976, 153) in the stressed syllable (/au/ > /ęy/ > /ey/). ON *Eystein* would yield ScG **Èistean* *[ˈeːʃʲan][362] (cf. ON **Hreys-fjǫrð* acc. > ScG **Reusort* (#112) and ON **Eyrará* > ScG *Èirearadh* (#180, fn 399)), but ScG *Ùisdean* (Lewis) [ˈu̯ːʃʲan] (< **Òisdean*) would derive from CSc. **Austęin* (with subsequent raising of the stressed vowel in Gaelic) or from CSc. **Aystęin*, once raising of the Common Scandinavian diphthong had begun.[363]

If ScG **Èistean* is from ON *Eystein*, the man's name has been borrowed into Gaelic twice:[364] *Ùisdean* firstly and **Èistean* (**Èisdean*) secondly.[365] But the link between **Èistean* and *Ùisdean* is likely to be fanciful; there appears to be no historical evidence for it.

It is seems more likely that ScG **Èistean* derives from ON **Eiðsstein* acc., with genitive of the noun ON *eið* nt. 'isthmus, a way between two sheets of water' (cf. #4, #60) and ON *stein*, accusative of ON *steinn* m. 'stone, rock, crag'.[366] ScG *dùn* and ON *steinn* may have had the same sense here, i.e. 'lump of rock, stack', at least in the first instance.[367] Since the 1550s and 1600s, *Dùn Èistean* appears to have been a tidal island accessible only at low tide (R. C. Barrowman 2015, 398–99).

360. Accusative forms of this Norse personal name are used throughout in this discussion.

361. In Marstrander's view (1915, 72, 144, 156), the form EG *Oistin* is remarkable, i.e. if the man's name EG *Aufer* is found in 925 from CSc. **Aufara* acc. (ON *Eyfara*), why is EG **Óistín* found in 874 from CSc. **Austęin*, with *ó* rather than *au*? Either *au* in EG *Aufer* was pronounced /oː/, or the development from CSc. *au* was slower in Gaelic before a non-palatal consonant (/f/) than it was before a palatal consonant (/sʹ/).

362. Although the vowel of the weakened second syllable might reduce to [ə], cf. ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̪u̯ːˌʃʲən] from ON **Bugsstein* acc. (#116); see fn 366, below.

363. Not from ON *Eistein* (Crofters Commission 1902, 1).

364. Cf. Eng. *ball* > ScG *ball*, *bàla*.

365. *sd* and *st* are not distinguished in sound in Gaelic (Cox 2017, 39).

366. Weakly stressed ON *stein* acc. seems to yield ScG [ʃʲən] regularly (rather than *[ʃʲan] as might be expected): ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̪u̯ːˌʃʲən] (#116); *Bealach Liamaistean* [ˌb̪jɑt̪ˠəx ˈlʲĩãmɪˌʃʲən] (#235); **Croistean* *[ˈkʰrɔˌʃʲən] (#240); **Eilistean* *[ˈeliˌʃʲən] (#296, fn 703); and *Cnoc Uamaistean* [ˌkʰrõʰkˈũãmɪˌʃʲən] (#311 (i)). For CSc. **stainn* as opposed to ON *steinn*, see ScG *Rocastainn* #48, fn 94.

367. MacIver (1934, 70) suggests ON **Eistna*, genitive plural of the noun ON *eista* nt. 'testicle', but ScG *[ˈeːʃʲən] would be expected, assuming metathesis in the ending.

Thèid LB **Austain* cusp.[360] na **Austęin* air do dh'eileamaidean an dà-fhoghair *ai* [ai] co-choslachadh, a' toirt *ęi* [æi] (Haugen 1976, 154), a bheir GT **Óistín* (AU 874 *Oistin*;[361] coim. LB **Hraun-øy* > GA *Ròna*i*gh* #281, agus SL *skaut* n. > GA *sgòd* f. (#7)). Bheir LB **Austęin* SL *Eystein* an dèidh dhan dà-fhoghar LB *ęi* àrdachadh gu SL *ei* [ɛi], leasachadh a dh'adhbharaich mùthadh toisich (*i*-umlaut; Haugen 1976, 153) san lide bheumte (/au/ > /ęy/> /ey/). Bheireadh SL *Eystein* GA **Èistean* *[ˈeːʃʲan][362] (coim. SL **Hreys-fjǫrð* cusp. > GA **Reusort* (#112) agus SL **Eyrará* > GA *Èirearadh* (#180, bn 399)), ach thàrmaicheadh GA *Ùisdean* (Leòdhas) [ˈu̯ːʃʲan] (< **Òisdean*) à LB **Austęin* (le àrdachadh an dèidh làimhe san fhuaimreig bheumte sa Ghàidhlig) air neo à LB **Aystęin* agus an dà-fhoghar Lochlannais air tòiseachadh air àrdachadh.[363]

Mas ann à SL *Eystein* a tha GA **Èistean*, chaidh an t-ainm fireannaich Lochlannais a thoirt air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig dà uair:[364] *Ùisdean* agus **Èistean* (**Èisdean*).[365] Ach is math dh'fhaodte nach croch an ceangal eadar **Èistean* agus *Ùisdean* ach air nòisean; is coltach nach eil fianais eachraidheil air a shon ann.

Tha e nas coltaiche gur h-ann à SL **Eiðsstein* cusp. a tha GA **Èistean*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *eið* n. 'tairbeart, slighe eadar dà raon uisge' (coim. #4, #60) agus SL *stein*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *steinn* f. 'clach, creag'.[366] Is dòcha gum b' i an aon chiall a bh' aig GA *dùn* is SL *steinn* ann an seo, .i. 'cnap creige, staca', co-dhiù sa chiad àite.[367] Bho chionn nan 1500an agus nan 1600an, is coltach gu bheil *Dùn Èistean* air a bhith na eilean tràigh nach gabhadh ruigsinn ach aig muir-thràigh

360. Cleachdar cruthan cuspaireach an ainme phearsanta Lochlannais seo air feadh na deasbaid seo.

361. Am beachd Mharstrander (1915, 72, 144, 156), tha an cruth GT *Oistin* comharraichte, .i. ma gheibhear an t-ainm fireannaich GT *Aufer* ann an 925 à LB **Aufara* cusp. (SL *Eyfara*), carson a gheibhear GT **Óistín* ann an 874 à LB **Austęin*, le *ó* seach *au*? Aon chuid bha *au* ann an GT *Aufer* air fhuaimneachadh /oː/, air neo bha an leasachadh à LB *au* na bu mhàirnealaiche sa Ghàidhlig air thoiseach air connraig neo-chàireanaich (/f/) na bha e air thoiseach air connraig chàireanaich (/sʹ/).

362. Ged a dh'fhaodadh fuaimreag na dàrna lide lùghdachadh, an dèidh a lagachaidh, gu [ə], coim. GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̪u̯ːˌʃʲən] à SL **Bugsstein* cusp. (#116); faic bn 366, shìos.

363. Chan ann à SL *Eistein* (Coimisean nan Croitearan 1902, 1).

364. Coim. Brl. *ball* > GA *ball*, *bàla*.

365. Cha dealaichear *sd* agus *st* a thaobh fuaimneachaidh sa Ghàidhlig (Cox 2017, 39).

366. Is coltach gun tèid SL *stein* cusp. lag-bheumte na GA [ʃʲən] gu riagailteach (seach *[ʃʲan] mar a dh'fhaodte shùileachadh): GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̪u̯ːˌʃʲən] (#116); *Bealach Liamaistean* [ˌb̪jɑt̪ˠəx ˈlʲĩãmɪˌʃʲən] (#235); **Croistean* *[ˈkʰrɔˌʃʲən] (#240); *Eilistean* *[ˈeliˌʃʲən] (#296, bn 703); agus *Cnoc Uamaistean* [ˌkʰrõʰkˈũãmɪˌʃʲən] (#311 (i)). Airson LB **stainn* seach SL *steinn*, faic GA *Rocastainn* #48, bn 94.

367. Cuiridh MacIver (1934, 70) SL **Eistna* air shùilibh, tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *eista* n. 'magairle', ach shùilichte GA *[ˈeːʃʲən], a' gabhail ris gun robh eadar-chàradh san dùnadh.

If there was ever a land bridge over to the stack, as this interpretation suggests, there is no evidence of one today.

#172 *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* ÙIG (Eng. *Ardroil*)
[ˌadə̥ɾˌaˑ ˈə-əl], [ˌɛd̥əɾˌaˑ ˈə-əl], (gen.) idem; NB0432. 1718 *Adderawill*; 1726 *Adder·aivill*; 1750M, 1776 *Adrahele*; 1789, 1801 *Ardrohele*; 1804, 1807 *Adrahele*; 1843–82 *Eadar Dha Fhaoghail, Eadar Dhà Fhaoghail*; 2007, road sign *Eadar Dha Fhadhail‖Ardroil*.

> Oftedal 1954, 388: '**Ardroil** [?][368] is usually explained as ScG *Eadar dà fhadhail*[369] "between two fords"; it is not unlikely that this derivation is correct. ScG *fadhail* f. [fə-əl] is from ON *vaðill* m.'

The name of a settlement in Ùig, which apparently got its name from the name of the area between *Abhainn an Fhorsa* 'the river of the waterfall'[370] to the east, over which there are stepping stones on the 1843–82 map, and *Abhainn Chasla·bhat* 'the river of **Caslabhat*' to the west, where *An t-Àth Dearg* 'the red ford' is located. The small farms within this area – *Baile a' Ghobhainn* #26, *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27, *Baile Neacail* #39, *Capadal* #97, *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269 – were cleared in 1840 (Lawson 2011, 220), although they have since been resettled. With the preposition ScG *eadar* (EG *eter*, *etir*) and the numeral ScG *dàᴸ* (EG *dá*); ScG *fadhail* f. 'ford' derives from ON *vaðil* acc., rather than *vaðill* nom., which would yield ScG *[ˈfə-iʎ̪].

For the use of the preposition ScG *eadar* 'between', cf. ScG *Eadar Dhà Loch* 'between two lochs' NB217328, in *Callanis* #94, *Cnoc Eadar Dhà Allt* '(the) hill between two streams' NB083339, in *Miabhag* #251, and *Rubha Eadar Dhà Thòb* '(the) promontory between two bays' NB132345, in *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67;[371] cf. ON *milli* (+ gen.) 'between' in Old Norse loan-names, e.g. ScG *Loch Mille Thòla* [ˌɫ̪ɔxˌmĩʎ̪əˈhɔːɫ̪ə] 'the loch of—' NB181413, in *An Dùn* #170, with a loan-name from ON **Milli Hóla* 'between (the) hills', with genitive plural of ON *hóll* m.; ScG *Loch Mille Thò* [ˌɫ̪ɔxˌmĩʎ̪əˈhoː] 'the loch of—' NB420390, in *Col* #150, with a loan-name possibly from ON **Milli Hauga* 'between (the) cairns', with genitive plural of ON *haugr* m. (see also MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 46); ScG *Feadan Crò Mille Bhat* [ˌfɛd̥anˌkʰɾɔˑˌmiʎ̪əˈvaʰt̪] 'the stream of the fold of—' NB424394, in *Col* (see also ibid., 24), with a loan-name from ON **Milli Vatna* 'between (the) lochs', with genitive plural of ON *vatn* nt.; ScG (2017) *Mille Gàrraidh* *[ˌmĩʎ̪əˈg̊ɑːɾi] NB292486, in *Bradhagair a Tuath* #74, with a loan-name from ON **Milli Garða* 'between (the) walls or (the) enclosures', with gen-

368. Oftedal (1972, 112) [adəˌraˑ ˈə-əl], (nMO) [aḍəˌraˑ ˈɤː-əl̪].

369. Oftedal uses the old spelling *faodhail* in his article.

370. See fn 400, below.

371. On the mainland, cf. ScG *Meadarloch* (Eng. *Benderloch*) < EG **i mBeinn eadar Dhá Loch* 'at (the) mountain between two lochs' (Cox 2010a, 50).

(R. C. Barrowman 2015, 398–99). Ma bha drochaid talmhainn a-riamh a-null chun an staca, mar a chuireas am mìneachadh seo air shùilibh, chan eil sgeul oirre an-diugh.

#172 *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* ÙIG
[ˌadə̥ɾˌaˑ ˈə-əl], [ˌɛd̥əɾˌaˑ ˈə-əl], (gin.) idem; NB0432. 1718 *Adderawill*; 1726 *Adder·aivill*; 1750M, 1776 *Adrahele*; 1789, 1801 *Ardrohele*; 1804, 1807 *Adrahele*; 1843–82 *Eadar Dha Fhaoghail, Eadar Dhà Fhaoghail*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Eadar Dha Fhadhail‖Ardroil*.

> Oftedal 1954, 388: 'Mìnichear mar as trice gur h-e GA *Eadar dà fhadhail*[368] 'eadar dhà àth' a th' ann an **Ardroil** [?][369]; cha choltach nach ceart am bunachas seo. Tha GA *fadhail* b. [fə-əl] à SL *vaðill* f.'

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig, a fhuair a ainm a rèir choltais bho ainm na ceàrnaidh eadar *Abhainn an Fhorsa*[370] san àird an ear, thairis air a bheil clachain air a' mhapa 1843–82, agus *Abhainn Chaslabhat* san àird an iar, far a bheil *An t-Àth Dearg*. Chaidh na tuathanasan beaga sa cheàrnaidh seo – *Baile a' Ghobh·ainn* #26, *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27, *Baile Neacail* #39, *Capadal* #97 agus *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269 – fhàsachadh ann an 1840 (Lawson 2011, 220), ged a chaidh an ath-thuineachadh bhon uair sin. Leis an roimhear GA *eadar* (GT *eter*, *etir*) agus an àireimh GA *dàˢ* (GT *dá*); 's ann ann an SL *vaðil* cusp. a thàrmaicheas GA *fadh·ail* 'àth' m., seach *vaðill* ainmn., a bheireadh GA *[ˈfə-iʎ̪].

A thaobh cleachdadh an roimheir GA *eadar*, coim. GA *Eadar Dhà Loch* NB217328, ann an *Callanis* #94, GA *Cnoc Eadar Dhà Allt* NB083339, ann am *Miabhag* #251, agus GA *Rubha Eadar Dhà Thòb* NB132345, ann a' *Bhuidhea Mhòr* #67;[371] coim. SL *milli* (+ gin.) 'eadar' ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais, m.e. GA *Loch Milli Thòla* [ˌɫ̪ɔxˌmĩʎ̪əˈhɔːɫ̪ə] NB181413, air *An Dùn* #170, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Milli Hóla* 'eadar (na) cnuic', leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *hóll* f.; GA *Loch Mille Thò* [ˌɫ̪ɔxˌmĩʎ̪əˈhoː] NB420390, ann an *Col* #150, le ainm-iasaid is dòcha à SL **Milli Hauga* 'eadar (na) càirn', leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *haugr* f. (faic cuideachd MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 46); GA *Feadan Crò Mille Bhat* [ˌfɛd̥anˌkʰɾɔˑˌmiʎ̪əˈvaʰt̪] NB424394, ann an *Col* (faic cuideachd MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 24), le ainm-iasaid à SL **Milli Vatna* 'eadar (na) lochan', leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *vatn* n.; GA (2017) *Mille Gàrr·aidh* *[ˌmĩʎ̪əˈg̊ɑːɾi] NB292486, ann am *Bradhagair a Tuath* #74, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Milli Garða* 'eadar (na) gàrraidhean no eadar (na) leasan', leis an tuiseal ghinid-

368. Cleachdaidh Oftedal an seann litreachadh *faodhail* na alt.

369. Oftedal (1972, 112) [adəˌraˑ ˈə-əl], (nMO) [aḍəˌraˑ ˈɤː-əl̪].

370. Faic bn 400, shìos.

371. Air tìr-mòr, coim. GA *Meadarloch* < GT **i mBeinn eadar Dhá Loch* 'aig (a') bheinn eadar dhà loch' (Cox 2010a, 50).

itive plural of ON *garðr* m.[372] Also, cf. ScG *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪], (nMO) [ˈg̊ɔrɔ̀miʟ′ə ˈvaht], and ScG *Loch Dubh Gormille Bhat* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈd̪u̥ ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] ‘the black loch of *Gormille Bhat*’ NB364434, (nMO) [ʟɔx ˈd̪ùh g̊ɔ ˌrɔmeˆʟ′ə ˈvaht], g̊ɔrɔ̀meˆʟ′ə ˈvaht] (also Oftedal 1980, 188), in *Brù* #82. In his notes, Oftedal suggests ON **Gormýr milli Vatna* as a derivation – though he adds that ON **Gor milli Vatna* would suffice formally, i.e. phonetically. ON *gor*(*mýr*) would mean ‘gore-(moor)’ (for example after slaughtering animals).[373] However, a derivation from ON **Garðrinn milli Vatna* or **Garðinn milli Vatna* acc. ‘the enclosure between (the) lochs’ would be more likely as a place-name. Close to *Loch Dubh Gormille Bhat* is ScG (1843–82) *Gàrradh nan Urrannan* ‘the enclosure of the ?[374]’ – but note (1895–1896) *Ghearraidh nan Urrannan* (it is not suprising that ScG *gàrradh* should become ScG *geàrraidh* as *geàrraidh* is the word used to denote the site of a sheiling in Modern Gaelic) – with eight sheilings encircled by a dyke, although there is no direct evidence to suggest a link between these names and/or locations. ON **Garð milli Vatna* – after loss of the Old Norse suffixed definite article in Gaelic – would yield ScG *[ˌg̊ɑɾ̃umiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] regularly, which, with morphemic substitution (cf. ScG *gorm* adj. ‘blue, green’), would become [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] without difficulty. For loss of the article, cf. ScG **Bhata Leòs* from ON **Vatnit Ljósa* ‘the bright or clear loch’ (#63) and ScG *Bhata Ciorra* from ON **Vatnit Kyrra* ‘the calm loch’ (#124).[375, 376]

#173 *Eilean Chaluim Chille* CDL

[ˌelanˌxaɬ̪əm ˈçiʎə],[377] (gen.) idem; NB386214. 1549 *Ellan Cholmkle* [*sic*], *St Colmis Isle*; 1654 *Yl. Cholunb Kil* [*sic*]; 1714 *I. Kolmkil*; 1718 *St. Columns* [*sic*]; 1726 *Saint*

372. With the second element assimilated in Gaelic to the genitive singular of ScG *gàrradh* f. ‘dyke’ (#182).

373. Although Norw. *gor* means ‘mud’ and Norw. *gormyr* ‘bog, swamp’.

374. Cf. ScG *Na h-Urrdhannan* (#182, fn 413).

375. Macaulay (1972, 331) mentions the stream name ScG *Allta Mhillegro* [*sic*] NB182345 (1843–82 *Allt Mhillegrodha*), in *Beàrnaraigh* #51, deriving the specific from ON **Milli Grafar*, but leg. ON **Milli Grófa*, with genitive plural of the noun ON *gróf* f. ‘stream’.

376. According to tradition, the famous Norse chessmen (11 of them in the National Museum of Scotland, 82 in the British Museum) were found in *Am Bealach Bàn* ‘the fair-coloured pass’ NB042326, in *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail*, in 1831 (Stratford 1997, 8–9; for the various accounts of how the pieces were found, see ibid., 50–53). Caldwell (2009, 168–72) suggests they were probably found in *Mialastadh* #252, rather than *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail*; Mackinnon (2010) refutes this, in support of the traditional view.

377. The pronunciation [ˌelanˌxaɬ̪əm ˈjiʎə] was recorded once, perhaps in imitation of the 1843–82 map form, or perhaps as a result (along with the map form) of morphemic substitution (cf. ScG *gille* m.); cf. (nMO) [elɑn xaɬəm ˈjiʝə].

each iolra aig SL *garðr* f.[372] Mar an ceudna, coim. GA *Gormille Bhat* [ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪], (nMO) [ˈg̊ɔrɔ̀miʟ′ə ˈvaht], is GA *Loch Dubh Gormille Bhat* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈd̪u̥ ˌg̊ɔɾ̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] NB364434, (nMO) [ʟɔx ˈd̪ùh g̊ɔ ˌrɔmeˆʟ′ə ˈvaht], g̊ɔrɔ̀meˆʟ′ə ˈvaht] (cuideachd Oftedal 1980, 188), ann am *Brù* #82. Na notaichean, molaidh Oftedal SL **Gormýr milli Vatna* mar bhunachas – ged a chuireas e ri sin gum fòghnadh SL **Gor milli Vatna* gu foirmeil, .i. gu fuaim-eòlach. Bhiodh SL *gor*(*mýr*) a’ ciallachadh ‘gaorr-(mhòinteach)’ (mar eisimpleir an dèidh a bhith a’ spadadh bheathaichean).[373] Gidheadh, bhiodh bunachas à SL **Garðrinn milli Vatna* no **Garðinn milli Vatna* cusp. ‘an leas eadar (na) lochan’ na bu choltaiche mar ainm-àite. Dlùth ri *Loch Dubh Gormille Bhat*, tha GA (1843–82) *Gàrradh nan Urrannan*[374] – ach mothaich (1895–1896) *Ghearraidh nan Urrannan* (chan iongnadh ged a dh’atharraicheadh GA *gàrradh* gu GA *geàrraidh* agus *geàrraidh* am facal a bheanas ri làraich àirigh san Nua-Ghàidhlig) – agus ochd àirighean air an cuairteachadh le gàrradh (balla) ann, ged nach eil fianais dhìreach ann a dh’innseas gu bheil ceangal sam bith eadar na h-ainmean agus/no àitichean seo. Bheireadh SL **Garð milli Vatna* – an dèidh call an uilt dheimhinnte iar-leasaichte Lochlannais am beul nan Gàidheal – GA *[ˈg̊ɑɾ̃umiʎə ˈvaʰt̪] gu riaghailteach, a dheigheadh, le ionadachadh cruitheamach (coim. GA *gorm* buadh.), na [ˈg̊ɔɾ̃miʎə ˈvaʰt̪] gun duilgheadas. A thaobh call an uilt, coim. GA **Bhata Leòs* à SL **Vatnit Ljósa* ‘an loch soilleir, an loch glan’ (#63) agus GA *Bhata Ciorra* à SL **Vatnit Kyrra* ‘an loch ciùin’ (#124).[375, 376]

#173 *Eilean Chaluim Chille* CDL

[ˌelanˌxaɬ̪əm ˈçiʎə],[377] (gin.) idem; NB386214. 1549 *Ellan Cholmkle* [*sic*], *St Colmis Isle*; 1654 *Yl. Cholunb Kil* [*sic*]; 1714 *I. Kolmkil*; 1718 *St. Columns* [*sic*]; 1726 *Saint*

372. Agus an dàrna h-eileamaid air a co-rèiteachadh sa Ghàidhlig ris an tuiseal ghinideach shingilte aig GA *gàrradh* f. (#182).

373. Ged as e ‘poll, eabar’ as ciall do Nirr. *gor* agus ‘boglach’ do Nirr. *gormyr*.

374. Coim. GA *Na h-Urrdhannan* (#182, bn 413).

375. Bheir Macaulay (1972, 331) iomradh air an ainm uillt GA *Allta Mhillegro* [*sic*] NB182345 (1843–82 *Allt Mhillegrodha*), ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51, a’ toirt an t-sònraicheir à SL **Milli Grafar*, ach leugh SL **Milli Grófa*, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *gróf* b. ‘allt’.

376. A rèir beul-aithrise, ’s ann anns *A’ Bhealach Bhàn* NB042326, ann an *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail*, a chaidh na fir-tàilisg Lochlannach ainmeil (11 dhiubh ann an Taigh-tasgaidh na h-Alba-nn, 82 ann an Taigh-tasgaidh Bhreatainn) a lorg ann an 1831 (Stratford 1997, 8–9; tha iomradh air a’ chaochladh chunntas air mar a chaidh na pìosan a lorg ann an ibid., 50–53). Cuiridh Caldwell (2009, 168–72) air shùilibh gur math dh’fhaodte gur h-ann ann am *Mialastadh* #252 a chaidh an lorg, seach *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail*; cuiridh Mackinnon (2010) an aghaidh seo, a’ dìon a’ bheachda dhualchasaich.

377. Chaidh [ˌelanˌxaɬ̪əm ˈjiʎə] a chlàradh an aon uair, is dòcha le bhith ag ath-aithris cruth a’ mhapa 1843–82, no mar thoradh (cuide ri cruth a’ mhapa) air ionadachadh cruitheamach (coim. GA *gille* f.); coim. (nMO) [elɑn xaɬəm ˈjiʝə].

Columbs; 1776 *St. Colm's*; 1804 *S. Colms I.*; 1821 *St. Columb's*; 1843–82 *Eilean Chalum Ghille, Eaglais Chalum Ghille or St Columb's Church*; 1845 *the island of St Colm*.

The name of an island on the south side of the mouth of *Loch Èireasort* (#180, fn 399); part of the township *Crò Mòr* #154, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch. According to the *New Statistical Account* (*NSA* 1845), the factor of Colin MacKenzie, first Lord of Kintail (who took possession of Lewis in 1610), resided there (Lawson 2011, 162–63; see also Macdonald 1978, 36–37).

It is most likely that the name of the island originates in the name of the church on the south-east of the island, of which only ruins and a graveyard remain, and which was dedicated to St Columba, i.e. Columb Cille mac Ḟeiḋlimiḋ ('Columb of the Church, the son of Feidhlimidh').[378] According to the *NSA*, the only graveyard in the Parish of Lochs was located here.[379]

A Gaelic name, with ScG *eilean* m. (< EG *ailén*; see *Caolas an Eilein* #95) and genitive of the personal name ScG *Calum Cille* (EG *Colum*(*b*) *Cille*, < Lat. *columba* 'dove' + genitive of the noun EG *cell* f. 'church', < Lat. *cella*); cf. *Baile na Cille* #36. Martin (1703, 4) mentions 'a good Harbour call'd the *Birkin Ifles*; within the Bay called *Loch Colmkill*; 3 Miles further South lies *Loch-Erifort*', although ScG *Na h-Eileanan Bharclain* lie at the mouth of *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), north of *Eilean Chaluim Chille* in the mouth of *Loch Èireasort*.

Cf. *Eilean Chaluim Chille* NG377687 in *Loch Chaluim Chille* (now drained), in Skye.[380]

#174 *Eilean Iuthort* CDL

[ˌelan ˈju-ɔḏ̊], [ˌelan ˈjuhɔḏ̊],[381] (gen.) idem; NB382099. 1549 *Ellan Iffurt, E. Hurte*; 1595 *Ilen Quert*; 1607 *Quert*; 1610 *Ilen Quert*; 1635 *Illen Quert*; 1636 *Ilen Quert*; 1654 *Yl. Iffurt*; 1680 *Island Evart*; 1776 *I. Newrt*; 1789 *Newart I*; 1801 *I. Newert*; 1804 *Newrt I.*; 1807 *I. Newrt*; 1821 *Newert*; 1843–82 *Eilean Iubhard*; 1846 *Newert*.

The name of an island in the mouth of *Loch Shealg* (#108), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *eilean* m. 'island' (#95) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

Lawson (2008, 176) says the island was never settled, but several place-names there suggest it was: there are ruins of buildings and old run-rigs at (≈1843–82) *An Sean Bhaile* 'the old village' NB379102 (cf. *Creag Ghlas an t-Sean Bhaile* 'the

378. <https://www.saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1337178785>.

379. Cf. *Port nam Marbh* 'the landing place of the dead (pl.)' on the other side of the island, probably a place where burial parties would come ashore.

380. South of *Loch Chaluim Chille* lies ScG *Mogastot* (NG377676, (1843–82) (Eng.) *Monkstadt*), perhaps from ON **Munkstopt* '(the) site of the monk' (#245, fn 567).

381. (nMO) [elaɲ ˈi̯u-ɔḏ̊].

Columbs; 1776 *St. Colm's*; 1804 *S. Colms I.*; 1821 *St. Columb's*; 1843–82 *Eilean Chalum Ghille, Eaglais Chalum Ghille or St Columb's Church*; 1845 *the island of St Colm*.

An t-ainm air eilean air taobh a deas beul *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399); pàirt den bhaile fearainn *Crò Mòr* #154, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch. A rèir an *New Statistical Account* (*NSA* 1845), bha bàillidh Chailein MhicCoinnich, ciad Tighearna Chinn Tàile (a fhuair seilbh air Leòdhas ann an 1610), a' fuireach ann (Lawson 2011, 162–63; faic cuideachd Macdonald 1978, 36–37).

Is iongantach mana tàrmaich ainm an eilein ann an ainm na h-eaglaise an ceann an ear-dheas an eilein, de nach eil ann tuilleadh ach làrach agus cladh, a bha air a coisrigeadh ris an Naomh Calum Cille, .i. Columb Cille mac Ḟeiḋlimiḋ.[378] A rèir an *NSA*, b' ann air an eilean sa a bha an t-aon chladh ann an Sgìre nan Loch.[379]

Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *eilean* f. (< GT *ailén*; faic *Caolas an Eilein* #95) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm phearsanta GA *Calum Cille* (GT *Colum*(*b*) *Cille*, < Laid. *columba* 'calman' + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GT *cell* b. 'eaglais', < Laid. *cella*); coim. *Baile na Cille* #36. Bheir MacGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 4) iomradh air 'a good Harbour call'd the *Birkin Ifles*; within the Bay called *Loch Colmkill*; 3 Miles further South lies *Loch-Erifort*', ged a tha GA *Na h-Eileanan Bharclain* aig beul *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), tuath air *Eilean Chaluim Chille* ann am beul *Loch Èireasort*.

Coim. *Eilean Chaluim Chille* NG377687 ann an *Loch Chaluim Chille* (air a thràghadh), san Eilean Sgitheanach.[380]

#174 *Eilean Iuthort* CDL

[ˌelan ˈju-ɔḏ̊], [ˌelan ˈjuhɔḏ̊],[381] (gin.) idem; NB382099. 1549 *Ellan Iffurt, E. Hurte*; 1595 *Ilen Quert*; 1607 *Quert*; 1610 *Ilen Quert*; 1635 *Illen Quert*; 1636 *Ilen Quert*; 1654 *Yl. Iffurt*; 1680 *Island Evart*; 1776 *I. Newrt*; 1789 *Newart I.*; 1801 *I. Newert*; 1804 *Newrt I.*; 1807 *I. Newrt*; 1821 *Newert*; 1843–82 *Eilean Iubhard*; 1846 *Newert*.

An t-ainm air eilean ann am beul *Loch Shealg* (#108), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *eilean* f. (#95) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Canaidh Lawson (2008, 176) nach deach an t-eilean seo riamh a thuineachadh, ach cuiridh corra ainm-àite an sin air shùilibh gun deach: tha làraichean togalaich is seann fheannagan aig (≈1843–82) *An t-Sean Bhaile* NB379102 (coim. *Creag*

378. <https://www.saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=1337178785>.

379. Coim. *Port nam Marbh* air taobh eile an eilein, is math dh'fhaodte àite far an tigeadh luchd-tòrraidh air tìr.

380. Deas air *Loch Chaluim Chille*, tha GA *Mogastot* (NG377676, (1843–82) (Brl.) *Monkstadt*), is dòcha à SL **Munkstopt* 'làrach a' mhanaich' (#245, bn 567).

381. (nMO) [elaɲ ˈi̯u-ɔḏ̊].

grey crag of—' and *Rubha an t-Sean Bhaile* 'the promontory of—') in the north of the island and near (≈1843–82) *Am Bàgh* 'the bay' in the south, and there are ruins of buildings at (1843–82) *Tigh a Gheumpail* 'the house of the ?' NB382100 in the centre of the island.

In his notes, Oftedal writes ON **Djúp-fjǫrð*, i.e. with the stem form of the adjective ON *djúpr* 'deep' (#168) and accusative of the noun ON *fjǫrðr* m. 'bay', but it would be difficult to justify such a derivation. Watson (1904, 267), Henderson (1910, 171) and MacIver (1934, 63) propose ON **Ey-fjǫrð* or **Eyjarfjǫrð* acc., with the stem form or genitive of the noun ON *ey* f. 'island' but such a derivation would be quite uncertain phonetically: one would expect ON *ey* to yield ScG [eː] in the first instance.

The loan-name here may be from ON **Ý-fjǫrð* acc., with the stem form of the noun ON *ýr* m. 'yew'. ON **Ý-fjǫrð* would yield ScG *[ˈjufɔd̥] in the first instance, after ON *fjǫrð* had become (lenited) ScG *phort* via morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (a). ScG medial [f] becomes [h] in ScG (Lewis) *iutharn* [ˈjuhuɳ] /juhuʁn/ 'hell', from OG *ifurnn* dat. (Oftedal 1956, 117), and cf. ScG *prothaid* [ˈpʰɾɔhiʝ̊] < Eng. *profit*; or else [f] has disappeared, as in ScG **Èireasort* (#180, fn 399)[382] (cf. ScG *probhaist* [ˈpʰɾɔ-iʃtʲ] < Eng. *provost*) or perhaps due to the influence of some tradition associating the name with ScG *iubhar* [ˈju-əɾ] 'yew' (OG *ibar*).

It is likely that ScG **Iuthort* represents the original Norse name for *Loch Shealg*.

#175 *Eilean nan Luchraban* NIS

[ˌelan (n)ə ˈl̪uxɾəb̪an], (gen.) idem, or *Luchraban* [ˈl̪uxɾəb̪an], (gen.) idem; NB506660. 1549 *the Pygmies Ile*; 1654 *Ylen Dunibeg* [i.e. *Eilean nan Daoine Beaga* 'the island of the small people']; 1703, 19 *The Island of the Pigmies*, *The Ifland of Little Men*; 1714 *Pigmies I.*; 1843–82 *Luchruban*.

The name of a stack or small island in NIS, containing the site of a building which was probably a hermit's cell (Lawson 2008, 37–39; MacKenzie 1905). It seems that the building's small size or an onomastic tradition[383] or the size of the bones found there from time to time gave rise to the view that the site was used by dwarves or people of small stature, hence the name ScG *Eilean nan Daoine Beaga*, with ScG *eilean* m. (#173) and genitive plural of the Gaelic article + genitive plural of ScG *duine* m. 'person; man' + plural of the adjective ScG *beag* 'small, little' (#8), hence Monro's (1549) *the Pygmies Ile* and Martin's (1703) *The Island of the Pigmies*; but it is probable that that name was itself a translation and

382. But contrast ScG **Sìophort* (#113).

383. *ECC*, 25, mentions an alternative folk etymology that tries to make sense of the name from its pronunciation: 'Pigmies: *Luach Righ Ban* [i.e. ScG *Luach Rìgh Bhàin* 'the worth of a fair-haired king']'.

Ghlas an t-Sean Bhaile agus *Rubha an t-Sean Bhaile*) an ceann a tuath an eilein agus faisg air (≈1843–82) *A' Bhàgh* sa cheann a deas, agus tha làraichean togalaich aig (1843–82) *Tigh a Gheumpail* NB382100 am meadhan an eilein.

Na notaichean, sgrìobhaidh Oftedal SL **Djúp-fjǫrð*, .i. le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *djúpr* 'domhainn' (#168) agus le tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *fjǫrðr* f. 'bàgh', ach bhiodh e doirbh a leithid de bhunachas fhìreanachadh. Cuiridh Watson (1904, 267), Henderson (1910, 171) agus MacIver (1934, 63) air adhart SL **Ey-fjǫrð* no **Eyjarfjǫrð* cusp., le bun-riochd no tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *ey* b. 'eilean', ach bhiodh a leithid de bhunachas gu math mì-chinnteach gu fuaimeòlach: bhite a' sùileachadh gun toireadh SL *ey* GA [eː] sa chiad àite.

Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Ý-fjǫrð* cusp. a tha an t-ainm-iasaid seo, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *ýr* f. 'iubhar'. Bheireadh SL **Ý-fjǫrð* GA *[ˈjufɔd̥] sa chiad char, an dèidh do SL *fjǫrð* a dhol na GA *phort* (sèimhichte) le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (a). Gheibhear GA [f] mheadhain > [h] ann an GA (Leòdhas) *iutharn* [ˈjuhuɳ] /juhuʁn/ 'ifrinn', à SG *ifurnn* tabh. (Oftedal 1956, 117), agus coim. GA *prothaid* [ˈpʰɾɔhiʝ̊] < Brl. *profit*; air neo tha [f] air sìoladh às, mar a tha ann an GA **Èireasort* (#180, bn 399)[382] (coim. GA *probhaist* [ˈpʰɾɔ-iʃtʲ] < Brl. *provost*) no is dòcha fo bhuaidh beul-aithrise gum bean an t-ainm ri GA *iubhar* [ˈju-əɾ] (SG *ibar*).

Is coltach gun riochdaich GA **Iuthort* ainm tùsail nan Lochlannach air *Loch Shealg*.

#175 *Eilean nan Luchraban* NIS

[ˌelan (n)ə ˈl̪uxɾəb̪an], (gin.) idem, no *Luchraban* [ˈl̪uxɾəb̪an], (gin.) idem; NB506660. 1549 *the Pygmies Ile*; 1654 *Ylen Dunibeg* [.i. *Eilean nan Daoine Beaga*]; 1703, 19 *The Island of the Pigmies*, *The Ifland of Little Men*; 1714 *Pigmies I.*; 1843–82 *Luchruban*.

An t-ainm air staca no eilean beag ann an NIS, air a bheil làrach togalaich as math dh'fhaodte a bha na cheall aig aonaran no dìthreabhach (Lawson 2008, 37–39; MacKenzie 1905). Is coltach gur h-e lughad an togalaich air neo dinnsheanchas air neo meud nan cnàmhan a lorgte ann bho àm gu àm a thug am beachd gun cleachdte an làrach le troichean no le daoine a bu bheag àird,[383] às a sin an t-ainm GA *Eilean nan Daoine Beaga*, le GA *eilean* f. (#173) agus tuiseal ginideach iolra an uilt Ghàidhlig + an tuiseal ginideach iolra aig GA *duine* f. + cruth iolra a' bhuadhair GA *beag* (#8), às a sin *the Pygmies Ile* aig an Rothach (1549) agus *The Island of the Pigmies* aig MacGilleMhàrtainn (1703); ach is iongantach mana h-e

382. Ach iomsgaraich GA **Sìophort* (#113).

383. Ainmichidh *ECC*, 25, dinnsheanchas eile a dh'fheuchas ciall a dhèanamh den ainm às an fhuaimneachadh: 'Pigmies: *Luach Righ Ban* [.i. GA *Luach Rìgh Bhàin*]'.

that the stack had earlier been called ScG *Eilean nan Luchraban* 'the island of the dwarves', which was contracted to *An Luchraban* 'the *Luchraban*' or just *Luchra·ban*[384] as the meaning of the name became obscure.[385]

ScG *luchraban* is a metathesised form §40 of ScG *luchorpan* 'dwarf', < EG *luchorpán*,[386] a diminutive form of EG *luchorp*, < EG **lu-*, ?a compound form of EG *lú* nt. 'something small, a thing of small worth', + EG *corp* m. 'body' (*DIL*); cf. Ir. *lucharpán* etc. (Ó Dónaill 1977, s.v. *lucharachán*).[387]

#176 *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* ÙIG

[nəˌhelanən ˈfl̪ɑn̪ɔx], (gen.) *Nan Eileanan Flannach* [nəˌn̪elanən ˈfl̪ɑn̪ɔx]; NA726467. 1549 *the 7 Iles of Flavain*; 1680 *Isles of Sant Flannan*; 1702 *I. de Flanena*; 1703 *the Flannan-Iflands, North-hunters*; 1714 *Flannan Islands*; 1750 *The Flanel Islands or Seven Hunters*; 1797 *The Flannan Isles*; 1807 *Flanan Islands*; 1832 *Flann·an Isles*; 1845 *Flannel Isles*; 1869 *Flannan Isles* or *7 Hunters*; 1974 *Flannan Isles*.

The name of a cluster of islands in ÙIG, about 32 km (20 miles) north-north-west of *Gob a' Ghallain* NB051391, in *Àird Ùig* #12; a Gaelic name, with the plural Gaelic article (with aspiration before a vowel) + the plural form of the noun ScG *eilean* m. 'island' (#95) + (as is traditionally thought) the adjectival form[388] of the man's name ScG *Flannan* m., i.e. the saint's name, St Flannán son of Tairdelbach.[389]

Monro (1549) says there are seven islands.[390] There are the ruins of houses on *Eilean an Taighe* 'the island of the house'; on *An t-Eilean Mòr* 'the large island', in addition to the ruins of a church dedicated to St Flannan, there are the ruins of two houses called *Bothain Chlann 'ic Phàil* 'the MacPhail bothies' (Macdonald 1978, 191–92).

Na h-Eileanan Flannach are also called ScG *Na Seachd Sealgairean* 'the seven

384. E.g. *ECC*, 30–31.

385. Cf. Caimbeul 1972, 71: *Eilean-nan-Luchruban rùisgt' | Ri Ròghnan carragh 's na smùid* 'bare *Eilean nan Luchraban*, facing *An Rògh* of the cliffs and of the spray': ScG *An Rògh* (also *An Ròdh*) is a high rocky promontory, perhaps containing a loan-word from ON *hrúga* f. 'heap, mass, stack, pile'; cf. ScG *rùghan* ['ɾuːan] 'small stack of peat, hay etc.', from ScG **rùgha* < ON *hrúga* (cf. Oftedal 1956, 127), + the diminutive suffix *-an* (Cox 2017, 123–24) (for the derivation of ScG *rubha* 'promontory' from ON *hrúga*, see §3 (iv)).

386. Hence Eng. *leprechaun*.

387. MacBain (1911, s.v.) derives ScG *luspardan* 'dwarf' – Martin 1703, 19: '*lusbirdan*, i.e. pigmies' – from EG **lug* adj. 'small' (cf. ScG *lugha* 'smaller') + EG *spirut* m. 'spirit' + the diminutive suffix EG *-án* (Cox 2017, 123–24); ?better, EG **lu-*, as above. For an alternative derivation of ScG *luchraban*, viz EG *luchorpán* < *lupracán* < Lat. *lupercus* or Hiberno-Lat. **lupercanus* 'monster' → 'diminutive creature', see Bisagni 2012.

388. See Cox 2017, 151.

389. <https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=136560 8898>.

390. Macdonald (1978, 191) says 14.

tionndadh a bh' anns an ainm sin fhèin agus gur h-e GA *Eilean nan Luchraban* a bu tràithe a bh' air an staca, air a theannachadh gu *An Luchraban* no dìreach *Luchraban*[384] le doilleireachadh brìgh an ainme.[385]

'S ann a tha GA *luchraban* na chruth eadar-chàraichte §40 aig GA *luchorpan* 'troich, duine beag', < GT *luchorpán*,[386] cruth meanbhach aig GT *luchorp*, < GT **lu-*, ?cruth fillteach aig GT *lú* n. 'rudeigin beag, rud as beag luach', + GT *corp* f. 'corp, bodhaig' (*DIL*); coim. GE *lucharpán* ϡc (Ó Dónaill 1977, s.v. *lucharachán*).[387]

#176 *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* ÙIG

[nəˌhelanən ˈfl̪ɑn̪ɔx], (gin.) *Nan Eileanan Flannach* [nəˌn̪elanən ˈfl̪ɑn̪ɔx]; NA726467. 1549 *the 7 Iles of Flavain*; 1680 *Isles of Sant Flannan*; 1702 *I. de Flanena*; 1703 *the Flannan-Iflands, North-hunters*; 1714 *Flannan Islands*; 1750 *The Flanel Islands or Seven Hunters*; 1797 *The Flannan Isles*; 1807 *Flanan Islands*; 1832 *Flann·an Isles*; 1845 *Flannel Isles*; 1869 *Flannan Isles* or *7 Hunters*; 1974 *Flannan Isles*.

An t-ainm air grioglachan de dh'eileanan ann an ÙIG, mu 32 clm (20 mìle) an iar 's a bhith tuath air *Gob a' Ghallain* NB051391, ann an *Àird Ùig* #12; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig iolra (le analachadh ro fhuaimreig) + cruth iolra an ainmeir GA *eilean* f. (#95) + (mar a shaoilear gu dualchasach) cruth buadhaireach[388] an ainm fireann-aich GA *Flannan* f., .i. ainm an naoimh, an Naomh Flannán mac Tairdelbaig.[389]

Canaidh an Rothach (1549) gu bheil seachd eileanan ann.[390] Tha làraichean taighe air *Eilean an Taighe*; air *An Eilean Mhòr*, a thuilleadh air làraich eaglaise air a coisrigeadh ris an Naomh Flannan, tha dà làraich taighe air a bheil *Bothain Chlann 'ic Phàil* mar ainm (Macdonald 1978, 191–92).

Canar GA *Na Seachd Sealgairean* ris *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* mar an ceudna

384. M.e. *ECC*, 30–31.

385. Coim. Caimbeul 1972, 71: *Eilean-nan-Luchruban rùisgt' | Ri Rògh nan carragh 's na smùid 'Eilean nan Luchraban* lomnochd, ri *Rògh* nan creagan 's a' chathaidh': tha GA *An Rògh* (cuideachd *An Ròdh*) na rubha creagach àrd, is dòcha le facal-iasaid à SL *hrúga* b. 'cnap, meall, staca, cruach'; coim. GA *rùghan* ['ɾuːan] 'cruach bheag mònach, tràthach ϡc', à GA **rùgha*, < SL *hrúga* (coim. Oftedal 1956, 127),+ an iar-leasachan mheanbhach *-an* (Cox 2017, 123–24) (airson a' bhunachais GA *rubha* à SL *hrúga*, faic §3 (iv)).

386. Às a sin Brl. *leprechaun*.

387. Tàrmaichidh MacBain (1911, s.v.) GA *luspardan* 'troich' – MacGilleMhàrtainn 1703, 19: '*lusbirdan*, i.e. pigmies' – ann an GT **lug* buadh. 'beag' (coim. GA *lugha*) + GT *spirut* f. 'spiorad' + an iar-leasachan mheanbhach GT *-án* (GA *-an*, Cox 2017, 123–24); ?nas fheàrr, GT **lu-*, mar a tha shuas. Airson atharrachadh bunachais airson GA *luchraban*, .i. GT *luchorp·án* < *lupracán* < Laid. *lupercus* no Laid.-Èireannach **lupercanus* 'uilebheist' → 'meanbh chreutair', faic Bisagni 2012.

388. Faic Cox 2017, 151.

389. <https://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/place.php?id=136560 8898>.

390. Canaidh Macdonald (1978, 191) 14.

hunters' (Mac Gille Mhoire 1908, 49) and it may be that the alias arose as a noa term, i.e. a 'permitted' name, while fowling or fishing was underway.[391]

Taylor (2011, s.v. *Flannan Isles*) suggests *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* may mean 'the red islands', i.e. with an adjective based upon ScG *flann* (EG idem) 'red, blood-red' + the suffix *-ach* (Cox 2017, 151). Adding weight to that argument are the facts that (1) there is no evidence of a saint called *Flannan* in Scotland apart from the tradition relating to these islands[392] and (2) one would expect ScG **Flannanach* rather than *Flannach* in an adjective based upon the name *Flann·an*.

#177 *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* CDL

[nəˌhelanən ˈmoːrə], (gen.) *Nan Eilean*(*an*) *Mòra* [nəˌn̪elan(ən) ˈmoːrə], NG414984. 1549 *Ellan Senta*; 1573 *Ilen Schent*; 1583 *Ilen Chent*; 1595 *Ilen Shent*; 1607 *Shent*; 1610, 1635 *Ilen Schent*; 1636 *Ilen Shent*; 1654 *Yl. Sheni* (+ *Garvellan* and [?] *Yl. Kil*); 1680 *Island Chants or Sanct*; 1701 *Yl Saint*; 1703 *The Island Siant or, as the natives call it, Island-More*; 1714 *I. Siant*; 1718 *Island Shant*; 1726 *Shant*; 1775 *Shiant Is.*; 1790 *Shant Isles*; 1797 *Shaint or Holy Islands*; 1843–82 *Eileanan Mòra or Eileanan Seunta or Shiant Islands*.

The name of a group of islands about 6 km (4 miles) south-east of *Rubha Uisinis* NB354030, in A' Phàirc. Early in the 19th century, these islands were part of the new farm created in A' Phàirc (§3 (vii)). No permanent population has lived there since the beginning of the 20th century (Thompson 1968, 186–87; Macdonald 1978, 191), although the people of Ceann a Deas nan Loch still hunted puffins there for a time (Mackay 2007, 16).

A Gaelic name, with the plural form of the Gaelic article (with aspiration before a vowel) + plural of the noun ScG *eilean* m. 'island' (#95) + the plural form of the adjective ScG *mòr* 'big, large' (#2). As the documentary forms show, these islands were once called ScG *Na h-Eileanan Seunta* 'the holy islands',[393] with the verbal adjective ScG *seunta* 'charmed' (based on ScG *seun* m. 'spell, charm' (EG *sén*)): this was due to the presence of a chapel on *Eilean an Taighe* 'the island of

391. For other examples of noa terms used while among the islands, see Macdonald ibid., 192.

392. Monro 1549: *the 7 Iles of Flavain, callit with thame girth and halie Iles* '... also called the sanctuary and holy isles'; ?hence, Buchanan 1582, Book I, l. 40: *quas alii Flavanas, alii Sacras, Asyla vocant* 'which some call The "Flavan" Isles, others The Sacred or Sanctuary Isles'; Mitchell 1907 II, 210–15: 211: (1678 × 1688) 'wherin there is a cheaple, where Sant Fland·an himself lived ane heremit'.

393. For similar names, see Watson 1926, 268–69.

(Mac Gille Mhoire 1908, 49) agus is dòcha gun do dh'èirich an t-ainm eile seo mar bhriathar notha, .i. ainm 'ceadaichte', fhad 's a bhathas ri eunach no iasgach ann.[391]

Cuiridh Taylor (2011, s.v. *Flannan Isles*) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-e 'na h-eileanan dearga' as ciall do *Na h-Eileanan Flannach*, .i. le buadhair stèidhichte air GA *flann* (GT idem) 'dearg, dath na fala' + an iar-leasachan *-ach* (Cox 2017, 151). Cuirear ris an argamaid sin (1) nach eil fianais air naomh air an robh *Flannan* ann an Albainn ach sa bheul-aithris co-cheangailte ris na h-eileanan seo[392] agus (2) gum bite a' sùileachadh GA **Flannanach* seach *Flannach* ann am buadhair stèidhichte air an ainm *Flannan*.

#177 *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* CDL

[nəˌhelanən ˈmoːrə], (gin.) *Nan Eilean*(*an*) *Mòra* [nəˌn̪elan(ən) ˈmoːrə], NG414984. 1549 *Ellan Senta*; 1573 *Ilen Schent*; 1583 *Ilen Chent*; 1595 *Ilen Shent*; 1607 *Shent*; 1610, 1635 *Ilen Schent*; 1636 *Ilen Shent*; 1654 *Yl. Sheni* (+ *Garvellan* agus [?] *Yl. Kil*); 1680 *Island Chants or Sanct*; 1701 *Yl Saint*; 1703 *The Ifland Siant or, as the natives call it, Island-More*; 1714 *I. Siant*; 1718 *Island Shant*; 1726 *Shant*; 1775 *Shiant Is.*; 1790 *Shant Isles*; 1797 *Shaint or Holy Islands*; 1843–82 *Eileanan Mòra or Eileanan Seunta or Shiant Islands*.

An t-ainm air grioglachan de dh'eileanan mu 6 clm (4 mìle) an ear-dheas air *Rubha Uisinis* NB354030, anns A' Phàirc. Tràth san 19mh linn, bha na h-eileanan seo nam pàirt den tuathanas ùr a chaidh a dhèanamh anns A' Phàirc (§3 (vii)). Chan eil sluagh seasmhach a' fuireach orra bho thoiseach na 20mh linne (Thompson 1968, 186–87; Macdonald 1978, 191), ged a bhiodh muinntir Cheann a Deas nan Loch fhathast a' sealg bhuthaidean ann fad ùine (Mackay 2007, 16).

Ainm Gàidhlig, le cruth iolra an uilt Ghàidhlig (le analachadh ro fhuaimreig) + cruth iolra an ainmeir GA *eilean* f. (#95) + cruth iolra a' bhuadhair GA *mòr* (#2). Mar a sheallas na cruthan sgrìobhainne, chante GA *Na h-Eileanan Seunta* 'na h-eileanan naomha' ris na h-eileanan seo uair,[393] leis a' bhuadhair ghnìomhaireach GA *seunta* 'air a sheunadh' (stèidhichte air GA *seun* f. 'geas, ortha, draoidheachd' (GT *sén*)): bha seo a chionn 's gun robh caibeal air *Eilean*

391. Airson eisimpleirean eile de bhriathran notha a chleachdte fhad 's a bhathas am measg nan eilean, faic Macdonald ibid., 192.

392. An Rothach (1549): *the 7 Iles of Flavain, callit with thame girth and halie Iles* '... ris an canar cuideachd na h-eileanan tèarmainn is naomha'; ?às a sin, Buchanan 1582, Leabh. I, s. 40: *quas alii Flavanas, alii Sacras, Asyla vocant* 'ris an can cuid Na h-Eileanan "Flavan", cuid eile Na h-Eileanan Naomha no Tèarmainn'; Mitchell 1907 II, 210–15: 211: (1678 × 1688) 'wherin there is a cheaple, where Sant Flandan himself lived ane heremit'.

393. Airson ainmean ceudna, faic Watson 1926, 268–69.

the house', a chapel on *Eilean Mhuire* '(the Virgin) Mary's island'[394] and a monastic settlement on *An Garbh-Eilean* 'the rough island'.[395] However, it seems that the name changed some time after the Reformation, at least locally.

#178 *Èinicleit* ÙIG (Eng. *Enaclete*)
[ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ], (gen.) idem; NB121284. 1821 *Eneclet*; 1822 *Eniclet*; 1843–82 *Eīnacleit*, *Beinn Eìnacleit*, [?] *Cnoc Einacleit*; 1846 *Eniclet*; 2007, road sign *Einacleit*‖*Enaclete*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385: '**Enaclete** (CB) [ẽːnəkleht′][396] is in all probability ON **Eini-klettr* "(the) juniper-rock". ON *einir* m. "juniper" is a very common element in Norwegian place-names. The juniper is not very common in the Outer Hebrides, but it does exist even today and may, of course, have been plentiful in the Viking Age.'

The name of a township on the east side of ÙIG, in existence from at least 1807 (Lawson 2011, 179); a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Eini-klett* acc., with the stem form of the noun ON *einir* m. 'juniper' and accusative of ON *klettr* m. 'rock, hill, mountain'.[397] Juniper grows in Lewis, especially on islands on freshwater lochs, in tight carpets low to the ground.

For ON *klettr*, see *Cleitir* #130; for ScG *cleite*, see *Cleite Thòg* #129.

#179 *Èinicleit* STN (Eng. *Newton*)
[ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ], (gen.) idem; NB430324. 1654 *Ineclet*; 1718 *Mellboast and Eynaclett*; 1726 *Enclet*; 1785 *Iniclete*; c.1800 *Inaclete*; 1843–82 *Inaclet*, *Gob Innaclet*; 1845 *Inailite* [*sic*]; 1846HO *Inaclete Pt*; 1955 *Gob Inaclete*; road sign *Einicleit*‖*Newton.*

The name of an area of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309, from which the road name *Rathad Èinicleit* (Eng. *Inaclete Road*) derives. An Old Norse loan-name in Gaelic, identical to ScG *Èinicleit* #178; in this instance, the *klettr* of the Old Norse name here may have denoted the rock referred to in the name ScG *Buaile na Creige* 'the enclosure of the rock' NB432322, on *Gob Èinicleit* 'the point of—'.

394. The remains of the chapel are at NG43069860 (<https://canmore.org.uk/>, ID 11408).

395. The remains of a possible monastic settlement are at NG412983 (<https://canmore.org.uk/>, ID 11409).

396. (nMO) [ˈẽˀːnəˌkʻleht′].

397. MacBain (1922, 99) suggests ON *eng*, *engi* nt. 'meadow' and MacIver (1934, 100; so Taylor 2011, s.v. *Enaclete*) ON *enni* nt. 'forehead, brow; steep crag', but one would expect a short stressed vowel and a different nasal from both these words.

an Taighe, caibeal air *Eilean Mhuire*[394] agus tuineachadh mhanach air *A' Gharbh-Eilean*.[395] Gidheadh, is coltach gun deach an t-ainm atharrachadh uaireigin an dèidh an Ath-leasachaidh, co-dhiù gu h-ionadail.

#178 *Èinicleit* ÙIG
[ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ], (gin.) idem; NB121284. 1821 *Eneclet*; 1822 *Eniclet*; 1843–82 *Eīnacleit*, *Beinn Eìnacleit*, [?] *Cnoc Einacleit*; 1846 *Eniclet*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Einacleit*‖*Enaclete*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385: 'Tha a h-uile coltas air gur h-ann à SL **Eini-klettr* '(an) aiteann-chreag' a tha **Enaclete** (CB) [ẽːnəkleht′][396]. 'S e eileamaid fìor bhitheanta a th' ann an SL *einir* f. ann an ainmean-àite ann an Nirribhidh. Chan eil an t-aiteann uabhasach bitheanta sna h-Eileanan Siar, ach tha e ann fiù 's an-diugh is, gu cinnteach, is dòcha gun robh e pailt an Linn nan Ùiginneach.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh an ear ÙIG a bha ann bho 1807 aig a' char a b' anmoiche (Lawson 2008, 179); ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Eini-klett* cusp., le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *einir* f. 'staoin, aiteann' agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *klettr* f. 'clach, cnoc, beinn'.[397] Fàsaidh staoin ann an Leòdhas, gu h-àraidh air eileanan ann an lochan fìor-uisge, na brat teann gu h-ìosal ris an talamh.

Airson SL *klettr*, faic *Cleitir* #130; airson GA *cleite*, faic *Cleite Thòg* #129.

#179 *Èinicleit* STN
[ˈẽːnəˌkleʰtʲ], (gin.) idem; NB430324. 1654 *Ineclet*; 1718 *Mellboast and Eynaclett*; 1726 *Enclet*; 1785 *Iniclete*; c.1800 *Inaclete*; 1843–82 *Inaclet*, *Gob Innaclet*; 1845 *Inailite* [*sic*]; 1846HO *Inaclete Pt*; 1955 *Gob Inaclete*; soighne rathaid *Einicleit*‖*Newton.*

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309, às an tàinig ainm an rathaid *Rathad Èinicleit* (Brl. *Inaclete Road*). Ainm-iasaid Lochlannais sa Ghàidhlig co-ionann ri *Èinicleit* #178; san t-seagh seo, 's dòcha gum beanadh *klettr* san ainm Lochlannais seo ris a' chreig air an dèanar iomradh san ainm GA *Buaile na Creige* NB432322, air *Gob Èinicleit*.

394. Tha làrach a' chaibeil aig NG43069860 (<https://canmore.org.uk/>, ID 11408).

395. Is math dh'fhaodte gu bheil làrach tuineachaidh mhanach aig NG412983 (<https://canmore.org.uk/>, ID 11409).

396. (nMO) [ˈẽˀːnəˌkʻleht′].

397. Cuiridh MacBain (1922, 99) SL *eng*, *engi* n. 'lèana' agus MacIver (1934, 100; mar sin Taylor 2011, s.v. *Enaclete*) SL *enni* n. 'bathais, maoil; creag chas' air shùilibh, ach shùilichte fuaimreag bheumte ghoirid agus srònach eadar-dhealaichte às an dà fhacal seo.

The area was also named Eng. *Newton*: 1843–82 *New Town*, 1919 *Newton Street*. The suburb *Èinicleit* (Eng. *Inaclete*) or *Newton* stems from c.1799 (Lawson 2011, 215).

#180 ***Eireastadh*** ÙIG

[ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ],[398] (gen.) *Eireastaidh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aj], although [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] is heard also nowadays; NB053336. 1821, 1822 *Erista*; 1843–82 *Eirasladh* [*sic*], *Fideach Eirastadh*, *Amhuinn Eirastadh*, *Lòn Eirustadh*; 1846 *Erista*; road sign =.

Formerly the name of an area south of *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, in Ùig; today the name of a nearby housing estate at NB057344.

In his notes, Oftedal expresses several thoughts on this name, but with a question mark against each: (1) ON **Erpsstaðir* '(the) farm belonging to *Erpr* (a man's name)', but with no explanation for the loss of the plosive *p*; (2) ON **Eiríksstaðir* '(the) farm belonging to *Eiríkr* (a man's name)', but cf. ScG *Loch Èireasort* [ˌɬɔxˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪̊], with a long stressed vowel;[399] (3) ON **Elri-staðir*

398. (nMO) [eðəstaɣ].

399. ScG *Loch Èireasort* is one of the long sea lochs in the Parish of Lochs on the east of Lewis: (1600+) *Loch-aerisford*, (1630) *Loghærisford*, (1654) *Loch Erifport*, (1703) *Loch-Erif(p)ort*, (1843–82) *Loch Erisort*; (nMO) [ɬɔxˈeːðəsɔt̪] < ON **Eiríksfjǫrð* acc. '(the) loch of *Eiríkr*' (Oftedal 1980, 187: [eːrʼəsɔd̪]), with genitive of the man's name (Cox 2007b, 78, fnn 80, 83); as regards ON *fjǫrð* acc. m. > ScG [ɔd̪], [ɔt̪], via ScG (len.) *phort*, see ibid., 74–79, and cf. ScG **Sìophort* < ON **Síð-fjǫrð* acc. (#113, #182); in Norway, cf. *Ersfjorden* < ON **Eiríksfjǫrðr* in Troms (*NSL*); in Scotland, cf. ScG *Èirisgeigh* [ˈeːɾʲiˌʃkʲɛj] NF794112 < ON **Eiríksey* '(the) island belonging to *Eiríkr*' (cf. Borgstrøm 1936, 291).

In addition to deriving both ScG *Eireastadh* and **Èireasort* from ON **Eiríks-*, Evemalm (2017, 109–10, 116–17) follows Watson (1904, 268) in deriving ScG *Èire Solt* (1843–82 *Eiresólt*) (nMO) [erʼə ˈsʊɫt] NB335508 from ON *Eiríks-*. In this case, however, primary stress is on the final syllable (hence the map's acute accent (§15)) and it is likely that the name is from ON **Eyrin Sǫltu*, with ON *eyrr* f. 'sand or gravel bank' + the Old Norse suffixed (definite) article and the feminine weak form of the adjective ON *saltr* 'salt, salty' – for the syntax noun + adjective, see §27 (i) (e); if this is correct, the vowel of the first syllable has shortened in weak or half-stressed position in Gaelic, otherwise one would expect a long vowel from ON *eyrr*, as found in ScG **Èirearaigh* ((1843–82) *Loch Eíreradh*, (nMO) [lɔxˈeːrʼəraj̝]) NB328505 (both places in the same area in *Brù* #82, in Sgìre a' Chladaich), from ON **Eyrará* '(the) river of the gravel bank', with genitive of ON *eyrr* and ON *á* f. 'river' (for the development of the ending of this name, cf. ScG *Lacasaigh* #230).

In addition to a derivation with the personal name ON *Eiríkr*, MacIver (1934, 97) suggests ON **Eyrisstað* acc., with the genitive of ON *eyrir* m. 'an ounce of silver, i.e. land to the value of an ounce of silver', but *eyrir* fails for the same reason as *Eiríkr* and *eyrr*.

Chaidh Brl. *Newton* a chur air a' cheàrnaidh seo mar ainm cuideachd: 1843–82 *New Town*, 1919 *Newton Street*. Tàrmaichidh am fo-bhaile *Èinicleit* (Brl. *Inaclete*) no *Newton* bho c.1799 (Lawson 2011, 215).

#180 ***Eireastadh*** ÙIG

[ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ],[398] (gin.) *Eireastaidh* [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aj], ged a chluinnear [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] mar an ceudna san latha an-diugh; NB053336. 1821, 1822 *Erista*; 1843–82 *Eirasladh* [*sic*], *Fideach Eirastadh*, *Amhuinn Eirastadh*, *Lòn Eirustadh*; 1846 *Erista*; soighne rathaid =.

Roimhe an t-ainm air ceàrnaidh deas air *Tuimsgearraidh* #342, ann an Ùig; an-diugh an t-ainm air ionad thaighean faisg air làimh aig NB057344.

Na notaichean, cuiridh Oftedal corra smuain air an ainm seo an cèill, ach le ceist mun coinneimh uile: (1) SL **Erpsstaðir* 'an tuathanas aig *Erpr* (ainm fireannaich)', ach gun fhios carson a chaillte an stadach *p*; (2) SL **Eiríksstaðir* 'an tuathanas aig *Eiríkr* (ainm fireannaich)', ach coim. GA *Loch Èireasort* [ˌɬɔxˈeːɾʲəˌs̪ɔd̪̊], le fuaimreig bheumte fhada;[399] (3) SL **Elri-staðir* '(am) feàrn-

398. (nMO) [eðəstaɣ].

399. Tha GA *Loch Èireasort* air fear de na lochan mara domhainn ann an Sgìre nan Loch air taobh an ear Leòdhais: (1600+) *Loch-aerisford*, (1630) *Loghærisford*, (1654) *Loch Erifport*, (1703) *Loch-Erif(p)ort*, (1843–82) *Loch Erisort*; (nMO) [ɬɔxˈeːðəsɔt̪] < SL **Eiríksfjǫrð* cusp. 'an loch aig *Eiríkr*' (Oftedal 1980, 187: [eːrʼəsɔd̪]), le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich (Cox 2007b, 78, bnn 80, 83); a thaobh SL *fjǫrð* cusp. f. > GA [ɔd̪], [ɔt̪] tro GA (sèimh.) *phort*, faic ibid., 74–79, agus coim. GA **Sìophort* < SL **Síð-fjǫrð* cusp. (#113, #182); ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Ersfjorden* < SL **Eiríksfjǫrðr* ann an Troms (*NSL*); ann an Albainn, coim. GA *Èirisgeigh* [ˈeːɾʲiˌʃkʲɛj] NF794112 < SL **Eiríksey* 'an t-eilean aig *Eiríkr*' (cf. Borgstrøm 1936, 291).

A thuilleadh air a bhith a' toirt an dà chuid GA *Eireastadh* is **Èireasort* à SL **Eiríks-*, leanaidh Evemalm (2017, 109–10, 116–17) Watson (1904, 268) ann a bhith a' tàrmachadh GA *Èire Solt* (1843–82 *Eiresólt*) (nMO) [erʼə ˈsʊɫt] NB335508 ann an SL **Eiríks-*. San t-seagh seo, ge-tà, tha am prìomh bheum air an lide mu dheireadh (às a sin, stràc geur a' mhapa (§15)) agus is coltach gur h-ann à SL **Eyrin Sǫltu* a tha an t-ainm, leis an ainmear SL *eyrr* b. 'bruach gainmhich no morghain' + an alt Lochlannais iar-leasaichte (dheimhinnte) agus cruth lag boireann a' bhuadhair SL *saltr* 'salainn, saillte' – airson a' cho-rèir ainmear + buadhair, faic §27 (i) (e); mas ceart seo, tha fuaimreag na ciad lide air giorrachadh sa Ghàidhlig ann an suidheachadh lagno leth-bheumte, air neo bhite a' sùileachadh fuaimreag fhada à SL *eyrr*, mar a gheibhear ann an GA **Èirearaigh* ((1843–82) *Loch Eíreradh*, (nMO) [lɔxˈeːrʼəraj̝]) NB328505 (an dà àite seo air an aon àrainn ann am *Brù* #82, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich), à SL **Eyrará* 'abhainn na bruaich morghain', le tuiseal ginideach SL *eyrr* agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn' (airson leasachadh dùnadh an ainme seo, coim. GA *Lacasaigh* #230).

A thuilleadh air bunachas leis an ainm phearsanta SL *Eiríkr*, molaidh MacIver (1934, 97) SL **Eyrisstað* cusp., leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *eyrir* f. 'unnsa airgid, .i. talamh luach unnsa airgid', ach fàiligidh *eyrir* air an aon adhbhar is a dh'fhàiligeas *Eiríkr* agus *eyrr*.

'(the) alder-farm', with the stem form of the noun ON *elri*(*r*) nt. (m.) 'alder', if *lr* became *r* early enough in Old Norse (cf. Norw. *or* beside *older*); and (4) ON **Ersstaðir* '(the) horse-farm', with the stem form of the noun ON **ers* (*ess*) nt. '(riding) horse', but with no explanation for the presence of medial [ə] in Gaelic.

On the other hand, one might consider ON **Yrjustǫð* '(the) landing place of a river called **Yrja*', with genitive of a river name based upon a derivative of ON *aurr* m. 'mud, clay' (Rygh 1898, 42, s.v., and *NE* 302; cf. *Yrjar* (pl.; now *Ør·land*) in Sør-Trøndelag, Norway (*NG* XIV, 49; cited in Lnb. 1774, Part IV, Chap. I: *Irear*)), and ON *stǫð* f. 'landing place'; for ON *stǫð* in Old Norse loan-names in Gaelic, see *Cabharstaidh* #90. ON **Yrjustǫð* would have denoted a place where boats were pulled ashore along the bank of *Lòn Eireastaidh* 'the pool of—' NB051372, the water that flows between *Abhainn an Fhorsa*,[400] past *Eireastadh*, to the sea. The difficulty with this solution is that, although ON *y* yields ScG *i* in ON **Kyr-vík* > ScG *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɣ̊ʲ] #124, there is at present no other example of ON *y* yielding ScG [e].

As a result, one might also consider a solution from ON **Erjustǫð*, with genitive of a river name ON **Erja*, a form based on the verb ON *erja* 'to plough; to scratch',[401] which would represent the way the river at low tide follows the coastline in a channel around the north side of *Tràigh Ùig* 'the beach of *Ùig*'. ON **Erjustǫð* would yield ScG [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] regularly.[402]

In addition to *Eireastadh* above, ScG *Eireastadh Chàrnis* [ˌeɾʲəˌs̪t̪a(ɣ) ˈxɑːɳʲʃ] NB022324 occurs about 5km (3 miles) to the west, on the other side of the township *Càrnis* #99. If the first element in *Eireastadh Chàrnis* is not in origin a separate name, the land at *Càrnis* may have once belonged to *Eireastadh* itself but been known using the name *Càrnis* as specific in order to distinguish it from *Eireastadh* proper.

#181 *Eòiriseadar* BRN

[ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃaḍ̥əɾ],[403] (gen.) *Eòiriseadair* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃaḍ̥əɾʲ]; NB151398. 1843–82 *Eòrishadair*.

The name of a hill in *Crothair* #157, in Beàrnaraigh; a Gaelic name borrowed

400. ScG *Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ ə ˈɸ̪ɔs̪ə] 'the river of the waterfall' NB058324, with genitive of the noun ScG *fors* m., a loan-word from ON *fors* m. 'waterfall'. Contrast ScG *Abhainn Fors* 'the river of—' NA984152 (cf. MacLennan 2001, 47), where **Fors* is a loan-name.

401. Although no other example of this verb is found in place-names, verbs are frequently used in river names in Norway (see *NE* and, for Lewis, §27 (i) (c)).

402. ON *stǫð* 'landing place' may be a more likely generic than ON *staðr* m. 'farm' in this name, since the name ScG *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323 (with a loan-name with a generic in ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm') occurs in the same area.

403. Donald Macaulay (in Cox 1990b, 100, 112) [ˈjɔːðɪʃɔdər] (i.e. [ˈjɔːðɪʃɔḍ̥əɾ]), who writes *Eòiriseadair* in Macaulay 1972, 334.

thuathanas', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *elri*(*r*) n. (f.) 'feàrn', ma chaidh *lr* na *r* tràth gu leòr san Lochlannais (coim. Nirr. *or* ri taobh *older*); agus (4) SL **Ersstaðir* '(an t-)each-thuathanas', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL **ers* (*ess*) n. 'each (seach capall)', ach gun fhios carson a dh'èireadh [ə] mheadhanach sa Ghàidhlig.

Air an làimh eile, dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air SL **Yrjustǫð* 'laimrig aibhne air an robh **Yrja*', le tuiseal ginideach ainm aibhne air a bhonntachadh air bunadair aig SL *aurr* f. 'làthach, crèadha' (Rygh 1898, 42, s.v., agus *NE* 302; coim. *Yrjar* (iol.; nise *Ørland*) ann an Sør-Trøndelag, Nirribhidh (*NG* XIV, 49; air an toirear iomradh ann an Lnb. 1774, Pàirt IV, Caib. I: *Irear*)), agus SL *stǫð* b. 'laimrig'; airson SL *stǫð* ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais sa Ghàidhlig, faic *Cabharstaidh* #90. Bhiodh SL **Yrjustǫð* air beantainn ri àite air choreigin far an cuirte eathraichean air tìr air feadh bòrd *Lòn Eireastaidh* NB051372, an sruth a ruitheas eadar *Abhainn an Fhorsa*,[400] seachad air *Eireastadh*, dhan t-sàl. 'S e an duilgheadas leis an fhuasgladh seo, ge-tà, ged a thèid SL *y* na GA *i* ann an SL **Kyr-vík* > GA *Cirbhig* [ˈkʲʰiɾ͡ʲiˌviɣ̊ʲ] #124, nach eil eisimpleir eile aig an ìre sa far an tèid SL *y* na GA [e].

A chionn sin, dh'fhaodte beachdachadh cuideachd air fuasgladh ann an SL **Erjustǫð*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm aibhne SL **Erja*, cruth air a bhonntachadh air a' ghnìomhair SL *erja* 'treabhaich; sgrìob',[401] a riochdaicheadh mar a bhios an abhainn aig muir-tràigh a' leantainn na h-oirthire ann an cladhan timcheall air ceann a tuath *Thràigh Ùig*. Bheireadh SL **Erjustǫð* GA [ˈeɾʲəˌs̪t̪aɣ] gu riaghailteach.[402]

A thuilleadh air *Eireastadh* shuas, tha GA *Eireastadh Chàrnis* [ˌeɾʲəˌs̪t̪a(ɣ) ˈxɑːɳʲʃ] NB022324 ann, timcheall air 5 clm (3 mìle) chun na h-àirde an iar, air taobh thall a' bhaile fearainn *Càrnis* #99. Mana h-e ainm fa leth a th' anns a' chiad eileamaid ann an *Eireastadh Chàrnis* bho thùs, is dòcha gun do bhuin am fearann ann an *Càrnis* do dh'*Eireastadh* fhèin uair ach gun robh e air aithneachadh le bhith a' cleachdadh an ainme *Càrnis* na shònraichear gus a dhealachadh ri fìor *Eireastadh*.

#181 *Eòiriseadar* BRN

[ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃaḍ̥əɾ],[403] (gin.) *Eòiriseadair* [ˈjɔːɾʲiˌʃaḍ̥əɾʲ]; NB151398. 1843–82 *Eòrishadair*.

An t-ainm air cnoc ann an *Crothair* #157, ann am Beàrnaraigh; ainm Gàidhlig

400. GA *Abhainn an Fhorsa* [ˌãviɲ ə ˈɸ̪ɔs̪ə] NB058324, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *fors* f., facal-iasaid à SL *fors* f. 'eas'. Iomsgaraich GA *Abhainn Fors* NA984152 (coim. MacLennan 2001, 47), sa bheil **Fors* na ainm-iasaid.

401. Ged nach lorgar eisimpleir eile den ghnìomhair seo ann an ainmean-àite, cleachdar gnìomhairean gu tric ann an ainmean aibhne an Nirribhidh (faic *NE* agus, airson Leòdhais, §27 (i) (c)).

402. Is dòcha gu bheil SL *stǫð* 'laimrig' nas coltaiche na SL *staðr* f. 'tuathanas' mar sheòrsaichear san ainm seo, seach gun lorgar an t-ainm GA *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323 (le ainm-iasaid a tha a shònraichear à SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas') air an aon àrainn.

403. Dòmhnall MacAmhlaigh (ann an Cox 1990b, 100, 112) [ˈjɔːðɪʃɔdər] (.i. [ˈjɔːðɪʃɔḍ̥əɾ]), a sgrìobhas *Eòiriseadair* ann am Macaulay 1972, 334.

from Old Norse. Macaulay (1972, 334) derives it from ON **Jór(h)eiðarsætr*, with genitive of the woman's name ON *Jór(h)eiðr* f. and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296). Mackenzie (≈1903) suggests the more straightforward solution ON **Jórusætr*, with genitive of the woman's name ON *Jóra*.[404]

#182 *Eòrrabidh* NIS (Eng. *Eoropie*)
[ˈjɔːrəˌp̬i], (gen.) idem;[405] NB518649. 1654 *Eorby*; 1701 *Eorbye*; 1703 *Eorobie*, *Eoropy-Point*; 1714 Eoropi P.ᵗ; 1718 *Europie*; 1726 *Erobie*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Oreby*; 1797 *Eorapie*; 1801, 1804, 1807 *Oreby*; 1821, 1822 *Eoropie*; 1843–82 *Eòrrapidh*; 1846 *Eoropie*; 1846JW *Oreby*; 2007, road sign *Eoropaidh*‖*Eoropie*.

> Oftedal 1954, 371: '**Eoropie** (CB, MO) [jɔːʀəbi] is probably a name in ON *-bór* m. "farm". The first part of the name is obscure. It is found also in *Eòrradal* #183 (CB, MO) [jɔːʀədəl] #183. The name has often been explained as ON **Øyrarbór* (**Eyrarbór*) "(the) gravel-beach farm", from ON *øyrr* f. (*eyrr* §16).[406] It is, however, difficult to conceive how ON *øyr-* could result in ScG [jɔːʀ-]. A somewhat better solution is **Jórunnarbór*, from the woman's name *Jórunn*. Farm names compounded with *Jórunn* occur in Norway, e.g. ON **Jórunnarbýr*, now *Jørenby* in Sør-Aurdal (*NG* IV², 237)[407] – *býr* is an eastern variant of the West Norwegian *bór*. In Lnb., we find a farm in Iceland called *Jórunnarstaðir*. We know from historical records that the name *Jórunn* was used among the early Norse population of the Hebrides: the Viking chief Ketil Flatnose[408] who conquered all of the Hebrides during the reign of Harold Fairhair[409] had a daughter called *Jórunn Mannvitsbrekka*. If **Eoropie** represents

404. Macaulay compares the woman's name ScG *Eòiridh* (Cox 1990b, 100–01; note Matheson 1982, 328). Cox (ibid.) suggests ON **Jaðrasætr* '(the) sheiling of the ledges', with genitive plural of the noun ON *jaðarr* m. 'edge; a flat area at the foot of a hill or bank in the side of a valley', although one would normally expect ScG stressed [əː] in this position, but cf. *Loch Fàsgro* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈfaːˌs̪kʀo], [ˌl̪ɔx ˈfaːs̪kəˌɾo] NB204414, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134, perhaps from ON **Vaðsgróf* '(the) stream of the ford', with genitive of the noun ON *vað* nt. 'ford' and ON *gróf* f. 'stream' (in this case, perhaps under the influence of ScG *fàs* m. [faːs̪] 'growth, growing' (EG *ás*, *fás*)).

405. [ˈjɔːrəˌp̬i], with weakening of the *r* sound, is sometimes heard.

406. E.g. Fraser 1978, 9.

407. It is not certain that the name *Jørenby* goes back to Old Norse; its first element may be the younger name form Norw. *Jøronn* (Schmidt 2000, 262 ff.).

408. ON *Ketill Flatnefr* 'flat-nosed Ketil'.

409. ON *Haraldr Hárfagri* 'fair-haired Harald'.

a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais. Bheir Macaulay (1972, 334) an t-ainm-iasaid seo à SL **Jór(h)eiðarsætr*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm boireannaich SL *Jór(h)eiðr* b. agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296). Cuiridh Mackenzie (≈1903) air shùilibh am fuasgladh as sìmplidhe SL **Jórusætr*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm boireannaich SL *Jóra*.[404]

#182 *Eòrrabidh* NIS
[ˈjɔːrəˌp̬i], (gin.) idem,[405] NB518649. 1654 *Eorby*; 1701 *Eorbye*; 1703 *Eorobie*, *Eoropy-Point*; 1714 Eoropi P.ᵗ; 1718 *Europie*; 1726 *Erobie*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Oreby*; 1797 *Eorapie*; 1801, 1804, 1807 *Oreby*; 1821, 1822 *Eoropie*; 1843–82 *Eòrrapidh*; 1846 *Eoropie*; 1846JW *Oreby*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Eoropaidh*‖*Eoropie*.

> Oftedal 1954, 371: Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e ainm ann an SL *-bór* f. 'tuathanas' a th' ann an **Eoropie** (CB, MO) [jɔːʀəbi]. 'S ann a tha a' chiad phàirt den ainm doilleir. Lorgar cuideachd e ann an *Eòrradal* #183 (CB, MO) [jɔːʀədəl] #183. Chaidh an t-ainm a mhìneachadh gu tric mar SL **Øyrarbór* (**Eyrarbór*) '(an) grinneal-chladach-thuathanas', à SL *øyrr* b. (*eyrr* §16).[406] Tha e doirbh a thuigsinn, ge-tà, ciamar a gheibhte GA [jɔːʀ-] à SL *øyr-*. 'S e fuasgladh beagan nas fheàrr a th' ann an **Jórunnarbór*, às an ainm boireannaich *Jórunn*. Gheibhear ainmean tuathanais air am fillteachadh ri *Jórunn* ann an Nirribhidh, m.e. SL **Jórunnarbýr*, a-nise *Jørenby* ann an Sør-Aurdal (*NG* IV², 237)[407] – tha *býr* na eugsamhail an ear aig an Nirribhis an Iar *bór*. Ann an Lnb., gheibhear tuathanas ann an Innis Tìle air a bheil *Jórunnarstaðir* mar ainm. Bho chlàraidhean eachdraidheil, tha fhios gun cleachdte an t-ainm *Jórunn* am measg an t-sluaigh Lochlannaich thràth ann an Innse Gall: bha nighean air an robh *Jórunn Mannvitsbrekka* mar ainm aig a' cheann-fheadhna Ùiginneach Ketill Flatnefr[408] a cheannsaich Innse Gall uile agus Haraldr Hárfagri[409] na rìgh. Mas e 's gun riochdaich **Eoropie**

404. Nì Macaulay coimeas ris an ainm bhoireannaich GA *Eòiridh* (Cox 1990b, 100–01; mothaich Matheson 1982, 328). Bheir Cox (ibid.) SL **Jaðrasætr* 'àirigh nam pallachan', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *jaðarr* f. 'oir; àite rèidh aig bonn cnuic no bruach ann an cliathaich glinne', ged a bhite gu h-àbhaisteach a' sùileachadh GA [əː] bheumte san t-suidheachadh seo, ach coim. *Loch Fàsgro* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈfaːˌs̪kʀo], [ˌl̪ɔx ˈfaːs̪kəˌɾo] NB204414, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134, is dòcha à SL **Vaðsgróf* 'allt an àtha', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *vað* n. 'àth, fadhail' is SL *gróf* b. 'allt' (san t-seagh seo, is dòcha fo bhuaidh an ainmeir GA *fàs* f. [faːs̪] (GT *ás*, *fás*)).

405. Cluinnear [ˈjɔːrəˌp̬i] air uairean, agus am fuaim *r* air a lagachadh.

406. M.e. Fraser 1978, 9.

407. Cha chinnteach gun tèid an t-ainm *Jørenby* air ais chun na Seann Lochlannais; is dòcha gur h-e a chiad eileamaid an cruth ainme nas òige Nirr. *Jøronn* (Schmidt 2000, 262 7a).

408. 'Ketil rèidh-shròn'.

409. 'Harald falt-bàn'.

ON **Jórunnarbór*, then *Eòrradal*, a neighbouring village, is probably **Jórunnardalr* 'Jórunn's valley'. As for the phonetics, I have at present no other instance of ON initial *jó*; but as ON medial *jó* regularly gives ScG [ɔː] preceded by a palatal and followed by a non-palatal consonant, it is quite natural that the sound sequence *jó* in initial position should result in ScG [jɔː]. The contraction of the two medial syllables to [ə] is not surprising. The chief difficulty lies in the *r*-sound, which is not lenited [r] but non-lenited [ʀ], suggesting an original geminated *r* or the cluster *rð* (cf. ScG *gàrradh* [gɑːʀəɣ] "stone wall, stone fence", from ON *garðr* m.). The explanation must be sought either in assimilation of *r* to the geminated *nn*, which yields ScG non-lenited [ɴ], e.g. in ScG *Loch Grunnabhat* [lɔxˈgruɴəvaht], < ON **Grunnavatn* "(the) shallow lake", or else in a merging of the two *r*'s of **Jórunnarbór* after the disappearance of *-unna-*. But, as I have no examples of a similar development in other words, the interpretation given above remains highly conjectural.'

The name of a township in the north of Nis; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Oftedal writes ON *bór*, using the form of the word found in Western Norway, as opposed to *býr*, the eastern variant. Although ON *bý* obl. would be likely to yield ScG [e̯i], ON *bó* obl. would be more likely to yield ScG [e̯a] (with [a] from ScG [eː], perhaps via [ia]), cf. ON **Grónabólstað* acc. > ScG *Grèineabost* #219 and ON **Gróðuós* acc. > ScG *Griais* #220.

If one compares the loan-name ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːrɪˌg̊ʲəɾʲ] from ON **Tjarnargerði* '(the) enclosure of the loch',[410] with genitive singular of the element ON *tjǫrn* f. 'small loch, tarn' – in which the *r* of the stem has been assimilated to the following *n* and the ending *ar* metathesised §40 (ii) – perhaps ON **Jórunnarbý* obl. would have yielded ScG **Eònnrabidh* or similar, assuming early syncope of the second syllable.

Along with Henderson (1910, 186) and MacBain (1922, 89), Watson (1904, 264, 266) favours ON *eyrr*, although sand- or gravel-bank is not obviously applicable at the location (see #180, fn 399).

MacIver (1934, 70) suggests ON *jǫrð* f. ON *rð* has several reflexes in Gaelic, according to when the cluster was borrowed into the language: (1) ON *garð* acc. m. gives EG *garrdha* */ˈgɑʀðə/, with final inorganic *a* used to avoid an unusual final cluster; (2) hence, we find the likes of EG *[ˈgɑʀðəˌbɔs̪t̪] > ScG *Garrabost* [ˈg̊ɑʀəˌp̊ɔs̪t̪], with [ð] assimilated to [ʀ] #189; (3) although the stressed vowel

410. #295, 690. *Teànnraigir* NB184398 is today the name of a hill and of an area in *Sanndaig* #286, in *An Dùn* #170.

SL **Jórunnarbór*, 's math dh'fhaodte gur h-e **Jórunnardalr* 'gleann *Jórunn*' a th' ann an *Eòrradal*, baile a tha san àrainn. A thaobh an fhuaim-eòlais, chan eil agam an-dràsta eisimpleir eile de SL *jó* thoisich; ach seach gun toir SL *jó* mheadhain GA [ɔː] gu riaghailteach agus connrag chàireanach na toiseach agus connrag neo-chàireanach na dèidh, tha e tuilleadh is nàdarra gun toireadh an ruith fuaime *jó* ann an suidheachadh toisich GA [jɔː]. Chan eil an teannachadh san dà lide mheadhain gu [ə] na iongnadh. 'S e am prìomh dhuilgheadas am fuaim *r*, nach eil na [r] shèimhichte ach na [ʀ] neo-shèimhichte, a chuireas air shùilibh *r* eamhnaichte thùsail no an còmhlan *rð* (coim. GA *gàrradh* [gɑːʀəɣ] 'balla cloiche, feansa cloiche', à SL *garðr* f.). Feumar an fhreagairt a lorg aon chuid ann an co-choslachadh *r* ri *nn* eamhnaichte, a bheir GA [ɴ] neo-shèimhichte, m.e. ann an GA *Loch Grunnabhat* [lɔxˈgruɴəvaht], < SL **Grunnavatn* '(an) loch tana', air neo ann an co-mheasgachadh na dà *r* ann an **Jórunnarbór* an dèidh do *-unna-* a dhol à fianais. Ach, seach nach eil eisimpleirean agam den fhàs cheudna ann am facail eile, tha am mìneachadh a bheirear seachad shuas fhathast gu math tuairmeasach.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ceann a tuath Nis; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Sgrìobhaidh Oftedal SL *bór,* a' cleachdadh cruth an fhacail a lorgar ann an Nirribhidh Siar, seach *býr*, an t-eugsamhail sear. Ged as coltach gun toireadh SL *bý* cl. GA [e̯i], is coltaiche gun toireadh SL *bó* cl. GA [e̯a] (le [a] à GA [eː], is dòcha tro [ia]), coim. SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. > GA *Grèineabost* #219 agus SL **Gróðuós* cusp. > GA *Griais* #220.

Ma nithear coimeas ris an ainm-iasaid GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈtʲʰɑ̃ːrɪˌg̊ʲəɾʲ] à SL **Tjarnargerði* 'leas an locha',[410] le cruth ginideach singilte na h-eileamaid SL *tjǫrn* b. 'loch beag, Brl. *tarn*' – far an deach *r* a' bhun-riochda a cho-choslachadh ris an *n* na dèidh agus an dùnadh *ar* eadar-chàradh §40 (ii) – 's dòcha gun deigheadh SL **Jórunnarbý* cl. na GA **Eònnrabidh* no a leithid, agus an dàrna lide air teasgadh tràth.

Cuide ri Henderson (1910, 186) agus MacBain (1922, 89), thèid Watson (1904, 264, 266) le SL *eyrr*, ged nach fhollaiseach gu bheil bruach gainmhich no mholagan iomchaidh san àite (faic #180, bn 399).

Molaidh MacIver (1934, 70) SL *jǫrð* b. Tha corra riochd aig SL *rð* sa Ghàidhlig, a rèir cuin a chaidh an còmhlan air iasad dhan chànan: (1) bheir SL *garð* cusp. f. GT *garrdha* */ˈgɑʀðə/, le *a* dheiridh neo-thùsail air a chleachdadh gus còmhlan deiridh neo-àbhaisteach a sheachnadh; (2) às a sin, gheibhear a leithid GT *[ˈgɑʀðəˌbɔs̪t̪] > GA *Garrabost* [ˈg̊ɑʀəˌp̊ɔs̪t̪], le [ð] air a co-choslachadh

410. #295, 690. Tha *Teànnraigir* NB184398 an-diugh na ainm cnuic is na ainm ceàrnaidh ann an *Sanndig* #286, air *An Dùn* #170.

was lengthened in the likes of ScG *gàrradh* m. 'dyke, wall', as the loan-word (as opposed to loan-name) more closely followed changes taking place in the language;[411] (4) Old Norse names and words entering Gaelic after about 1200 are subject to a new development in the Gaelic language, viz stressed epenthesis (svarabhakti), whereby a stressed vowel is repeated between following consonants where they constitute certain consonantal clusters,[412] e.g. ON *urð* f. > ScG **urrdh* *[ˈuɾ̃ɯɣ] 'boulders, pile of stones';[413] (5) and, lastly, final ScG *rt* is found in sea loch names originating in ON *fjǫrð* acc. m. 'fiord, sea loch', e.g. **Sìo·phort* (#113). This final reflex might be the result of influence from a number of phenomena: in the first place, the cluster *rð* may have survived in Norn until its demise in the 17th century (Barnes 1991, 449–56); in the second place, EG [ð] evidently had a tendency to become a plosive in Scots (e.g. Scots/Eng. *Pit·medden*, with a specific originally from EG *meḋón* */ˈmˊẽðoːn/ (ScG *meadhan*) 'middle') – both phenomena perhaps yielding a pronunciation *r* + dental within earshot of Gaelic speakers; and, in the third place, it appears that the development of at least some of the loch names was due to analogical levelling with the Gaelic word *port* m. 'landing place; harbour' (Cox 2007b, 74–79), via morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (a).

ON *jǫrð* f., (gen.) *jarðar*, could mean 'earth (as opposed to air); ground, surface of the earth; mould, earth; land, estate', and it occurs in several compounds, e.g. ON *jarð-hús* 'underground room or passage', *jarð-stofa* 'underground room, cellar', *jarð-búi* 'someone who lives underground'.

A souterrain has been found in *Eòrrabidh* (C. S. Barrowman 2015, 38, 56, 134: at *Druim a' Sgèir* [*sic*] NB515651), and there are at least three others in the vicinity, e.g. on *Càrnan a' Ghròdhair* NB511639 (in *Tàbost* #315, 1.18 km (0.73 miles) south-south-west of the centre of the village of *Eòrradal*), and it may be that ON **Jarð-býr* obl. '(the) souterrain' is behind the name *Eòrrabidh* (ibid. 222–27).

If so, it seems that ON **Jarð-býr* obl. – or perhaps ON **Jarðarbýr*, with genitive of the specific – developed into EG *[ˈᵉɑɾðəˌbʲiˑ] > *[ˈjɔːɾðəˌbʲiˑ] > *[ˈjɔːɾðəˌbʲiˑ] > ScG [ˈjɔːɾəˌ̥bi] and that ScG *Eòrrabidh* was borrowed from Old Norse before the

411. Cf. ScG *fèairrde* (*feàirrde*) < EG *ferrde*.

412. I.e. *l*, *n* or *r* + certain consonants (for examples, see Cox 2017, 16–18).

413. ScG **urrdh*, a loan-word from ON *urð* f. Although examples of this Old Norse loan-word do not survive in the singular, it is found in the plural in the place-name ScG *Na h-Urrdhannan* [nə ˈhuɾ̃ɯɣən̪ən] NB233454, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295)/*Daile Beag* (#167); cf. (1843–82) *Urrannan Béaga* NB357444 (coim. (nMO) [nə ˈhɯʀɔ̀nən] in *Barbhas* #47). The word is also found with the suffix *-ag*: ScG *An Urrdhag* [ə ˈn̪uɾ̃ɯɣaɡ̊] NB197439 (1843–82 *Urabhag*, MacKenzie 1932, 310 *Urradhag*, MacIver 1934, 6 idem, 1974 *Uravag*), in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, i.e. 'the place of boulders', now a hill name; cf (1843–82) *Urraghag* NB185440 and *Loch Urraghag* NB321478.

ri [ɾ] #189; (3) ged a chaidh an fhuaimreag bheumte na leithid GA *gàrradh* f. fhadachadh, agus am facal-iasaid (seach ainm-iasaid) a' leantainn na bu dlùithe ri atharrachaidhean a bha a' tachairt sa chànan;[411] (4) tuitidh ainmean agus facail Lochlannais a thig a-steach dhan Ghàidhlig an dèidh mu 1200 fo bhuaidh leasachaidh ùir sa Ghàidhlig, .i. còmhnadh beumte, far an tèid an fhuaimreag bheumte ath-aithris eadar connragan na dèidh agus iad air fear de chòmhlain chonnragach àraidh,[412] m.e. SL *urð* b. > GA **urrdh* *[ˈuɾ̃ɯɣ] 'ulbhagan, meall chlachan';[413] (5) agus, mu dheireadh, gheibhear GA *rt* dheiridh ann an ainmean lochan mara a thàrmaicheas ann an SL *fjǫrð* cusp. f. 'loch mara', m.e. **Sìophort* (#113). Dh'fhaodadh an riochd mu dheireadh seo a bhith mar thoradh air buaidh bho chaochladh rud: sa chiad àite, 's dòcha gun do mhair an còmhlan *rð* anns an Nòrn gus na bhàsaich i san t-17mh linn (Barnes 1991, 449–56); san dàrna h-àite, chithear mar a bu dual do GT [ð] a bhith a' dol na stadach san Albais (m.e. Alb./Brl. *Pitmedden*, le sònraichear bho thùs à GT *meḋón* */ˈmˊẽðoːn/ (GA *meadhan*)) – an dà rud ag adhbharachadh, is dòcha, an fhuaimneachaidh *r* + deudach ann an èisteachd luchd na Gàidhlig; agus, san treas àite, is coltach gun robh am fàs aig co-dhiù cuid de na h-ainmean locha mar thoradh air co-rèiteachadh ris an fhacal Ghàidhlig *port* f. 'laimrig, àite dol air tìr; cala' (Cox 2007b, 74–79), le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (a).

Dh'fhaodadh SL *jǫrð* b., (gin.) *jarðar*, a bhith a' ciallachadh 'talamh (seach adhar); grunnd, uachdar na talmhainn; fonn, ùir; talamh, oighreachd', is bidh e a' nochdadh ann an corra fhillteach, m.e. SL *jarð-hús* 'seòmar no trannsa fo-thalamh', *jarð-stofa* 'seòmar fo-thalamh, seilear', *jarð-búi* 'cuideigin a' fuireach fo thalamh'.

Thathas air taigh-fo-thalamh a lorg ann an *Eòrrabidh* (C. S. Barrowman 2015, 38, 56, 134: air *Druim a' Sgèir* [*sic*] NB515651), agus co-dhiù trì eile san àrainn, m.e. air *Càrnan a' Ghròdhair* NB511639 (ann an *Tàbost* #315, 1.18 clm (0.73 mìle) deas 's an iar-dheas air meadhan a' bhaile *Eòrradal*), agus faodaidh e bhith gur h-e SL **Jarð-býr* cl. '(an) taigh-fo-thalamh' a tha air cùl an ainme *Eòrrabidh* (ibid., 222–27).

Mas fìor sin, is coltach gun deach SL **Jarð-býr* cl. (no is dòcha SL **Jarðarbýr*, le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir) na GT *[ˈᵉɑɾðəˌbʲiˑ] > *[ˈjɔɾðəˌbʲiˑ] > *[ˈjɔːɾðəˌbʲiˑ] > GA [ˈjɔːɾəˌ̥bi] agus gun deach GA *Eòrrabidh* air iasad às an t-Seann Lochlannais ro

411. Coim. GA *fèairrde* (*feàirrde*) < GT *ferrde*.

412. .i. *l*, *n* no *r* + connragan àraidh (airson eisimpleirean, faic Cox 2017, 16–18).

413. GA **urrdh*, facal-iasaid à SL *urð* b. Ged nach mair eisimpleirean den fhacal-iasaid Lochlannais seo san uimhir shingilte, lorgar e san iolra san ainm-àite GA *Na h-Urrdhannan* [nə ˈhuɾ̃ɯɣən̪ən] NB233454, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295)/*Daile Beag* (#167); coim. (1843–82) *Urrannan Béaga* NB357444 (coim. (nMO) [nə ˈhɯʀɔ̀nən] ann am *Barbhas* #47). Gheibhear am facal cuideachd leis an iar-leasachan *-ag*: GA *An Urrdhag* [ə ˈn̪uɾ̃ɯɣaɡ̊] NB197439 (1843–82 *Urabhag*, MacKenzie 1932, 310 *Urradhag*, MacIver 1934, 6 idem, 1974 *Uravag*), anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, .i. 'àite nan ulbhagan', a tha a-nise na ainm cnuic; coim (1843–82) *Urraghag* NB185440 agus *Loch Urraghag* NB321478.

beginning of the 13th century but later, perhaps, than the name *Garrabost* #189.[414]

#183 *Eòrradal* NIS (Eng. *Eorodale*)
[ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əɬ̪], (gen.) [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əl]; NB540628. 1718 *Norntaill* [*sic*]; 1821 *Dun Eoradale*; 1822 *Eorodale*; 1843–82 =; 1846 *Dun Eorodale*; 2007 *Eorodal*‖*Eorodale*; road sign *Eora·dal.*

Oftedal 1954, 389: '**Eorodale** [jɔːrədəʟ],[415] see ScG *Eòrrabidh* #182.'

The name of a township in the north of Nis. Oftedal is of the opinion that the same specific occurs here as in *Eòrrabidh* #182 but, leaving aside the woman's name ON *Jórunn* and running with ON *jǫrð* f. 'earth' etc. as suggested above, it may be that ON *jǫrð* has a different application here.[416]

It may be that ON **Jǫrðudal* acc.[417] 'the valley of **Jarða*' (with genitive of a stream name (based on *jǫrð*) with the sense of '(the) underground-river') and ScG *Slugaid Eòrradail* 'the gorge of *Eòrradal*' (the Gaelic name for the stream) denote the same feature, viz the stream that runs through a deep gully, at times underground.[418]

#184 *An Fheòirlig* TSR
[ə ˈn̪ɔːɾʲlʲiɠʲ], (gen.) *Na Feòirlig* [nə ˈfjɔːɾʲlʲiɠʲ]; NB192424.

The name of an area in *Borghaston* #69, in An Taobh Siar. A Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *feòirlig* f. 'quarter of a penny, farthing'.

ScG *feòirlig* is a variant of ScG *feòirling*, cf. ScG (Lewis) *farsaig* 'wide', for *farsaing*, and *tarsaig* 'across', for *tarsaing* (< *tarsainn*).[419]

414. In addition to solutions with ON *Jórunn* and ON *eyrr*, Evemalm (1917, 13–16) proposes ON **Jóreksbý*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Jórekr* (without explaining the loss of *s*) and ON **Efrabý* '(the) upper village', with the oblique form of the comparative adjective ON *efri* 'upper' (without explaining the development ON *efr-* > ScG [ˈjɔːɾ]-).

415. Leg. [jɔːɾədəʟ], cf. (nMO) [ǰɔːɾəd̪əɬ̪]; Oftedal must have intended [ɾ] (i.e. [ɾ]) here as he mentions the name under *Eòrrabidh* #182.

416. *Eòrradal* is about 3.07 km (1.9 miles) from the centre of *Eòrrabidh*.

417. With accusative of ON *dalr* m. 'valley' (#166).

418. The name *Jordal* is found in several places in Norway, whose first element is derived mostly from a river name in initial **hjó* 'shining' and in one instance from a river name based on ON *hjǫrð* b. 'herd, stock'; but contrast ScG *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌɕʂtaj] < CSc. **Hjart-ǿy* '(the) deer-island' #121.

419. Also ScG *feòirlinn*. For the various Gaelic endings here, cf. ScG *bòrlaig ~ bòrlainn* in Perthshire (also (Dwelly) *bòrlum* 'strip of arable land') (< Scots *bordland* '?land providing supplies for the lord's table', *DSL*); King 2019, 280, 302–03, 306, 317, 321; MacKenzie 1931, 203, 214–15.

thoiseach na 13s linne ach, is dòcha, na b' anmoiche na an t-ainm *Garrabost* #189.[414]

#183 *Eòrradal* NIS
[ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əɬ̪], (gin.) [ˈjɔːɾəˌd̥əl]; NB540628. 1718 *Norntaill* [*sic*]; 1821 *Dun Eoradale*; 1822 *Eorodale*; 1843–82 =; 1846 *Dun Eorodale*; 2007 *Eorodal*‖*Eorodale*; soighne rathaid *Eoradal.*

Oftedal 1954, 389: **Eorodale** [jɔːrədəʟ],[415] faic GA *Eòrrabidh* #182.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ceann a tuath Nis. Tha Oftedal den bheachd gur h-e an t-aon sònraichear a bhios an seo 's a gheibhear ann an *Eòrrabidh* #182 ach, a' fàgail an ainm boireannaich SL *Jórunn* an dàrna taobh is a' ruith leis an eileamaid SL *jǫrð* b. 'talamh' ↄc mar a chaidh a mholadh shuas, is dòcha gu bheil cleachdadh eile aig *jǫrð* an seo.[416]

Faodaidh e bhith gun riochdaich an dà chuid SL **Jǫrðudal* cusp.[417] 'gleann **Jarða*' (le cruth ginideach ainme srutha (stèidhichte air *jǫrð*) aig a bheil a' bhrìgh '(an) fho-thalamh-abhainn') agus GA *Slugaid Eòrradail* (ainm Gàidhlig an t-srutha) an t-aon fheart, .i. an sruth a bhios na ruith tro shlugaid dhomhainn, air uairean fo thalamh.[418]

#184 *An Fheòirlig* TSR
[ə ˈn̪ɔːɾʲlʲiɠʲ], (gin.) *Na Feòirlig* [nə ˈfjɔːɾʲlʲiɠʲ]; NB192424.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann am *Borghaston* #69, air An Taobh Siar. Ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + GA *feòirlig* b. 'cairteal na sgillinne, fàirdean'.

Tha GA *feòirlig* na eugsamhail air GA *feòirling*, coim. GA (Leòdhas) *farsaig*, airson *farsaing*, agus *tarsaig*, airson *tarsaing* (< *tarsainn*).[419]

414. A thuilleadh air fuasglaidhean le SL *Jórunn* agus SL *eyrr*, cuiridh Evemalm (1917, 13–16) air adhart SL **Jóreksbý*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Jórekr* (gun a bhith a' mìneachadh call na *s*) agus SL **Efrabý* '(am) baile uarach', le cruth claon a' bhuadhair choimeasaich SL *efri* 'uarach' (gun a bhith a' mìneachadh an leasachaidh SL *efr-* > GA [ˈjɔːɾ]-).

415. Leugh [jɔːɾədəʟ], coim. (nMO) [ǰɔːɾəd̪əɬ̪]; feumaidh e a bhith gur h-e [ɾ] (.i. [ɾ]) a bha fo rùn do dh'Oftedal agus e a' toirt iomradh air an ainm fo *Eòrrabidh* #182.

416. Tha *Eòrradal* mu 3.07 clm (1.9 mìle) bho mheadhan *Eòrrabidh*.

417. Leis an tuiseal chuspaireach aig SL *dalr* f. 'gleann' (#166).

418. Lorgar an t-ainm *Jordal* ann an corra àite ann an Nirribhidh, a thèid a chiad eileamaid a thàrmachadh sa mhòr-chuid ann an ainm aibhne ann an **hjó* toisich 'deàrrsadh' agus ann an aon àite ann an ainm aibhne stèidhichte air SL *hjǫrð* b. 'sprèidh, stoc'; ach iomsgar GA *Ceartaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑˌɕʂtaj] < LB **Hjart-ǿy* '(am) fiadh-eilean' #121.

419. GA *feòirlinn* mar an ceudna. A thaobh nan caochladh dhùnaidhean Gàidhlig a tha seo, coim. GA *bòrlaig ~ bòrlainn* ann an Siorrachd Pheairt (cuideachd (Dwelly) *bòrlum* 'sreath de thalamh àitich') (< Alb. *bordland* '?talamh a sholaras tacar do bhòrd an tighearna', *DSL*); King 2019, 280, 302–03, 306, 317, 321; MacKenzie 1931, 203, 214–15.

Henderson (1910, 133) derives ScG *feòirling* from ON *fjórðung*, accusative of ON *fjórðungr* m. 'fourth part'. He makes a comparison with the development he sees in ScG *birlinn* f. 'galley (ship)' < ON *byrðing*, accusative of ON *byrðingr* m. 'merchant ship'.[420] MacLennan (1925, s.v. *birlinn*) agrees, but Marstrander (1915, 21–22) relates ScG *birling* (i.e. Henderson's *birlinn*) and Ir. *birrling* with Norw. dial. *berling* 'short pole or beam under the hatch of a ship'; cf. ON *berlingsáss* 'beam, pole' (*NO*). However, from the late 13th century in Norway ON *rð* became either *r* or a 'thick *l*', i.e. a slightly retroflex flapped *r*, which coincided with an allophone of *l*; as a result, *rð* and *l* are confused during the 14th century (Haugen 1976, 274–78; Indrebø 1951, 133; Cox 2007b, 66–67). ON *rð* became 'thick *l*' in Old East Scandinavian areas, which included Tronheim (Nidaros[421]). It may be, then, that ON *byrðingr* was introduced to Scotland by craftsmen whose speech contained the 'thick *l*' sound.

According to this development, ON *fjórðung* would yield ScG *[ˈfjɔːl̪əŋg̊] > *[ˈfjɔːl̪əg̊], rather than [ˈfjɔːl̪i̯g̊ʲ]. Perhaps as a result of this, MacBain (1911, s.v.) derives ScG *feòirling* from OEng. *fēorþling*, a by-form of *fēorþing* (Wright 1975, 317). In the same way that it is likely that ScG *peighinn* 'penny' originates in OEng. *penning* rather than ON *pen*(*n*)*ing* acc. (#269), then, it is likely that ScG *feòirling* originates in OEng. *fēorþling* rather than ON *fjórðung*.[422]

ScG *fàirdean* (*fàrdan*) is from Scots *farding* (*fardin* etc.), a variant of Eng. *farthing*, < MEng. *ferthing*, < OEng. *fēorþing*, *fēorþung*, which might be an adoption of ON *fjórðungr* (*DSL*, s.v. *farding*; *OED*, s.v. *farthing*).

#185 ***Fibhig*** CLA (Eng. *Fevig*)
[ˈfiːˌvi̯g̊ʲ], (gen.) *Fhìbhig* [ˈiːˌvi̯g̊ʲ]; NB268485. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Vivig*; 1821, 1822 *Vivich*; 1832 *Vivig*; 1843–82 *Fibhig*, *Mol Fhìbhig*, *Sgeir Mol Fhìbhig*, *Lodan Fhìbhig*; 1846 *Fivich*; 1846JW *Vivig*; 1869 *Vivich*; 1895 *Fibhig*; 1974 *Fivig*; 2007 *Fibhig*‖*Fevig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Fivig** [?][423] cannot be explained satisfactorily until the pronunciation has been ascertained.'

The name of a bay and of a small settlement above it in *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, in Sgìre a' Chladaich.

420. There are references in the sagas to these merchant vessels being converted into warships (Brøgger and Shetelig 1971, 178).

421. The Diocese of the Isles or *Suðreyjar* ('(the) southern isles', i.e. the Hebrides and Man) became part of the Archdiocese of Nidaros (ON *Niðaróss*) in 1154 (Anderson 1922 II, 228), until 1380 (Macdonald 1978, 108).

422. Although Cox (2002a, 281) considers a form ON **fjórðlingr* m. (with the suffix *-ilinga* (Iversen 1973, 161) – cf. OEng. *fēorþling*), it is unattested.

423. (nMO) [fiːvig′].

Bheir Henderson (1910, 133) GA *feòirling* à SL *fjórðung*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *fjórðungr* f. 'ceathramh cuid'. Nì e coimeas ris an fhàs a chì e ann an GA *birlinn* b. 'long-fhada' < SL *byrðing*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *byrðingr* f. 'bàta marsantach'.[420] Aontaichidh MacLennan (1925, s.v. *birlinn*), ach cuiridh Marstrander (1915, 21–22) GA *birling* (.i. *birlinn* Henderson) agus GE *birrling* an dàimh ri Nirr. dhual. *berling* 'pòla goirid no cabar fo chòmhla-deic air bòrd luinge'; coim. SL *berlingsáss* 'cabar, pòla' (*NO*). Ach, bho gu h-anmoch san 13mh linn ann an Nirrbhidh thòisich SL *rð* air a dhol aon chuid na *r* no na '*l* thiugh', .i. *r* ghnogach a bha caran cùl-lùbach, a' co-fhreagradh ri eil-fhuinneam aig *l*; a chionn seo, thèid *rð* agus *l* a chothlamadh san 14mh linn (Haugen 1976, 274–78; Indrebø 1951, 133; Cox 2007b, 66–67). Chaidh *rð* na '*l* thiugh' ann an ceàrnaidhean Sheann Lochlannais an Ear, a ghabhas a-steach Trondheim (Nidaros[421]). Is dòcha, a-rèist, gun tugadh SL *byrðingr* a dh'Albainn le luchd-ciùird aig an robh '*l* thiugh' nan cainnt.

A rèir an leasachaidh seo, bheireadh SL *fjórðung* GA *[ˈfjɔːl̪əŋg̊] > *[ˈfjɔːl̪əg̊], seach [ˈfjɔːl̪i̯g̊ʲ]. Is dòcha gur h-ann mar thoradh air seo a bheir MacBain (1911, s.v.) GA *feòirling* à SBrl. *fēorþling*, frith-riochd aig *fēorþing* (Wright 1975, 317). Air an aon dòigh 's gur coltach gun tàrmaich GA *peighinn* ann an SBrl. *penning* seach SL *pen*(*n*)*ing* cusp. (#269), a-rèist, is coltach gun tàrmaich GA *feòirling* à SBrl. *fēorþling* seach SL *fjórðung*.[422]

'S ann a tha GA *fàirdean* (*fàrdan*) à Alb. *farding* (*fardin* ↄc), eugsamhail air Brl. *farthing*, < MBrl. *ferthing*, < SBrl. *fēorþing*, *fēorþung*, a dh'fhaodadh a bhith na uchd-mhacachadh de SL *fjórðungr* (*DSL*, s.v. *farding*; *OED*, s.v. *farthing*).

#185 ***Fìbhig*** CLA
[ˈfiːˌvi̯g̊ʲ], (gin.) *Fhìbhig* [ˈiːˌvi̯g̊ʲ]; NB268485. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Vivig*; 1821, 1822 *Vivich*; 1832 *Vivig*; 1843–82 *Fìbhig*, *Mol Fhìbhig*, *Sgeir Mol Fhìbhig*, *Lodan Fhìbhig*; 1846 *Fivich*; 1846JW *Vivig*; 1869 *Vivich*; 1895 *Fibhig*; 1974 *Fivig*; 2007 *Fibhig*‖*Fevig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: Cha ghabh **Fivig** [?][423] mìneachadh gu dòigheil gus am faighear am fuaimneachadh.

An t-ainm air bàgh agus air tuineachadh beag bhos a chionn ann am *Bradhagair a Deas* #74, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich.

420. Tha iomraidhean sna sàgannan air a bhith a' dèanamh longan cogaidh de na soithichean marsanta seo (Brøgger agus Shetelig 1971, 178).

421. Chaidh Easbaigeachd nan Eilean no *Suðreyjar* ('(na h-)eileanan a deas', .i. Innse Gall is Manainn) na cuibhreann de dh'Àrd-easbaigeachd Nidarois (SL *Niðaróss*) ann an 1154 (Anderson 1922 II, 228), gu 1380 (Macdonald 1978, 108).

422. Ged a bheachdaicheas Cox (2002a, 281) air a' chruth **fjórðlingr* f. (leis an iar-leasachan *-ilinga* (Iversen 1973, 161) – coim. SBrl. *fēorþling*), tha e gun teist.

423. (nMO) [fiːvig′].

A Gaelic name borrowed either from ON **Við-vík* '(the) wood-bay', with the stem form of the noun ON *viðr* m. 'wood, timber (i.e. driftwood)' and ON *vík* f. 'small bay', with compensatory lengthening of the stressed vowel in Gaelic after loss of the fricative *ð* (cf. ScG *Geodha a' Mhaide* 'the cove of the (drift)wood'[424]), or from ON **Víð-vík* '(the) broad-bay', with the stem form of the adjective ON *víðr* 'wide, broad' (cf. ScG *A' Gheodha Leatha*(*i*)*nn* 'the broad cove'[425]). In either case, the initial voiced fricative has been devoiced; cf. ON *vaðil* acc. m. > ScG *fadhail* f. (#172).

Cf. ScG *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɠʲ] at NB198451, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, and NB005311, in *Mangarstadh* #245. Further, note *Fìbhig* (nMO) [fiːviɠʼ] and *Bodha Fhìbhig* [ˌbo· ˈiːviɠʼ][426] 'the reef of—' NB033356, in *Crabhlastadh* #151. In addition to ON **Við-vík* '(the) wood-bay', for *Fìbhig* in *Bradhagair a Deas* and in *Crabhlastadh* Oftedal considers ON **Fífuvík* '(the) bay of the bog cotton' and ON **Víð-vík* '(the) broad-bay', adding that the description 'broad' is not particularly suitable for this location. ON *fífa* f. 'bog cotton' is probably an unlikely specific for the name of a bay; breadth, however, in general depends on the relative size of the feature a name denotes, and, if the 1843–82 map form in *Crabhlastadh* ((*Camus*) *Fithabhig*) is authoritative – i.e. that it represents ScG *[ˈfi-əˌviɠʲ] (though the name has since undergone syncope) – the name might derive from ON **Víðuvík* '(the) broad bay', with the weak feminine form of the adjective.

#186 ***Fileascleitir*** NIS

[ˈfilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ], (gen.) *Fhileascleitir* [ˈilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ]; NB555574. 1821, 1822 *Fielisklett·er*, *Dun Villisklet*; 1843–82 *Bilascleitear*, *Dùn Bhilascleitir*; 1846 *Dun Villisklet*.

The name of an area of moorland in Nis, where *Lìonal* #237 sheilings once stood, and containing an old fort (ScG *dùn*) and ruins near high cliffs above the sea.[427]

A Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, no doubt with a generic from ON *klettr* m. in the sense 'cliff', here in its plural form ON *klettar*, cf. ScG *Cleitir* #130.

According to the 1843–82 map, the name has initial *b* [ˌb] /b/, lenited to *bh* [v] /v/ in the genitive case, although initial *f* [f] /f/ is heard and written to-

424. E.g. NB186440, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202, and NB181402, in *An Dùn* #170.

425. E.g. NB179398, in *An Dùn* #170, and NB180422, in *Borghaston* #69.

426. For ScG *bodha* 'submerged rock', see #89.

427. Around 1905, the Rev. Iain MacNeacail (John Nicolson), from Nis, recently returned from America, built a house and church above the cliffs. They are called *Taigh 'An Fhiosaich* and *Eaglais 'An Fhiosaich* 'the house and church of Iain the Seer (prophet)' (Lawson 2008, 6–11; Macdonald 2013, 36; Macsween, n.d.) (*ECC*, 117 and 114, gives *Taigh 'An Fiosaich* and *Eaglais 'An Fiosaich*).

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad aon chuid à SL **Við-vík* '(am) fiodh-bhàgh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *viðr* f. 'fiodh, maide (.i. fiodh cladaich)' agus SL *vík* b. 'bàgh beag', le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh san fhuaimreig bheumte sa Ghàidhlig an dèidh call an t-suathaich *ð* (coim. GA *Geodha a' Mhaide*[424]), air neo à SL **Víð-vík* '(an) leathann-bhàgh', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *víðr* 'leathann' (coim. GA *A' Gheodha Leatha*(*i*)*nn*[425]). Ge be cò dhiubh, tha an suathach guthach toisich air a dhì-ghuthachadh; coim. SL *vaðil* cusp. f. > GA *fadhail* b. (#172).

Coim. GA *Fìbhig* [ˈfiːˌviɠʲ] aig NB198451, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, agus NB005311, ann am *Mangarstadh* #245. A thuilleadh, mothaich *Fìbhig* (nMO) [fiːviɠʼ] agus *Bodha Fhìbhig* [ˌbo· ˈiːviɠʼ][426] NB033356, ann an *Crabhlastadh* #151. A thuilleadh air SL **Við-vík* '(am) fiodh-bhàgh', airson *Fìbhig* ann am *Bradhagair a Deas* agus ann an *Crabhlastadh* beachdaichidh Oftedal air SL **Fífuvík* 'bàgh a' chanaich' agus SL **Víð-vík* '(an) leathann-bhàgh', a' cur ris nach eil an tuairisgeul 'leathann' ro iomchaidh san àite seo. Is iongantach mana h-eil bunachas à SL *fífa* b. 'canach' ao-coltach ann an sònraichear air bàgh; bidh leud, ge-tà, an urra san fharsaingeachd ri meud coimeasach an fheirt ris am bean ainm agus, mas ùghdarrasail cruth a' mhapa 1843–82 ann an *Crabhlastadh* ((*Camus*) *Fithabhig*) – .i. gun riochdaich e GA *[ˈfi-əˌviɠʲ] (ged a chaidh an t-ainm a theasgadh bhon uair sin) – dh'fhaodadh an t-ainm tàrmachadh ann an SL **Víðuvík* '(am) bàgh leathann', le cruth lag boireann a' bhuadhair.

#186 ***Fileascleitir*** NIS

[ˈfilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ], (gin.) ?*Fhileascleitir* ?[ˈilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ]; NB555574. 1821, 1822 *Fielis·kletter*, *Dun Villisklet*; 1843–82 *Bilascleitear*, *Dùn Bhilascleitir*; 1846 *Dun Villisklet*.

An t-ainm air earrainn mòintich ann an Nis, air am biodh àirighean muinntir *Lìonail* #237 uair, agus far a bheil seann dùn is làraichean faisg air creagan àrda bhos cionn na mara.[427]

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, gun teagamh le seòrsaichear à SL *klettr* f. sa bhrìgh 'bearradh, creag chas', an seo san iolra SL *klettar*, coim. GA *Cleitir* #130.

A rèir a' mhapa 1843–82, 's e *b* [ˌb] /b/ thoisich a th' aig an ainm, air a sèimheachadh gu *bh* [v] /v/ san tuiseal ghinideach, ged as i *f* [f] /f/ thoisich a chluinnear

424. M.e. NB186440, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202, agus NB181402, air *An Dùn* #170.

425. M.e. NB179398, air *An Dùn* #170, agus NB180422, ann am *Borghaston* #69.

426. Airson GA *bodha*, faic #89.

427. Mu 1905, thog an t-Urr. Iain MacNeacail, à Nis, a bha air ùr-thilleadh à Ameireagaidh a Tuath, taigh agus eaglais bhos cionn nan creagan. Canar *Taigh 'An Fhiosaich* agus *Eaglais 'An Fhiosaich* riutha, .i. 'an taigh agus an eaglais aig Iain Fiosaiche (.i. fàidh)' (Lawson 2008, 6–11; Macdonald 2013, 36; Macsween, gun bhliadhna) (Bheir *ECC*, 117 agus 114, *Taigh 'An Fiosaich* agus *Eaglais 'An Fiosaich*).

day. If the current pronunciation is authoritative, the map's *Dùn Bhilascleitir* might be taken as the result of voicing after the nasal: ScG **Dùn Fileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈfilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ] > **Dùn Bhileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈvilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ], and the map's *Bilascleitear* as the result of back-formation and delenition of the initial of the loan-name in radical position. ON **Fylsklettar* '(the) cliffs of the colt', with genitive singular of the noun ON *fyl* nt. 'colt, foal', with an epenthetic vowel, would be suitable from the point of the view of the historical phonology.

Similar confusion occurs in ScG *Cnoc Bhileabhair* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈvilə ˌvəɾʲ][428] NB228323, in *Callanis* #94,[429] written (1843–82) *Cnoc Fillibhir Mhor*, (1932, 310) *Filabhir*, (1934, 9) *Vilifir*.[430] Also in ScG *Àird Bhianis* [ˌɑˑd̥ˈvĩə̃ ˌniʃ] 'the headland of **Bhianis*' NB227465, in *Daile Beag* (#167), perhaps for **Àird Fianis*, with a loan-name from ON **Fé-nes* (cf. #281, fn 649).

#187 *Na Fleisearan* RBH (Eng. *Flesherin*)
[nə ˈfleʃərən], (gen.) *Nam Fleisearan* [nə ˈfleʃərən]; NB550364. 1964 *Flesherin*; 1983, 27 *Na Fleisearan*; 2007, road sign *Na Fleisirin*‖*Flesherin*.

The name of part of the township *Port nan Giùran* #274, in An Rubha.

Taylor (2011, s.v. *Flesherin*) gives '*Na Fleisirean* "the flat skerries", from Norse, with a Gaelic plural', perhaps after MacIver (≈1934, 85): '*Flesherin*, or locally, *The Flesherin*: ON **Flysjasker* with a Scottish Gaelic ending, a long line of shelving rocks which people split with wedges for lintels.' The form **Flysjasker* is unlikely to yield ScG [nə ˈfleʃərən].

The name is probably from Scots **The Fleschars* 'the fleshers, the butchers', with the area once used as an abattoir; cf. ScG *Na Sùdraichean* (Eng. *The Souters*) NH807672, in Cromarty, i.e. 'the place where tanners would work' (Watson 1904, 126).

#188 *Gabhsann* NIS (Eng. *Galson*)
[ˈg̊auʂə̃n̪], (gen.) *Ghabhsainn* [ˈɣauʂiɲ̪]; NB4458. 1654 *Gaeſt*, *Gaeſt illé* (§15); 1718, 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Galson*; 1801 *Galston*; 1804, 1807, 1846 *Galson*; 1843–82 *Gàbhsunn*, *Gearraidh Mòr Ghabhsuinn*, *Galson Farm House*; 1934, 72–73 *Gausonn*‖*Galson*, *Toa Ghausinn*; road sign *Gabhsann*.

428. Alias *Cnoc Bhileabhair Mhòr* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˌvilə ˌvəɾʲ ˈvoːɾ] 'the greater *Cnoc Bhileabhair*'.

429. Cf. *Cnoc Bhileabhair* NB1937, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331): [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˌvilə ˌvəɾʲ] and [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈilə ˌvəɾʲ] (Cox 2002a, 222).

430. With a loan-name from ON **Fyljavarða* '(the) cairn of the colts', with genitive plural of the noun ON *fyl* and ON *varða* f. 'cairn', or ON **Fyluvarða*, with genitive singular of the noun ON *fyla* f. 'filly'. A solution from ON **Vilavarða* '(the) pleasant cairn', with genitive of the noun ON *vili* m. 'desire, wish, pleasure' (Cox 1987 II, 78), seems unlikely.

is a sgrìobhar an-diugh. Mas ùghdarrasail fuaimneachadh an latha an-diugh, dh'fhaodte *Dùn Bhilascleitir* a' mhapa a thuigsinn mar thoradh air guthachadh an dèidh an t-srònaich: GA **Dùn Fileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈfilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ] > **Dùn Bhileascleitir* *[ˌd̥ʊ̃ˑn ˈvilə ˌʂkleʰtʲəɾʲ], agus *Bilascleitear* a' mhapa mar thoradh air cùl-chinntinn agus toiseach an ainm-iasaid air a dhì-shèimheachadh ann an suidheachadh bunasach. Bhiodh SL **Fylsklettar* 'bearraidhean no creagan an t-searraich', le cruth ginideach an ainmeir SL *fyl* n. 'searrach', freagarrach a thaobh an fhuinn-eòlais eachdraidheil.

Tachraidh an aon bhreisleach ann an GA *Cnoc Bhileabhair* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈvilə ˌvəɾʲ][428] NB228323, ann an *Callanis* #94,[429] air a sgrìobhadh (1843–82) *Cnoc Fillibhir Mhor*, (1932, 310) *Filabhir*, (1934, 9) *Vilifir*.[430] Cuideachd ann an GA *Àird Bhianis* [ˌɑˑd̥ˈvĩə̃ ˌniʃ] NB227465, ann an *Daile Beag* (#167), is dòcha airson **Àird Fianis*, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Fé-nes* (#281, bn 649).

#187 *Na Fleisearan* RBH
[nə ˈfleʃərən], (gin.) *Nam Fleisearan* [nə ˈfleʃərən]; NB550364. 1964 *Flesherin*; 1983, 27 *Na Fleisearan*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Na Fleisirin*‖*Flesherin*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Port nan Giùran* #274, anns An Rubha.

Bheir Taylor (2011, s.v. *Flesherin*) '*Na Fleisirean* "the flat skerries", from Norse, with a Gaelic plural', is dòcha an dèidh MhacIver (≈1934, 85): '*Flesherin*, or locally, *The Flesherin*: ON **Flysjasker* with a Scottish Gaelic ending, a long line of shelving rocks which people split with wedges for lintels.' Cha choltach gun toireadh an cruth **Flysjasker* GA [nə ˈfleʃərən].

Is iongantach mana h-ann à Alb. **The Fleschars* 'na feòladairean, na bùidsearan' a thig an t-ainm, agus an t-àite ga chleachdadh uair mar thaigh-spadaidh; coim. GA *Na Sùdraichean* (Brl. *The Souters*) NH807672, ann an Cromba, .i. 'an t-àite am biodh sùdraichean no cairtearan ag obair' (Watson 1904, 126).

#188 *Gabhsann* NIS
[ˈg̊auʂə̃n̪], (gin.) *Ghabhsainn* [ˈɣauʂiɲ̪]; NB4458. 1654 *Gaeſt*, *Gaeſt illé* (§15); 1718, 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Galson*; 1801 *Galston*; 1804, 1807, 1846 *Galson*; 1843–82 *Gàbhsunn*, *Gearraidh Mòr Ghabhsuinn*, *Galson Farm House*; 1934, 72–73 *Gausonn*‖*Galson*, *Toa Ghausinn*; soighne rathaid *Gabhsann*.

428. No *Cnoc Bhileabhair Mhòr* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˌvilə ˌvəɾʲ ˈvoːɾ].

429. Coim. *Cnoc Bhileabhair* NB1937, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331): [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˌvilə ˌvəɾʲ] agus [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈilə ˌvəɾʲ] (Cox 2002a, 222).

430. Le ainm-iasaid à SL **Fyljavarða* 'càrn nan searrach', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *fyl* agus SL *varða* b. 'càrn', no SL **Fyluvarða*, le tuiseal ginideach singilte an ainmeir SL *fyla* b. 'loth'. Chan eil fuasgladh à SL **Vilavarða* '(an) càrn taitneach', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *vili* f. 'miann, taitneas' (Cox 1987 II, 78), ro choltach.

The name of two townships in Nis, distinguished from each other by the adverbial phrases ScG *fo dheas* and *fo thuath* 'southern, northern' (#166):[431]

Gabhsann fo Dheas [ˌg̊auˢ̪ə̪n̪ fɔ ˈj̊æˢ̪], (gen.) *Ghabhsainn fo Dheas* [ˌɣauˢ̪iˌn̪ fɔ ˈj̊æˢ̪]; NB435589. 1718 *South Galson*, *South Gallson*; 1726, 1797, 1821, 1822 *South Galson*; 1843–82 *Gàbhsunn O'Dheas*, *Amhuinn Ghàbhsunn O Dheas*; 2007, road sign *Gabhsann bho Dheas*‖*South Galson*.

Gabhsann fo Thuath [ˌg̊auˢ̪ə̪n̪ fɔ ˈhuə], (gen.) *Ghabhsainn fo Thuath* [ˌɣauˢ̪iˌn̪ fɔ ˈhuə]; NB443590. 1718 *North Galsin*, *North Galsone*; 1726, 1821, 1822 *North Galson*; 1843–82 *Gàbhsunn O' Thuath or North Galson*, *Amhuinn Ghàbhsunn O' Thuath*; 2007, road sign *Gabhsann bho Thuath*‖*North Galson*.

Oftedal 1954, 374–75: '**Galson**, ScG (MO) ?[gɑʟsən],[432] (CB) [gɑusəɴ]. The difference in notation may be due to the fact that Borgstrøm wrote it down in the district of Nis while my version was obtained in the Parish of Lochs. Borgstrøm's notation is probably the more correct one. The name seems to contain the element ON *galt-* "hog"; the second component may be ON *sund* nt. "a sound, a swimming, a stretch of water crossed by swimming; a crossing-place in a river". There is no sound here, but North Galson River [ScG *Abhainn Ghabhsainn fo Thuath*] must be crossed at this point by anyone travelling from Nis to *Barbhas* #47. ScG [gɑusəɴ] ([gɑʟsən]) almost certainly presupposes a dissyllabic Old Norse antecedent; a medial syllable is not likely to disappear in this instance, cf. ScG *Galtagro* [gɑʟtəgro],[433] the name of a burn, from ON **Galtargróf* "(the) stream of the hog". We may then rule out Old Norse trisyllables such as **Galta*(*r*)*sund* (from *galti* or *gǫltr*, the appellative 'hog' or a man's name or cognomen) and **Galt-ársund* (from a river name **Galt-ǫ́*, see *NE* 63; river names are frequently contained in names of river crossings, cf. *Nitsund* and *Vormsund* in Norway). ON *Galt-sund* corresponds better with the modern pronunciation. In this case, we are not in the presence of a personal or river name, as these are usually put in the genitive as first members of compounds; rather, the name contains the generic term and means simply "(the) hog-crossing-

431. These are often written *bho dheas*, *bho thuath*, as though the preposition ScG *bho*^{L}, *o*^{L} 'from' were present; cf. ScG *bho dheireadh* (leg. *fo dheireadh*) 'at last' (Cox 2017, 341, §359 (ix)).

432. (nMO) [gaʊsəˀɴ].

433. Cf. *Loch Galtagro* (nMO) [ɬɔx gaˌɬtəgro] at approx. NB3726.

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn ann an Nis, air an dealachadh ri chèile leis na h-abairtean co-ghnìomhaireach GA *fo dheas* agus *fo thuath* sa bhrìgh 'san àird a deas, san àird a tuath' (#166):[431]

Gabhsann fo Dheas [ˌg̊auˢ̪ə̪n̪ fɔ ˈj̊æˢ̪], (gin.) *Ghabhsainn fo Dheas* [ˌɣauˢ̪iˌn̪ fɔ ˈj̊æˢ̪]; NB435589. 1718 *South Galson*, *South Gallson*; 1726, 1797, 1821, 1822 *South Galson*; 1843–82 *Gàbhsunn O'Dheas*, *Amhuinn Ghàbhsunn O Dheas*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Gabhsann bho Dheas*‖*South Galson*.

Gabhsann fo Thuath [ˌg̊auˢ̪ə̪n̪ fɔ ˈhuə], (gin.) *Ghabhsainn fo Thuath* [ˌɣauˢ̪iˌn̪ fɔ ˈhuə]; NB443590. 1718 *North Galsin*, *North Galsone*; 1726, 1821, 1822 *North Galson*; 1843–82 *Gàbhsunn O' Thuath or North Galson*, *Amhuinn Ghàbhsunn O' Thuath*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Gabhsann bho Thuath*‖*North Galson*.

Oftedal 1954, 374–75: **Galson**, GA (MO) ?[gɑʟsən],[432] (CB) [gɑusəɴ]. Faodaidh an t-eadar-dhealachadh ann an tras-sgrìobhadh a bhith a chionn 's gun do sgrìobh Borgstrøm sìos e ann an Nis fhad 's a fhuaradh an dreach agam fhìn ann an Sgìre nan Loch. Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e dreach Bhorgstrøm am fear as ceirte. Is coltach gum faighear SL *galt-* 'torc' anns an ainm; is dòcha gur h-e SL *sund* n. 'caolas, caolas thairis air an tèidear air shnàmh; crasg, àite far an tèidear thairis air abhainn' a th' anns an dàrna h-eileamaid. Chan eil caolas ri lorg an seo ach feumaidh duine sam bith a shiùbhlas à Nis gu *Barbhas* #47 a dhol tarsainn air *Abhainn Ghabhsainn fo Thuath* aig an àite seo. Cha mhòr nach cinnteach gun sònraich GA [gɑusəɴ] ([gɑʟsən]) ro-theachdaire Lochlannais a bha na dhà-lide; cha choltach gun caillear lide mheadhain san t-seagh seo, coim. GA *Galtagro* [gɑʟtəgro],[433] an t-ainm air allt, à SL **Galtargróf* 'allt an tuirc'. Faodaidh sinn, a-rèist, trì-lidean Lochlannais a chur an dàrna taobh a leithid **Galta*(*r*)*sund* (à *galti* no *gǫltr*, an t-ainmear 'torc' no ainm fireannaich no far-ainm) agus **Galt-ársund* (às an ainm aibhne **Galt-ǫ́*, faic *NE* 63; gheibhear ainmean aibhne gu tric ann an ainmean air crasgan aibhne, coim. *Nitsund* agus *Vormsund* ann an Nirribhidh). Co-fhreagraidh SL **Galt-sund* nas fheàrr ri fuaimneachadh an latha an-diugh. Chan e ainm pearsanta no aibhne a th' againn san t-seagh seo, seach gun tèid iad seo a chur san tuiseal ghinideach is iad nan ciad bhuill ann am filltich; nas ceirte, is e am briathar seòrsachaidh a th' anns an ainm, dhan ciall gu sìmplidh '(an) torc-chrasg'. Is dòcha gun do dh'èirich

431. Sgrìobhar *bho dheas*, *bho thuath* gu tric, mar gur h-e an roimhear GA *bho*^{S}, *o*^{S} a bh' ann; coim. GA *bho dheireadh* (leugh *fo dheireadh*) 'mu dheireadh' (Cox 2017, 341, §359 (ix)).

432. (nMO) [gaʊsəˀɴ].

433. Coim. *Loch Galtagro* (nMO) [ɬɔx gaˌɬtəgro] mu NB3726.

place". The name may have an anecdotal origin, cf. the account of the names *Svínadalr*, *Svínavatn* and *Beigaðarhóll* in Landnámabók (Jónson 1925, Chap. 226).

'ON **Galtssund* is a further possibility. Besides *gǫltr* and *galti*, Old Norse had a less frequent form *galtr* "hog". This form must have been gaining territory at the expense of *gǫltr*, because most Modern Norwegian dialects have either *galt* or *galte*. **Galtssund*, compounded with the genitive of *galtr*, may contain either the generic term or a personal name or nickname.'

At the time of the Seaforth Rentals (1718), *Gabhsann fo Thuath* was crofted and *Gabhsann fo Dheas* a farm; *Gabhsann fo Thuath* became part of the farm in 1863, which was broken up into three townships in 1924: *Gabhsann fo Thuath*, *Gabhsann fo Dheas* and *Mealbost Bhuirgh* (#249) (Lawson 2008, 55–56). See also *Am Baile Ùr* (Eng. *New Galson*) #43.

Gabhsann is a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. MacIver (1934, 72) connects the first element of the name with ON *hals* m. 'neck', but it would be difficult to justify the initial of the modern form ScG *Gabhsann* from that.

Regarding Oftedal's suggestions, it is more straightforward to derive *Gabhsann* from ON **Galt-sund* '(the) hog-crossing', with the stem form of the noun (ON *gǫltr* m., *galti* m. or *galtr* f.). Formally, ScG *Galtagro* (above) would derive from either ON **Galt-gróf* '(the) hog-stream', with the stem form of ON *gǫltr* m., *galti* m. or *galtr* m., with an epenthetic vowel, or from ON **Galtagróf* '(the) stream of the hog', with the genitive singular of ON *galti* or the genitive plural of *gǫltr* m., *galti* m. or *galtr* m., but Oftedal prefers ON **Galtargróf*, with the genitive of ON *gǫltr*, surmising that *r* has been lost. Note that it is probable that ON *gǫltr* occurs in (1843–82 *Galtrigill*) ScG *Galtraigil* *[ˈɡɑl̪ˠtrəˌɡʲil] NG180544, in Skye, perhaps from ON **Galtargil* '(the) gully of the hog',[434] with metathesis §40 (ii).[435]

For ON *sund* nt. in the sense 'crossing', cf. *Tòpsann* #335.

#189 *Garrabost* RBH (Eng. *Garrabost*)
[ˈɡɑʀəˌbɔs̪t̪], (gen.) *Gharraboist* [ˈɣɑʀəˌbɔʃtʲ]; NB510332. 1654 *Karboft*; 1680 *Garrabost*; 1703 *Carboft*; 1718 *Garbost*; 1726 *Garribost*; 1734 *Karbost*; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Garbust*; 1821, 1843–82, 1845, 1846 *Garrabost*; 2007 *Garabost*‖*Garrabost*; road sign *Garrabost*.

434. For ScG *gil* f., see #30, fn 58.

435. In his notes, Oftedal dismisses ON **Gaflssund*, with genitive of the noun *gafl* m. 'house gable', and ON **Galfsenda*, with oblique case of the noun ON *endi* m. 'head, end', as their senses are unlikely.

an t-ainm ann an sgeulachd, coim. cunntas nan ainmean *Svínadalr*, *Svínavatn* and *Beigaðarhóll* ann an Landnámabók (Jónson 1925, Caib. 226).

Tha e na chomas cuideachd gur h-e SL **Galtssund* a bh' ann. A bharrachd air *gǫltr* agus *galti*, bha an cruth a bu ghainne *galtr* 'torc' san Lochlannais. Feumaidh e a bhith gun robh an cruth seo air a bhith a' fàs na bu chumanta air ana-cothrom *gǫltr*, a chionn 's gur h-e *galt* no *galte* a th' anns a' mhòr-chuid de dhualchainntean Nua-Nirribhis. Faodaidh e a bhith gu bheil **Galtssund*, air fhilleadh leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig *galtr*, air a dhèanamh aon chuid às an ainmear bhitheanta no ainm pearsanta no far-ainm.

Ri linn nan Seaforth Rentals (1718), bha *Gabhsann fo Thuath* na chroitean agus *Gabhsann fo Dheas* na thuathanas; chaidh *Gabhsann fo Thuath* na phàirt den tuathanas ann an 1863, a chaidh a bhriseadh na thrì bailtean fearainn ann an 1924: *Gabhsann fo Thuath*, *Gabhsann fo Dheas* agus *Mealbost Bhuirgh* (#249) (Lawson 2008, 55–56). Faic cuideachd *Am Baile Ùr* (Brl. *New Galson*) #43.

Tha *Gabhsann* na ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais. Ceanglaichidh MacIver (1934, 72) ciad eileamaid an ainme ri SL *hals* f. 'amhach', ach bhiodh e duilich toiseach an nua-chrutha GA *Gabhsann* fhìreanachadh às a sin.

A thaobh molaidhean Oftedal, 's ann a tha e nas dìriche *Gabhsann* a thàrmachadh ann an SL **Galt-sund* '(an) torc-chrasg', le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL *gǫltr* f., *galti* f. no *galtr* f.). Gu foirmeil, bhiodh GA *Galtagro* (shuas) a' tàrmachadh aon chuid à SL **Galt-gróf* '(an) torc-allt', leis a' bhun-riochd aig SL *gǫltr* f., *galti* f. no *galtr* f., le fuaimreig còmhnaidh, air neo à SL **Galtagróf* 'allt an tuirc', leis an tuiseal ghinideach shingilte aig SL *galti* no an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *gǫltr* f., *galti* f. no *galtr* f., ach 's fheàrr le Oftedal SL **Galtargróf*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *gǫltr*, an dùil gun deach an *r* air chall. Mothaich gur math dh'fhaodte gun nochd SL *gǫltr* ann an (1843–82 *Galtrigill*) GA *Galtraigil* *[ˈɡɑl̪ˠtrəˌɡʲil] NG180544, san Eilean Sgitheanach, is dòcha à SL **Galtargil* 'gil an tuirc',[434] le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii).[435]

A thaobh SL *sund* n. sa bhrìgh 'crasg', coim. *Tòpsann* #335.

#189 *Garrabost* RBH
[ˈɡɑʀəˌbɔs̪t̪], (gin.) *Gharraboist* [ˈɣɑʀəˌbɔʃtʲ]; NB510332. 1654 *Karboft*; 1680 *Garrabost*; 1703 *Carboft*; 1718 *Garbost*; 1726 *Garribost*; 1734 *Karbost*; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Garbust*; 1821, 1843–82, 1845, 1846 *Garrabost*; 2007 *Garabost*‖*Garrabost*; soighne rathaid *Garrabost*.

434. Airson GA *gil* b., faic #30, bn 58.

435. Na notaichean, cuiridh Oftedal SL **Gaflssund*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir *gafl* f. 'tulchann taighe', agus SL **Galfsenda*, le tuiseal claon an ainmeir SL *endi* f. 'ceann, deireadh' an dàrna taobh, agus am brìghean ao-coltach.

Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Garrabost** [gɑʀəbɔst][436] (pronunciation quoted from memory) is ON **Garðabólstaðr*, containing the genitive plural of *garðr* m. "fence; enclosure, farmyard; farm". The meaning of the name is either "(the) farm of the (many) fences" or "(the) farm characterised by the presence of several farmyards". *Garða* might also be taken as the genitive of the man's name *Garði* m., but this is less likely, because the name is very rare in place-names. A parallel to **Garðabólstaðr* is *Garatun* in Norway, ON **Garðatún* (*NG* XI, 471).

'The Old Norse term *garðr* is still found as a generic term in Lewis in the form ScG *gàrradh* m. [gɑːʀəɣ] "stone fence; garden"; the Old Norse river name **Gerða* has become ScG *Geardha* [gʲærɑ̀ɣə], *Abhainn Gheardha* [ɑviɴʲ ǰærɑ̀ɣə] #191 (a river north of *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332)). Here we are in the presence of three different treatments of the Old Norse cluster *rð*. This does not indicate that any of our etymologies are wrong; rather, the differentiation is due to varying conditions of stress, position etc., the details of which cannot yet be determined.'

The name of a township in An Rubha (including the areas *Garrabost Uarach* 'upper *Garrabost*' NB507335, *Garrabost Ìorach* 'lower *Garrabost*' NB515333, *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *An Ceann Shìos* #114 and *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267); a Gaelic name borrowed from ON *Garðabólstað* acc. '(the) farm of the enclosures', with genitive plural of ON *garðr* m. 'fence; enclosure, farmyard; farm' and accusative of ON *bólstaðr* m. 'farm' (#72).

From Blaeu's (1654) and van Keulen's (1734) *Kar-* forms, Gammeltoft (2001, 116–17) assumes the specific to be ON *kjarr* nt. 'brushwood, fen, marsh', but one would expect a slender consonant in Gaelic from initial ON *kj*, not a broad consonant as here. At any rate, recognising that these sources are untrustworthy and that others have *Gar-*, Gammeltoft derives the specific from ON *garðr*.

Stahl (2000, 119) records ScG *An Garrabost* [ə ˈŋg̊ɑʀapɔst] NL705999, an obsolete name in Barra, without explaining the presence of the Gaelic article[437] or unstressed [a], or why she derives the specific from ON *gerði* nt. 'field, enclosed land' (which would yield a palatalised velar [g̊ʲ]); further, as each of the examples she cites of ScG *geàrraidh* (< ON *gerði* nt. (#192); e.g. *An Geàrraidh*

436. (nMO) [gɑʀəbɔst], [gɑʀəb̥ɔst]. In Gammeltoft 2001, 116–17, (Duncan 1930) [ˈgɑrəbɔsd] is cited, but Oftedal's 1954 transcription is misrepresented as [ˈgɑrəbɔst].

437. Unless it were originally the preposition *an*[m] 'in' here.

Oftedal 1954, 396: 'S e SL **Garðabólstaðr* a th' ann an **Garrabost** [gɑʀəbɔst][436] (am fuaimneachadh bho chuimhne), sa bheil an riochd ginideach iolra aig *garðr* f. 'gàrradh (feansa); lios, iodhlann; tuathanas'. 'S e 'tuathanas nan iomadh gàrradh' no 'tuathanas sa bheil corra iodhlann' as ciall dhan ainm. Dh'fhaodte gabhail ris gur h-e an riochd ginideach singilte aig an ainm fireannaich *Garði* f. a th' ann an *Garða*, ach chan eil seo cho coltach agus an t-ainm glè ainneamh ann an ainmean-àite. Na sheise do **Garðabólstaðr* tha *Garatun* ann an Nirribhidh, SL **Garðatún* (*NG* XI, 471).

Gheibhear am briathar Lochlannais *garðr* fhathast na bhriathar seòrsachaidh ann an Leòdhas sa chruth GA *gàrradh* f. [gɑːʀəɣ] 'feansa cloiche; leas'; tha an t-ainm aibhne Lochlannais **Gerða* air a dhol na GA *Geardha* [gʲærɑ̀ɣə], *Abhainn Gheardha* [ɑviɴʲ ǰærɑ̀ɣə] #191 (abhainn tuath air *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332)). An seo, tha sin an làthair thrì làimhseachaidhean eadar-dhealaichte den chòmhlan Lochlannais *rð*. Cha chan seo gu bheil gin de na freumhachdan againn ceàrr; a chaochladh, tha an t-eadar-dhealachadh mar thoradh air caochladh chor beuma, suidheachaidh ʒc, nach gabh am mion-fhiosrachadh sònrachadh fhathast.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha (leis na ceàrnaidhean *Garrabost Uarach* NB507335, *Garrabost Ìorach* NB515333, *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86, *An Ceann Shìos* #114 agus *Pàirc Gharraboist* #267); ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. 'tuathanas nan leas', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *garðr* f. 'gàrradh; leas (lios); tuathanas' agus an cruth cuspaireach aig SL *bólstaðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#72).

Bho na cruthan *Kar-* aig Blaeu (1654) agus van Keulen (1734), tha Gammeltoft (2001, 116–17) an dùil gur h-e SL *kjarr* n. 'preasarnach, boglach, fèith' a th' anns an t-sònraichear, ach bhite sùileachadh connrag chaol sa Ghàidhlig à SL *kj* thoisich, seach connrag leathann mar a tha an seo. Co-dhiù, ag aithneachadh nach eil na tobraichean ud earbsach agus gur h-e *Gar-* a th' aig càch, bheir Gammeltoft an sònraichear à SL *garðr*.

Clàraichidh Stahl (2000, 119) GA *An Garrabost* [ə ˈŋg̊ɑʀapɔst] NL705999, ainm nach maireann am Barraigh, gun a bhith a' mìneachadh an uilt Ghàidhlig[437] no [a] neo-bheumte, no carson as ann à SL *gerði* n. 'achadh, talamh cuairtichte' a bhios i a' toirt an t-sònraicheir (a bheireadh sgannach càireanaichte [g̊ʲ]); a thuilleadh, seach gur h-i toiseach neo-chàireanaichte a th' aig toiseach gach eisimpleir a th' aice de dh'ainmean ann an GA *geàrraidh* (< SL *gerði* n. #192; m.e. *An Geàrraidh*

436. (nMO) [gɑʀəbɔst], [gɑʀəb̥ɔst]. Ann an Gammeltoft 2001, 116–17, tha iomradh air (Duncan 1930) [ˈgɑrəbɔsd̥], ach thèid tras-sgrìobhadh 1954 Oftedal a mhì-riochdachadh mar [ˈgɑrəbɔst].

437. Mana b' e an roimhear *an*[m] a bh' ann bho thùs an seo.

Àrd [əˌŋg̊ɑʀi ɑːg̊d]) contains a non-palatalised initial, the question of the etymology of the form *An Garrabost* remains in considerable doubt.[438]

As regards the generic ON *garðr*, several Gaelic reflexes are found of ON *rð* in stressed syllables (#182): in this instance, ON **Garðabólstað* yields EG **Garða·bóst* > ScG *Garrabost,* with assimilation of *ð* to *r* and shortening of the half-stressed vowel in the final syllable.

Cf. *Garrabost* #190. For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#190 *Garrabost* ÙIG
*[ˈg̊ɑʀəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) *Gharraboist* *[ˈɣɑʀəˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB098383. 1843–82 *Cnoc Chàrra·boist*, *Mol Chàrraboist*; 1895–1896 *Knock Garrabost*.

The name of a deserted settlement on *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, in Ùig, although only a village dyke can be seen today.[439] A Gaelic name whose proper form is uncertain; Macaulay (1972, 335) writes *Garrabost* and, assuming his spelling indicates how the name was pronounced, it seems to be identical with *Garrabost* #189 in An Rubha.

#191 *Geardha Bheag* BAC
[ˌg̊ʲaɾ̂əɣə ˈveg̊], (gen.) *Gheardha Bheag* [ˌjaɾ̂əɣə ˈveg̊]; NB533500. 1843–82 *Geireadha Bheag*,[440] *Totaichean Gheireadha Mhor*, *Amhuinn Gheireadha* ((nMO) [ˈãviŋ̃ jæˈrɑɣə] (rad. [ɟæˈrɑɣə])), *Beinn Gheireadha* ((nMO) [bɛiŋ̃ jæˈrɑɣə]), *Port Gheireadha* ((nMO) [pɔʂ̪ jæˈrɑɣə]), *Sgeirean Port Gheireadha*, *Traigh Gheireadha* ((nMO) [trɑ jæˈrɑɣə]); 1934, 15 *The sands of Gearrahà*.[441]

The name of a hill in Sgìre a' Bhac, beside a river (ScG *Abhainn Gheardha*) and above a beach (ScG *Tràigh Gheardha*); a Gaelic name, with a Norse loan-name as generic + the adjective ScG *beag* 'small, little' (#8), used in the comparative sense 'smaller, lesser', as specific. **Geardha* is probably from ON **Gerða* '(the) enclosure-river' (as suggested by Oftedal is his notes[442]), with a feminine derivative (*ōn*-stem, Hovda 1966, 12) from ON *gerði* nt. 'field, enclosed land' (#192), perhaps due to the

438. Gammeltoft (ibid.) mentions a name in Islay that only appears in the 16th and 17th centuries – *Garbole*, *Garbols*, *Garbollis*, *Garbolss* – suggesting that it might also be from ON **Garðabólstaðr*, but the Old Norse generic is unlikely to have been *bólstaðr* in this case (Cox 1994, 57–61; 2002b, 22–28), see #72, fn 160.

439. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/132232/lewis-pabay-mor-tob-pabay>.

440. For the erroneous spelling *Geireadha* (*Gearadha*) rather than *Geardha*, cf. the erroneous spelling *Barabhas* as opposed to *Barbhas* #47 §42 (ii), fn 4.

441. Oftedal (1954, 396) gives a transcription of the radical form of this loan-name and of the river name under *Garrabost* #189.

442. Cf. the river name ON **Gerða* in *NE*, 70–71.

Àrd [əˌŋg̊ɑʀi ɑːg̊d]), feumar teagamh mòr a chur sa cheist mu fhreumhachd a' chruth *An Garrabost*.[438]

A thaobh an t-seòrsaicheir SL *garðr*, lorgar corra riochd Gàidhlig aig SL *rð* ann an lidean beumte (#182); san t-seagh seo, bheir SL **Garðabólstað* GT **Garðabóst* > GA *Garrabost*, le *ð* air a co-choslachadh ri *r* agus an fhuaimreag leth-bheumte san lide mu dheireadh air a giorrachadh.

Coim. *Garrabost* #190. Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#190 *Garrabost* ÙIG
*[ˈg̊ɑʀəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) *Gharraboist* *[ˈɣɑʀəˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB098383. 1843–82 *Cnoc Chàrra·boist*, *Mol Chàrraboist*; 1895–1896 *Knock Garrabost*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260, ann an Ùig, ged nach fhaicear ann ach gàrradh baile an-diugh.[439] Ainm Gàidhlig a tha a fhìor chruth mì-chinnteach; sgrìobhaidh Macaulay (1972, 335) *Garrabost* agus, an dùil gun sònraich an litreachadh aige mar a bhathas a' fuaimneachadh an ainme, 's coltach gur h-ionann e agus *Garrabost* #189 anns An Rubha.

#191 *Geardha Bheag* BAC
[ˌg̊ʲaɾ̂əɣə ˈveg̊], (gin.) *Gheardha Bheag* [ˌjaɾ̂əɣə ˈveg̊]; NB533500. 1843–82 *Geir·eadha Bheag*,[440] *Totaichean Gheireadha Mhor*, *Amhuinn Gheireadha* ((nMO) [ˈãviŋ̃ jæˈrɑɣə] (bun. [ɟæˈrɑɣə])), *Beinn Gheireadha* ((nMO) [bɛiŋ̃ jæˈrɑɣə]), *Port Gheireadha* ((nMO) [pɔʂ̪ jæˈrɑɣə]), *Sgeirean Port Gheireadha*, *Traigh Gheireadha* ((nMO) [trɑ jæˈrɑɣə]); 1934, 15 *The sands of Gearrahà*.[441]

An t-ainm air cnoc ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, ri taobh aibhne (GA *Abhainn Gheardha*) agus bhos cionn tràghad (GA *Tràigh Gheardha*); ainm Gàidhlig, le ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na sheòrsaichear + a' bhuadhair GA *beag* (#8), ga chleachdadh san t-seagh choimeasach 'nas lugha', na shònraichear. Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL **Gerða* '(a') gheàrraidh-abhainn' a tha **Geardha* (mar a chuireadh air shùilibh le Oftedal na notaichean[442]), le bunadair boireann (bun-*ōn*, Hovda 1966, 12) à SL *gerði* n. 'achadh, talamh cuairtichte' (#192), 's dòcha a chionn nan

438. Bheir Gammeltoft (ibid.) iomradh air ainm ann an Ìle nach nochd ach san t-16mh is san t-17mh linn – *Garbole*, *Garbols*, *Garbollis*, *Garbolss* – a' cur air shùilibh gur h-ann à SL **Garðabólstaðr* a dh'fhaodadh e a bhith cuideachd, ach cha choltach gum b' e *bólstaðr* an seòrsaichear san t-seagh seo (Cox 1994, 57–61; 2002b, 22–28), faic #72, bn 160.

439. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/132232/lewis-pabay-mor-tob-pabay>.

440. Airson an litreachaidh mhearachdaich *Geireadha* (*Gearadha*) seach *Geardha*, coim. an litreachadh mearachdach *Barabhas* seach *Barbhas* #47 §42 (ii), bn 4.

441. Bheir Oftedal (1954, 396) tras-sgrìobhadh de chruth bunasach an ainm-iasaid seo agus de dh'ainm na h-aibhne fo *Garrabost* #189.

442. Coim. an t-ainm aibhne SL **Gerða* ann an *NE*, 70–71.

bends in the river (particularly above the beach) which form natural enclosures.

It is likely that the form ON **Gerða* was borrowed into Gaelic later than the appellative ON *gerði* (#192).

#192 *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* CDL (Eng. *Garyvard*)
[ˌg̊ʲɑ·ɾi (ə) ˈvɑːɖ̥], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh a' Bhàird* [ˌɟ̊ɑ·ɾi (ə) ˈvɑːɖ̥]; NB360201. 1776, 1789, 1804 *Garevard*; 1821 *Garrievard, Garrivarde*; 1843–82 *Ġearraidh a Bhàird*; 1846 *Garivard*; 2007 *Gearraidh Bhàird*‖*Garyvard*.

> Oftedal 1954, 402–03: '**Garyvard** [gˈæri ˈvɑːd̥], [gˈɑɹi ˈvɑːd̥],[443] a Gaelic name: *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* "the bard's pasture", where *geàrraidh* is the Norse loan[-word] ...'

The name of a small settlement on the south side of *Loch Èireasort* (#180, fn 399), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure; the ground around a building', a loan-word from ON *gerði* nt., and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *bàrd* m. 'poet' (EG *bard*).[444] It is not known whether the specific indicates the original *geàrraidh* owner was a poet, whether it was a nickname or whether the name suggests the way a particular poet was recompensed for their verse.

ON *gerði* yields EG *[ˈgʲeɾʲðʲi] > *[ˈgʲeɾʲɟi], which develops into early ScG *[ˈg̊ʲeːɾʲiː] > ScG *geàrraidh* [ˈg̊ʲɑːɾi]; cf. ScG *àirigh* à EG *áirġe* (#95, fn 218–19).

The sense of the element *geàrraidh* is probably 'enclosure, enclosed land' in older names, usually those that are village names (e.g. ScG *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197, *Na Geàrrannan* #202) or those within villages (e.g. ScG *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196); on the moor, however, *geàrraidh* denotes usually grassy areas[445] where sheilings once stood, cf. Oftedal's sense 'the grassy ground immediately surrounding a house or sheiling hut' (#196).

ON *gerði* occurs in several Old Norse loan-names: ScG *Geardha Bheag* #191; and in final position in *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, *Beagnaigearraidh* #49, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342 and, in reduced form, in *Teànnraigir* (#182).

#193 *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* TSR
[əˌŋg̊ʲɑ·ɾə ˈb̥ɥjə], (gen.) *A' Gheàrraidh Bhuidhe* [əˌɟɑ·ɾə ˈvɥjə]; NB260471.

443. (nMO) [ɟæri ˈvɑːɖ̥], for -[ɾ]-?, *Loch nan Eilean Ghearraidh a' Bhàird* [ɬɔx nə ˈŋ̊elɑn jæri ˈvɑːɖ̥] 'the loch of the islands of—'; Oftedal 1980, 175, 181.

444. It is unlikely that this is the Gaelic word *bàrd* m. 'enclosed field' etc. (< Scots *ward* (*DSL*, s.v. ¹*ward*, 5(a)) or its equivalent in English); it does not appear to be used in Lewis.

445. I.e. without heather.

lùban san abhainn (gu h-àraidh bhos cionn na tràghad) a nì buailtean nàdarra.

Is coltach gun deach an cruth seo SL **Gerða* air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na b' anmoiche na chaidh an t-ainmear bitheanta SL *gerði* fhèin (#192).

#192 *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* CDL
[ˌg̊ʲɑ·ɾi (ə) ˈvɑːɖ̥], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh a' Bhàird* [ˌɟ̊ɑ·ɾi (ə) ˈvɑːɖ̥]; NB360201. 1776, 1789, 1804 *Garevard*; 1821 *Garrievard, Garrivarde*; 1843–82 *Ġearraidh a Bhàird*; 1846 *Garivard*; 2007 *Gearraidh Bhàird*‖*Garyvard*.

> Oftedal 1954, 402–03: **Garyvard** [gˈæri ˈvɑːd̥], [gˈɑɹi ˈvɑːd̥],[443] ainm Gàidhlig: *Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* 'ionaltradh a' bhàird', far an e *geàrraidh* am facal-iasaid Lochlannais ...

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag air taobh a deas *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas; an talamh timcheall air togalach', facal-iasaid à SL *gerði* n., agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *bàrd* f. (GT *bard*).[444] Chan eil fhios an e bàrd a bh' anns an duine aig an robh an geàrraidh seo bho thùs, an e far-ainm a bh' anns an t-sònraichear air neo an sònraich e an dòigh air an deach bàrd àraidh a dhìoladh an èirig am bàrdachd.

Bheir SL *gerði* GT *[ˈgʲeɾʲðʲi] > *[ˈgʲeɾʲɟi], a thèid na GA thràth *[ˈg̊ʲeːɾʲiː] > GA *geàrraidh* [ˈg̊ʲɑːɾi]; coim. GA *àirigh* à GT *áirġe* (#95, bn 218–19).

Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e 'leas, talamh cuairtichte' brìgh na h-eileamaid *geàrraidh* ann an ainmean nas sine, mar as trice an fheadhainn a tha nam bailtean (m.e. GA *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* #197, *Na Geàrrannan* #202) no a tha am broinn bhailtean (m.e. GA *An Geàrraidh Mòr* #196); air a' mhòintich, ge-tà, beanaidh *geàrraidh* ri àitichean mar as trice feurach[445] air an robh àirighean uair, coim. a' bhrìgh 'an talamh feurach timcheall air taigh no àirigh' aig Oftedal (#196).

Nochdaidh SL *gerði* ann an corra ainm-iasaid Lochlannais: ann an GA *Geardha Bheag* #191; agus ann an suidheachadh deiridh ann an *Àsmaigearraidh* #21, *Beagnaigearraidh* #49, *Crothairgearraidh* #158, *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* #253, *Tuimsgearraidh* #342 agus, air chruth lùghdaichte, *Teànnraigir* (#182).

#193 *An Geàrraidh Buidhe* TSR
[əˌŋg̊ʲɑ·ɾə ˈb̥ɥjə], (gin.) *A' Gheàrraidh Bhuidhe* [əˌɟɑ·ɾə ˈvɥjə]; NB260471.

443. (nMO) [ɟæri ˈvɑːɖ̥], airson -[ɾ]-?, *Loch nan Eilean Ghearraidh a' Bhàird* [ɬɔx nə ˈŋ̊elɑn jæri ˈvɑːɖ̥]; Oftedal 1980, 175, 181.

444. Cha choltach gur h-e am facal Gàidhlig *bàrd* f. 'achadh cuairtichte' ך (< Alb. *ward* (*DSL*, s.v. ¹*ward*, 5(a)) no a sheise sa Bheurla) a tha seo; cha choltach gun cleachdar ann an Leòdhas e.

445. .i. gun fhraoch orra.

The name of part of the township *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with the Gaelic masculine article + the noun ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) + the adjective ScG *buidhe* 'yellow' (EG *buide*), used in place-names in the sense 'light-coloured; light green, heatherless' (Cox 2002a, 81).

#194 *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* STN (Eng. *Lewis Castle Grounds*)
[əˌŋgʲɑ·ɾə ˈkʰɾuəj], (gen.) *A' Gheàrraidh Chruaidh* [əˌɟɑ·ɾə ˈxɾuəj]; NB420331. 1654 *Ghercroy*; 1726 *Guringeroy*; 1750M, 1776, 1804 *Garcroy*; 1821 *Garriecroy*; 2007 *Gearraidh Chruaidh*‖*Lewis Castle Grounds*; road sign *A' Ghearraidh Chruaidh*‖*Lewis Castle Grounds*.

The name of an old settlement in Steòrnabhagh, upon which Stornoway Castle – now Museum agus Tasglann nan Eilean 'the islands' museum and archive' – was built by Sir James Matheson after he bought Lewis in 1844 (Mac a' Ghobhainn 1998, 124); the name is still used in Gaelic to refer to the Castle Grounds.[446] This is a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *geàrr·aidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) + the adjective ScG *cruaidh* 'hard' (EG *cruaid*), a name that may indicate the nature of the land here.

The form (2007) *Gearraidh Chruaidh* originates in dative usage: ← **A' Gheàrr·aidh Chruaidh*.

#195 *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* BAC (Eng. *Gearraidh Ghuirm*)
[ˌgʲɑ·ɾi ˈɣuɾ̪ˠum], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh Ghuirm* [ˌɟɑ·ɾi ˈɣuɾ̪ˠum]; NB457378. 1821, 1822 [?] *Garrie Goreum*; 1843–82 *Gearaidh Ghuirm*, *Cnoc a Ghearraidh Ghuirm*; 1845 *Garra-ghuism* [*sic*]; 2007 *Gearraidh Ghuirm*‖*Gearraidh Ghuirm*; road sign *Gearr·aidh Ghuirm*.

The name of part of the farm *Col Uarach* (#150), in Sgìre a' Bhac, which was made into crofts in 1830 before being made into a farm again by 1843 (Lawson 2011, 36); a Gaelic name extracted from *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm* 'the hill (of the heather-coloured enclosure)',[447] with ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and genitive of the Gaelic masculine article + the noun ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) + the adjective ScG *gorm* 'green' (EG idem), i.e. with the first part of the name elided. In place-names in Lewis, a distinction is made between *glas* 'the green of grass' and *gorm* 'the green of heather' (Cox 2002a, 81).

446. The area was formally known as *Lady Lever Park* (e.g. see Lawson 2011, 223), named after Lady Elizabeth Lever, the wife of William Lever (Lord Leverhulme, who bought Lewis in 1918).

447. Or the result of some genitive usage at least. (1821) *Garrie Goram* probably represents the radical case, i.e. *An Geàrraidh Gorm*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *geàrr·aidh* f. 'leas' (#192) + a' bhuadhair GA *buidhe* (GT *buide*), air a chleachdadh ann an ainmean-àite san t-seagh 'air dhath bàn; bàn-ghlas, gun fhraoch' (Cox 2002a, 81).

#194 *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* STN
[əˌŋgʲɑ·ɾə ˈkʰɾuəj], (gin.) *A' Gheàrraidh Chruaidh* [əˌɟɑ·ɾə ˈxɾuəj]; NB420331. 1654 *Ghercroy*; 1726 *Guringeroy*; 1750M, 1776, 1804 *Garcroy*; 1821 *Garriecroy*; 2007 *Gearraidh Chruaidh*‖*Lewis Castle Grounds*; soighne rathaid *A' Ghearraidh Chruaidh*‖*Lewis Castle Grounds*.

An t-ainm air seann tuineachadh ann an Steòrnabhagh, air an deach Caisteal Steòrnabhaigh – a-nise Museum agus Tasglann nan Eilean – a thogail leis an Ridire Seumas MacMhathain an dèidh dha Leòdhas a cheannach ann an 1844 (Mac a' Ghobhainn 1998, 124); thèid an t-ainm a chleachdadh fhathast sa Ghàidhlig air an talamh timcheall air togalach a' chaisteil.[446] 'S e ainm Gàidhlig a tha seo, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) + a' bhuadhair GA *cruaidh* (GT *cruaid*), ainm a dh'fhaodas a bhith ag innse mu nàdar an fhearainn an seo.

Tàrmaichidh *Gearraidh Chruaidh* (2007) ann an cleachdadh tabhartach: ← **A' Gheàrraidh Chruaidh*.

#195 *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* BAC
[ˌgʲɑ·ɾi ˈɣuɾ̪ˠum], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh Ghuirm* [ˌɟɑ·ɾi ˈɣuɾ̪ˠum]; NB457378. 1821, 1822 [?] *Garrie Goreum*; 1843–82 *Gearaidh Ghuirm*, *Cnoc a Ghearraidh Ghuirm*; 1845 *Garra-ghuism* [*sic*]; 2007 *Gearraidh Ghuirm*‖*Gearraidh Ghuirm*; soighne rathaid *Gearraidh Ghuirm*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den tuathanas *Col Uarach* (#150), ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, den deach croitean a dhèanamh ann an 1830 mus deach e uair eile na thuathanas ro 1843 (Lawson 2011, 36); ainm Gàidhlig air a thoirt à ainm a' chnuic GA *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh Ghuirm*,[447] le GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) + a' bhuadhair GA *gorm* (GT idem), .i. le ciad phàirt an ainme air a theasgadh. Ann an ainmean-àite ann an Leòdhas, nithear dealachadh eadar *glas* 'dath an fheòir' agus *gorm* 'dath an fhraoich' (Cox 2002a, 81).

446. 'S e *Lady Lever Park* an t-ainm foirmeil a bh' air an àrainn (m.e. faic Lawson 2011, 223), air ainmeachadh air a' Bhaintighearna Elizabeth Lever, bean William Lever (am Morair Leverhulme, a cheannaich Leòdhas ann an 1918).

447. No mar thoradh air cleachdadh ginideach air choreigin co-dhiù. Is iongantach nach riochdaich (1821) *Garrie Goram* an tuiseal bunasach, .i. *An Geàrraidh Gorm*.

#196 *An Geàrraidh Mòr* TSR
[əˌŋgʲɑˑɾə ˈmoːɾ], (gen.) *A' Gheàrraidh Mhòir* [əˌɟɑˑɾə ˈvoːɾʲ]; NB252467. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Mòr*; 1974 *Gèarraidh Mór*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Gearraidh Mòr** is ScG (*An*) *Geàrraidh Mòr* "(the) big pasture". The element ScG *geàrraidh* m., pronounced [gʼɑːʁi], denotes only a specific kind of pasture: the grassy ground immediately surrounding a house or sheiling hut. It is still used as an appellative and is a loan-word from ON *gerði* nt. "fenced piece of land". In a reduced form, it is found as the last member of several compound place-names, e.g. *Crothairgearraidh* #158.'

The name of an area of the township *Siabost a Deas* (#295), in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) + the adjective ScG *mòr* 'large' (#2). Note that *An Geàrraidh Mòr* is a Gaelic creation using Gaelic words; *Crothairgearraidh* is a Gaelic name that was borrowed from Old Norse §8.

#197 *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* TSR (Eng. *Garynahine*)
[ˌgʲɑˑɾi nə ˈhãĩnə], [ˌgʲɑˑɾə nə ˈhãĩnə], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh na h-Aibhne* [ˌɟɑˑɾi nə ˈhãĩnə], [ˌɟɑˑɾə nə ˈhãĩnə]; or *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* [ˌgʲɑˑɳə ˈhãĩnə] etc.; NB235318. 1821, 1822 *Garri na Kine* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Gearaidh na h Aimhne*; 1869 *Garri na Kine*; 1875, 171, 1895 *Garynahine*; 1973 *Gearraidh na h-Aibhne*; 1974 *Garynahine*; 2007, road sign *Gearraidh na h-Aibhne*‖*Garynahine*.

> Oftedal 1954, 383: '**Garynahine** [gʼɑʁənə ˈhɑinə][448] is ScG *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* "the pasture of the river".'

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar. It was turned into a farm in 1865 after a fire, but made into crofts again in 1935 (Lawson 2008, 139). A Gaelic name, with ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) and genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *abhainn* f. 'river' (EG *ab*(*u*)*inn*), i.e. ScG *An Abhainn Dubh* 'the black water'.

#198 *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* ÙIG
[ˌgʲɑˑɾi nəˌhɑˑd̥ə ˈmoːɾʲə], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* [ˌɟɑˑɾi nəˌhɑˑd̥ə ˈmoːɾʲə]; NB025165. 1843–82 *Gearraidh nahAirde Mòire*.

The name of a small, deserted settlement on the north side of the mouth of *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112), in Ùig, with ScG *geàrraidh* m. (#192) and the genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *àird* f. (#6) + the adjective ScG *mòr* (#2), in the sense 'larger, greater'.

448. (nMO) [ɟɑɾənə ˈhãĩnə].

#196 *An Geàrraidh Mòr* TSR
[əˌŋgʲɑˑɾə ˈmoːɾ], (gin.) *A' Gheàrraidh Mhòir* [əˌɟɑˑɾə ˈvoːɾʲ]; NB252467. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Mòr*; 1974 *Gèarraidh Mór*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: 'S e GA (*An*) *Geàrraidh Mòr* a th' ann an **Gearraidh Mòr**. Thèid GA *geàrraidh* f. fhuaimneachadh [gʲɑːʁi] agus cha bhean e ach ri ionaltradh àraidh: an talamh feurach timcheall air taigh no àirigh. Thèid a chleachdadh fhathast mar ainmear bitheanta agus tha e na fhacal-iasaid à SL *gerði* n. 'earrann talmhainn air a feansadh'. Ann an cruth lùghdaichte, gheibhear e na bhall mu dheireadh de chorra ainm-àite fillteach, m.e. *Crothairgearraidh* #158.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Siabost a Deas* (#295), air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) + a' bhuadhair GA *mòr* (#2). Mothaich gu bheil *An Geàrraidh Mòr* na chruthachadh Gàidhlig a' cleachdadh fhaclan Gàidhlig; tha *Crothairgearraidh* na ainm Gàidhlig a chaidh air iasad às an Lochlannais §8.

#197 *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* TSR
[ˌgʲɑˑɾi nə ˈhãĩnə], [ˌgʲɑˑɾə nə ˈhãĩnə], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh na h-Aibhne* [ˌɟɑˑɾi nə ˈhãĩnə], [ˌɟɑˑɾə nə ˈhãĩnə]; no *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* [ˌgʲɑˑɳə ˈhãĩnə] ꟻc; NB235318. 1821, 1822 *Garri na Kine* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Gearaidh na h Aimhne*; 1869 *Garri na Kine*; 1875, 171, 1895 *Garynahine*; 1973 *Gearraidh na h-Aibhne*; 1974 *Garynahine*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Gearraidh na h-Aibhne*‖*Garynahine*.

> Oftedal 1954, 383: 'Is e GA *Geàrraidh na h-Aibhne* 'ionaltradh na h-aibhne' a th' ann an **Garynahine** [gʲɑʁənə ˈhɑinə][448].

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar. Chaidh a dhèanamh na thuathanas ann an 1865 an dèidh dha dol na theine, ach chaidh a dhèanamh na chroitean a-rithist ann an 1935 (Lawson 2008, 139). Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmeir GA *abhainn* b. (GT *ab*(*u*)*inn*), .i. GA *An Abhainn Dubh*.

#198 *Geàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* ÙIG
[ˌgʲɑˑɾi nəˌhɑˑd̥ə ˈmoːɾʲə], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh na h-Àirde Mòire* [ˌɟɑˑɾi nəˌhɑˑd̥ə ˈmoːɾʲə]; NB025165. 1843–82 *Gearraidh nahAirde Mòire*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag fàs ann an ceann a tuath beul *Loch Reusort* (#112), ann an Ùig, le GA *geàrraidh* f. (#192) agus cruth ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmeir GA *àird* b. (#6) + a' bhuadhair GA *mòr* (#2), sa bhrìgh 'nas motha'.

448. (nMO) [ɟɑɾənə ˈhãĩnə].

#199 *Geàrraidh Raisteal* PRC
[ˌg̊ʲɑːrɪ ˈrɑʃtʲɑl̪], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh Raisteal* [ˌɟɑːrɪ ˈrɑʃtʲɑl̪]; NB317109. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Raistail, Beinn Gearraidh Raistail.*

The name of a deserted settlement on the north side of *Loch Shealg* (#108), in A' Phàirc; a Gaelic name, with ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific, perhaps from ON **Raptsfjall* '(the) mountain of the tree trunk', with genitive of the noun ON *raptr* m. 'log, tree trunk; pole; rafter' and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain'; cf. *Rafsnes* in Finnmark, Norway (*NG* XVIII, 43–44). ON **Raptsfjall* would yield ScG *[ˈrɑʰtʲʃɑl̪] in the first instance, which might become [ˈrɑʃtʲɑl̪], via metathesis §40 (iii).

#200 *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* PRC
[ˌg̊ʲɑːrɪ ˈriːˌs̪aj], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh Rìosaigh* [ˌɟɑːrɪ ˈriːˌs̪aj]; NB315102. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Righsaidh.*

The name of a deserted settlement on the south side of *Loch Shealg* (#108), in A' Phàirc; a Gaelic name, with ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192) and genitive of the loan-name ScG **Rìosaigh* (< *[ˈrɪːˌs̪aɣ] < EG *[ˈrɪːˌs̪aː], cf. ScG *Lacasaigh* #230, from ON **Lax-á*), probably from ON **Hrís-á* '(the) brushwood-river', with the stem form of the noun ON *hrís* nt. 'brushwood, thicket' and ON *á* f. 'river'.

Cf. ScG *Loch Rìosaigh* and *Eilean Rìosaigh* 'the loch and the island of—' NB169375,[449] on the east side of *Beàrnaraigh* #51, with a loan-name from CSc. **Hrís-øy* '(the) brushwood-island'.

#201 *Geàrraidh Sgoir* STN (Eng. *Newpark*)
*[ˌg̊ʲɑːrɪ ˈs̪kɔɾʲ], (gen.) *Gheàrraidh Sgoir* *[ˌɟɑːrɪ ˈs̪kɔɾʲ]; NB438347. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Scoir, Gob Ghearraidh Scoir Bheag, Gob Ghearraidh Scoir Mhor*; 2007 *Gearraidh Sgor‖Newpark.*

The name of an old township (Lawson 2011, 57) east of *Lacasdal* #231, in Steòrnabhagh; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *geàrraidh* m. (#192) and a noun in the genitive as specific. The specific is probably an Old Norse loan-name, i.e. ON **Skor* f. '(the) fissure, (the) niche' (cf. ON *skor* > ScG *sgor* m.).

MacIver (1934, 77) writes *Gearraidh Sgodhair* and is of the view that the specific is from ON *skógr* m. 'wood, forest', possibly influencing his Gaelic form.

The English name *Newpark*, with the adjective Eng. *new* + the noun Eng. *park* appears to be relatively recent.

449. (nMO) [ɬɔx ˈriːsqj], [elaŋ̟ ˈriːsqj].

#199 *Geàrraidh Raisteal* PRC
[ˌg̊ʲɑːrɪ ˈrɑʃtʲɑl̪], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh Raisteal* [ˌɟɑːrɪ ˈrɑʃtʲɑl̪]; NB317109. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Raistail, Beinn Gearraidh Raistail.*

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh a tuath *Loch Shealg* (#108), anns A' Phàirc; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear, is dòcha à SL **Raptsfjall* 'beinn an stuic craoibhe', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *raptr* f. 'sail, stoc craoibhe; cabar, pòla; cabar taighe' agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn'; coim. *Rafsnes* ann am Finnmark, Nirrbhidh (*NG* XVIII, 43–44). Bheireadh SL **Raptsfjall* GA *[ˈrɑʰtʲʃɑl̪] sa chiad char, a dh'fhaodadh a dhol na [ˈrɑʃtʲɑl̪], le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii).

#200 *Geàrraidh Rìosaigh* PRC
[ˌg̊ʲɑːrɪ ˈriːˌs̪aj], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh Rìosaigh* [ˌɟɑːrɪ ˈriːˌs̪aj]; NB315102. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Righsaidh.*

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh a deas *Loch Shealg* (#108), anns A' Phàirc; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm-iasaid GA **Rìosaigh* (< *[ˈrɪːˌs̪aɣ] < GT *[ˈrɪːˌs̪aː], coim. GA *Lacasaigh* #230, à SL **Lax-á*), is math dh'fhaodte à SL **Hrís-á* '(a') phreas-abhainn', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *hrís* n. 'pris, doire' agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn'.

Coim. GA *Loch Rìosaigh* agus *Eilean Rìosaigh* NB169375,[449] air taobh an ear *Bheàrnaraigh* #51, le ainm-iasaid à LB **Hrís-øy* '(am) preas-eilean'.

#201 *Geàrraidh Sgoir* STN
*[ˌg̊ʲɑːrɪ ˈs̪kɔɾʲ], (gin.) *Gheàrraidh Sgoir* *[ˌɟɑːrɪ ˈs̪kɔɾʲ]; NB438347. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Scoir, Gob Ghearraidh Scoir Bheag, Gob Ghearraidh Scoir Mhor*; 2007 *Gearraidh Sgor‖Newpark.*

An t-ainm air sean bhaile fearainn (Lawson 2011, 57) an ear air *Lacasdal* #231, ann an Steòrnabhagh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *geàrraidh* f. (#192) agus ainmear san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear. Is iongantach mana h-eil an sònraichear na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais, .i. SL **Skor* b. '(an) sgor, (a') chùil' (coim. SL *skor* > GA *sgor* f.).

Sgrìobhaidh MacIver (1934, 77) *Gearraidh Sgodhair* agus e am beachd gur h-ann à SL *skógr* f. 'coille' a tha an sònraichear, is buaidh aige sin, is dòcha, air a' chruth Ghàidhlig aige.

Is coltach gur h-e cruth coimeasach ùr a th' anns an ainm Bheurla *Newpark*, leis a' bhuadhair Brl. *new* 'ùr' + an ainmear Brl. *park* 'pàirc, achadh'.

449. (nMO) [ɬɔx ˈriːsqj], [elaŋ̟ ˈriːsqj].

#202 *Na Geàrrannan* TSR (Eng. *Garenin*)
[nə ˈgʲɑːrən̪ən], (gen.) *Nan Geàrrannan* [nə ˈŋgʲɑːrən̪ən]; NB193441. 1654 *Ghearen Vÿg*; 1750M *Gairenin*; 1753–66 *Garinin*; 1776, 1789, 1790 *Garnin*; 1804 *Garnin*; 1807 *Garnan*; 1821 *Garinnin*; 1822, 1832 *Garrinnin*; 1843–82 *Gearranan*; 1869 *Garriain*; 1875, 88 *Garnin*; 1895 *Gearranan*; 1934 *Gearrannan*; 1974 *Garenin*; 2007 *Na Geàrr·annan*‖*Garenin*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: '**Garinin** [?], spelt *Gearranan* on Batholomew's half-inch map. Possibly a Scottish Gaelic name.'

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with the plural Gaelic article + a plural form of the noun ScG *geàrraidh* m. 'enclosure' (#192), with the plural morpheme *-annan* (cf. Ir. *-anna*, from *n*-stems (Cox 2002a, 56–59)).[450]

Cf. *Na Geàrrannan* (see *An Cnoc Àrd* #138), in Nis.

#203 *Gèiseadar* ÙIG (Eng. *Geshader*)
[ˈgʲeːʃad̪ər], (gen.) *Ghèiseadair* [ˈjeːˌʃad̪ərʲ]; NB114314. 1821, 1822 *Geshader*; 1843–82 *Geidh̪shader*, *Loch Gheidhshader*; 1846 *Greshader* [*sic*]; 1934, 100 *Gèishader*; 1974 *Geshader*; 2007 *Gèisiadar*‖*Geshader*; road sign *Geisiader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385: '**Geshader** (CB) [gʹeːʃadəð][451] appears to represent ON **Geit-setr* "(the) goat farm". This is a compound containing the element ON *geit* f. "goat" in its stem form, not in the genitive singular or plural, which would give ON **Geitarsetr* and **Geitasetr*, respectively. Nor are the personal names ON *Geiti* m. or *Geitir* m. involved; they would give **Geitasetr* and **Geitissetr*. ON **Geita-*, **Geitar-* and **Geitis·setr* would all probably have resulted in ScG *[gʹeːdʹəʃadəð]. Accordingly, the name is not parallel with ON **Ærsetr* (#225), which contains a first component in the genitive singular. It should rather be compared with the Norwegian farm name ON **Geit-húsar*, now *Geithus* (*NG* XII, 163), which shows the same pattern of composition. Other *-setr* names containing an appellative denoting a domestic animal are, for example, *af Geitasætre* (*NG* XIV, 277) and *a Svinasætre* (*NG* XII, 404–05).'

The name of a small settlement on the east side of Ùig; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Geit-sætr* '(the) goat-farm', with the stem form of the noun ON *geit* f. '(she-)goat' and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (rather than ON *setr* (#296)).

For the loss of *t* before *s*, cf. ScG *Uiseal* [ˈʉˌʃaɬ̪] NB265418, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), from ON **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) 'the outermost mountain', with the stem form of the superlative adjective ON *yztr* (*ytstr*) (beside *ýztr*); and ScG *Flai·*

450. Cf. the plural forms *geàrracha*(*n*) and (now commoner) *geàrraidhean*.
451. (nMO) [gʹeːʃaḍəð̯].

#202 *Na Geàrrannan* TSR
[nə ˈgʲɑːrən̪ən], (gin.) *Nan Geàrrannan* [nə ˈŋgʲɑːrən̪ən]; NB193441. 1654 *Ghearen Vÿg*; 1750M *Gairenin*; 1753–66 *Garinin*; 1776, 1789, 1804 *Garnin*; 1807 *Garnan*; 1821 *Garinnin*; 1822, 1832 *Garrinnin*; 1843–82 *Gearranan*; 1869 *Garriain*; 1875, 88 *Garnin*; 1895 *Gearranan*; 1934 *Gearrannan*; 1974 *Garenin*; 2007 *Na Geàrrannan*‖*Garenin*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: **Garinin** [?], air a litreachadh *Gearranan* air mapa leth-òirlich Bhatholomew. Is dòcha na ainm Gàidhlig.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig iolra + cruth iolra an ainmeir GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas' (#192), leis a' chruitheam iolra *-annan* (coim. GE *-anna*, à bunan-*n* (Cox 2002a, 56–59)).[450]

Coim. *Na Geàrrannan* (faic *An Cnoc Àrd* #138), ann an Nis.

#203 *Gèiseadar* ÙIG
[ˈgʲeːˌʃad̪ərʲ], (gin.) *Ghèiseadair* [ˈjeːˌʃad̪ərʲ]; NB114314. 1821, 1822 *Geshader*; 1843–82 *Geidh̪shader*, *Loch Gheidhshader*; 1846 *Greshader* [*sic*]; 1934, 100 *Gèishader*; 1974 *Geshader*; 2007 *Gèisiadar*‖*Geshader*; soighne rathaid *Geisiader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385: Is coltach gun riochdaich **Geshader** (CB) [gʹeːʃadəð][451] SL **Geit-setr* '(an) gobhar-thuathanas'. 'S e fillteach a tha seo sa bheil an eileamaid SL *geit* b. 'gobhar' na chruth bun-riochda, chan ann san tuiseal ghinideach shingilte no iolra, a bheireadh SL **Geitarsetr* agus **Geitasetr*, fa leth. Cha mhotha a tha na h-ainmean pearsanta SL *Geiti* f. no *Geitir* f. an sàs an seo; bheireadh iadsan **Geitasetr* agus **Geitissetr*. Is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **Geita-*, **Geitar-* agus **Geitissetr* uile GA *[gʹeːdʹəʃadəð]. A rèir sin, chan eil an t-ainm na sheise do SL **Ærsetr* (#225), a tha a chiad eileamaid san tuiseal ghinideach. B' fheàrr a chur an coimeas ris an ainm tuathanais SL **Geit-húsar*, a-nise *Geithus*, ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* XII, 163), aig a bheil an t-aon phàtran co-chuir. Am measg ainmean ann an *-setr* aig a bheil ainmear a' beantainn ri ainmhidh dachaighe, tha, mar eisimpleir, *af Geitasætre* (*NG* XIV, 277) agus *a Svinasætre* (*NG* XII, 404–05).

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag air taobh an ear Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Geit-sætr* '(an) gobhar-thuathanas', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *geit* b. 'gobhar (boireann)' agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (seach SL *setr* (#296)).

Airson call na *t* ro *s*, coim. GA *Uiseal* [ˈʉˌʃaɬ̪] NB265418, ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), à SL **Yzt-fjall* (**Ytst-fjall*) 'a' bheinn as fhaide a-muigh', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair anardaich SL *yztr* (*ytstr*) (ri taobh *ýztr*); agus GA *Flaiseadar*

450. Coim. na cruthan iolra *geàrracha*(*n*) agus (a-nise nas bitheanta) *geàrraidhean*.
451. (nMO) [gʹeːʃaḍəð̯].

seadar [ˈfl̪ɑˌʃaɖər] NG350532, in Skye, from ON **Flat-sætr*, with the stem form of the noun ON *flǫtr* m. 'plain, level ground' (Cox 1990b, 103, 107).[452]

For ON *geit*, cf. ScG *Gèideam* [ˈg̊ʲeːˌd̥ʲam] NB135417, < ON **Geit-holm* acc. '(the) goat-island', in Beàrnaraigh (contrast Borgstrøm 1940, 218, who derives [gˈeːɖˈɑm] from ON **Geitaholmr* nom., with genitive plural of the specific).

Although a solution from ON **Geisusætr*, with a stream name based on the noun ON *geis* nt. 'violence; rush forward', might be suitable from the point of view of the historical phonology, it is unlikely that any of the streams in the area would merit such a name.[453, 454]

#204 ***Gil MhicPhàic*** PRC
*[ˌg̊ʲilˌvĩʰkʲˈfaːʰkʲ], (gen.) *Ghil MhicPhàic* *[ˌɟilˌvĩʰkʲˈfaːʰkʲ]; NB217081.[455] 1843–82 *Gil Mhic Phàic*, *Allt Gil Mhic Phàic*, *Cleite Gil Mhic Phàic*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the east bank of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in A' Phàirc, whose inhabitants were evicted early in the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162); a Gaelic name, with ScG *gil* f. 'ravine; stream in ravine', a loan-word from ON *gil* nt., and genitive of the surname ScG *MacPhàic* (or possibly the patronymic ScG *mac Phàic*).

The pronunciation [ˌg̊ʲilˌvĩʰkʲˈfaːl] was recorded once, as though the name were **Gil MhicPhàil*, i.e. with the commoner surname ScG *MacPhàil* rather than

452. It is suggested in Cox 1990b, 103, that the first element of the name ScG *Gèiseadar* might be from ON *gjó* (*gjá*) f. 'ravine, cove', with the stressed vowel raised through regressive palatalisation, as seen in ScG *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾẽːməˌniʃ] NB2132, in *Callanis* #94, from ON **Straum-nes* '(the) current-promontory', but it might be better to derive *Srèiminis* from ON **Streymanes* '(the) streaming promontory', with the weak neuter form of the adjective ON *streymr* 'streaming, full of currents' and ON *nes* nt. (§3 (i)).

453. In Norway, cf. *Geisfjell*, in Rogaland (Særheim 2007, 75); in Scotland, ?cf. ScG *Gisgil* NC170411, in Sutherland (Eng. *Geisgeil*; MacBain 1922, 16: *Gisgill*) ?< ON **Geis-gil*, with ON *gil* nt. 'ravine'. For CSc. **Gait-fjall* (> Eng. *Goatfell*), see §9 (ii) + fn 29.

454. MacIver (1934, 100) recommends a solution with ON *gæss*, the nominative plural of ON *gás* f. 'goose', but only the stem form *gás*, the genitive singular *gásar* or genitive plural *gása* could be expected in such a context.

455. The 1843–82 map gives (1) *Gil Mhic Phàic* at NB217081, on *Loch Shìophort* (#113), and (2) *Gil Mhic Phaic* at NB340099, on *Loch Shealg* (#108); the map only shows ruins at (1). The Napier Commission (1884 II, p. 1150, para. 17556–17567) gives the names of a series of settlements on the west side of A' Phàirc that were cleared: *Caolas an Eilein* #95, *Smuaisibhig* #302, *Bàgh ?* [?= *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25 or *Bàgh Ciaraich* #24], *An Ceannmhor* #119, *Gleann Cloidh* #209, 'Gilavicphaig' (i.e. the map's *Gil Mhic Phàic*) and *Sgealadal Bheag* and *Sgealadal Mhòr* (#290). Omitting *Rias* #279, the list continues with *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16 and two places that have not been identified: 'Ceanmore' (cf. *An Ceannmhor*, above) and 'Chulcbreag'.

[ˈfl̪ɑˌʃaɖ̊ər] NG350532, san Eilean Sgitheanach, à SL **Flat-sætr*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *flǫtr* f. 'rèidhlean, talamh còmhnard' (Cox 1990b, 103, 107).[452]

Airson SL *geit*, coim. GA *Gèideam* [ˈg̊ʲeːˌd̥ʲam] NB135417, < SL **Geit-holm* cusp. '(an) gobhar-eilean', ann am Beàrnaraigh (iomsgaraich Borgstrøm 1940, 218, a bheir [gˈeːɖˈɑm] à SL **Geitaholmr* ainmn., le tuiseal ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir).

Ged a dh'fhaodadh fuasgladh à SL **Geisusætr*, le ainm uillt air a bhonntachadh air an ainmear SL *geis* n. 'fòirneart; brùthadh air adhart', a bhith freagarrach a thaobh an fhuinn-eòlais eachdraidheil, cha choltach gun toilleadh allt sam bith air an àrainn a leithid a dh'ainm.[453, 454]

#204 ***Gil MhicPhàic*** PRC
*[ˌg̊ʲilˌvĩʰkʲˈfaːʰkʲ], (gin.) *Ghil MhicPhàic* *[ˌɟilˌvĩʰkʲˈfaːʰkʲ]; NB217081.[455] 1843–82 *Gil Mhic Phàic*, *Allt Gil Mhic Phàic*, *Cleite Gil Mhic Phàic*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air bòrd an ear *Loch Shìophort* (#113), anns A' Phàirc, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162); ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *gil* b. 'slugaid; allt ann an slugaid', facal-iasaid à SL *gil* n., agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm sloinnidh GA *MacPhàic* (no is dòcha an ainm sinnsir GA *mac Phàic*).

Chaidh am fuaimneachadh [ˌg̊ʲilˌvĩʰkʲˈfaːl] a chlàradh uair, mar gur h-e **Gil MhicPhàil* a bh' anns an ainm, .i. leis an ainm sloinnidh as bitheanta GA *MacPhàil*

452. Cuirear air shùilibh ann an Cox 1990b, 103, gur math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL *gjó* (*gjá*) b. 'slugaid, geodha' a bha ciad eileamaid an ainme GA *Gèiseadar*, agus an fhuaimreag bheumte air a h-àrdachadh le ais-chàireanachadh, mar a chithear ann an GA *Srèiminis* [ˈs̪t̪ɾẽːməˌniʃ] NB2132, ann an *Callanis* #94, à *SL *Straum-nes* '(an) sruth-rubha', ach 's dòcha gum b' fheàrr *Srèiminis* a thàrmachadh ann an SL **Streymanes* '(an) rubha sruthach', le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *streymr* 'sruthach, làn shruthan' agus SL *nes* n. (§3 (i)).

453. Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Geisfjell*, ann an Rogaland (Særheim 2007, 75); ann an Albainn, ?coim. GA *Gisgil* NC170411, ann an Cataibh (Brl. *Geisgeil*; MacBain 1922, 16: *Gisgill*) ?< SL **Geis-gil*, le SL *gil* n. 'slugaid'. Airson LB **Gait-fjall* (> Brl. *Goatfell*), faic §9 (ii) + bn 29.

454. Molaidh MacIver (1934, 100) fuasgladh le SL *gæss*, an tuiseal ainmneach iolra aig SL *gás* b. 'gèadh', ach cha ghabhadh ach *gás* bun-riochd, *gásar* tuiseal ginideach singilte no *gása* tuiseal ginideach iolra an fhacail sùileachadh na leithid de cho-theags.

455. Air a' mhapa 1843–82, tha (1) *Gil Mhic Phàic* aig NB217081, air *Loch Shìophort* (#113), agus (2) *Gil Mhic Phaic* aig NB340099, air *Loch Shealg* (#108); chan eil làraichean taighe air a' mhapa ach aig (1). Anns The Napier Commission (1884 II, d. 1150, earr.-roisg 17556–17567), bheirear na h-ainmean air sreath de thuineachaidhean air taobh an iar Na Pàirce a chaidh fhàsachadh: *Caolas an Eilein* #95, *Smuaisibhig* #302, *Bàgh ?* [?= *Bàgh Reumsabhaigh* #25 no *Bàgh Ciaraich* #24], *An Ceannmhor* #119, *Gleann Cloidh* #209, 'Gilavicphaig' (.i. *Gil Mhic Phàic* a' mhapa) agus *Sgealadal Bheag* is *Sgealadal Mhòr* (#290). A' fàgail *Rias* #279 às, leanaidh an liosta le *Àirigh Dhòmhnaill Chaim* #16 agus dà àite nach deach a shònrachadh: 'Ceanmore' (coim. *An Ceannmhor*, shuas) agus 'Chulcbreag'.

MacPhàic, which is apparently no longer known in the area.[456]

Cf. *Clann Mhic Phàic* (MacKillop 1991, 481) and the tradition 'Troich MhicPhàic' ('the MacPhàic dwarf')[457] in Bernera (Harris); for *Sìol Phàic*(*e*) 'the *P.* lineage', see Matheson 1970, 103–14: 107–09, 175–82: 176. Matheson (ibid. and 1981, 68–80) suggests *Páice* is the Early Gaelic form of the man's name ON *Balki* m.,[458] which appears in Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (Chap. 169: *Pall Balka s*on (Jónsson 1916, 557–58)). In Matheson's view, the name *Páll Balkason* occurs in the form *pol fili*us *boke* in Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum (f42v–f43r) as deputy governor of Skye[459] in the year 1223, although the development ON *Balki* > ScG *Pàic*(*e*) has apparently not been explained (see *Tobhta Phàic*, below); contrast ScG *alc* (*falc*) f. 'auk' < ON *alka* f., and one would not normally expect ScG [pʰ] /p/ from initial ON *b*.[460, 461]

In Uist, the surname Eng. *Park* is associated with ScG *MacPhairce* (with short *a*) and ScG *MacPhàic* (Mac an Tàilleir, no date), which suggests perhaps that the surname Eng. *Park*(*s*) became ScG *MacPhairce* > ScG *MacPhàic* in Uist,[462] but that theory does not resolve the question of the origin of the man's name in ScG *Tobhta Phàic* '*Pà*(*i*)*c*'s ruin' NB410564, in *Borgh* #68 (1843–82 *Tota Phàic*).[463]

456. Cf. another attempt at understanding the name in the Ordnance Survey Name Book OS1/27/126/10: beside the name *Cleit Gil Mhic Phàic*, 'Signifies Emminence of McFay's Glen' is crossed out.

457. <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/fullrecord/53010/1>.

458. Matheson gives Ice. *Bálki*.

459. *uicecomes de ski* (Broderick 2004).

460. But note ScG (Lewis) *briosgaid* 'biscuit', *briogais* 'trousers', *bris* 'to break', *bruich* 'to boil, cook' and *bucaid* 'bucket', all with initial [pʰ] /p/ (rather than [b̥] /b/) (Oftedal 1956, 104; Cox 1917, 68).

461. For further on Páll Balkason, see Sellar 2000.

462. In editing *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*, John Lorne Campbell writes (McDonald 1972, 50, s.v. *brisgein*), 'Mac Park = Gaelic Mac Phàic'.

463. Although Matheson (1970, 108) writes ScG *Tobhta Phàic*, in deriving ScG *Pà*(*i*)*c* from ON *Balki* perhaps his view was influenced by Mackenzie (1906, 307), who has '*Bàic* (*Toto Bhàic*), at Borve; from *Bàlki* [*sic*], a pers[onal] name, which has died out in Lewis.' *Tota Bhaic* (with short *a*) is given by MacIver (1934, 26), who attempts a derivation from ON '**Toptr-bakki* "back wall or ridge"' (?leg. **Topt*(*a*)*bakki*, with the stem form (or genitive plural) of the specific), though one would expect stress on the initial syllable of such a name and though the name makes little sense.

The place-name ScG *Tobhta Phàic* apparently no longer survives. It is said that an illicit still was located at the site of the ruin south-west of *Tobhta Phàic* on the 1843–82 map and that the well beside it was called *Tobar an Taigh-staile* 'the well of the still', and it is thought that the *tobhta*'s correct name was **An Tobhta Faire*, i.e. from where people associated with

seach *MacPhàic*, nach eil aithnichte tuilleadh san sgìre a rèir choltais.[456]

Coim. *Clann Mhic Phàic* (MacKillop 1991, 481) agus a' bheul-aithris 'Troich MhicPhàic'[457] ann am Beàrnaraigh na Hearadh; airson *Sìol Phàic*(*e*), faic MacMhathain 1970, 103–14: 107–09, 175–82: 176. Cuiridh MacMhathain (ibid. agus Matheson 1981, 68–80) air shùilibh gur h-e *Páice* an cruth Gàidhlig Thràth airson an ainm fireannaich SL *Balki* f.,[458] a nochdas ann an Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (Caib. 169: *Pall Balka s*on (Jónsson 1916, 557–58)). Ann am beachd MhicMhathain, nochdaidh an t-ainm *Páll Balkason* sa chruth *pol fili*us *boke* ann an Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum (f42v–f43r) na iar-riaghladair air an Eilean Sgitheanach[459] sa bhliadhna 1223, ged nach deach am fàs SL *Balki* > GA *Pàic*(*e*) a mhìneachadh, a rèir choltais (faic *Tobhta Phàic*, shìos); iomsgaraich GA *alc* (*falc*) b. < SL *alka* b., agus cha bhite a' sùileachadh GA [pʰ] /p/ à SL *b* thoisich mar a b' àbhaist.[460, 461]

Ann an Uibhist, tha an sloinneadh Brl. *Park* air a cheangal ris an dà chuid GA *MacPhairce* (le *a* ghoirid) agus GA *MacPhàic* (Mac an Tàilleir, gun bhliadhna), a chuireas air shùilibh, is dòcha, gun deach an sloinneadh Brl. *Park*(*s*) na GA *MacPhairce* > GA *MacPhàic* ann an Uibhist,[462] ach chan fhuasgail an teòirig sin a' cheist mu thùs an ainm fireannaich ann an GA *Tobhta Phàic* 'an tobhta aig *Pà*(*i*)*c*' NB410564, ann am *Borgh* #68 (1843–82 *Tota Phàic*).[463] Cuiridh sin air shùilibh gur

456. Coim. oidhirp eile air an ainm a thuigsinn ann an Ainm-leabhar na Suirbhidh Òrdanais OS1/27/126/10: ri taobh an ainm *Cleit Gil Mhic Phàic*, tha 'Signifies Emminence of McFay's Glen' air a dhubhadh às le loidhne.

457. <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/fullrecord/53010/1>.

458. Bheir Matheson Tìl. *Bálki*.

459. *uicecomes de ski* (Broderick 2004).

460. Ach mothaich GA (Leòdhas) *briosgaid*, *briogais*, *bris*, *bruich* agus *bucaid*, uile le [pʰ] /p/ thoisich (seach [b̥] /b/) (Oftedal 1956, 104; Cox 1917, 68).

461. Airson tuilleadh air Páll Balkason, faic Sellar 2000.

462. Ann a bhith a' deasachadh *Gaelic Words and Expressions from South Uist and Eriskay*, sgrìobhaidh Iain Latharna Caimbeul (McDonald 1972, 50, s.v. *brisgein*), 'Mac Park = Gaelic Mac Phàic'.

463. Ged a sgrìobhas MacMhathain (1970, 108) GA *Tobhta Phàic*, ann a bhith a' tàrmachadh GA *Pà*(*i*)*c* ann an SL *Balki* is dòcha gun robh e an urra airson a bheachd fhèin ri Mackenzie (1906, 307), aig a bheil '*Bàic* (*Toto Bhàic*), at Borve; from *Bàlki* [*sic*], a pers[onal] name, which has died out in Lewis.' 'S e *Tota Bhaic* (le *a* ghoirid) a th' aig MacIver (1934, 26), a dh'fheuchas ri thàrmachadh ann an SL '**Toptr-bakki* "back wall or ridge"' (?leugh. **Topt*(*a*)*bakki*, le bun-riochd (no ginideach iolra) an t-sònraicheir), ged a bhite a' sùileachadh beum air a' chiad lide na leithid de dh'ainm agus ged nach dèan an t-ainm mòran cèille.

A rèir choltais, chan eil an t-ainm-àite GA *Tobhta Phàic* air mhaireann. A rèir aithris, bha taigh-staile mì-laghail far a bheil an làrach taighe an iar-dheas air *Tobhta Phàic* air a' mhapa 1843–82 agus 's e *Tobar an Taigh-staile* a bh' air an tobar ri thaobh, agus thathas den bheachd gum b' e **An Tobhta Faire* ainm ceart na tobhta, .i. gum b' ann ann an sin a bhiodh

That suggests *MacPhàic* was probably simply associated, in the absence of any reasonable solution, with *MacPhairce* (and *Park*(*s*)).

#205 *Gil Thàiseadair* BAC
[ˌg̊ʲil ˈhaːˌʃaɖ̊əɾʲ],[464] (gen.) *Ghil Thàiseadair* [ˌɟil ˈhaːˌʃaɖ̊əɾʲ]; NB458397. 1843–82 *Gil Thàisader*, *Tigh Thàisader*.

The name of a narrow ravine in Sgìre a' Bhac, with a stream running through it; a Gaelic name, with ScG *gil* b. 'ravine; stream through a ravine', a loan-word from ON *gil* nt. 'ravine, gully' and a loan-name in the genitive from ON **Há-sætr* '(the) high sheiling', with the stem form of the adjective ON *hár* 'high' and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296); the site of *Taigh Thàiseadair* '*Thàiseadar* house' is still discernible above the ravine (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 34).

Cf. *Thàiseadar* #324, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch.

#206 *Giosladh* Ùig (Eng. *Gisla*)
[ˈg̊ʲiʂɬaɣ], [ˈg̊ʲiʂə ɬaɣ] §42 (i) (b), (gen.) *Ghioslaidh* [ˈɟiʂɬaj], [ˈɟiʂə ɬaj]; NB128256. 1821, 1822 *Gislay*; 1843–82 *Gisladh*; 1846 *Gistay* [*sic*]; 2007, road sign *Giosla*‖*Gisla*.

> Oftedal 1954, 384–85: '**Gisla** (CB) [gʹisʟaɣ][465] is ON **Gilsǫ́* "(the) river of the gorge", from ON *gil* nt. "gorge" and ON *ǫ́* f. "stream, river", with metathesis of *ls* to [sʟ] [§40 (iii)]. Hermann Pálsson, who suggested this solution to me, has seen the place and confirms that it is situated in a typical *gil*. The group *ls* has been dealt with differently in ScG *Giolas·aigh* (CB) [gˊiləsɛj], a little island between Harris and North Uist, from ON **Gilsøy* "(the) island of the gorge", and in ScG *Bhalasaigh* #62.'

The name of a township in Ùig, from ON **Gilsá* '(the) river of the gorge', with genitive of ON *gil* nt. 'ravine' and ON *á* f. 'stream, river' (which became *ǫ́* after 1200 §61). ON *gil* was itself borrowed into Scottish Gaelic, viz ScG *gil* f., which has the

the still kept watch (Donna Mhoireasdan, personal communication, from Aonghas Moireasdan and Cailean MacIlleathain). Note also that Aonghas Mac a' Ghobhainn (Angus Smith), who lived at 2 *Am Baile Àrd* #32 ?c. 1856, had the nickname *Am Peic* (Ruairidh Màrtainn, personal communication).

However, Robson (2003, 77: *MacPhaic*) suggests that *Pà*(*i*)*c* may have been in use in Lewis at the end of the 17th century: according to Martin Martin's account (1703, 77), 'John Fake who lives in *Pabble* ... is constantly troubled with a great Sneezing a day or two before Rain, and if the Sneezing be more than usual, the Rain is faid to be the greater; Therefore he is called the Rain *Almanack*.'

MacIver's derivation of *Gil MhicPhàic* (ibid., 62) – '[*]*Gil-vic-vaic*, or [*]*gil-vik-bak*: behind the bay of the ravine. It may be *veg*, way' – would be difficult to explain intelligibly but impossible to justify.

464. MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 34: [g̊ʹil ˈhaːˌʃaɖ̊əɾ̥].

465. (nMO) [g̊ʹisʟ˂ɑɣ].

h-e bh' ann 's gun deach *MacPhàic* a cheangal, gun fhuasgladh reusanta ri làimh, ri *MacPhairce* (agus *Park*(*s*)).

#205 *Gil Thàiseadair* BAC
[ˌg̊ʲil ˈhaːˌʃaɖ̊əɾʲ],[464] (gin.) *Ghil Thàiseadair* [ˌɟil ˈhaːˌʃaɖ̊əɾʲ]; NB458397. 1843–82 *Gil Thàisader*, *Tigh Thàisader*.

An t-ainm air gleann cumhang ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, trom bi allt a' ruith; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *gil* b. 'gleann cumhang; allt tro ghleann chumhang', facal-iasaid à SL *gil* n. 'gleann cumhang' agus ainm-iasaid san tuiseal ghinideach à SL **Há-sætr* '(an) àirigh àrd', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *hár* 'àrd' agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296); chithear làrach *Thaigh Thàiseadair* fhathast bhos cionn na gile (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 34).

Coim. *Thàiseadar* #324, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch.

#206 *Giosladh* Ùig
[ˈg̊ʲiʂɬaɣ], [ˈg̊ʲiʂə ɬaɣ] §42 (i) (b), (gin.) *Ghiosladh* [ˈɟiʂɬaj], [ˈɟiʂə ɬaj]; NB128256. 1821, 1822 *Gislay*; 1843–82 *Gisladh*; 1846 *Gistay* [*sic*]; 2007; soighne rathaid *Giosla*‖*Gisla*.

> Oftedal 1954, 384–85: 'S e SL **Gilsǫ́* 'abhainn na gile' a th' ann an **Gisla** (CB) [gʹisʟaɣ],[465] à SL *gil* n. 'slugaid' agus SL *ǫ́* b. 'sruth, abhainn', le eadar-chàradh ann an *ls* gu [sʟ] [§40 (iii)]. Tha Hermann Pálsson, a mhol am fuasgladh seo dhomh, air an t-àite fhaicinn is dearbhaichidh e gu bheil e air a shuidheachadh ann am fìor *ghil*. Chaidh dèiligeadh ris a' chòmhlan *ls* air atharrachadh dòigh ann an GA *Giolasaigh* (CB) [gʹiləsɛj], eilean beag eadar Na Hearadh is Uibhist a Tuath, à SL **Gilsøy* 'eilean na gile', agus ann an GA *Bhalasaigh* #62.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig, à SL **Gilsá* 'abhainn na slugaide', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *gil* n. 'slugaid' is SL *á* b. 'sruth, abhainn' (a chaidh na *ǫ́* an dèidh 1200 §61). Chaidh SL *gil* fhèin na fhacal-iasaid dhan Gàidhlig, .i. GA *gil* b., aig

muinntir an taigh-staile ri faire (Donna Mhoireasdan, conaltradh pearsanta, bho Aonghas Moireasdan agus Cailean MacIlleathain). Mothaich cuideachd gum b' e *Am Peic* am far-ainm a bh' air Aonghas Mac a' Ghobhainn a bha a' fuireach air Lot 2 anns *A' Bhaile Àrd* #32 ?c. 1856 (Ruairidh Màrtainn, conaltradh pearsanta).

Gidheadh, cuiridh Robson (2003, 77: *MacPhaic*) air shùilibh gur dòcha gun robh *Pà*(*i*)*c* ga chleachdadh ann an Leòdhas mu dheireadh na 17mh linne: a rèir cunntas MhicGille-Mhàrtainn (Martin 1703, 77), 'John Fake who lives in *Pabble* ... is constantly troubled with a great Sneezing a day or two before Rain, and if the Sneezing be more than usual, the Rain is faid to be the greater; Therefore he is called the Rain *Almanack*.'

Bhiodh am bunachas a th' aig MacIver (ibid., 62) airson *Gil MhicPhàic* – '[*]*Gil-vic-vaic*, or [*]*gil-vik-bak*: behind the bay of the ravine. It may be *veg*, way' – doirbh a mhìneachadh gu so-thuigsinneach ach do-dhèanta fhìreanachadh.

464. MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 34: [g̊ʹil ˈhaːˌʃaɖ̊əɾ̥].

465. (nMO) [g̊ʹisʟ˂ɑɣ].

primary sense ‘steep, narrow gully’ and the extended sense ‘stream in a steep, narrow gully’; cf. *Gil Thàiseadair* #205.

Later, Pálsson (1996, 316) suggests a derivation from an Old Norse river name based on ON *geisl* m. ‘staff’ or *geisli* m. ‘ray, beam’, suggesting a straight course. However, ON *ei* would yield a long vowel in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. [eː].[466]

#207 ***Giùrsadar*** STN (Eng. *Guershader*)
[ˈɡ̊ʲuːˌsaɖ̥əɾ], (gen.) *Ghiùrsadair* [ˈɟuːˌsaɖ̥əɾʲ]; NB413345. 1785 *Guifhedder*; 1843–82 *Giurshadir*; 1845 *Guirshadir*; 1934, 77 *Giurshader*; 2007, road sign *Giubharsiadar*‖*Guershader*.

The name of a settlement west of *Lacasdal* #231, in Steòrnabhagh; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Cox (1990b, 103–04) suggests this loan-name may be from ON **Gjurðssætr* ‘*Gjurðr*’s sheiling (or farm)’, with genitive of the man’s name (although *Gjurðr* is not a very common personal name), and ON *sætr* nt. (#296), or ON **Gjórsætr* ‘(the) sheiling of the gully’, with genitive of the noun ON *gjó*, a by-form of ON *gjá* f. ‘ravine’ (#58), which might be suitable here; for the alternation /o/ ~ /u/, cf. ScG *Crùlabhig* #159.

The pronunciation *[ˈɡ̊ʲu-əˌsaɖ̥əɾ] suggested by ScG (2007 and road sign[467]) *Giubharsiadar* was not recorded but, if both pronunciations are heard, cf. the same alternation between a long vowel on the one hand and hiatus between short vowels on the other in *Briacleit* #78.

Evemalm (2017, 18–19) associates (1654) *Ghercroy* with this name rather than *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194.

#208 ***Giùrsadar*** RBH
*[ˈɡ̊ʲuːˌsaɖ̥əɾ], (gen.) *Ghiùrsadair* *[ˈɟuːˌsaɖ̥əɾʲ]; NB509328. 1843–82 *Cnoc Ghuirshadair*; 1934, 79 *Giurshader*.

The name of an old settlement that is part of the township *Garrabost* #189, in An Rubha; probably the same name as *Giùrsadar* #207.

#209 ***Gleann Cloidh*** PRC
*[ˌɡ̊lãũn̪ ˈkʰl̪̊ɔj], (gen.) *Ghleann Cloidh* *[ˌɣlãũn̪ ˈkʰl̪̊ɔj]; NB253065. 1776, 1790, 1801 *L. Clay*; 1804, 1807 *Loch Clay*; 1821 *Clay*, *Glen Clay*, *Loch Clay*; 1843–82 *Gleann Claidh*, *Amhuinn Gleann Claidh*, *Loch Claidh*.

The name of a small deserted settlement in A’ Phàirc whose inhabitants were

466. Or [iː], cf. ScG *Gìsgil* < ON **Geis-gil* (#203, fn 453).

467. Also Lawson 2011, 55.

a bheil a’ phrìomh bhrìgh ‘slugaid chas chumhang’ agus a’ bhrìgh shìnte ‘sruth ann an gleann cas cumhang’; coim. *Gil Thàiseadair* #205.

Na b’ anmoiche, molaidh Pálsson (1996, 316) bunachas à ainm aibhne Lochlannais air a bhonntachadh air SL *geisl* f. ‘bata’ no *geisli* f. ‘gath, deò’, a’ cur slighe dhìreach air shùilibh. Gidheadh, bheireadh SL *ei* fuaimreag fhada ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann, .i. [eː].[466]

#207 ***Giùrsadar*** STN
[ˈɡ̊ʲuːˌsaɖ̥əɾ], (gin.) *Ghiùrsadair* [ˈɟuːˌsaɖ̥əɾʲ]; NB413345. 1785 *Guifhedder*; 1843–82 *Giurshadir*; 1845 *Guirshadir*; 1934, 77 *Giurshader*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Giubharsiadar*‖*Guershader*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh an iar air *Lacasdal* #231 ann an Steòrnabhagh; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Cuiridh Cox (1990b, 103–04) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Gjurðssætr* ‘an àirigh (no an tuathanas) aig *Gjurðr*’ a tha an t-ainm-iasaid seo, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich (ged nach eil an t-ainm pearsanta seo glè bhitheanta), agus SL *sætr* n. (#296), air neo SL **Gjórsætr* ‘àirigh na slugaide’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *gjó*, frith-riochd aig SL *gjá* b. ‘geodha’ (#58), a dh’fhaodadh a bhith freagarrach an seo; airson na h-iomlaide /o/ ~ /u/, coim. GA *Crùlabhig* #159.

Cha deach am fuaimneachadh *[ˈɡ̊ʲu-əˌsaɖ̥əɾ] a chuireas GA (2007 is soighne rathaid[467]) *Giubharsiadar* air shùilibh a chlàradh, ach, ma chluinnear an dà fhuaimneachadh, coim. an aon iomlaid eadar fuaimreag fhada air an dàrna làimh agus beàrnas eadar fuaimreagan goirid air an làimh eile ann am *Briacleit* #78.

Ceanglaidh Evemalm (2017, 18–19) (1654) *Ghercroy* ris an ainm seo seach *An Geàrraidh Cruaidh* #194.

#208 ***Giùrsadar*** RBH
*[ˈɡ̊ʲuːˌsaɖ̥əɾ], (gin.) *Ghiùrsadair* *[ˈɟuːˌsaɖ̥əɾʲ]; NB509328. 1843–82 *Cnoc Ghuirshadair*; 1934, 79 *Giurshader*.

An t-ainm air seann tuineachadh a tha na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Garrabost* #189, anns An Rubha; is math dh’fhaodte an t-aon ainm ri *Giùrsadar* #207.

#209 ***Gleann Cloidh*** PRC
*[ˌɡ̊lãũn̪ ˈkʰl̪̊ɔj], (gin.) *Ghleann Cloidh* *[ˌɣlãũn̪ ˈkʰl̪̊ɔj]; NB253065. 1776, 1790, 1801 *L. Clay*; 1804, 1807 *Loch Clay*; 1821 *Clay*, *Glen Clay*, *Loch Clay*; 1843–82 *Gleann Claidh*, *Amhuinn Gleann Claidh*, *Loch Claidh*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag fàs anns A’ Phàirc a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuad-

466. No [iː], coim. GA *Gìsgil* < SL **Geis-gil* (#203, bn 453).

467. Mar an ceudna Lawson 2011, 55.

evicted early in the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162); a Gaelic name.

The settlement was located at the head of a 5.5 km (3.4 mile) long, straight sea loch (*Loch Cloidh* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈkʰl̪ɔj]); the glen above it is about 1.3 km (0.8 mile) long and there is a further 1.2 km (0.75 mile) to the top of the pass leaving the glen. According to MacDonald (ibid.), this was 'the deepest, the most desolate, and to the superstitious natives, the most fearful glen in Lewis'.

This name seems likely to be from ScG *gleann* m. 'valley' (EG *glenn*) and genitive of the noun ScG *cladh* m. (EG *clad*). The primary sense of EG *clad* was 'ditch, trench' (*DIL*), hence the sense of the modern word 'burial ground, graveyard'. MacKenzie (1932, 268) suggests the same solution,[468] although with the sense 'burial'. EG *clad* was an *o*-stem noun, with genitive *claid*; today, it is found both as an *o*-stem and as a *u*-stem, with genitives *claidh* and *cladha*, respectively. For the alternation ScG [ˈkʰl̪ɔj] ~ *[ˈkʰl̪aj], see §43 (i).

?Cf. ScG *Gleann a' Chloidh* NN713368, in Perthshire;[469] and the diminutive form ScG *An Cladhan* NG993752, the name of a stream south-east of Lochewe.

#210 *An Gleann Dubh* STN
[əˌŋɡ̊lãũñ̪ ˈt̪̊u̥], (gen.) *A' Ghlinne Duibh* *[əˌɣlĩñ̪ə ˈt̪̊u̥ij];[470] NB419373. 1843–82 *Amhuinn a Ghlinn Duibh*.

The name of a housing estate built c.2009, in the township *Am Margadh Ùr* #247, in Steòrnabhagh; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *gleann* m. 'valley' (#209) + the adjective ScG *dubh* 'black' (EG *dub*). The estate is named after the valley and called *Gleann Dubh* in English.

#211 *Gleann Ghrabhair* CDL (Eng. *Glen Gravir*)
[ˌɡ̊lãũñ̪ ˈɣravəɾʲ], (gen.) *Ghleann Ghrabhair* [ˌɣlãũñ̪ ˈɣravəɾʲ]; NB372157. 1843–82 *Gleann Odhairn*; 2007 *Gleann Grabhair*‖*Glen Gravir*.

The name of an area of the township *Grabhair* #217, in A' Phàirc, called *Am Baile Ùr* #42 when the settlement was built in 1934; with ScG *gleann* 'valley' m. (#209) and genitive of the township name; Eng. *Glen Gravir*.

468. As well ScG *claid* [*sic*] 'green spot', ?cf. Dwelly *clòidh* 'paddock, small enclosure of grassland'.

469. According to local tradition, the proper name of this valley is ScG *Gleann a' Chlaidheimh* 'the valley of the sword', but this may be folk etymology (Jacob King, personal communication).

470. But (≈1843–82) *Abhainn a' Ghlinn Duibh* 'the river of—', which suggests (gen.) [ɣlẽĩñ̪].

ach tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162); ainm Gàidhlig.

Bha an tuineachadh aig ceann locha mara dhìrich (*Loch Cloidh* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈkʰl̪ɔj]) 5.5 clm (3.4 mìle) a dh'fhaid; tha an gleann bhos a chionn mu 1.3 clm (0.8 mìle) a dh'fhaid agus tha an tuilleadh 1.2 clm (0.75 mìle) ann mus ruigear mullach a' bhealaich a' fàgail a' ghlinne. A rèir an Dòmhnallaich (ibid.), b' e seo an gleann a bu doimhne, a b' aonaranaiche agus, do mhuinntir shaobh-chreidmhich an àite, an gleann a b' eagalaiche ann an Leòdhas.

Tha an coltas air gur h-ann à GA *gleann* f. (GT *glenn*) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *cladh* f. (GT *clad*) a tha an t-ainm seo. B' e 'clais, dìg' a bu phrìomh bhrìgh do GT *clad* (*DIL*), às a sin nua-bhrìgh an fhacail 'àite-tòrraidh'. Cuiridh MacKenzie (1932, 268) an t-aon fhuasgladh air shùilibh,[468] ach sa bhrìgh 'tiodhlacadh'. Bha GT *clad* na bhun-*o*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach *claid*; an-diugh, gheibhear e an dà chuid na bhun-*o* agus na bhun-*u*, leis na cruthan ginideach *claidh* agus *cladha*, fa leth. Airson na h-iomlaide GA [ˈkʰl̪ɔj] ~ *[ˈkʰl̪aj], faic §43 (i).

?Coim. GA *Gleann a' Chloidh* NN713368, ann an Siorrachd Pheairt;[469] is an cruth meanbhach GA *An Cladhan* NG993752, ainm air allt an ear-dheas air Loch Iubh.

#210 *An Gleann Dubh* STN
[əˌŋɡ̊lãũñ̪ ˈt̪̊u̥], (gin.) *A' Ghlinne Duibh* *[əˌɣlĩñ̪ə ˈt̪̊u̥ij];[470] NB419373. 1843–82 *Amhuinn a Ghlinn Duibh*.

An t-ainm air ionad thaighean air a thogail c.2009, sa bhaile fearainn *Am Margadh Ùr* #247, ann an Steòrnabhagh; ainm Gàidhlig leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *gleann* f. (#209) + a' bhuadhair GA *dubh* (GT *dub*). Chaidh an t-ionad ainmeachadh air a' ghleann agus 's e *Gleann Dubh* a th' air sa Bheurla.

#211 *Gleann Ghrabhair* CDL
[ˌɡ̊lãũñ̪ ˈɣravəɾʲ], (gin.) *Ghleann Ghrabhair* [ˌɣlãũñ̪ ˈɣravəɾʲ]; NB372157. 1843–82 *Gleann Odhairn*; 2007 *Gleann Grabhair*‖*Glen Gravir*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Grabhair* #217, anns A' Phàirc, air an robh *Am Baile Ùr* #42 nuair a chaidh an tuineachadh a thogail ann an 1934; le GA *gleann* f. (#209) agus tuiseal ginideach ainm a' bhaile fearainn; Brl. *Glen Gravir*.

468. Is GA *claid* [*sic*] 'green spot', ?coim. Dwelly *clòidh* 'paddock, small enclosure of grassland'.

469. A rèir beul-aithris ionadail, is e GA *Gleann a' Chlaidheimh* ainm ceart a' ghlinne seo ach faodaidh sin a bhith na dhinnsheanchas (Jacob King, conaltradh pearsanta).

470. Ach (≈1843–82) *Abhainn a' Ghlinn Duibh*, a chuireas (gin.) [ɣlẽĩñ̪] air shùilibh.

#212 *Gleann Tholstaidh* BAC (Eng. *Glen Tolsta*)
[ˌg̊lãũn̪ ˈhɔ̝̊ˌn̪staj],[471] (gen.) *Ghleann Tholstaidh* [ˌɣlãũn̪ ˈhɔ̝̊ˌn̪staj]; NB524446. 1843–82 *Bun a' Chlinne* [*sic*], *Geodha Ghorm Bún a Ghlinne*, *Port Bún a Ghlinne*, *Gleann Dìbidil*; 1895–1896[472] *Bun a' Ghlinne*, *Glen Tolsta*; 1921–30 *Bun a 'Ghlinne* [*sic*], *Glen Tolsta*; 1955–1961 *Bun a' Ghlinne*, [the settlement itself] *Glen Tolsta*; 2007, road sign *Gleann Tholastaidh*||*Glen Tolsta*.

The name of a small settlement at the foot of a deep valley, south of *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), in Sgìre a' Bhac; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *gleann* m. 'valley' (#209) and the Old Norse loan-name *Tolstadh* #331 in the genitive as specific. If the 1843–82 map form is authoritative, it appears that the name of this valley was originally ScG **Gleann Dìobadail* 'the valley of **Dìobadal*' (cf. #168) – hence the name of the settlement ScG *Bun a' Ghlinne* 'the foot of the valley', with ScG *bun* m. 'base, foot' (EG idem) and genitive of the specific, at its foot – but that the valley itself was renamed *Gleann Tholstaidh* sometime before the end of the 19th century, and the settlement sometime before the middle of the 20th century.

The original tenants of this settlement were shepherds in charge of the boundary between the farms of *Griais* #220 and *Tolstadh* #332 but, in 1842, all the tenants were relocated to *Tolstadh fo Dheas* #332 and new crofts made in *Gleann Tholstaidh* the following year.[473]

#213 *An Gleann Ùr* STN (Eng. *Newvalley*)
[əˌŋg̊lãũn̪ ˈu̟ːr], (gen.) *A' Ghlinne Ùir* *[əˌɣlĩn̪ə ˈu̟ːɾʲ]; NB417349. 1895–1896 *New Valley*; 2007 *An Gleann Ùr*||*Newvalley*; road sign *Newvalley*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: '**New Valley**. No Gaelic form recorded.'

The name of an area in Steòrnabhagh, made into a township in the 1850s (Lawson 2011, 54); a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *gleann* m. 'valley' (#209) + the adjective ScG *ùr* 'new' (#41). The township is called *Newvalley* in English, i.e. with the adjective Eng. *new* + the noun Eng. *valley* 'gleann', normally written as one.

It is not certain but likely that the name was created at the time the area was settled. There is however no evidence to say whether the Gaelic or the English name was created first – and the other one a translation – but, if architects and

471. (nMO) [glɛ̃ũˀʀ hɔˈl̪ɔstɑj], *Port Gleann Tholstaidh* [pɔʂʈ glɛn hɔˈl̪ɔstɑj].

472. 'Ross and Cromarty. [Isle of Lewis] Sheet XV. Second Edition, 1898. Surveyed in 1849. Re-Surveyed and Revised in 1895.'

473. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/109115>. According to Lawson (2011, 18), *Gleann Tholstaidh* was settled by people from *Leumrabhagh* #235 in 1850.

#212 *Gleann Tholstaidh* BAC
[ˌg̊lãũn̪ ˈhɔ̝̊ˌn̪staj],[471] (gin.) *Ghleann Tholstaidh* [ˌɣlãũn̪ ˈhɔ̝̊ˌn̪staj]; NB524446. 1843–82 *Bun a' Chlinne* [*sic*], *Geodha Ghorm Bún a Ghlinne*, *Port Bún a Ghlinne*, *Gleann Dìbidil*; 1895–1896[472] *Bun a' Ghlinne*, *Glen Tolsta*; 1921–30 *Bun a 'Ghlinne* [*sic*], *Glen Tolsta*; 1955–1961 *Bun a' Ghlinne*, [an tuineachadh fhèin] *Glen Tolsta*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Gleann Tholastaidh*||*Glen Tolsta*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag aig bun glinne dhomhainn, deas air *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332), ann an Sgìre a' Bhac; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *gleann* f. (#209) agus an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais *Tolstadh* #331 san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear. Mas ùghdarrasail cruth a' mhapa 1843–82, is coltach gum b' e GA **Gleann Dìobadail* (coim. #168) a bh' air a' ghleann seo bho thùs – às a sin GA *Bun a' Ghlinne*, le GA *bun* f. (GT idem) agus tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir, air an tuineachadh aig a bhun – ach gun deach *Gleann Tholstaidh* a thoirt air a' ghleann fhèin uaireigin ro dheireadh na 19mh linne, agus air an tuineachadh uaireigin ro mheadhan na 20mh linne.

B' e cìobairean a bha an ceann na crìche eadar tuathanasan *Ghriais* #220 is *Tholstaidh* #332 a bh' ann an luchd-gabhail an tuineachaidh seo bho thùs ach, an 1842, chaidh an luchd-gabhail uile a chur a *Tholstadh fo Dheas* #332 is chaidh croitean ùra a dhèanamh ann an *Gleann Tholstaidh* an ath-bhliadhna.[473]

#213 *An Gleann Ùr* STN
[əˌŋg̊lãũn̪ ˈu̟ːr], (gin.) *A' Ghlinne Ùir* *[əˌɣlĩn̪ə ˈu̟ːɾʲ]; NB417349. 1895–1896 *New Valley*; 2007 *An Gleann Ùr*||*Newvalley*; soighne rathaid *Newvalley*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: **New Valley**. Cha deach cruth Gàidhlig a chlàradh.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an Steòrnabhagh a chaidh na bhaile fearainn sna 1850an (Lawson 2011, 54); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *gleann* f. (#209) + a' bhuadhair GA *ùr* (#41). 'S e *Newvalley* a chanar ris a' bhaile fearainn seo sa Bheurla, i.e. leis a' bhuadhair Brl. *new* 'ùr' + an ainmear Brl. *valley* 'gleann', mar as trice air an sgrìobhadh mar-aon.

Ged nach eil e cinnteach, is coltach gun deach an t-ainm seo a chruthachadh an àm a chaidh a' cheàrnaidh a thuineachadh. Chan eil fianais ann, ge-tà, a dh'innseas an deach an t-ainm Gàidhlig no an t-ainm Beurla a chruthachadh an toiseach – agus am fear eile na thionndadh – ach, mas iad ailtirean is luchd-planaidh a bha

471. (nMO) [glɛ̃ũˀʀ hɔˈl̪ɔstɑj], *Port Gleann Tholstaidh* [pɔʂʈ glɛn hɔˈl̪ɔstɑj].

472. 'Ross and Cromarty. [Isle of Lewis] Sheet XV. Second Edition, 1898. Surveyed in 1849. Re-Surveyed and Revised in 1895.'

473. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/109115>. A rèir Lawson (2011, 18), chaidh *Gleann Tholstaidh* a thuineachadh le daoine à *Leumrabhagh* #235 ann an 1850.

planners were involved in the process, the English form possibly arose first.[474]

#214 *An Glìb* CTL (Eng. *Keose Glebe*)
[ə ˈŋg̊liːb̥], (gen.) *A' Ghlìb* [ə ˈɣliːb̥], or *Glìb Cheòis* [ˌg̊liːb̥ ˈçɔːʃ], (gen.) *Ghlìb Cheòis* [ˌɣliːb̥ ˈçɔːʃ]; NB361218. Cf. 1843–82 *Keos Manse*; 2007 *Glìb Cheòis*‖*Keose Glebe*.

The name of an area of the township *Ceòs* #123, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, that was a glebe (a parcel of land given to the minister by the church) until it was broken into crofts in the 1930s (Lawson 2011, 151); a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *glìb* m. (rather than feminine as given in dictionaries), a loan-word from Scots *glebe*. Cf. *An Glìb* 'the glebe' NB520325, in *Garrabost* #189.

Locally, ScG **Clìb Cheòis* [ˈkʰliːb̥ ˈçɔːʃ] was recorded – cf. (nMO) *'n Clìb* [ŋhliːb], with aphaeresis, and (nMO) [ˈkliːb ˈçɔːʃ]; it seems that initial [g̊] /g/ has sometime become [kʰ] /k/ in this context, cf. Eng. *Keose Glebe*.

#215 *Glogaiseadar* CTL
[ˈg̊l̪ɔg̊ə ˌʃaḍ̪ər], (gen.) *Ghlogaiseadair* [ˈɣl̪ɔg̊ə ˌʃaḍ̪ərʲ]; location not recorded, ?NB413272.

The name of a place in the township *Gruimseadar* #224, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with a generic from ON *-sætr* nt. 'sheiling' (#296) and an obscure specific.

#216 *An Gnìp* ÙIG (Eng. *Kneep*)
[ə ˈŋg̊ɾʲĩːʰp],[475] (gen.) *A' Ghnìp* [ə ˈɣɾʲĩːʰp]; NB097365. 1718 *Knip*; 1726, 1750M, 1776 *Kneep*; 1789, 1790 *Keep* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822 *Kneep*; 1843–82 *Kneep or Crìp*, *Sron a Chrìp*, *Traigh a Chrìp*, *Gleann Dubh a Chrìp*; 1846 *Kneep*; 2007, road sign *Cnip*‖*Kneep*.

The name of a township in Ùig; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *gnìp* m.

Henderson (1910, 172) and MacIver (1934, 99: *Traigh a chrìp*) derive ScG *gnìp* from ON *gnípa* f. 'steep mountain'; formally, ON *gnípa* would yield ScG *[g̊ɾʲĩːb̥ə] or (with apocope §44 (iii)) *[g̊ɾʲĩːb̥], but Oftedal suggests in his notes that ScG [ʰp]

474. Cf. Eng. *Brookside* NG380535, the name of a housing estate in Clachamish, in Skye, that was named *Taobh an Uillt* lit. 'the side of the stream' in Gaelic (<https://www.ainm·ean-aite.scot/placename/brookside/>).

475. (nMO) (without the article) [gðĩːʰp], (with the article) [ŋkðiːʰp].

an sàs ann, is dòcha gur h-e an cruth Beurla a dh'èirich an toiseach.[474]

#214 *An Glìb* CTL
[ə ˈŋg̊liːb̥], (gin.) *A' Ghlìb* [ə ˈɣliːb̥], no *Glìb Cheòis* [ˌg̊liːb̥ ˈçɔːʃ], (gin.) *Ghlìb Cheòis* [ˌɣliːb̥ ˈçɔːʃ]; NB361218. Coim. 1843–82 *Keos Manse*; 2007 *Glìb Cheòis*‖*Keose Glebe*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Ceòs* #123, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch a bha na ghlìb (cuibhreann fearainn a thugte dhan mhinistear leis an eaglais) gu 'n deach a bhriseadh na chroitean sna 1930an (Lawson 2011, 151); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *glìb* f. (seach boireann mar a bhios e ann am faclairean), facal-iasaid à Alb. *glebe*. Coim. *An Glìb* NB520325, ann an *Garrabost* #189.

Gu h-ionadail, chlàradh GA **Clìb Cheòis* [ˈkʰliːb̥ ˈçɔːʃ] – coim. (nMO) *'n Clìb* [ŋhliːb], le teasgadh toisich, agus (nMO) [ˈkliːb ˈçɔːʃ]; is coltach gu bheil an ceann-litir [g̊] /g/ air a dhol na [kʰ] /k/ air uairean san t-seagh seo, coim. Brl. *Keose Glebe*.

#215 *Glogaiseadar* CTL
[ˈg̊l̪ɔg̊ə ˌʃaḍ̪ər], (gin.) *Ghlogaiseadair* [ˈɣl̪ɔg̊ə ˌʃaḍ̪ərʲ]; àite gun a chlàradh, ?NB413272.

An t-ainm air àite anns a' bhaile fearainn *Gruimseadar* #224, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, le seòrsaich-ear à SL *-sætr* n. 'àirigh' (#296) agus sònraichear doilleir.

#216 *An Gnìp* ÙIG
[ə ˈŋg̊ɾʲĩːʰp],[475] (gin.) *A' Ghnìp* [ə ˈɣɾʲĩːʰp]; NB097365. 1718 *Knip*; 1726, 1750M, 1776 *Kneep*; 1789, 1790 *Keep* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822 *Kneep*; 1843–82 *Kneep or Crìp*, *Sron a Chrìp*, *Traigh a Chrìp*, *Gleann Dubh a Chrìp*; 1846 *Kneep*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Cnip*‖*Kneep*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *gnìp* f.

Bheir Henderson (1910, 172) agus MacIver (1934, 99: *Traigh a chrìp*) GA *gnìp* à SL *gnípa* b. 'beinn chas'; gu foirmeil, bheireadh SL *gnípa* GA *[g̊ɾʲĩːb̥ə] no (le teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)) *[g̊ɾʲĩːb̥], ach cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh na notaichean gur dòcha gu bheil GA [ʰp] /p/ air èirigh an dèidh fuaimreige fada sa Ghàidh-

474. Coim. Brl. *Brookside* NG380535, an t-ainm air ionad thaighean ann an Clach Amais, san Eilean Sgitheanach, air an deach *Taobh an Uillt* a chur sa Ghàidhlig (<https://www.ainmean-aite.scot/placename/brookside/>).

475. (nMO) (gun an t-alt) [gðĩːʰp], (leis an alt) [ŋkðiːʰp].

/p/ may have arisen following a long vowel in Gaelic.[476] Oftedal explains in his thesis on the Gaelic of *Liùrbost* (1956, 100) that aspirated stops ([pʰ, ʰp, t̪ʰ, ʰt̪, kʰ, ʰk] /p, t, k/ and [tʲʰ, ʰtʲ, kʲʰ, ʰkʲ] /t′, k′/) in Gaelic regularly correspond to Old Norse geminates *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, but that aspirated stops are occasionally found representing single ON *p*, *t*, *k* after long vowels and diphthongs, e.g. ON *bát* acc. m. 'boat' > ScG *bàta* /bɑ:t(ə)/ (p. 105), ON *beita* f. 'bait' > ScG *baoiteag* /bəit′ag/ (p. 90) and ON *brúk* nt. 'heap (of seaweed)' > ScG *brùchd* /bðu:xg/ (p. 103).[477]

In first place, although ON *bát* acc. was probably borrowed into Scottish Gaelic at some time, in its current form it seems likely that ScG *bàta* is a loanword from Scots or English *boat* or that it has at least been influenced by Scots or English (Cox 2008b, 169–71). In second place, Oftedal himself suggests that ScG *baoiteag* has probably passed through English, and one may compare Norn *betek* 'old or poor quality bait fish will not eat' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: [bētək, bēᵊtək, bɛ̄ᵃᵉtək]). In third place, Oftedal notes the unusual development both of ON *r* and *k* in ON *brúk* yielding ScG *brùchd* /bðu:xg/ (i.e. [b̥ɾʲu:xk]) rather than */bru:g/ (i.e. *[b̥ɾu:g̊]),[478] although an unusual idiolect was probably the cause of the slender *r* in Oftedal's transcription – contrast ScG [b̥ru:ʰk] (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *belch* n.) and [*b*ru:ʁg] (Dieckhoff 1932, s.v. *bruchd* v.); indeed, ScG *brùchd* is most probably from EG *brúcht*, an entirely regular development.[479]

It appears that the Board of Ordnance (1843–82) took the name ScG *An Gnìp* to be from the Scots word *kneep* 'lump' (*DSL*, s.v.) or 'lump; promontory' (Warrack 1988, s.v.). *DSL* gives the Scots forms *kneep*, *knipe*, *gneep* and *gneip* [(k)nip, gnip, (g)nəip], which might well yield [g̊ɾʲĩ:ʰp] or [kʰɾʲĩ:ʰp] in Gaelic, a variation ap-

476. ON *gnípa* became Norw. *nipe* (cf. Norn *nip* [nīp, nip] (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.)), with the word borrowed into Gaelic while the Old Norse word still had initial *gn* (cf. ScG *cnoc* [kʰɾõʰk] 'hill' (< EG *cnocc*)). Contrast the development in ScG *Nùb* [n̪ṵ̃:b̥] NB263435, the north-west corner of *A' Bheinn Mhòr* 'the great mountain' (alias *Beinn Bhradhagair* 'the mountain of *Bradhagair* #74'), in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), from OWNorn **Núp*, accusative of **Núpr*, from ON *gnúpr* m. 'peak' (> Norw. *nup*); cf. ScG *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ṵ:s̪t̪ə ˌb̥əɬ̪] (1843–82 *Glen Noustapal*) NF825207, in South Uist: Nicolaisen (2001, 119–22: 121) apparently adds this name to his map of loan-names in ON *-bólstaðr* f. 'farm' (#72), but it is more likely to be from OWNorn **Núpsdal* acc., with metathesis §40 (iii), with genitive of the specific and accusative of (ON) *dalr* f. 'valley' (Cox 1994, 53).

477. For CSc. **Vatsøy* > ScG *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪ə ˌs̪aj] ((MO) /vɑtəsaj/), see #341.

478. Cf ScG *Loch Còigabhat* [l̪ɔx ˈkʰɾɔ:g̊əˌvaʰt̪] 'the loch of **Còigabhat*' NB375272, with a specific from ON **Krókavatn* '(the) loch of the corner or bend' (Oftedal 1956, 110: /ʟɔx ˈkrɔ:gəvat/).

479. Cf. EG *secht* > ScG *seachd* [ʃɛxk], [ʃæxk] 'seven'.

lig.[476] Mìnichidh Oftedal na thràchdas air Gàidhlig *Liùrboist* (1956, 100) gum freagair na stadaich analaichte ([pʰ, ʰp, t̪ʰ, ʰt̪, kʰ, ʰk] /p, t, k/ agus [tʲʰ, ʰtʲ, kʲʰ, ʰkʲ] /t′, k′/) sa Ghàidhlig gu riaghailteach ris na h-eamhnaich Lochlannais *pp*, *tt*, *kk*, ach gun lorgar corra uair stadaich analaichte a' riochdachadh SL *p*, *t*, *k* shingilte an dèidh fhuaimreagan fada agus dhà-fhogharan, m.e. SL *bát* cusp. f. 'bàta' > GA *bàta* /bɑ:t(ə)/ (d. 105), SL *beita* b. 'biathadh, maghar' > GA *baoiteag* /bəit′ag/ (d. 90) agus SL *brúk* n. 'meall (feamann)' > GA *brùchd* /bðu:xg/ (d. 103).[477]

Sa chiad àite, ged as math dh'fhaodte gun robh SL *bát* cusp. na fhacal-iasaid ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann uair, sa chruth sa bheil am facal Gàidhlig an-diugh tha e nas coltaiche gu bheil e na iasad às an Albais no às a' Bheurla *boat*, air neo, aig a' char as lugha, gu bheil an Albais no a' Bheurla air buaidh a thoirt air (Cox 2008b, 169–71). San dàrna h-àite, cuiridh Oftedal fhèin air shùilibh gur math dh'fhaodte gu bheil GA *baoiteag* air a dhol tron Bheurla, agus faodar coimeas a dhèanamh ri Nòrn *betek* 'seann no droch bhiathadh nach ith an t-iasg' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: [bētək, bēᵊtək, bɛ̄ᵃᵉtək]). San treas àite, mothaichidh Oftedal fàs neo-àbhaisteach an dà chuid SL *r* agus *k* ann an SL *brúk* a bhith a' toirt GA *brùchd* /bðu:xg/ (.i. [b̥ɾʲu:xk]) seach */bru:g/ (.i. *[b̥ɾu:g̊]),[478] ged as math dh'fhaodte gur h-i leth-chainnt neo-àbhaisteach a bu choireach ris an *r* chaoil ann an trasgrìobhadh Oftedal – iomsgaraich GA [b̥ru:ʰk] (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *belch* ainm.) agus [*b*ru:ʁg] (Dieckhoff 1932, s.v. *bruchd* gn.); gu dearbh, is iongantach mana h-ann à GT *brúcht* a tha GA *brùchd*, fàs a tha gu tur riaghailteach.[479]

Is coltach gun do ghabh Bòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82) ris an ainm GA *An Gnìp* mar gur h-ann às an fhacal Albais *kneep* 'meall' (*DSL*, s.v.) no 'meall; rubha' (Warrack 1988, s.v.) a bha e. Tha na cruthan Albais *kneep*, *knipe*, *gneep* agus *gneip* [(k)nip, gnip, (g)nəip] aig *DSL*, a bheireadh, is math dh'fhaodte, [g̊ɾʲĩ:ʰp] no [kʰɾʲĩ:ʰp] sa Ghàidhlig, eugsamhlachadh a tha ga riochdachadh, a rèir choltais,

476. Chaidh SL *gnípa* na Nirr. *nipe* (coim. Nòrn *nip* [nīp, nip] (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.)), agus am facal air a dhol air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig fhad 's a bha *gn* thoisich fhathast aig an fhacal Lochlannais (coim. GA *cnoc* [kʰɾõʰk] (< GT *cnocc*)). Iomsgaraich an leasachadh ann an GA *Nùb* [n̪ṵ̃:b̥] NB263435, oisean an iar-thuath *Na Beinne Mòire* (no *Beinn Bhradhagair* (#74)), ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), à SNòrnI **Núp*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig **Núpr*, à SL *gnúpr* f. 'stùc, binnean' (> Nirr. *nup*); coim. GA *Nùstabal* [ˈn̪ṵ:s̪t̪ə ˌb̥əɬ̪] (1843–82 *Glen Noustapal*) NF825207, ann an Uibhist a Deas: cuiridh Nicolaisen (2001, 119–22: 121), a rèir choltais, an t-ainm seo air a' mhapa aige de dh'ainmean-iasaid à SL *-bólstaðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#72), ach tha e nas coltaiche gur h-ann à SNòrnI **Núpsdal* cusp. a tha e, le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii), le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir agus leis an tuiseal chuspaireach aig (SL) *dalr* f. 'gleann' (Cox 1994, 53).

477. Airson LB **Vatsøy* > GA *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰt̪ə ˌs̪aj] ((MO) /vɑtəsaj/), faic #341.

478. Coim. GA *Loch Còigabhat* [l̪ɔx ˈkʰɾɔ:g̊əˌvaʰt̪] NB375272, le sònraichear à SL **Króka-vatn* 'loch an oisein no na lùib' (Oftedal 1956, 110: /ʟɔx ˈkrɔ:gəvat/).

479. Coim. GT *secht* > GA *seachd* [ʃɛxk], [ʃæxk].

parently represented on the one hand by ScG *gnìp* (hence *An Gnìp*, ScG *Eilean a' Ghnìp* (1843–82 *Eilean a' Gnip*) 'the island of the steep mountain' NF797511, in Benbecula, and ScG *Rubha a' Ghnìp* (1843–82 *Rudha na Gnip*[480]) 'the promontory of—' NF822191,[481] in North Uist[482]), and on the other hand by ScG *cnìp* (hence ScG *An Cnìp* (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 17–18) [øŋ ˈkhrˈĩːp̪], (nMO) (without the article) [krĩːhp], [krẽːhp], (with the article) *Rubha a' Chnìp* [rɯ ˈxrẽːhp], [rɯ ˈxr̪ẽːhp] 'the promontory of *An Cnìp*', *gu 'n Chnìp* [gɔnə ˈx—] 'to *An Cnìp*' NB516422 (1843–82 *Crimp*), in *Griais* #220[483]); it seems that post-stress *p*, *t*, *k* in Scots are often represented by aspirated stops in Gaelic, e.g. ScG *gràp* [g̊ɾaːʰp] 'dung fork' < Scots *graip* (Oftedal 1956, 104: /grɑːp/), ScG *tac*(*a*) [ˈt̪ʰaʰk(ə)] 'small leased farm' < Scots *tack* (/tɑk(ə)/ (ibid., 106)) and ScG *lot* [l̪ɔʰt̪] 'croft' < Scots *lot.*

#217 *Grabhair* CDL (Eng. *Gravir*)
[ˈg̊ɾavəɾʲ], (gen.) *Ghrabhair* [ˈɣɾavəɾʲ]; NB389152. 1821 *Graver*; 1843–82 *Grabhir*; 1846 *Graver*; 2007 *Grabhair*‖*Gravir*.

> Oftedal 1954, 404–05: '**Graver** [grɑvəð][484] is ON **Grafir*, nominative or accusative plural of ON *grǫf* f. "a hollow (natural or artificial)", also "grave, tomb". I have not seen the place, but the map shows that the village is situated on the steep shore of *Loch Odhairn*, on the side of two very short and narrow valleys or dells which almost converge where they reach the loch. These may easily be what the name refers to. **Grafir* or **Grafar* is not uncommon in Norway, see *NG* V, 361, VII, 170, 251 and 393. Cf. also *De Gravens* in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 49).'

The name of a township at the head of *Loch Odhairn* (#82, fn 83), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Grafir*,[485] nominative or accusative plural of ON *grǫf* f. 'hollow; trench; hole', a name that is an apt description of the topography here.

480. In the Ordnance Survey Name Book OS1/18/13/124, also written *Rudha na Gnìp*.

481. Cf. ≈Caimbeul 1973, 116: 'eadar Roghadal agus Gnìp Uibhist' (between Rodel and the Gnìp of Uist).

482. Note (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Greep*) ScG *An Grìob*, *An Grìpe* NG264426, in Skye, which Forbes (1923, 207) derives from ON *gnípa* also.

483. In his notes, Oftedal suggests that both ScG *An Gnìp* and ScG *An Cnìp* originate in ON *gnípa*, but without further explanation.

484. (nMO) [grɑvəð] (?for -[r]-), [g̊ɾavəð̞].

485. There were both the forms *grafir* and *grafar* in Old Norse; according to the pronunciation [ɾʲ] at the end of the Gaelic reflex, *grafir* was the form used here, but see §13.

air an dàrna làimh le GA *gnìp* (às a sin *An Gnìp*, GA *Eilean a' Ghnìp* (1843–82 *Eilean a' Gnip*) NF797511, ann am Beinn na Fadhla, agus GA *Rubha a' Ghnìp* (1843–82 *Rudha na Gnip*[480]) NF822191,[481] ann an Uibhist a Tuath[482]), agus air an làimh eile le GA *cnìp* (às a sin GA *An Cnìp* (MacDhòmhnaill 1997, 17–18) [øŋ ˈkhrˈĩːp̪], (nMO) (gun an t-alt) [krĩːhp], [krẽːhp], (leis an alt) *Rubha a' Chnìp* [rɯ ˈxrẽːhp], [rɯ ˈxr̪ẽːhp], *gu 'n Chnìp* [gɔnə ˈx—] NB516422 (1843–82 *Crimp*), ann an *Griais* #220[483]); is coltach gun tèid Alb. *p*, *t*, *k* iar-bheumach a riochdachadh gu tric le stadaich analaichte sa Ghàidhlig, m.e. GA *gràp* [g̊ɾaːʰp] < Alb. *graip* (Oftedal 1956, 104: /grɑːp/), GA *tac*(*a*) [ˈt̪ʰaʰk(ə)] < Alb. *tack* (/tɑk(ə)/ (ibid., 106)) agus GA *lot* [l̪ɔʰt̪] 'croit' < Alb. *lot.*

#217 *Grabhair* CDL
[ˈg̊ɾavəɾʲ], (gin.) *Ghrabhair* [ˈɣɾavəɾʲ]; NB389152. 1821 *Graver*; 1843–82 *Grabhir*; 1846 *Graver*; 2007 *Grabhair*‖*Gravir*.

> Oftedal 1954, 404–05: 'S e SL **Grafir* a th' ann an **Graver** [grɑvəð],[484] an tuiseal ainmneach no cuspaireach iolra aig SL *grǫf* b. 'lag (nàdarra no fuadain)', cuideachd 'uaigh'. Chan fhaca mi an t-àite, ach seallaidh am mapa gur h-ann air cliathaich chais *Loch Odhairn* a tha am baile, air taobh dà ghlinne ghoirid chumhaing a thig an ìre mhaith còmhladh far an ruig iad an loch. Is fìor choltach gur h-ann orra seo a tha an t-ainm a-mach. Chan eil **Grafir* no **Grafar* gun a bhith bitheanta ann an Nirribhidh, faic *NG* V, 361, VII, 170, 251 agus 393. Coim. *De Gravens* ann an Sealtainn mar an ceudna (Jakobsen 1936, 49).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn aig ceann *Loch Odhairn* (#82, fn 83), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig air a thoirt air iasad à SL **Grafir*,[485] an tuiseal ainmneach no cuspaireach iolra aig SL *grǫf* b. 'lag; dìg; toll', ainm a tha na dheagh thuairisgeul air cruth na tìre ann an seo.

480. Ann an Ainm-leabhar na Suirbhidh Òrdanais OS1/18/13/124, air a sgrìobhadh *Rudha na Gnìp* mar an ceudna.

481. Coim. ≈Caimbeul 1973, 116: 'eadar Roghadal agus Gnìp Uibhist'.

482. Mothaich (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Greep*) GA *An Grìob*, *An Grìpe* NG264426, san Eilean Sgitheanach, a bheir Forbes (1923, 207) à SL *gnípa* mar an ceudna.

483. Na notaichean, cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh gun do thàrmaich an dà chuid GA *An Gnìp* agus GA *An Cnìp* ann an SL *gnípa*, ach gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh.

484. (nMO) [grɑvəð] (?for -[r]-), [g̊ɾavəð̞].

485. Bha an dà chruth *grafir* agus *grafar* san t-Seann Lochlannais; a rèir an fhuaimneachaidh [ɾʲ] aig deireadh an riochda Ghàidhlig, 's e *grafir* an cruth a chleachdte an seo, ach faic §13.

#218 *Gràsabhig* ÙIG
[ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ], (gen.) *Ghràsabhig* [ˈɣɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ]; NB113322. 1843 *Gràsabhaig*, *Tob Ghràsabhaig*, *Rudha Ghràsabhaig*.

Oftedal 1954, 385: '**Grassavig** [?]. Presumably a name in ON *-vík* f. "bay".'

The name of a small settlement north of *Gèiseadar* #203, in Ùig. The settlement is situated on the east side of *Tòb Ghràsabhig* 'the inlet of *Gràsabhig*', a long, narrow inlet that runs northwards into a bay; in the middle of the 19th century, the settlement was at NB112324, above the bay and the mouth of the inlet. This is a Gaelic name, borrowed from Old Norse.

In his notes, Oftedal records '[g̊ɾɑːsəviɣ̊ʲ] (*sic*; perhaps [aː], but long)' and, as a solution, suggests ON *Grá-gás*(*a*)*vík* '(the) grey goose-bay (or the bay of the grey geese)', with the stem form (or genitive plural) of the noun ON *grá-gás* f. 'grey goose' and ON *vík* f. 'bay'. However, he notes that the Gaelic reflex 'should have been *[g̊ɾaː-əsəviɣ̊ʲ] but there is hardly [any] other solution.' Ordinarily, however, ON **Grá-gás*(*a*)*vík* could be expected to yield ScG *[ˈg̊ɾaːg̊əs̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ] (or *[ˈg̊ɾaːg̊əˌs̪iɣ̊ʲ]) and it is not clear why that should have been contracted to ScG [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ].

One might consider other solutions with the adjective ON *grár* 'grey'. Either ON **Grá-ássvík*, with genitive of the noun ON *áss* m. 'ridge', or ON **Grá-óssvík*, with genitive of the noun ON *óss* m. 'river mouth', would yield ScG *[ˈg̊ɾaː-as̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ] in the first instance, which could shorten to ScG *[ˈg̊ɾa-as̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ] naturally, which might perhaps give [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ], with an epenthetic vowel between [s̪] and [v] §42 (i) (b) and disyllabic [a-a] becoming monosyllabic [aː] §43 (vii) (b). However, even if we accept these developments in principle, it seems unlikely that 'grey ridge' was ever a suitable description for the east side of the inlet – it might have been for the other side – and the form 'grey river mouth' itself is perhaps unlikely.

However, ON **Grá-sund-vík*, with the stem form of the noun ON *sund* nt. in the sense 'small, narrow bay where boats can put in' (cf. ON **Hóp*(*s*)*sund* > ScG *Tòpsann* #335), would suit the topography well and ON **Grá-sund-vík* might yield EG *[ˈgɾaːs̪ən̪ˌβʲiːgʲ] in the first instance, which would easily give ScG [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ].

#219 *Grèineabost* BRN
*[ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) *Ghrèineaboist* *[ˈɣɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔʃt̪ʲ],[486] NB140414. 1843–82 *Greinabost Mhor*/*Bheag*; *Traigh Ghreinabost Bheag*; *Mol Ghreinabost Mhor*; Macaulay 1972, 334 *Grèineabost*.

486. Although palatalisation is absent from the Board of Ordnance (1843–82) forms, *Traigh Ghreinabost Bheag* and *Mol Ghreinabost Mhor*.

#218 *Gràsabhig* ÙIG
[ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ], (gin.) *Ghràsabhig* [ˈɣɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ]; NB113322. 1843 *Gràsabhaig*, *Tob Ghràsabhaig*, *Rudha Ghràsabhaig*.

Oftedal 1954, 385: **Grassavig** [?]. A rèir choltais na ainm ann an SL *-vík* b. 'bàgh'.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag tuath air *Gèiseadar* #203, ann an Ùig. Tha an tuineachadh air taobh an ear *Thòb Ghràsabhig*, tòb fada caol a ruitheas gu tuath do bhàgh; am meadhan na 19mh linne, bha an tuineachadh aig NB112324, bhos cionn a' bhàigh agus beul an tàib. Tha *Gràsabhig* na ainm Gàidhlig, air iasad às an Lochlannais.

Na notaichean, clàraichidh Oftedal '[g̊ɾɑːsəviɣ̊ʲ] (*sic*; perhaps [aː], but long)' agus, mar fhuasgladh, cuiridh e air shùilibh SL **Grá-gás*(*a*)*vík* '(an) glas-ghèadh-bhàgh (no bàgh nan glas-ghèadh)', le bun-riochd (no ginideach iolra) an ainmeir SL *grá-gás* b. 'glas-ghèadh' agus SL *vík* b. 'bàgh'. Gidheadh, canaidh e gun robh còir gun robh *[g̊ɾaː-əsəviɣ̊ʲ] san riochd Ghàidhlig ach gur gann gu bheil fuasgladh eile ann. Gu riaghailteach, ge-tà, dh'fhaodte sùileachadh GA *[ˈg̊ɾaːg̊əs̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ] (no *[ˈg̊ɾaːg̊əˌs̪iɣ̊ʲ]) à SL **Grá-gás*(*a*)*vík*, agus chan eil e soilleir carson a theannaicheadh sin gu GA [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ].

Dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air fuasglaidhean eile leis a' bhuadhair SL *grár* 'liath'. Bheireadh aon chuid SL **Grá-ássvík*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *áss* f. 'druim', no SL **Grá-óssvík*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *óss* f. 'òs, beul aibhne', GA *[ˈg̊ɾaː-as̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ] sa chiad àite, a ghabhadh giorrachadh gu GA *[ˈg̊ɾa-as̪ˌviɣ̊ʲ] gu nàdarra, a bheireadh GA [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] is dòcha, le fuaimreig còmhnaidh eadar [s̪] agus [v] §42 (i) (b) agus [a-a] dhà-lideach a' dol na [aː] aon-lideach §43 (vii) (b). Gidheadh, ged a thèid leis na leasachaidhean seo ann am prionnsabal, cha choltach gun robh 'druim liath' a-riamh air a bhith freagarrach mar thuairsgeul air taobh an ear an tàib – dh'fhaodte gun robh air an taobh thall – agus is dòcha nach eil an cruth 'òs liath' fhèin ro choltach.

Gidheadh, fhreagradh SL **Grá-sund-vík*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sund* n. sa bhrìgh 'bàgh beag cumhang far am faigh eathraichean air tìr' (coim. SL **Hóp*(*s*)*sund* > GA *Tòpsann* #335), cruth na tìre gu math agus is dòcha gun toireadh SL **Grá-sund-vík* GT *[ˈgɾaːs̪ən̪ˌβʲiːgʲ] sa chiad char, a bheireadh GA [ˈg̊ɾaːs̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ] gu furasta.

#219 *Grèineabost* BRN
*[ˈg̊ɾʲẽːnəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) *Ghrèineaboist* *[ˈɣɾʲeːnəˌb̥ɔʃt̪ʲ],[486] NB140414. 1843–82 *Greinabost Mhor*/*Bheag*; *Traigh Ghreinabost Bheag*; *Mol Ghreinabost Mhor*; Macaulay 1972, 334 *Grèineabost*.

486. Ged nach fhaighear càireanachadh ann an cruthan Bhòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82), *Traigh Ghreinabost Bheag* agus *Mol Ghreinabost Mhor*.

The name of an area on the island *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, in BEÀRNARAIGH, from ON **Grónabólstað* acc. '(the) green farm', with the neuter weak form of the adjective ON *grónn* 'green' + accusative of ON *bólstaðr* m. 'farm' (#72).

The adjective ON *grónn* is common in Old Norse loan-names in the Western Isles, cf. ScG *Grèineabhal* [ˈgɾʲẽːnəˌvaɬ̃], from ON *Grónafjall* '(the) green mountain', with the neuter weak form of the adjective + ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain': at NB251341, in *Callanis* #94, and at NB305256,[487] in *Sgìre nan Loch*; also, *Grèineam* [ˈgɾʲeːnam] from ON *Grón-holm* acc. '(the) green-isle',[488] with the stem form of the adjective and accusative of the noun *holmr* m. 'island': at NB127388 (nMO) [gðeːnɑm], west of *Beàrnaraigh* #51, at NB199358,[489] north-west of *Britheas·cleit* #79, and at NA980245 (nMO) [gðeːnɛm]), opposite *Mialastadh* #252, also at NG212943, south of Scalpay, at NF922777 and at NF996748, both north-east of North Uist.

#220 ***Griais*** BAC (Eng. *Gress*)
[gɾʲiaʃ], (gen.) *Ghriais* [ɣɾʲiaʃ]; NB489426. 1654 *Kries*; 1703 *Greafe*; 1718 *Grace*; 1726 *Gress*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Grace*; 1797 *Gress*; 1801 *Crace*; 1804 *Grace*; 1807 *Gres*; 1821, 1822 *Gress*; 1843–82 *Gress*, *Gress Church* (*in ruins*), *Amhuinn Ghriais*, *Loch Ghriais*. 1845, 1846 *Gress*; 1846JW *Grace*; 1934, 12 *Grias*; 2007 *Grìas*‖*Gress*; 2016, road sign *Griais*‖*Gress*.

> Oftedal 1954, 390–91: '**Gress** [gðias], (gen.) [ɣðiaʃ][490] (pronunciation quoted from memory) is a rather difficult name. As ScG [iɑ] normally corresponds to OG *é*, which is retained as [eː] before palatal consonants, the expected "regular" genitive is *[ɣðeːʃ], cf. ScG *breug* [bðiag] "lie" (MG *bréc*] ~ (gen.) [bðeːgʹə]. The fact that the genitive has [iɑ] immediately followed by palatal [ʃ] – a combination that does not normally occur in the dialect – indicates an earlier (but recent) pronunciation (nom.) *[gðia-əs], (gen.) *[ɣðia-iʃ]. This might well represent ON **Gróðuóss* '(the) mouth of the river **Gróða*'. The Old Norse vowel *ǿ* behaves like OG *é* in the few certain examples I have; compare ScG *Grèineabhal* [gðeːnəvɑʟ] (ON **Grónafjall*) and ScG *Grèineam* [gðeːnam] (ON **Grón-holmr*)[491] with the adjective ScG *treun* [treːn] "strong" (MG *trén*). It is, therefore, easily conceivable that ON *ǿ*

487. (nMO) *Grèineabhal Ghlas* [gðeːnəvaɬˈɣɬas] 'the green *Grèineabhal*', *Grèineabhal Riabhach* [gðeːnəvaɬˈɻiəvəx] 'the brindled *Grèineabhal*'.

488. Cf. ScG *An t-Eilean Glas* 'the green island', e.g. at NB199423, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134.

489. (nMO) [gðeːnɑm].

490. (nMO) [ʟɔxˈɣrʹiaʃ].

491. See under *Grèineabost* #219.

An t-ainm air àite air an eilean *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, ann am BEÀRNARAIGH, à SL **Grónabólstað* cusp. '(an) tuathanas glas', le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair SL *grónn* 'uaine, glas' + an tuiseal chuspaireach aig SL *bólstaðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#72).

Tha am buadhair SL *grónn* cumanta ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais sna h-Eileanan Siar, coim. GA *Grèineabhal* [ˈgɾʲẽːnəˌvaɬ̃], à SL **Grónafjall* '(a') bheinn ghlas', le cruth lag neodrach a' bhuadhair + SL *fjall* n. 'beinn': aig NB251341, ann an *Callanis* #94, agus aig NB305256,[487] ann an *Sgìre nan Loch*; cuideachd, *Grèineam* [ˈgɾʲeːnam] à SL **Grón-holm* cusp. '(an) glas-eilean',[488] le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir *holmr* f. 'eilean': aig NB127388 (nMO) [gðeːnɑm], an iar air *Beàrnaraigh* #51, aig NB199358,[489] an iar-thuath air *Britheascleit* #79, agus aig NA980245 (nMO) [gðeːnɛm]), mu choinneimh *Mhialastaidh* #252, cuideachd aig NG212943, deas air Sgalpaigh, aig NF922777 agus aig NF996748, an dà chuid an ear-thuath air Uibhist a Tuath.

#220 ***Griais*** BAC
[gɾʲiaʃ], (gin.) *Ghriais* [ɣɾʲiaʃ]; NB489426. 1654 *Kries*; 1703 *Greafe*; 1718 *Grace*; 1726 *Gress*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Grace*; 1797 *Gress*; 1801 *Crace*; 1804 *Grace*; 1807 *Gres*; 1821, 1822 *Gress*; 1843–82 *Gress*, *Gress Church* (*in ruins*), *Amhuinn Ghriais*, *Loch Ghriais*. 1845, 1846 *Gress*; 1846JW *Grace*; 1934, 12 *Grias*; 2007 *Grìas*‖*Gress*; 2016, soighne rathaid *Griais*‖*Gress*.

> Oftedal 1954, 390–91: 'Tha **Gress** [gðias], (gin.) [ɣðiaʃ][490] (am fuaimneachadh bho chuimhne) na ainm caran doirbh. Seach gum bi GA [iɑ] a' co-fhreagradh mar as trice ri SG *é*, a thèid a ghleidheadh mar [eː] air thoiseach air connragan càireanach, 's e *[ɣðeːʃ] an cruth ginideach àbhaisteach a bhite a' sùileachadh, coim. GA *breug* [bðiag] (MG *bréc*] ~ (gin.) [bðeːgʹə]. Sònraichidh mar a bhios [iɑ] san tuiseal ghinideach air a leantainn le [ʃ] chàireanach – co-mheasgachadh nach lorgar mar as trice san dualchainnt – am fuaimneachadh nas tràithe (ach gun a bhith sean) (bun.) *[gðia-əs], (gin.) *[ɣðia-iʃ]. Is math dh'fhaodte gun riochdaich seo SL **Gróðuóss* 'beul na h-aibhne **Gróða*'. Is dual dhan fhuaimreig Lochlannais *ǿ* a bhith na SG *é* sna beagan eisimpleirean cinnteach a th' agam; coimeas GA *Grèineabhal* [gðeːnəvaʟ] (SL **Grónafjall*) agus GA *Grèineam* [gðeːnam] (SL **Grón-holmr*)[491] ris a' bhuadhair GA *treun* [treːn] 'làidir' (MG *trén*). Gabhaidh e creidsinn gu furasta, a-rèist, gun toireadh SL *ǿ* GA [iɑ] ro *ð*; coim.

487. (nMO) *Grèineabhal Ghlas* [gðeːnəvaɬˈɣɬas], *Grèineabhal Riabhach* [gðeːnəvaɬˈɻiəvəx].

488. Coim. GA *An t-Eilean Glas*, m.e. aig NB199423, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134.

489. (nMO) [gðeːnɑm].

490. (nMO) [ʟɔxˈɣrʹiaʃ].

491. Faic fo *Grèineabost* #219.

would give ScG [iɑ] before *ð*; cf. ScG *gèadh* [gʹiaɣ] "goose" with MG *géaḋ* "goose". ON *é* would also probably yield ScG [iɑ], and ON *æ* is known to do so in several instances, but I cannot at present find any relevant Old Norse elements containing either of these vowels. Even **Gróðuóss* is rendered somewhat doubtful by the fact that a skerry off *Beàrnaraigh* #51 is called ScG [flə-əʃkʹið] NB122419, apparently from ON **Flóðarsker* "(the) skerry covered by the tide".[492]

'There is a river *Grøa* (from ON **Gróða*) in Sunndalen, Norway, and several farm names seem to be derived from a similar river name. **Gróða* is a derivative of the verb ON *gróða* "to cause to grow" (*NE* 83). **Gress** is siuated near the mouth of the present *Abhainn Ghriais* 'the river of *Grias*', one of the largest rivers in Lewis.'

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Bhac that was a farm until 1922 (Lawson 2011, 24). It seems that the genitive form ScG *Griais* (without lenition) has been normalised as the radical form in general today and was with some Gaelic speakers before the Second World War (cf. MacThómais 1938, 104).

Pace Oftedal, ON **Gróðuós* acc. would yield ScG *[gˠrʲia-aʂ̈] rather than *[gˠrʲia-əʂ̈] in the first instance. However, that itself might yield ScG [gˠrʲiaʂ̈] as a radical form in the modern language.

#221 ***An Grianan*** STN
[ə ˈŋgˠrʲĩənan], (gen.) *A' Ghrianain* [ə ˈɣrʲĩənan]; NB419358. 1843–82 *Grianan*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: '**Grianan** [?] is Modern Gaelic *grianan* "sunny spot", unless the map spelling is completely misleading.'

The name of an area of the township *Am Margadh Ùr* #247, in Steòrnabhagh, named after the hill behind it; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *grianan* m. 'sunny place' (i.e. exposed to the sun), from ScG *grian* f. (EG *grían*) + the suffix *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59; cf. Watson 1904, lxxxvi).

The element *grianan* occurs in several places in Lewis, e.g. ScG *An Grianan Mòr* 'the greater *Grianan*' and *An Grianan Beag* 'the lesser *Grianan*' (the names of hills) NB265372, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), and *Druim a' Ghrianain* 'the ridge (of the sunny place)' NB236403, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202; cf. (1843–82) *Grianan* NF682013, in Barra, and NR333477, in Islay, and (≈CMR) *An Grianan* NN479427, in Perthshire (in King 2019, 292).

492. So also Macaulay (1972, 330: *Fleadhaisgeir*). Unless ScG [ˈflə-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ] ([ˈfləʊ-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ]) is an allophonic variant of *[ˈfle-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ], cf. ScG *beag* [bˌeg̊] ~ [bˌəg̊] ([bˌøg̊]) 'little'.

GA *gèadh* [gʹiaɣ] ri MG *géaḋ* 'gèadh'. Is iongantach mana toireadh SL *é* GA [iɑ] cuideachd, agus aithnichear gun dèan SL *æ* sin ann an corra sheagh, ach chan urrainn dhomh aig an àm seo eileamaidean Lochlannais iomchaidh sam bith a lorg sa bheil tè seach tè de na fuaimreagan seo. Thèid **Gróðuóss* fhèin a chur fo theagamh gu ìre seach gur h-e GA [flə-əʃkʹið] NB122419 a chanar ri sgeir faisg air *Beàrnaraigh* #51, a rèir choltais à SL **Flóðarsker* '(an) sgeir air a còmhdachadh leis an làn'.[492]

Tha abhainn air a bheil *Grøa* (à SL **Gróða*) ann an Sunndalen, Nirribhidh, agus is coltach gun tàrmaich corra ainmean tuathanais ann an ainm aibhne coltach ris. Tha **Gróða* na bhunadair aig a' ghnìomhair SL *gróða* 'cuir ri fàs' (*NE* 83). Tha **Gress** air a shuidheachadh faisg air beul *Abhainn Ghriais*, tè de na h-aibhnichean as motha ann an Leòdhas.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Bhac a bha na thuathanas gu 1922 (Lawson 2011, 24). Is coltach gu bheil an cruth ginideach GA *Griais* (gun sèimheachadh) air àbhaisteachadh na chruth bunasach san fharsaingeachd an-diugh agus bha aig cuid aig an robh a' Ghàidhlig ron Dàrna Cogadh (coim. MacThómais 1938, 104).

Pace Oftedal, bheireadh SL **Gróðuós* cusp. GA *[gˠrʲia-aʂ̈] seach *[gˠrʲia-əʂ̈] sa chiad char. Gidheadh, dh'fhaodadh sin fhèin GA [gˠrʲiaʂ̈] a thoirt mar chruth bunasach san nua-chànan.

#221 ***An Grianan*** STN
[ə ˈŋgˠrʲĩənan], (gin.) *A' Ghrianain* [ə ˈɣrʲĩənan]; NB419358. 1843–82 *Grianan*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: Is e an Nua-Ghàidhlig *grianan* 'bad grianach' a th' ann an **Grianan** [?], mana h-eil litreachadh a' mhapa gu tur ceàrr.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Am Margadh Ùr* #247, ann an Steòrnabhagh, air ainmeachadh air a' chnoc air a chùlaibh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *grianan* f. 'àite grianach' (.i. a bhith ris a' ghrèin), à GA *grian* b. (GT *grían*) + an iar-leasachan *-an* (Cox 2002a, 59; coim. Watson 1904, lxxxvi).

Nochdaidh an eileamaid *grianan* ann an corra àite ann an Leòdhas, m.e. GA *An Grianan Mòr* '*An Grianan* as motha' agus *An Grianan Beag* '*An Grianan* as lugha' (ainmean chnoc) NB265372, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), agus *Druim a' Ghrianain* NB236403, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202; coim. (1843–82) *Grianan* NF682013, ann am Barraigh, agus NR333477, ann an Ìle, agus (≈CMR) *An Grianan* NN479427, ann an Siorrachd Pheairt (King 2019, 292).

492. Mar sin cuideachd Macaulay (1972, 330: *Fleadhaisgeir*). Mana h-eil GA [ˈflə-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ] ([ˈfləʊ-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ]) na eugsamhail eil-fhuinneach air *[ˈfle-ə ˌʃkʲeɾʲ], coim. GA *beag* [bˌeg̊] ~ [bˌəg̊] ([bˌøg̊]).

#222 *Griogasbol* TLS

[ˈgɾʲiəgə ˌsp̪ɔɬ̪], (gen.) *Ghriogasbol* *[ˈɣɾʲiəgə ˌsp̪ɔl]; NB226144. 1821 [?] *Avon Gingas*; 1843–82 *Grígaspul, Port Ghrígaspuil, Rudha Ghrígaspuil, Amhuinn Ghrígaspuil*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the west side of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in Taobh Loch Shìophort; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

It appears that those involved in the 1843–82 map were of the view that the generic of the Old Norse name behind *Griogasbol* was ON *pollr* m. 'pool' – perhaps due to the shape of the bay here and to the name *Am Poll Dubh* #272 in the same area.[493] However, final ON *poll* acc. would yield ScG [ˌpəɬ̪], [pəɬ̪], e.g. ScG *Ulapul* [ˈuɬ̪əˌpəɬ̪] NH128941 (Eng. *Ullapool*), in Ross-shire (Cox 1994, 50–57).[494]

This name may be from ON **Gregusból* '*Gregus*'s farm', with genitive of the man's name ON **Gregus* m., a short form of ON **Gregorius* (cf. *Gregusvik* in Tromsø, Norway (*NG* XVII, 50))[495] and ON *ból* nt. 'farm; residence' (#72).[496]

#223 *Grìomarstadh* BRN (Eng. *Grimersta*)

[ˈgɾʲĩəməˌʂtaɣ], (gen.) *Ghrìomarstaidh* [ˈɣɾʲĩəməˌʂtaj]; NB216302. 1845 *Grimtsta* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Grimersta, Loch Ghrìmersta, Cnoc Ghrìmersta, Amhuinn Ghrimersta*; 2007 *Griomarstadh*‖*Grimserta* [*sic*].

> Oftedal 1954, 383: '**Grimersta** [?]. The last component is certainly ON *-staðir* "farm"; I cannot offer any opinion of ScG *Grimer-* without knowing the pronunciation.'

The name of a township south of *Lìnseadar* #236, in Beàrnaraigh; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with a generic in *-staða*, the accusative plural of ON *staðr* m. 'farm' (#331, fn 803).

Watson (1904, 271) proposes '*Grim*'s stead', MacKenzie (1931, 205) '*Grimr*'s stead' and Taylor (2011, s.v. *Grimersta*) '*Grima*'s dwelling'. The man's name ON *Grímr*

493. The map's acute lengthmark probably indicating stress in this instance §15.

494. Perhaps from ON **Ullapoll* acc., with genitive of the man's name ON *Ulli* m., a short form of ON *Erlendr*, the son of Earl Hákon (Lind 1915, 1056), or ON **Ulf(a)poll* acc. '(the) wolf-pool (or (the) pool of the wolves)', with the stem form or (genitive plural) of the noun ON *ulfr* m. 'wolf', i.e. yielding ScG *[ˈuɬ̪u(-ə)ˌpəɬ̪] > [ˈuɬ̪əˌpəɬ̪], with contraction (cf. ScG *Orasaigh* #259, from CSc. **Orfirisøy*).

495. Although the form *Gregus* is not recorded before 1486 (Lind 1915, 352–53).

496. ON *sb* would yield ScG [ʂp] /sb/ (as would ON *sp*) regularly; in Gaelic orthography, *sb* and *sp* are identical in value phonetically, although *sp* is usually recommended in spellings today (Cox 2017, 38–39).

#222 *Griogasbol* TLS

[ˈgɾʲiəgə ˌsp̪ɔɬ̪], (gin.) *Ghriogasbol* *[ˈɣɾʲiəgə ˌsp̪ɔl]; NB226144. 1821 [?] *Avon Gingas*; 1843–82 *Grígaspul, Port Ghrígaspuil, Rudha Ghrígaspuil, Amhuinn Ghrígaspuil*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh an iar *Loch Shìophort* (#113), air Taobh Loch Shìophort; ainm Gàidhlig a tha air iasad às an Lochlannais.

Is coltach gun robh an fheadhainn a bha an sàs sa mhapa 1843–82 am beachd gur h-ann à SL *pollr* f. 'linne' a bha seòrsaichear an ainme Lochlannais a th' air cùl *Griogasbol* – is dòcha a chionn cruth a' bhàigh an seo agus a chionn an ainme *Am Poll Dubh* #272 san aon cheàrnaidh.[493] Gidheadh, bheireadh SL *poll* cusp. deiridh GA [ˌpəɬ̪], [pəɬ̪], m.e. GA *Ulapul* [ˈuɬ̪əˌpəɬ̪] NH128941 (Brl. *Ullapool*), ann an Siorrachd Rois (Cox 1994, 50–57).[494]

Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Gregusból* '(an) tuathanas aig **Gregus*' a tha an t-ainm seo, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL **Gregus* f., na gheàrr-chruth air SL **Gregorius* (coim. *Gregusvik* ann an Tromsø, Nirribhidh (*NG* XVII, 50))[495] agus SL *ból* n. 'tuathanas; àite-fuirich' (#72).[496]

#223 *Grìomarstadh* BRN

[ˈgɾʲĩəməˌʂtaɣ], (gin.) *Ghrìomarstaidh* [ˈɣɾʲĩəməˌʂtaj]; NB216302. 1845 *Grimtsta* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Grimersta, Loch Ghrìmersta, Cnoc Ghrìmersta, Amhuinn Ghrimersta*; 2007 *Griomarstadh*‖*Grimserta* [*sic*].

> Oftedal 1954, 383: **Grimersta** [?]. 'S cinnteach gur h-e SL *-staðir* 'tuathanas' a th' anns an eileamaid mu dheireadh; chan urrainn dhomh barail a thoirt air GA *Grimer-* gun fhios a bhith agam air an fhuaimneachadh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn deas air *Lìnseadar* #236, ann am Beàrnaraigh; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na ainm-iasaid às an Lochlannais, le seòrsaichear ann an *-staða*, an cruth cuspaireach iolra aig SL *staðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#331, bn 803).

Cuiridh Watson (1904, 271) air adhart '*Grim*'s stead', MacKenzie (1931, 205) '*Grimr*'s stead' agus Taylor (2011, s.v. *Grimersta*) '*Grima*'s dwelling'. Tha fuaimreag fhada aig an ainm fireannaich SL *Grímr* f.; gidheadh, cha fhreagradh an cruth

493. Is iongantach mana sònraich stràc geur a' mhapa beum san t-seagh seo §15.

494. Is dòcha à SL **Ullapoll* cusp., le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Ulli* f., geàrr-chruth air *Erlendr*, mac Iarla Hákon (Lind 1915, 1056), no SL **Ulf(a)poll* cusp. '(a') mhadadh-allaidh-linne (no linne nam madadh-allaidh)', le bun-riochd (no ginideach iolra) an ainmeir SL *ulfr* f. 'madadh-allaidh', .i. a' toirt GA *[ˈuɬ̪u(-ə)ˌpəɬ̪] > [ˈuɬ̪əˌpəɬ̪], le teannachadh (coim. GA *Orasaigh* #259, à LB **Orfirisøy*).

495. Ged nach eil an cruth *Gregus* air a chlàradh ro 1486 (Lind 1915, 352–53).

496. Bheireadh SL *sb* GA [ʂp] /sb/ (mar a bheireadh SL *sp*) gu riaghailteach; ann an ceart-sgrìobhadh na Gàidhlig, is ionann an luach fuinn-eòlach aig *sb* agus *sp*, ged a mholar *sp* a chleachdadh ann an litreachaidhean mar as trice an-diugh (Cox 2017, 38–39).

m. has a long vowel; however, the genitive form *Gríms* would not suit the pronunciation [ˈgr̥ʲĩəməˌʂtaɣ] /grˊĩəməˌʁsdɑɣ/.

Evemalm (2017, 120–21) suggests the Norwegian name *Grimar*, although ON *Grímarr* m., (gen.) *Grímars*, had a long stressed vowel. Norw. *Grimar* is recorded as a man's name by Aasen ([1878] 1997, 232) in Telemark (cf. the place-name *Grimarskås*, in the same county (*NG* VII, 307)), and the Icelandic farm name *Grímarsstaðir* (north of Reykjavik) is mentioned in Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar.[497]

ON **Grímarsstaða* acc. would yield ScG *Grìomarstadh* [ˈgr̥ʲĩəməˌʂtaɣ] regularly, cf. ScG *sìoman* [ˈʃĩəman] 'rope, especially of heather' from ON *síma*, oblique case of ON *sími* m. (Oftedal 1956, 96, 120–21), + the Gaelic suffix *-an* (Cox 2017, 123–24).

There is a hill called ScG (1843–82) *Cnoc a Grìam* NB213299 about 480m (about 440 yards) south-west of the settlement. It has nothing to do with the name *Grìomarstadh*, however; it is probably either ScG **Cnoc Griama* *[kʰrõʰkəˈgr̥ʲĩəm] (with an epenthetic vowel §42 (i) (a) and apocope §44 (iii)),[498] or **Cnoc a' Ghriam* *[ˌkʰrõʰk əˈɣr̥ʲĩəm],[499] with genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *griam* m. 'a type of lichen' (?*Lobaria pulmonaria*[500]); cf. ScG (1903–1907) *Cnoc a' Ghriama* 'the hill of the lichen' NC405264, north-west of Loch Shin, in Sutherland.

#224 *Gruimseadar* CTL (Eng. *Grimshader*)
[ˈgr̥ʊ̟ʉ̃m͡ʉ̃ʊ̟ˌʃaʤ̊əɾ], (gen.) *Ghruimseadair* [ˈɣr̥ʊ̟ʉ̃m͡ʉ̃ʊ̟ˌʃaʤ̊əɾʲ]; NB406257. 1654 *Grimſetter*; 1750M, 1776 *L. Gremishader*; 1789 *Loch Gremishader*; 1804 *Loch Gremiſhader*; 1807 *Loch Gremishader*; 1821 *Grimshader*; 1843–82 *Grimashadar*; 1845 *Loch Grimshadir*; 1846 *Grimshader Moor*; 2007 *Griomsiadar*‖*Grimshader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 397–99: '**Grimshader** [gruməˈʃadər][501] cannot be ON **Grímssetr*, from the man's name *Grímr*, or **Grimmssetr*, from the adjective *grimmr* "evil, nasty, heartless" used as a surname. Initial [gr]- instead of [gð]- is sufficient proof that the initial cluster was followed

497. In the dative case: *Grímr hét son hans er bjó fyrir sunnan fjǫrð; hans son var Grímarr er bjó á Grímarsstǫðum* (Einarsson 2003, 39: Chap. 28, ll. 16–17) 'his son, who lived south of the fjord, was called *Grímr*; his son, who lived at *Grímarsstaðir*, was *Grímarr*.'

498. Cf. *Geodha Sheileastar* 'the cove of (the) iris' NB1942, in *Borghaston* #69, and *Àirigh an Rubha Chòinnich* 'the sheiling of the promontory of (the) moss' NB2636, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).

499. Cf. *Cnoc na Rainich* 'the hill of the fern' NB2144, in *Daile Mòr* (#167), and *Druim a' Chrotail* 'the ridge of the lichen' NB1841, in *An Dùn* #170.

500. Formerly called *Sticta pulmonacea* (Bolton 1982, 31); Clyne has *Stricta pulmonacea* (1989, 129).

501. (nMO) [ˌgrɪˈmɪʃadər], *Loch Ghruimseadair* [ɬɔx ɣrɪˈmɪʃadər].

ginideach *Gríms* am fuaimneachadh [ˈgr̥ʲĩəməˌʂtaɣ] /grˊĩəməˌʁsdɑɣ/.

Cuiridh Evemalm (2017, 120–21) an t-ainm Nirribheach *Grimar* air shùilibh, ged as e fuaimreag bheumte fhada a th' aig SL *Grímarr* f., (gin.) *Grímars*. Tha Nirr. *Grimar* air a chlàradh na ainm fireannaich aig Aasen ([1878] 1997, 232) ann an Telemark (coim. an t-ainm-àite *Grimarskås*, san aon siorrachd (*NG* VII, 307)), agus thèid an t-ainm tuathanais Tìleach *Grímarsstaðir* (tuath air Reykjavík) ainmeachadh ann an Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar.[497]

Bheireadh SL **Grímarsstaða* cusp. GA *Grìomarstadh* [ˈgr̥ʲĩəməˌʂtaɣ] gu riaghailteach, coim. GA *sìoman* [ˈʃĩəman] 'ròpa, gu h-àraidh à fraoch' à SL *síma*, an tuiseal claon aig SL *sími* f. (Oftedal 1956, 96, 120–21), + an iar-leasachan Ghàidhlig *-an* (Cox 2017, 123–24).

Tha cnoc air a bheil an t-ainm GA (1843–82) *Cnoc a Grìam* NB213299 mu 480m (mu 440 slat) an iar-dheas air an tuineachadh. Chan eil gnothach aige seo ris an ainm *Grìomarstadh*, ge-tà; is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e aon chuid GA **Cnoc Griama* *[kʰrõʰkəˈgr̥ʲĩəm] a th' ann (le fuaimreig còmhnaidh §42 (i) (a) agus teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii)),[498] no **Cnoc a' Ghriam* *[ˌkʰrõʰk əˈɣr̥ʲĩəm],[499] le tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *griam* f. 'seòrsa crotail' (?*Lobaria pulmonaria*[500]); coim. GA (1903–1907) *Cnoc a' Ghriama* NC405264, an iar-thuath air Loch Sin, ann an Cataibh.

#224 *Gruimseadar* CTL
[ˈgr̥ʊ̟ʉ̃m͡ʉ̃ʊ̟ˌʃaʤ̊əɾ], (gin.) *Ghruimseadair* [ˈɣr̥ʊ̟ʉ̃m͡ʉ̃ʊ̟ˌʃaʤ̊əɾʲ]; NB406257. 1654 *Grimſetter*; 1750M, 1776 *L. Gremishader*; 1789 *Loch Gremishader*; 1804 *Loch Gremiſhader*; 1807 *Loch Gremishader*; 1821 *Grimshader*; 1843–82 *Grimashadar*; 1845 *Loch Grimshadir*; 1846 *Grimshader Moor*; 2007 *Griomsiadar*‖*Grimshader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 397–99: Chan fhaod **Grimshader** [gruməˈʃadər][501] a bhith à SL **Grímssetr*, às an ainm fireannaich *Grímr*, no SL **Grimmssetr*, às a' bhuadhair *grimmr* 'olc, gránda, cruaidh-chridheach' air a chleachdadh na shloinneadh. Fòghnaidh an fhianais [gr]- seach [gð]- a dhearbhadh

497. San tuiseal thabhartach: *Grímr hét son hans er bjó fyrir sunnan fjǫrð; hans son var Grímarr er bjó á Grímarsstǫðum* (Einarsson 2003, 39: Caib. 28, ss. 16–17) "s e *Grímr* a bh' air a mhac, a bha a' fuireach deas air an loch mara; b' e *Grímarr* a mhac, a bha a' fuireach aig *Grímarsstaðir*'.

498. Coim. *Geodha Sheileastar* NB1942, ann am *Borghaston* #69, agus *Àirigh an Rubha Chòinnich* NB2636, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).

499. Coim. *Cnoc na Rainich* NB2144, ann an *Daile Mòr* (#167), agus *Druim a' Chrotail* NB1841, air *An Dùn* #170.

500. Air an robh *Sticta pulmonacea* roimhe (Bolton 1982, 31); 's e *Stricta pulmonacea* a th' aig Clyne (1989, 129).

501. (nMO) [ˌgrɪˈmɪʃadər], *Loch Ghruimseadair* [ɬɔx ɣrɪˈmɪʃadər].

by a back vowel in Old Norse. The svarabhakti shows, further, that the vowel was short. The insertion of a svarabhakti vowel between *m* and *s* is regular, cf. ScG *aimsir* [ɑmàʃər] "weather" from OG *aimser*. The usual antecedent of Lewis Gaelic [ɯ] is *u*. These facts point to an ON **Grumssetr* or **Grummssetr* (of which, however, the latter might just as well have yielded *[grɔumʃadər]). The element **grumr* (or **grummr*) is not to be found in literary Old Norse, but a great number of modern Scandinavian dialects have an adjective *grum*, *grom*, *grym* with various meanings: "evil, angry, violent; dangerous; clever, excellent". This word is obviously closely akin to ON *grimmr*; in some cases it may actually have developed from it, through labialisation caused by *m*; but I do not consider it impossible that an adjective **grummr* existed along with the noun *grimmr* already in Old Norse times. Note that Modern Faroese has both *grummur* and *grimmur*. **Grummr*, used as a surname, might well have given rise to the place-name **Grummssetr*.

'Somewhat more creditable is the derivation of [ɯ] from ON **Groms·setr*, from *Gromr*, a man's name or surname. There are at least two certain instances of [ɯ] resulting from an older *o* followed by svarabhakti; these are *lomnochd* [ʟɯrùməxk] "naked", (*Beàrnaraigh* Gaelic [ʟɔròməxk]) < MG *lomnocht*, and *troimcheann* [truməùçɑɴ] "dizziness", cf. Mod. Ir. *troimcheannach* adj. A certain *Þorbjǫrn Gromr* is mentioned in Hákonar saga hins Gamla. The name *Gromr* is usually considered as a variant of *Gormr*. The latter is only found in Denmark and would seem to be out of the question here. But *Gromsrud*, a farm name in eastern Norway (*NG* I, 131), may contain *Gromr*; and, more importantly, the name of an inhabitant of Skye is rendered by Dean Monro in 1549 as *Donald Gromsone*, *Donald Gromesone*, *Donald Gormerson* and *Donald M'Donald Gorme*. Provided that *Gorm-*, *Grom-* is not the Gaelic element *gorm* "blue, green", we have here strong evidence that the Scandinavian name *Gromr* (or *Gormr*) was used in the Hebrides.[fn]

fn: 'If *Gromsone* etc. contains a Gaelic element, this element must have been used by Norse-speaking people, as witness the Norse form of the patronymic. In this case, **Gromssetr* would be an interesting example of a rare type of Norse name: those whose first component is a Gaelic loan.

gun leante an còmhlan toisich le fuaimreig chùil san t-Seann Lochlannais. A thuilleadh, seallaidh an còmhnadh gun robh an fhuaimreag goirid. Thèid fuaimreag còmhnaidh in-shàthadh eadar *m* agus *s* gu riaghailteach, coim. GA *aimsir* [ɑmàʃər] 'tìde, sìde' à SG *aimser*. 'S e *u* an ro-theachdaire àbhaisteach aig [ɯ] ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais. Sònraichidh seo uile SL **Grumssetr* no **Grummssetr* (de bheil as dual am fear mu dheireadh a bhith a' toirt *[grɔumʃadər]). Cha lorgar an eileamaid **grumr* (no **grummr*) ann an sgrìobhadh san t-Seann Lochlannais, ach tha am buadhair *grum*, *grom*, *grym* aig uimhir mhòir de dhualchainntean Lochlainn, le caochladh bhrìgh: 'olc, feargach, fòirneartach; cunnartach; tapaidh (glic), barraichte'. Gun teagamh, tha am facal dlùth-cheangailte ri SL *grimmr*; faodar gur h-ann ann an sin fhèin a thàrmaich e air uairean, tro bhileachadh le *m*; ach cha shaoilinn gu bheil e do-dheànta gun robh am buadhair **grummr* ann am bith cho math ris an ainmear *grimmr* mar-thà ri linn na Seann Lochlannais. Mothaich gu bheil an dà chuid *grummur* agus *grimmur* aig an Nuadh-Fhàrothais. Is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh **Grummr*, air a chleachdadh na shloinneadh, an t-ainm-àite **Grummssetr*.

Tha e beagan nas creideasaiche a bhith a' toirt [ɯ] à SL **Gromssetr*, à *Gromr*, ainm fireannaich no sloinneadh. Tha dà thuiteamas chinnteach aig a' char as lugha de [ɯ] à *o* nas sine air a leantainn le còmhnadh, .i. *lom·nochd* [ʟɯrùməxk], (Gàidhlig *Bheàrnaraigh* [ʟɔròməxk]) < MG *lomnocht*, is *troimcheann* [truməùçɑɴ] 'tuaineal', coim. GE *troimcheannach* buadh. Tha iomradh air fear àraidh *Þorbjǫrn Gromr* ann an Hákonar saga hins Gamla. Gabhar *Gromr* mar eugsamhail air *Gormr* mar as trice. Cha lorgar am fear mu dheireadh ach anns an Danmhairc agus is coltach nach eil e idir freagarrach. Ach is dòcha gum faighear *Gromr* ann an *Gromsrud*, ainm tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh an ear (*NG* I, 131); agus, nas cudromaiche, bheirear ainm duine de mhuinntir an Eilein Sgitheanaich leis an Deadhan Rothach ann an 1549 na *Donald Gromsone*, *Donald Gromesone*, *Donald Gormerson* agus *Donald M'Donald Gorme*. Cho fad 's nach e *Gorm-*, *Grom-* an eileamaid Ghàidhlig *gorm* 'liath, glas', 's ann a tha fianais làidir againn an seo gun cleachdte an t-ainm Lochlannais *Gromr* (no *Gormr*) sna h-Eileanan Siar.[bn]

bn: Ma gheibhear eileamaid Ghàidhlig ann an *Gromsone* ↄc, feumaidh e a bhith gun cleachdte an eileamaid le luchd-bruidhinn na Lochlannais, mar a leigeas cruth Lochlannais an ainm sinnsir fhaicinn. Mas fìor sin, 's e deagh eisimpleir a bhiodh ann an **Gromssetr* de sheòrsa ainme Lochlannais nach eil bitheanta: an fheadhainn a tha a' chiad eileamaid aca na iasad Gàidhlig.

> 'It is almost certain that *Gromsone* is a surviving patronymic of the Norse and not only Dean Monro's translation of a Gaelic name (which, however, must also have been extant judging from the form *M'Donald Gorme*, which occurs once). The Dean would not so consistently have anglicised this name alone while he just as consistently rendered all other patronymics with their Gaelic prefix (*Mac-*, *M'-*, *Vic-*).'

The name of a township in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. As Oftedal admits, a derivation of ScG *Gruimseadar* from ON **Grummssætr* is problematic in that stressed ON *Grumms*(*s*)- is likely to yield the diphthong [ɔ̃ũ] in Gaelic. However, ON **Gromssætr* '*Gromr*'s farm or sheiling', with genitive of the personal name ON *Gromr* m., a variant of ON *Gormr* m., would yield ScG *Gruimseadar* regularly.[502]

For the question regarding ON *setr* ~ *sætr*, see *Siadar* #296.

As regards the Skye name above, in the edition used by Oftedal (Monro 1884) the forms *Donald Gromsone* and *Donald Gromesone* (para. 106), *Donald Gormersone* and *Donald M'Donald Gorme* (in the genealogy) occur, as Oftedal says, but so do *Donal*(*d*) *Gormesone* (para. 157, 159–160) and the remainder of the patronymic, viz [*Donald M'Donald Gorme*] *Vic Donald Gurmacke, Vic Donald Gorvaicke, Vic Hutfcheon*. This was Dòmhnall Gorm mac Dhòmhnaill Ghuirm[503] mhic Dhòmhnaill Ghruamaich mhic Dhòmhnaill Ghallaich[504] mhic Ùisdein ('Donald Gorm son of blue[-eyed] Donald, son of sullen Donald, son of Caithness Donald, son of Hugh'), 6th chief of the MacDonalds of Sleat (*Clann Dòmhnaill Shlèite*, also known in Gaelic as *Clann Ùisdein* 'the children of *Ùisdean*').[505] In addition to *Donald Gormson* in English (i.e. Donald son of (Donald) Gorm), he was known as *Dòmhnall Gorm Sasannach* ('English Donald Gorm') because he had spent part of his minority in England.[506] The Gaelic adjective *gorm*, then, is certainly

502. Despite noting Oftedal's views, Evemalm (2017, 121–22) suggests the beginning of this loan-name may derive from the personal names ON *Gromr* or *Grímr* or from the adjective *grum*, *grom*, *grym*; as Oftedal explains above, however, *Grímr* would yield ScG initial [ǧʳʲ] (and a long vowel), and *grum*, *grom*, *grym* are modern forms (from ON *grimmr* and, perhaps, **grumr* or **grummr*).

503. With ScG *gorm* 'blue': he had blue eyes.

504. Named *Gallach* because he was educated in Caithness: ScG *Gallach* is an adjectival form based on ScG *Gallaibh* (Eng. *Caithness*), from EG *Gallaiḃ*, dative plural of EG *Gall* m., in the sense 'Scandinavian invader' (Watson 1926, 29, 100).

505. Dòmhnall took up office in 1539 when his father was killed at Eilean Donan; he died in 1585 (MacDonald and MacDonald 1904, 469–70).

506. MacDonald and MacDonald 1904, 467–70; <https://thepeerage.com/p14697.htm#c146965.1>.

> Tha e an ìre mhath cinnteach gu bheil *Gromsone* na ainm sinnsir a tha air mairsinn bho na Lochlannaich agus nach e dìreach eadar-theangachadh an Deadhain Rothach air ainm Gàidhlig a th' ann (a b' fheudar a bhith ann am bith cuideachd, ge-tà, a rèir a' chrutha *M'Donald Gorme*, a nochdas uair). Cha bhiodh an Deadhan air dreach Beurla a chur cho cunbhalach ach air an ainm seo, fhad 's a thug e na h-ainmean sinnsir uile eile a cheart cho cunbhalach le an ro-leasachan Gàidhlig (*Mac-*, *M'-*, *Vic-*).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. Mar a dh'aidicheas Oftedal fhèin, tha duilgheadas an lùib a bhith a' toirt GA *Gruimseadar* à SL **Grummssætr*, seach gur coltach gun toireadh SL *Grumms*(*s*)-beumte an dà-fhoghar [ɔ̃ũ] sa Ghàidhlig. Gidheadh, gheibhte GA *Gruimseadar* gu riaghailteach à SL **Gromssætr* 'an tuathanas no àirigh aig *Gromr*', le cruth ginideach an ainm phearsanta SL *Gromr* f., eugsamhail air SL *Gormr* f.[502]

Airson na ceiste a thaobh SL *setr* ~ *sætr*, faic *Siadar* #296.

A thaobh an ainm Sgitheanaich shuas, san eagran a chleachdas Oftedal (Monro 1884) gheibhear na cruthan *Donald Gromsone* agus *Donald Gromesone* (earr.-roisg 106), *Donald Gormersone* agus *Donald M'Donald Gorme* (san t-sloinntearachd), mar a dh'ainmicheas Oftedal, ach cuideachd *Donal*(*d*) *Gormesone* (earr.-roisg 157, 159–160) agus an còrr den t-sinnsireachd, .i. [*Donald M'Donald Gorme*] *Vic Donald Gurmacke, Vic Donald Gorvaicke, Vic Hutfcheon*. B' e seo Dòmhnall Gorm mac Dhòmhnaill Ghuirm[503] mhic Dhòmhnaill Ghruamaich mhic Dhòmhnaill Ghallaich[504] mhic Ùisdein, 6mh ceann-feadhna Chlann Dòmhnaill Shlèite (ris an canar *Clann Ùisdein* mar an ceudna sa Ghàidhlig).[505] A thuilleadh air *Donald Gormson* sa Bheurla (.i. Dòmhnall mac (Dhòmhnaill) Ghuirm), chante *Dòmhnall Gorm Sasannach* ris a chionn 's gun robh e air pàirt de mhion-aois a chaitheamh ann an Sasainn.[506] Is cinnteach, a-rèist, gur h-e am buadhair Gàidhlig *gorm* a tha

502. A dh'aindeoin a bhith ag aithris beachdan Oftedal, cuiridh Evemalm (2017, 121–22) air shùilibh gum faodadh toiseach an ainm-iasaid seo tàrmachadh anns na h-ainmean pearsanta SL *Gromr* no *Grímr* no anns a' bhuadhair *grum*, *grom*, *grym*; mar a mhìnicheas Oftedal shuas, ge-tà, bheireadh *Grímr* GA [ǧʳʲ] thoisich (agus fuaimreag fhada), agus tha *grum*, *grom*, *grym* nan nua-chruthan (à SL *grimmr* agus, is dòcha, **grumr* no **grummr*).

503. Bha sùilean gorma ann.

504. Air ainmeachadh *Gallach* a chionn 's gun d' fhuair e altram ann an Gallaibh: tha GA *Gallach* na chruth buadhaireach stèidhichte air GA *Gallaibh* (Brl. *Caithness*), à GT *Gallaiḃ*, an tuiseal tabhartach iolra aig GT *Gall* f., sa bhrìgh 'iomruagairean Lochlannach' (Watson 1926, 29, 100).

505. Chaidh Dòmhnall na dhreuchd ann an 1539 nuair a chaidh athair a mharbhadh ann an Eilean Donnain; bhàsaich e ann an 1585 (MacDonald agus MacDonald 1904, 469–70).

506. MacDonald agus MacDonald 1904, 467–70; <https://thepeerage.com/p14697.htm#c146965.1>.

behind Monro's forms and there is no need to look for an Old Norse origin for them.

#225 *Iarsadar* BRN (Eng. *Earshader*)
(1) [ˈiɑˌsaˌdəɾ], (gen.) *Iarsadair* [ˈiɑˌsaˌdəɾʲ]; (2) [ˈi-ɑˌsaˌdəɾ], (gen.) [ˈi-ɑˌsaˌdəɾʲ]; NB164339. 1718 *Arsader*; 1726 *Airshadder*; 1821, 1822 *Earshader*; 1843–82 *Earshader, Aird Earshader, Sgeir Earshader, Sruth Earshader*; 2007 *Iarsiadar‖Earshader*; road sign *Iarsiadar*.

Oftedal 1954, 383–84: '**Earshader** (CB) [iɑṣɑdəð][507] is possibly ON **Ævarssetr* "*Ævarr*'s farm", from ON *Ævarr* m., a man's name; cf. *Ævarsskarð* in Iceland (Lnb.). But *Ævarr* was a rare name and is not attested with certainty in any place-names in Norway. Besides, ON intervocalic *v* has been preserved in the man's name ScG *Ìomhar* [ĩəvər], from ON *Ívarr* m., and would probably also have been preserved in the closely paralled *Ævarr*. As the only certain ON equivalent of Lewis Gaelic [ia] is *æ*, and as cacuminal [ṣ] presupposes ON *rs*, the simplest possible reconstruction is ON **Ærsetr*. There are many Norwegian place-names with a first component *ær*, the meaning of which seems to be variable. Some of the present names in *ær* can be shown by early spellings to be derived from ON *elri* nt. "alder, alder copse", cf. ON *ǫlr* m. "alder". But at least one of them cannot be explained in this manner. This is *Ervik* (*NG* XII, 391), which is called *Ærvík* already in *Fornmanna Sǫgur*. No definite explanation of the name is given in *NG*. But, as far as I can see, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that *Ærvík*, as well as many other names compounded with *ær*, contains the element *ær*, genitive of *ær* f. 'female sheep', an explanation which the author and editors of *NG* have, for unknown reasons, avoided for all names in *ær*. There is at least one other name in Lewis containing the component *ær*. This is ScG *Eurlam* [jəːʟɑm],[508] an islet near *Crothair* #157, from ON **Ærholmr* "(the) island of the sheep". For the phonetic development compare ScG *Beurla* [bjəːʟə] "the English language", from an older EG **bérle*, OG *bélre* "tongue, language". ON *æ* generally has the same development as Old Gaelic *é*.[fn]

Fn: 'ScG *Eurlam* [jəːʟɑm] may conceivably contain ON *æðr* f. "elder"; when I prefer ON *ær*, it is because it is the simpler solution. Names of domestic animals are quite frequent in names of islets

507. (nMO) [iaṣaḍəð̞].
508. (nMO) [jɤːɬam].

air cùl cruthan an Rothaich agus nach fheumar tùs Lochlannais a shireadh idir air an son.

#225 *Iarsadar* BRN
(1) [ˈiɑˌsaˌdəɾ], (gin.) *Iarsadair* [ˈiɑˌsaˌdəɾʲ]; (2) [ˈi-ɑˌsaˌdəɾ], (gin.) [ˈi-ɑˌsaˌdəɾʲ]; NB164339. 1718 *Arsader*; 1726 *Airshadder*; 1821, 1822 *Earshader*; 1843–82 *Earshader, Aird Earshader, Sgeir Earshader, Sruth Earshader*; 2007 *Iarsiadar‖Earshader*; soighne rathaid *Iarsiadar*.

Oftedal 1954, 383–84: Is dòcha gur h-e SL **Ævarssetr* 'an tuathanas aig *Ævarr*' a th' ann an **Earshader** (CB) [iɑṣɑdəð],[507] à SL *Ævarr* f., ainm fireannaich; coim. *Ævarsskarð* ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.). Ach 's ann a bha an t-ainm *Ævarr* ainneamh agus chan eil teist air le cinnt ann an ainmeanàite sam bith ann an Nirribhidh. A thuilleadh, chaidh SL *v* eadar-fhuaimreagach a ghleidheadh san ainm fireannaich GA *Ìomhar* [ĩəvər], à SL *Ívarr* f., agus is iongantach mana deigheadh a ghleidheadh san dlùth-sheise *Ævarr*. Seach nach ionann agus GA [ia] ach SL *æ*, agus seach gum biodh [ṣ] chùl-lùbach a' sùileachadh SL *rs*, 's e SL **Ærsetr* an t-ath-dhèanamh as sìmplidhe a ghabhas. Tha mòran ainmean-àite ann an Nirribhidh aig a bheil a' chiad eileamaid *ær*, a bhios a chiall eugsamhlachail, is coltach. Seallar le litreachaidhean tràtha gun tàrmaich cuid de na h-ainmean ann an *ær* an-diugh ann an SL *elri* n. 'feàrn, doire feàrna', coim. SL *ǫlr* f. 'feàrn'. Ach tha co-dhiù aonan ann nach gabh mìneachadh air an dòigh seo. Seo *Ervik* (*NG* XII, 391), ris an cante *Ærvík* mar-thà ann am *Fornmanna Sǫgur*. Cha toirear mìneachadh dearbhach air an ainm ann an *NG*. Ach, cho fad 's a chì mise, chan eil dad ann a chumas sinn bho bhith an dùil gun gabh *Ærvík*, agus mòran ainmean eile sa bheil *ær*, a-steach an eileamaid *ær*, an tuiseal ginideach aig *ær* b. 'caora bhoireann', mìneachadh a tha ùghdar agus luchd-deasachaidh *NG* air seachnadh, air adhbhar air choreigin, airson a h-uile h-ainm ann an *ær*. Tha co-dhiù aon ainm eile ann an Leòdhas aig a bheil an eileamaid *ær*. Seo GA *Eurlam* [jəːʟɑm],[508] eilean beag faisg air *Crothair* #157, à SL **Ærholmr* 'eilean na caorach'. Airson an leaschaidh fhuaim-eòlaich, dèan coimeas ri GA *Beurla* [bjəːʟə] 'cànan na Beurla', à cruth nas sine GT **bérle*, SG *bélre* 'teanga, cànan'. Tha an t-aon leasachadh aig SL *æ* mar as trice 's a th' aig an t-Sean Ghàidhlig *é*.[bn]

Bn: Gabhaidh e creidsinn gu bheil SL *æðr* b. 'droman' ann an [jəːʟɑm]; nuair as fheàrr leam *ær*, 's e gur h-e sin am fuasgladh as sìmplidhe. Lorgar ainmean bheathaichean callta gu math tric ann

507. (nMO) [iaṣaḍəð̞].
508. (nMO) [jɤːɬam].

and skerries, both Norse and Gaelic, cf. ScG *Thairsgeir* [hɑṣkʹeð], from ON **Hafrssker* "(the) skerry of the he-goat", ScG *Gèideam* [gʹeːdʹɑm], from ON *Geit*(*a*)*holmr* "(the) goat(s') islet", and ScG *Sgeir na h-Aon Chaora*(*ch*) [skʹeð na hənɔ̀xərə] "the skerry of the single sheep".'

'ON **Ærsetr* translates literally "(the) (female) sheep's farm; (the) farm of the (single) sheep". It would, therefore, seem to refer to one particular sheep (if the reference were to several sheep or sheep in general, the name would contain not the genitive singular but the genitive plural *á*(*a*) or the bare stem *á-*). *Ær*, accordingly, is best explained as a cognomen, which may have applied to a man as well as to a woman, cf. *Sigurðr Sýr* "Sigurðr (the) sow" and *Simon Kýr* "Simon (the) cow".'

The name of a township in Ùig, opposite *Beàrnaraigh* #51, where the bridge over to that island is situated today; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

It is likely that pronunciation (1) (recorded by Borgstrøm and Oftedal) is the more authoritative and that pronunciation (2) is a development; cf. the same alternation in *Briacleit* #78 and *Britheascleit* #79. Although for pronunciation (2) Cox (1990b, 101–02) considers ON **Eið-eyjarsætr* '(the) sheiling or farm of the *eið*-promontory',[509] it is more likely that ON **Ærsætr* '(the) sheiling or farm of the sheep (sg.)' is behind the name, although one might also consider a literal meaning for the name based on an event, cf. ScG *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche* 'the sheiling of the single night' NB2743, in *Britheascleit*, and NB2531, in *Callanis* #94 (Cox 2002a, 155).[510, 511]

#226 *Iomair Sligeach* STN

[ˌĩməʲ ˈʃʎi̯ɪ̯ɡʲɔx], (gen.) ?idem; NB425325. 1797 *Imersligach*; c.1800 *Imrisligach*; 1821W *Immer Sligoch*; 1919 *Shell St.*; 1955 *Iomairslig* [*sic*], *Shell St*.

The name of a street in the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309, translated into English as *Shell Street*; once the name of an area between *Steòrnabhagh* and *Èinicleit* #179. A Gaelic name, with ScG *iomair*(*e*) m.[512] 'ridge of earth; strip of land, rig; field'

509. With the stem form of the noun ON *eið* nt., denoting the nature of the straits between *Iarsadar* and *Beàrnaraigh* (i.e. *Sruth Iarsadair* '(the) current of *Iarsadar*'), genitive of ON *ey* f. in the sense 'promontory' and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296).

510. For the tradition about *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche* in *Calbost* #93, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, see The Angus MacLeod Archive: From the Ceilidh-house/Folklore and Humour: 'Loch Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche'.

511. Fraser (1978, 9) proposes a derivation from ON *eyrr* f. 'sand/gravel bank', but see #180, fn 399.

512. The word is feminine in Armstrong 1825 (s.v. *iomaire*), Mark 2005 (s.v. *iomair*) and *AFB* (s.v. *iomair*), but apparently masculine elsewhere.

an ainmean eilein agus sgeire, an dà chuid Lochlannais agus Gàidhlig, coim. GA *Thairsgeir* [hɑṣkʹeð], à SL **Hafrssker* 'sgeir a' bhuic', GA *Gèideam* [gʹeːdʹɑm], à SL **Geit*(*a*)*holmr* '(an) gobhar-eilean (no eilean nan gobhar)', agus GA *Sgeir na h-Aon Chaora*(*ch*) [skʹeð na hənɔ̀xərə].

Eadar-theangaichear SL **Ærsetr* gu litireil 'tuathanas na caorach, tuathanas na (h-aon) chaorach'. Is coltach, a-rèist, gum bean e ri caora àraidh (mas ann ri corra chaora no caoraich san fharsaingeachd a bha e a' beantainn, chan e an tuiseal ginideach singilte ach an tuiseal ginideach iolra a bhiodh san ainm, .i. *á*(*a*), no am bun-riochd fhèin, .i. *á-*). 'S fheàrr, a-rèist, *Ær* a mhìneachadh mar fhrith-ainm, a dh'fhaodadh beantainn ri fireannach cho math ri boireannach, coim. *Sigurðr Sýr* '*Sigurðr* Muc' and *Simon Kýr* '*Simon* Bò'.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig, mu choinneimh *Bheàrnaraigh* #51, far a bheil drochaid an-diugh; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Is coltach gu bheil fuaimneachadh (1) (a chlàraich Borgstrøm agus Oftedal) nas ùghdarrasaile agus gu bheil fuaimneachadh (2) na leasachadh; coim. an iomlaid cheudna ann am *Briacleit* #78 agus *Britheascleit* #79. Ged a bheachdaicheas Cox (1990b, 101–02) a thaobh fuaimneachadh (2) air SL **Eið-eyjarsætr* 'àirigh no tuathanas an *eið*-rubha',[509] is coltaiche gur h-e SL **Ærsætr* 'àirigh no tuathanas na caorach' a tha air cùl an ainme, ged a dh'fhaodte beachdachadh cuideachd air brìgh litireil agus adhbhar dhan ainm air a bhonntachadh air tachartas, coim. GA *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche* NB2743, ann am *Britheascleit*, agus NB2531, ann an *Callanis* #94 (Cox 2002a, 155).[510, 511]

#226 *Iomair Sligeach* STN

[ˌĩməʲ ˈʃʎi̯ɪ̯ɡʲɔx], (gin.) ?idem; NB425325. 1797 *Imersligach*; c.1800 *Imrisligach*; 1821W *Immer Sligoch*; 1919 *Shell St.*; 1955 *Iomairslig* [*sic*], *Shell St*.

An t-ainm air sràid anns a' bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309, a chaidh a thionndadh dhan Bheurla na *Shell Street*; uair na cheàrnaidh eadar *Steòrnabhagh* agus *Èinicleit* #179. Ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *iomair*(*e*) f.[512] 'druim/cìr ùire; stiall fearainn,

509. Le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *eið* n., a' beantainn ri nàdar an t-srutha eadar *Iarsadar* agus *Beàrnaraigh* (.i. *Sruth Iarsadair*), tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *ey* b. sa bhrìgh 'rubha' agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296).

510. Airson na beul-aithrise mu *Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche* ann an *Calbost* #93, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, faic Tasglann Aonghais MhicLeòid: From the Ceilidh-house/Folklore and Humour: 'Loch Àirigh na h-Aon Oidhche'.

511. Molaidh Fraser (1978, 9) bunachas à SL *eyrr* b. 'bruach gainmhich/mholagan', ach faic #180, bn 399.

512. Tha am facal boireann ann an Armstrong 1825 (s.v. *iomaire*), Mark 2005 (s.v. *iomair*) agus *AFB* (s.v. *iomair*), ach fireann ann an àitichean eile a rèir choltais.

(EG *immaire*) + the adjective ScG *sligeach* 'full of shells' (< ScG *slige* f. 'shell' (OG *slice*) + the suffix *-ach* (Cox 2017, 151)). The name may originally have been **An t-Iomair Sligeach*, (gen.) **An Iomair Shligich* *[əˌɲ̃ĩməɾʲ ˈliɣ̃ʲiç], the article dropped under the influence of written forms on road signs, maps etc.

#227 *Ìsginn* PRC (Eng. *Eishken*)
[ˈiːʃkʲiɲ̃],[513] (gen.) idem; NB326118. 1821 *Iskine*; 1843–82 *Isginn*, *Loch Isginn*, *Tòb Isginn*, *Airidh Bhinneach Isginn*, *Amhuinn Isginn*, *Beinn Isginn*; 1846 *Loch Isken*; 2007 *Eisgean*‖*Eishken*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Eishken** [?], spelled *Isginn* on Bartholomew's Half-Inch Map. Obscure.'

The name of an estate and its lodge, in A' Phàirc; once a township whose inhabitants were evicted in 1835 when it became the headquarters of Tuathanas na Pàirce (Park Farm) (Lawson 2011, 185); a Gaelic name, probably from ON **Ís-kinn* '(the) ice-slope', with the stem form of ON *íss* m. 'ice' and ON *kinn* f. 'cheek; steep mountainside', denoting the mountainside on the east side of the settlement. Cf. *Isbrekken* in Oppdal, Norway (*NG* XIV, 180), from ON **Ís-brekka* '(the) ice-slope'.

#228 *Ìslibhig* Ùig (Eng. *Islivig*)
[ˈiːʃ̪ˌəˌviɣ̃ʲ], (gen.) idem; NA993277. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1794, 1801 *Icelewig*; 1804 *Iclewig* [*sic*]; 1807 *Iselwig* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *Islawick*; 1843–82 *Islebhig*, *Loch Islebhig*, *Camus Islebhig*, *Amhuinn Islebhig*; 1846 *Islawick*; 1860 *Islebhig*; 2007, road sign *Islibhig*‖*Islivig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 389: '**Islivick** [?].[514] An ON *-vík* f. name.'

The name of a township on the west of Ùig but which was perhaps part of *Brèinis* #77 until 1841 (Lawson 2011, 229).

Oftedal (1972, 123: [iːʃʟˈevigˈ]) notes that this name appears to begin with the comparative adjective ScG *ìsle* [ˈiːʃ̪ə] 'lower' (perhaps suggested by a folk etymology), but later (1980, 186: [iːʃʟˈəviɣ̃ˈ]) that perhaps the name was from ON **Íslendingavík* '(the) bay of the Icelanders', with genitive plural of the noun ON *Íslendingr* m., or – though unlikely – from ON **Ísleggjavík* '(the) bay of the ice skates', with genitive plural of the noun ON *ísleggr* m. 'ice skate'.

Macaulay (1972, 334) suggests the name is from ON **Ísleifsvík*, with gen-

513. (nMO) [iːʃkˈiɲˈ], *Tòb Ìsginn* [tʻɔːb̥ ˈiːʃkˈiɲˈ] 'the inlet of—'.

514. (nMO) [iːʃlɪviɣ̃ˈ] ?for -[ʟˈ]-, [iːʃʟˈeviɣ̃ˈ], *Camas Ìslibhig* [ˈkʻãməs ˈiːʃʟˈəviɣ̃ˈ] 'the bay of—', *Mol Ìslibhig* [mɔ̃ʟ ˈiːᵊʃʟˈɪviɣ̃ˈ] 'the shingle beach of—'.

feannag; achadh' (GT *immaire*) + a' bhuadhair GA *sligeach* 'làn shligean' (< GA *slige* b. (SG *slice*) + an iar-leasachan *-ach* (Cox 2017, 151)). Is dòcha gum b' e **An t-Iomair Sligeach*, (gin.) **An Iomair Shligich* *[əˌɲ̃ĩməɾʲ ˈliɣ̃ʲiç], a bh' anns an ainm bho thùs, agus an t-alt air a theasgadh fo bhuaidh chruthan sgrìobhte air soighnichean rathaid, mapaichean ꝛc.

#227 *Ìsginn* PRC
[ˈiːʃkʲiɲ̃],[513] (gin.) idem; NB326118. 1821 *Iskine*; 1843–82 *Isginn*, *Loch Isginn*, *Tòb Isginn*, *Airidh Bhinneach Isginn*, *Amhuinn Isginn*, *Beinn Isginn*; 1846 *Loch Isken*; 2007 *Eisgean*‖ *Eishken*.

> Oftedal 1954, 405: **Eishken** [?], air a litreachadh *Isginn* air Mapa Leth-òirlich Bhartholomew. Doilleir.

An t-ainm air oighreachd agus an loidse aice, anns A' Phàirc; uair na bhaile fearainn a chaidh fhuadach ann an 1835 nuair a chaidh prìomh àite Tuathanas na Pàirce a dhèanamh dheth (Lawson 2011, 185); ainm Gàidhlig, is dòcha à SL **Ís-kinn* '(an) deigh-ghruaidh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *íss* f. 'deigh' agus SL *kinn* b. 'gruaidh, lethcheann', a bheanadh ris an aodann no cliathaich beinne an ear air an tuineachadh. Coim. *Isbrekken* ann an Oppdal, Nirribhidh (*NG* XIV, 180), à SL **Ís-brekka* '(an) deigh-leathad'.

#228 *Ìslibhig* Ùig
[ˈiːʃ̪ˌəˌviɣ̃ʲ], (gin.) idem; NA993277. 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1794, 1801 *Icelewig*; 1804 *Iclewig* [*sic*]; 1807 *Iselwig* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *Islawick*; 1843–82 *Islebhig*, *Loch Islebhig*, *Camus Islebhig*, *Amhuinn Islebhig*; 1846 *Islawick*; 1860 *Islebhig*; 2007; soighne rathaid *Islibhig*‖*Islivig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 389: **Islivick** [?].[514] Ainm ann an SL *-vík* b.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh an iar Ùig ach a bha, is dòcha, na chuibhreann de *Bhrèinis* #77 gu ruige 1841 (Lawson 2011, 229).

Canaidh Oftedal (1972, 123: [iːʃʟˈevigˈ]) gur coltach gur h-e am buadhair coimeasach GA *ìsle* [ˈiːʃ̪ə] a th' aig toiseach an ainme seo (is dòcha air a chur air shùilibh le dinnsheanchas), ach a-rithist (1980, 186: [iːʃʟˈəviɣ̃ˈ]) gur dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Íslendingavík* 'bàgh nan Tìleach' a bha an t-ainm, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *Íslendingr* f., no – ged as ann air bheag dòchais – à SL **Ísleggjavík* 'bàgh nan spèileachan', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *ísleggr* f. 'spèileachan'.

Cuiridh Macaulay (1972, 334) air shùilibh gur h-ann à SL **Ísleifsvík* a tha an

513. (nMO) [iːʃkˈiɲˈ], *Tòb Ìsginn* [tʻɔːb̥ ˈiːʃkˈiɲˈ].

514. (nMO) [iːʃlɪviɣ̃ˈ] ?airson -[ʟˈ]-, [iːʃʟˈeviɣ̃ˈ], *Camas Ìslibhig* [ˈkʻãməs ˈiːʃʟˈəviɣ̃ˈ], *Mol Ìslibhig* [mɔ̃ʟ ˈiːᵊʃʟˈɪviɣ̃ˈ].

itive of the man's name ON *Ísleifr* m. – a solution accepted by Evemalm (2017, 125–26) – while Taylor (2011, s.v. *Islivig*) proposes ON **Ís-hlíð-vík* '(the) ice-slope-bay', with the stem form of the nouns ON *ís* m. and *hlíð* f. 'slope'.[515]

Thinking of the nature of the bay here, however, in which there are several rocks and reefs, it may be worth considering ON **Illsligavík*, with the feminine weak form of the (rarely-attested) adjective ON *illsligr* 'frightening, terrible; disgusting, horrid, nasty, dirty';[516] ON **Illsligavík* would yield EG *[ˈiˌʃˌəˌviɣʲ] in the first instance, which would yield ScG *[ˈeiʃˌəˌviɣʲ] regularly, but perhaps [ˈiːʃˌəˌviɣʲ], via morphemic substitution based on ScG *ìsle*, as above.

#229 *Làbost* CLA (Eng. *Labost*)
[ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB280493. 1843–82 *Làbost*; 2007 *Labost*‖*Labost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Labost** [?], an ON *-bólstaðr* name that cannot be explained satisfactorily until the pronunciation has been ascertained.'

The name of a township in Sgìre a' Chladaich. Oftedal recorded [lɑːb̥ɔst] in 1963 (nMO), suggesting that the name derives from ON **Lág-bólstaðr*, without further explanation. He may have meant ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. '(the) hollow-farm (i.e. the farm by a hollow)', with the stem form of the noun ON **lág* nt. 'hollow', cf. Far. *lág* f. and Norn *log*, *ljog* 'hollow' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.), or ON **Lág-bólstað* acc. '(the) low-farm', with the stem form of the adjective ON *lágr* 'low', a solution that would be more likely than ON **Lágabólstað*, with the weak form of the adjective, which would yield ScG *[ˈl̪aːɣəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪][517] and possibly *[ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] > *[ˈl̪ɑˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] regularly.[518]

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#230 *Lacasaigh* CTL (Eng. *Laxay*)
[ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌs̪aj], (gen.) idem; NB330215. 1549 *Laxay* (= *Eilean Mòr Lacsaigh* 'the large island of—'); 1600+, 1630 *Logsa* [river]; 1701 *Laxa*; 1718, 1726 *Laxay*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Laxa*; 1821 *Laxay*; 1843–82 *Lacsaigh or Laxay*, *Amhuinn Lacsaigh or Laxay River*; 1845 *Laxay* [river]; 1846 *Laxay*; 2007 *Lacasaigh*‖*Laxay*.

515. MacIver's 'Oss, or oyce- ess; hlidh, slope; vik, bay' (1934, 90) is fairly impenetrable.

516. ON *illsligr* is a short form of ON *illskligr* (Fritzner, s.v. *illsligr*), < ON *illska* f. + the adjectival ending *-ligr*.

517. ON **lág* has no connection with ScG *lag* (or *slag*, with prothetic *s*) 'hollow' < EG *loc*; but ScG *sloc* (*slochd*) 'hollow' may have a connection with ON **slǫkk* nt. 'hollow', cf. Nn. *slokk* (Cox 2002a, 370).

518. Cf. the use of the adjective ON *lágr* in ScG *Beirgh Làgha* < ON **Bergit Lága* (#58).

t-ainm, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Ísleifr* f. – fuasgladh ris an gabh Evemalm (2017, 125–26) – fhad 's a chuireas Taylor (2011, s.v. *Islivig*) air adhart SL **Ís-hlíð-vík* '(an) deigh-leathad-bhàgh', le bun-riochd nan ainmearan SL *ís* f. agus *hlíð* b. 'leathad'.[515]

A' smaoineachadh air nàdar a' bhàigh a tha seo, ge-tà, sa bheil corra charragh is bhodha, is dòcha gum b' fhiach beachdachadh air SL **Illsligavík*, le cruth boireann lag a' bhuadhair (gun a theist ach ainneamh) SL *illsligr* 'feagalach, uabhasach; oillteil, gràndа, sgreataidh, salach';[516] bheireadh SL **Illsligavík* GT *[ˈiˌʃˌəˌviɣʲəˌβʲiːgʲ] sa chiad char, a bheireadh GA *[ˈeiʃˌəˌviɣʲ] gu riaghailteach, ach is dòcha [ˈiːʃˌəˌviɣʲ], le ionadachadh cruitheamach air a bonntachadh air GA *ìsle*, mar a tha shuas.

#229 *Làbost* CLA
[ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) [ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB280493. 1843–82 *Làbost*; 2007 *Labost*‖*Labost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: **Labost** [?], ainm ann an SL *-bólstaðr* nach gabh mìneachadh gu dòigheil gus an stèidhichear am fuaimneachadh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich. Chlàraich Oftedal [lɑːb̥ɔst] ann an 1963 (nMO), a' cur air shùilibh gur h-ann à SL **Lág-bólstaðr* a bha an t-ainm, gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh. Is dòcha gur h-e SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. '(an) lag-thuathanas', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL **lág* n. 'sloc' air an robh e a-mach, coim. Fàr. *lág* b. agus Nòrn *log*, *ljog* 'sloc' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.), air neo SL **Lág-bólstað* cusp. '(an t-)ìosal-thuathanas', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *lágr* 'ìosal', fuasgladh a bhiodh na bu choltaiche na SL **Lágabólstað*, le cruth lag a' bhuadhair, a bheireadh GA *[ˈl̪aːɣəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪][517] agus is dòcha *[ˈl̪aːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] > *[ˈl̪ɑˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] gu riaghailteach.[518]

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#230 *Lacasaigh* CTL
[ˈl̪ɑʰkəˌs̪aj], (gin.) idem; NB330215. 1549 *Laxay* (= *Eilean Mòr Lacsaigh*); 1600+, 1630 *Logsa* [abhainn]; 1701 *Laxa*; 1718, 1726 *Laxay*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Laxa*; 1821 *Laxay*; 1843–82 *Lacsaigh or Laxay*, *Amhuinn Lacsaigh or Laxay River*; 1845 *Laxay* [abhainn]; 1846 *Laxay*; 2007 *Lacasaigh*‖*Laxay*.

515. Tha 'Oss, or oyce- ess; hlidh, slope; vik, bay' aig MacIver (1934, 90) caran do-thuigsinn.

516. Tha SL *illsligr* na gheàrr-chruth air SL *illskligr* (Fritzner, s.v. *illsligr*), < SL *illska* b. + an dùnadh buadhaireach *-ligr*.

517. Chan eil ceangal aig SL **lág* ri GA *lag* (no *slag*, le *s* ro-shuidhichte) < GT *loc*; ach dh'fhaodte gu bheil ceangal aig GA *sloc* (*slochd*) 'lag' ri SL **slǫkk* n. 'lag', coim. Nn. *slokk* (Cox 2002a, 370).

518. Coim. cleachdadh a' bhuadhair SL *lágr* ann an GA *Beirgh Làgha* < SL **Bergit Lága* (#58).

Oftedal 1954, 401: '**Laxay** [ʟɑhkəsɑj],[519] [ʟɑhksaj] is originally a river name, ON **Lax-ǫ́*, from ON *lax* m.[520] and *ǫ́* [earlier *á*] f. The river, now called ScG *Abhainn Lacasaigh* [ãviɴ' ˈʟɑhkəsɑj], is still one of the best salmon rivers in Lewis. The ending [ɑj] is the generalised genitive form, pointing to an earlier nominative in ScG *[ɑɣ]; the old nominative is still preserved in ScG *Giosladh* [gʹisʟɑɣ], (gen.) *[gʹisʟɑj] #206, from ON **Gilsǫ́*. The final fricative has no counterpart in the Old Norse form but serves to fit the name into a Gaelic noun class.[521] ON **Lax-ǫ́* is found as a river name in all parts of the former Norse-speaking area; it is used as a farm name in a few places in Norway (*NG* XVI, 224, 243 and 291) and, in the form *Laxey* [ʟɑksə] or [ʟɑksi], on the Isle of Man (Marstrander 1932, 187).'

The name of a township in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a loan-name from ON **Lax-á* '(the) salmon-river', with the stem form of ON *lax* m. 'salmon' and ON *á* f. 'river', with an epenthetic vowel.[522]

Cf. *Lacasdal* #231.

#231 *Lacasdal* STN (Eng. *Laxdale*)
[ˈɬɑʰkə ˌs̪t̪əɬ̪], (gen.) *Lacasdail* [ˈɬɑʰkə ˌs̪t̪əl]; NB423349. 1785 *Glen of Laxdel*; 1843–82 *Lacasdall or Laxdale*; 1845 *Laxdale*; 1846HO *Laxdale Cottage*; 2007, road sign *Lacasdal*‖*Laxdale*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: '**Laxdale** [ʟɑhkəsdəʟ][523] is ON **Lax-árdalr* "(the) valley of the salmon-river". Even ON **Laxdalr* "(the) valley of the salmon" is possible phonetically, but such a name is not met with elsewhere. It is, however, possible that the medial component *ár* was dropped already in the Norse period; cf. Ice. *Laxdœlir* "people from *Laxárdalr*", *Hítdœlakappi* "the champion from *Hítárdalr*". **Laxdale** is also found elsewhere in the Hebrides; thus it occurs twice (once recorded by Borgstrøm as [ʟɑxkəsdəʟ]) in Harris; in Shetland, *Laksdel* (Jakobsen 1936, 34).'

The name of a township that constitutes an area of Steòrnabhagh #309; a loan-name from Old Norse. The medial vowel [ə] suggests Oftedal's alternative, i.e.

519. (nMO) [ɬɑˀhkᵊsɑˀj], ScG *Abhainn Lacasaigh* [ˈãviɲ̊ ˈɬɑhkəsɑˀj].

520. *Lax* is both the nominative and genitive form of the word.

521. I.e. *o*-stem nouns (§31, fn 2).

522. Although Oftedal also records the name without it.

523. (nMO) [ɬɑhkəstəɬ].

Oftedal 1954, 401: 'S e ainm aibhne a th' ann an **Laxay** [ʟɑhkəsɑj],[519] [ʟɑhksaj] bho thùs, .i. SL **Lax-ǫ́*, à SL *lax* f.[520] agus *ǫ́* [nas tràithe *á*] b. Tha an abhainn, air a bheil GA *Abhainn Lacasaigh* [ãviɴ' ˈʟɑhkəsɑj] fhathast air tè de na h-aibhnichean as fheàrr airson bradain ann an Leòdhas. 'S e an cruth ginideach air àbhaisteachadh a th' anns an dùnadh [ɑj], a' stèidheachadh a' chruth ainmnich a bu tràithe GA *[ɑɣ]; gleidhear an sean chruth ainmneach fhathast ann an GA *Giosladh* [gʹisʟɑɣ], (gin.) *[gʹisʟɑj] #206, à SL **Gilsǫ́*. Chan eil a sheise aig an t-suathaich dheiridh sa chruth Lochlannais ach tha e ann gus an t-ainm a chur am broinn rang ainmeir àraidh anns a' Ghàidhlig.[521] Lorgar SL **Lax-ǫ́* na ainm aibhne anns na ceàrnaidhean uile sam bruidhinnte an Lochlannais bho shean; thèid a chleachdadh mar ainm tuathanais ann an corra àite ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* XVI, 224, 243 agus 291) agus, sa chruth *Laxey* [ʟɑksə] no [ʟɑksi], ann am Manainn (Marstrander 1932, 187).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na ainm-iasaid à SL **Lax-á* '(a') bhradan-abhainn', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *lax* f. 'bradan' agus SL *á* f. 'abhainn', le fuaimreig còmhnaidh.[522]

Coim. *Lacasdal* #231.

#231 *Lacasdal* STN
[ˈɬɑʰkə ˌs̪t̪əɬ̪], (gin.) *Lacasdail* [ˈɬɑʰkə ˌs̪t̪əl]; NB423349. 1785 *Glen of Laxdel*; 1843–82 *Lacasdall or Laxdale*; 1845 *Laxdale*; 1846HO *Laxdale Cottage*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Lacasdal*‖*Laxdale*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: 'S e SL **Lax-árdalr* 'gleann na bradan-aibhne' a th' ann an **Laxdale** [ʟɑhkəsdəʟ].[523] Bho thaobh an fhuaim-eòlais, faodaidh e fiù 's a bhith na SL **Laxdalr* 'gleann a' bhradain', ach cha lorgar a leithid de dh'ainm an àite eile. Faodaidh e a bhith, ge-tà, gun deach an eileamaid mheadhain *ár* a chur bhuaipe mar-thà ri linn nan Lochlannach; coim. Tìl. *Laxdœlir* 'daoine à *Laxárdalr*', *Hítdœlakappi* 'an gaisgeach à *Hítárdalr*'. Gheibhear **Laxdale** ann an àitichean eile ann an Innse Gall cuideachd; mar sin, lorgar dà uair e (uair air a chlàradh le Borgstrøm mar [ʟɑxkəsdəʟ]) sna Hearadh; ann an Sealtainn, *Laksdel* (Jakobsen 1936, 34).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn a tha na cheàrnaidh de Steòrnabhagh #309; ainm-iasaid às an Lochlannais. Cuiridh an fhuaimreag mheadhain [ə] air shùilibh

519. (nMO) [ɬɑˀhkᵊsɑˀj], GA *Abhainn Lacasaigh* [ˈãviɲ̊ ˈɬɑhkəsɑˀj].

520. 'S e *lax* an dà chuid riochd ainmneach agus riochd ginideach an fhacail.

521. .i. ainmearan buin-*o* (§31, bn 2).

522. Ged a chlàraicheas Oftedal an t-ainm às a h-aonais mar an ceudna.

523. (nMO) [ɬɑhkəstəɬ].

that it is from the short form ON **Lax-dal* acc. '(the) valley of (the) salmon-river' (with ON *-ár* elided), while ScG [ə] is epenthetic; ON **Lax-árdal* cusp.would probably yield something like ScG *[ˈl̪ɑʰkʂa ˌd̪əl̪].

Cf. *Loch Lacasdail* [l̪ɔx ˈl̪ɑʰkə ˌʂt̪əl] 'the loch of **Lacasdal*' NB276065, in A' Phàirc; also *Lacasaigh* #230.

#232 *Laidhmiseadar* TSR

[ˈl̪ãĩmə ˌʃad̪ər], (gen.) idem,[524] NB183425. 1703, 27 *Liani-Shadir*; 1718 *Lein Shater*; 1750M, 1776, 1789 *Limeshader*; 1821, 1822 *Limshade*; 1846 *Limeshade* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Laimisheadar*; 1846 *Limeshade*.

The name of an area in the township *Borghaston* #69, in An Taobh Siar; from ON **Lamb-sætr* '(the) lamb-sheiling', with the stem form of ON *lamb* ntt. 'lamb' and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296).

ON short *a* must have become a diphthong [ai] in Gaelic in front of ON *mb*, before assimilation in *mb* > *mm* – with geminate *mm* then yielding single *m* naturally in Gaelic– while medial [ə] is a secondary development[525] within the name. The palatal quality of the diphthong argues against ON **Lambasætr* '(the) sheiling of the lambs', with genitive plural of the specific: ON **Lamba-* would yield ScG [ˈl̪ãũmə], while [ʃ] causes palatalisation of the cluster in juxtaposition to it: ON **Lamb-sætr* > ScG *[ˈl̪ãĩmʲ ˌʃad̪ər] > [ˈl̪ãĩmə ˌʃad̪ər].

For ON *sætr*, see *Siadar* #296.

#233 *Làmadal* ÙIG

[ˈl̪ã:mə ˌd̪əl̪], (gen.) *Làmadail* [ˈl̪ã:mə ˌd̪əl]; NB040167. 1843–82 *Làmadal, Allt Làmadail, Gleann Làmadail, Cleite Làmadail, Loch Làmadail*;[526] 1860 *Cleite Lamadail*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the north side of *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112), in Ùig; a Gaelic name borrowed from an Old Norse name in ON *-dal*, accusative of the noun ON *dalr* m. 'valley'.

In his notes, Oftedal considers that ON **Láð-mannadal* acc., with genitive plural of the noun ON *láð-maðr* m. 'guide', would be rather meaningless, and that ON **Hlað-hamradal* acc., with genitive plural of ON *hlað-hamarr* m. 'landing place, a rock for loading boats',[527] would be more likely to yield [lə-əm]- in Gaelic.

524. (nMO) *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ɑ̃ĩməʃɑdər], *Àird Laidhmiseadair* [ɑ:ɖˈl̪ɑ̃ĩməʃɑdər] 'the point—'.

525. In the form of a stressless epenthetic vowel §42 (i) (b).

526. (nMO) [lɔxˈlɑ̃:mədəl̪] 'the loch of—'.

527. This compound appears to be found only in place-names (Tom Schmidt, personal communication), e.g. *Hlaðhamar* in Iceland (Landnámabók, Part I, Chap. XIV: *Hladhamar*), and *Ladehammaren*, north of Trondheim in Norway.

fuasgladh eile Oftedal, .i. gur h-ann às a' gheàrr-chruth SL **Lax-dal* cusp. 'gleann (na) bradan-aibhne' a tha e (le SL *-ár* air a theasgadh), agus GA [ə] na fuaimreig còmhnaidh; is iongantach mana toireadh SL **Lax-árdal* cusp. rudeigin mar GA *[ˈl̪ɑʰkʂa ˌd̪əl̪].

Coim. *Loch Lacasdail* [l̪ɔx ˈl̪ɑʰkə ˌʂt̪əl] NB276065, anns A' Phàirc; is *Lacasaigh* #230.

#232 *Laidhmiseadar* TSR

[ˈl̪ãĩmə ʃad̪ər], (gin.) idem,[524] NB183425. 1703, 27 *Liani-Shadir*; 1718 *Lein Shater*; 1750M, 1776, 1789 *Limeshader*; 1821, 1822 *Limshade*; 1846 *Limeshade* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Laimisheadar*; 1846 *Limeshade*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh sa bhaile fearainn *Borghaston* #69, air An Taobh Siar; à SL **Lamb-sætr* '(an) uan-àirigh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *lamb* n. 'uan' agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' ↄc (#296).

Feumaidh gun deach SL *a* ghoirid na dà-fhoghar [ai] sa Ghàidhlig air thoiseach air SL *mb*, mus deach *b* a cho-choslachadh ri *m* – agus *mm* eamhnaichte an uair sin a' dol na *m* shingilte gu nàdarra sa Ghàidhlig – fhad is 's e dàrnacha leasachadh a th' anns an [ə] mheadhain[525] san ainm. Cuiridh feart càireanach an dà-fhoghair an aghaidh SL **Lambasætr* 'àirigh nan uan', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir: bheireadh SL **Lamba-* GA [ˈl̪ãũmə], fhad 's a dh'adhbharaicheas [ʃ] càireanachadh sa chòmhlan an gar ris: SL **Lamb-sætr* > GA *[ˈl̪ãĩmʲ ˌʃad̪ər] > [ˈl̪ãĩmə ˌʃad̪ər].

Airson SL *sætr*, faic *Siadar* #296.

#233 *Làmadal* ÙIG

[ˈl̪ã:mə ˌd̪əl̪], (gin.) *Làmadail* [ˈl̪ã:mə ˌd̪əl]; NB040167. 1843–82 *Làmadal, Allt Làmadail, Gleann Làmadail, Cleite Làmadail, Loch Làmadail*;[526] 1860 *Cleite Lamadail*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh tuath *Loch Reusort* (#112), ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na ainm-iasaid Lochlannais ann an SL *-dal*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig an ainmear SL *dalr* f. 'gleann'.

Na notaichean, beachdaichidh Oftedal nach biodh mòran cèille ann an SL **Láð-mannadal* cusp. 'gleann nan treòraichean', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *láð-maðr* f., agus gum bu choltaiche gun toireadh SL **Hlað-hamradal* cusp. 'gleann nan laimrigean', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *hlað-hamarr* f. 'laimrig, creag luchdachadh bhàtaichean',[527] [lə-əm]- sa Ghàidhlig.

524. (nMO) *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ɑ̃ĩməʃɑdər], *Àird Laidhmiseadair* [ɑ:ɖˈl̪ɑ̃ĩməʃɑdər].

525. Air chruth fuaimreige còmhnaidh neo-bheumte §42 (i) (b).

526. (nMO) [lɔxˈlɑ̃:mədəl̪].

527. Is coltach nach nochd am fillteach seo ach ann an ainmean-àite (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta), m.e. *Hlaðhamar* ann an Innis Tìle (Landnámabók, Pàirt I, Caib. XIV: *Hladhamar*), agus *Ladehammaren*, tuath air Trondheim ann an Nirribhidh.

A solution with ON *lóma* (no *lóm-*), genitive plural (or the stem form) of the noun ON *lómr*[528] m. 'diver (the bird)', might be suitable from the point of view of meaning and ON **Lómadal* (or **Lóm-dal*), with *o* ~ *a* alternation §43 (i), suitable from the point of view of the historical phonology.

#234 *Leathad Oilibheir* STN (Eng. *Oliver's Brae*)
[ˌɲi-aḍ̥ ˈɔləvəɾʲ], (gen.) *Leathad Oilibheir* [ˌli-aḍ̥ ˈɔləvəɾʲ]; NB436326. 1964 *Oliver's Brae*; road sign *Leathad Oilibheir*‖*Oliver's Brae*.

The name of an area that was once part of the township *Sanndabhig* #285 but that is now part of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309;[529] with the noun ScG *leathad* m. 'slope' (EG *leithet*) and genitive of the surname ScG *Oilibhear* (< Eng. *Oliver*); known as *Oliver's Brae* in English.

The place was named after Captain Benjamin Oliver (d.1847), the customs officer reputed to have stopped illegal whisky smuggling to Lewis.[530] Captain Oliver lived closeby, at *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137 (*Sandwick Cottage* on the 1843–82 map).

#235 *Leumrabhagh* CDL (Eng. *Lemreway*)
(1) *Leumrabhagh* [ˈˌɲẽːmɾəˌvaɣ],[531] (gen.) *Leumrabhaigh* [ˈlẽːmɾəˌvaj]; (2) *Leum·aragh* [ˈˌɲẽːməˌɾaɣ], (gen.) *Leumaraigh* [ˈlẽːməˌraj]; NB382116. 1776 *Lemurvay*; 1776 (Seaforth Estate papers, in CEnaP 2007, 2) *Lemirway*; 1789 *Lemurvy*; 1804 *Lemurway*; 1807 *Lemurvay*; 1820 (Seaforth Estate papers, in CEnaP 2007, 2) *Limreway*; 1821 *Lemirvay*; 1843–82 *Leumrabhagh, Tòb Leumrabhaigh*; 2007 *Leumrabhagh*‖*Lemreway*.[532]

> Oftedal 1954, 405: '**Limervay** [lˈemərɑɣ].[533] For the explanation of this singularly obscure name, I have no suggestion to offer. It probably ended in ON *-vágr* m. "bay".'

The name of a township at the head of a sea loch (*Tòb Leumrabhaigh* 'the inlet

528. Perhaps the red-throated diver (*Gavia stellata*) (Darling and Morton Boyd 1969, 282); cf. Norn *lum* (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: 'the red-throated diver') and Scots *loom* (*DSL*, s.v.), both from ON *lómr*.

529. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/17135>.

530. <https://stornowayhistoricalsociety.org.uk/captain-benjamin-oliver/>.

531. With a long stressed vowel, rather than a short one as suggested by Fraser (1978, 5): 'pron[ounced] Liomrabhagh'.

532. The forms 1654 *Keanleurvay* and *Loch Keandleuroy* may belong here, i.e. ScG **Ceann Leumrabhaigh* 'the head of—' and **Loch Ceann Leumrabhaigh* 'the loch of (the head of—)' (but see *Liùrbost* #239).

533. ?Leg. [lˈeːmərɑɣ], cf. (nMO) [ʝeːmərɑɣ], [lˈeːmraɣ].

Is dòcha gum biodh fuasgladh le SL *lóma* (no *lóm-*), tuiseal ginideach iolra (no bun-riochd) an ainmeir SL *lómr*[528] f. 'learga (an t-eun)', freagarrach a thaobh cèille agus bhiodh SL **Lómadal* (no **Lóm-dal*) cusp., le iomlaid *o* ~ *a* §43 (i), freagarrach a thaobh an fhuinn-eòlais eachdraidheil.

#234 *Leathad Oilibheir* STN
[ˌɲi-aḍ̥ ˈɔləvəɾʲ], (gin.) *Leathad Oilibheir* [ˌli-aḍ̥ ˈɔləvəɾʲ]; NB436326. 1964 *Oliver's Brae*; soighne rathaid *Leathad Oilibheir*‖*Oliver's Brae*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh a bha uair na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Sanndabhig* #285 ach a tha a-nise na phàirt den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309;[529] leis an ainmear GA *leathad* f. (GT *leithet*) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm sloinnidh GA *Oilibhear* (< Brl. *Oliver*); canar *Oliver's Brae* ris sa Bheurla.

Chaidh an t-àite ainmeachadh air a' Chaiptean Benjamin Oliver (bh.1847), an t-oifigear cusbainn air a mheas na mheadhan air a bhith a' cur stad air cùl-mhutair-eachd uisge-bheatha mhì-laghail a Leòdhas.[530] 'S ann a bha an Caiptean Oilibhear a' fuireach ri làimh, air *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137 (1843–82 *Sandwick Cottage*).

#235 *Leumrabhagh* CDL
(1) *Leumrabhagh* [ˈˌɲẽːmɾəˌvaɣ],[531] (gin.) *Leumrabhaigh* [ˈlẽːmɾəˌvaj]; (2) *Leum·aragh* [ˈˌɲẽːməˌɾaɣ], (gin.) *Leumaraigh* [ˈlẽːməˌraj]; NB382116. 1776 *Lemurvay*; 1776 (pàipearan Oighreachd Shìophort, ann an CEnaP 2007, 2) *Lemirway*; 1789 *Lemurvy*; 1804 *Lemurway*; 1807 *Lemurvay*; 1820 (pàipearan Oighreachd Shìophort, ann an CEnaP 2007, 2) *Limreway*; 1821 *Lemirvay*; 1843–82 *Leumrabhagh, Tòb Leumrabhaigh*; 2007 *Leumrabhagh*‖*Lemreway*.[532]

> Oftedal 1954, 405: **Limervay** [lˈeːmərɑɣ].[533] Chan eil càil agam ri chur air adhart a mhìnicheas an t-ainm ro-dhoilleir seo. Is iongantach man do chrìochnaich e ann an SL *-vágr* f. 'bàgh'.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn aig ceann locha mara (*Tòb Leumrabhaigh*) air taobh

528. Is dòcha an learga ruadh (*Gavia stellata*) (Darling agus Morton Boyd 1969, 282); coim. Nòrn *lum* (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.: 'an learga ruadh') agus Alb. *loom* (*DSL*, s.v.), an dà chuid à SL *lómr*.

529. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/17135>.

530. <https://stornowayhistoricalsociety.org.uk/captain-benjamin-oliver/>.

531. Le fuaimreig bheumte fhada, seach tè ghoirid mar a chuireas Fraser (1978, 5) air shùilibh: 'pron[ounced] Liomrabhagh'.

532. Is dòcha gum buin na cruthan 1654 *Keanleurvay* agus *Loch Keandleuroy* an seo, .i. GA **Ceann Leumrabhaigh* agus **Loch Ceann Leumrabhaigh* (ach faic *Liùrbost* #239).

533. ?Leugh [lˈeːmərɑɣ], coim. (nMO) [ʝeːmərɑɣ], [lˈeːmraɣ].

of *Leumrabhagh*') on the north side and near the mouth of *Loch Shealg* (#108), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. The village was cleared in 1831[534] but resettled in 1857 by those evicted from *Stìomrabhagh* #310 (Macdonald 1978, 162).

Pronunciation (1) *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] is found generally (e.g. Taylor 2011, s.v. *Lemreway*), but pronunciation (2) *Leumaragh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːməˌɾaɣ] locally. The two pronunciations are represented in MacIver 1934, 63: '*Leumra*: This is the name used long ago by the old people. Some say today *Leumrava*.' The relationship between the two forms of the name might be explained in a number of ways (Cox 1999):

(a) *Leumrabhagh* might have developed from *Leumaragh*, by analogy with similar names in Lewis, e.g. *Steòrnabhagh* #309 and *Càrlabhagh* #98. This is the chronology suggested by MacIver, although the addition of a syllable like this seems unlikely;

(b) The forms *Leumrabhagh* and *Leumaragh* might represent two separate Norse names with the same specific element: *Leumrabhagh* from a name in ON *-vág* acc. m. 'bay', as Oftedal suggests, and *Leumaragh* from a name in ON *-á* f. 'river', with final [ɣ] closing an open syllable in Gaelic (cf. ScG *Giosladh* #206, from ON **Gilsá*), or similar;

(c) *Leumaragh* might be a contraction of *Leumrabhagh*.

If one compares the Gaelic name (generally) *Stìomrabhagh* ~ (locally) *Stìomaragh* #310 – the name of a settlement about 3.5 km (about 2.2 miles) to the west – one finds the same doubling of form. If it is correct to say this name derives from ON **Stím-árvág* acc., with a river name ON **Stím-á* in the genitive and medial metathesis, perhaps one might propose a similar case for the origin of *Leumrabhagh* ~ *Leumaragh*.

Our name might be derived from ON **Læming-árvág* acc. '(the) bay of **Læming-á*', with a river name with the stem form of ON *læmingi* m. 'lemming',[535] genitive of the noun ON *á* f. 'river' and accusative of ON *vágr* m. 'bay' (#98). Cf. ScG *Bealach Liamaistean* [ˌb̥jaɬ̪ˠəx ˈlʲĩãmɪ ʃtʲən] 'the pass of **Liamaistean*' NB2642, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), in An Taobh Siar, perhaps from ON **Læmingastein* acc. 'the rock of the *lemming*(s)'.[536] This species of rodent was once found in Britain (Darling and Boyd 1969, 62), but there is no evidence to suggest it survived in

534. CEnaP 2007, 2: in 1843.

535. Which Oftedal raises in his notes.

536. ScG [eː] /eː/ before a non-palatal consonant usually develops into [ia] /iɑ/ in Lewis, but there are a few exceptions (Oftedal 1956, 63, 95).

tuath agus faisg air beul *Loch Shealg* (#108), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais. Chaidh am baile fhàsachadh ann an 1831[534] ach a thuineachadh a-rithist ann an 1857 leis an fheadhainn a chaidh fhuadach à *Stìomrabhagh* #310 (Macdonald 1978, 162).

Gheibhear fuaimneachadh (1) *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːmɾəˌvaɣ] am bitheantas (m.e. Taylor 2011, s.v. *Lemreway*), ach fuaimneachadh (2) *Leumaragh* [ˈl̪ʲẽːməˌɾaɣ] gu h-ionadail. Tha an dà fhuaimneachadh air an riochdachadh ann am MacIver 1934, 63: '*Leumra*: This is the name used long ago by the old people. Some say today *Leumrava*.' Dh'fhaodte an dàimh eadar dà chruth an ainme a mhìneachadh ann an corra dhòigh (Cox 1999):

(a) Dh'fhaodte gun do dh'fhàs *Leumrabhagh* à *Leumaragh*, le corèiteachadh ri ainmean ceudna ann an Leòdhas, m.e. *Steòrnabhagh* #309 agus *Càrlabhagh* #98. 'S e sin an ùineadaireachd a tha ga chur air shùilibh le MacIver, ged nach coltach gun cuirte lide a bharrachd ri ainm mar seo;

(b) Dh'fhaodte gun riochdaich na cruthan *Leumrabhagh* agus *Leumaragh* dà ainm Lochlannais fa leth aig an robh an t-aon sònraichear: *Leumrabhagh* à ainm ann an SL *-vág* cusp. f. 'bàgh', mar a mholas Oftedal, agus *Leumaragh* à ainm ann an SL *-á* b. 'abhainn', le [ɣ] dheiridh a' dùnadh lide fhosgailte anns a' Ghàidhlig (coim. GA *Giosladh* #206, à SL **Gilsá*), no a leithid;

(c) Dh'fhaodte gu bheil *Leumaragh* na theannachadh air *Leumrabhagh*.

Ma nithear coimeas ris an ainm Ghàidhlig (am bitheantas) *Stìomrabhagh* ~ (gu h-ionadail) *Stìomaragh* #310 – ainm air tuineachadh mu 3.5 clm (mu 2.2 mhìle) air falbh chun na h-àirde an iar – lorgar an t-aon dùblachadh crutha. Mas ceart a ràdh gur h-ann à SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. a tha an t-ainm seo, leis an ainm aibhne SL **Stím-á* san tuiseal ghinideach agus eadar-chàradh meadhain, is dòcha gum faodte cùis cheudna a chur air adhart a thaobh an tùis aig *Leumrabhagh* ~ *Leumaragh*.

Dh'fhaodadh an t-ainm againne tàrmachadh ann an SL **Læming-árvág* cusp. '(am) bàgh aig **Læming-á*', le ainm aibhne le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *læmingi* f. 'leiminn, (Brl.) *lemming*',[535] tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *á* b. 'abhainn' agus an tuiseal chuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#98). Coim. GA *Bealach Liamaistean* [ˌb̥jaɬ̪ˠəx ˈlʲĩãmɪ ʃtʲən] NB2642, ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), air An Taobh Siar, is dòcha à SL **Læmingastein* cusp. 'creag an leiminn/nan leiminnean'.[536] Bha a' ghnè creimich seo uair ri lorg ann am Breatainn (Darling is Boyd 1969, 62), ach chan eil fianais sam bith ann gum do mhair e ann an

534. CEnaP 2007, 2: ann an 1843.

535. A thogas Oftedal na notaichean.

536. Thèid GA [eː] /eː/ air thoiseach air connraig neo-chàireanaich na [ia] /iɑ/ mar as trice ann an Leòdhas, ach tha corra mhura-bhith ann (Oftedal 1956, 63, 95).

Scotland up to the Viking Age.[537]

In the Middles Ages, ON *Læmr* m. was the name of Gjerdrum (ON *Sunnlæmr*) and Holter (ON *Norðlæmr*), townships in Akershus, Norway (*NG* II, 304–05, 413; Olsen 1919, 14–19). It is thought that *Læmr* is a contraction of a compound in ON *-heimr* m. 'settlement', with the first element of the compound from ON *hlær* adj. 'calm, warm' or from CSc. **hlaiwa* nt. 'hill' (*NSL*). ON **Læm-árvág* acc. '(the) bay of **Læm-á* (a river name)' would yield ScG *[ˈl̪ɛ̃ːmaɾˌvaɣ] regularly in the first instance, but that might yield *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ɛ̃ːmɾəˌvaɣ], with metathesis §40.

However, if the early forms of this name (1776 *Lemurvay* etc.) are authoritative, one might consider the compound ON **leir-heimr* m. 'clay-settlement', an element found in several place-names in the south of Norway (*NE*, 151–52). ON **Leir-heim-vág* acc. – using the stem form of the original Old Norse name of the settlement as specific – might yield ScG *[ˈl̪ɛːɾʲamˌvaɣ] in the first instance, then [ˈl̪ɛ̃ːmɾəˌvaɣ], with metathesis §40 (ii) and reduction of the unstressed vowel, a development encouraged, perhaps, by the name *Stìomrabhagh*, and perhaps suggested by the Gaelic word *leum* [l̪ɛ̃ːm] 'jump'.

Whatever the derivation of the name, it is likely that ScG *Leumrabhagh* was contracted to *Leumaragh* [ˈl̪ɛ̃ːməˌɾaɣ] locally, as ScG *Stìomrabhagh* was contracted to *Stìomaragh*.

#236 *Lìnseadar* BRN (Eng. *Linshader*)
[ˈl̪ĩːˌʃaʤəɾ], (gen.) [ˈl̪ĩːˌʃaʤəɾʲ]; NB210319. 1726 *Linsader* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822, 1843–82 *Linshader*; 2007 *Linsiadar*‖*Linshader*; road sign *Linsiadar*[538].

> Oftedal 1954, 383: '**Linshader** [ɪˈĩːʃɑdər][539] is ON **Lín-setr* "(the) flax farm". Two or three farms in Norway have this name (*NG* XII, 265, 346 and 376). In Iceland, there are no *-setr* names, but Ice. *lín* nt. found in *Línakradalur*.'

The name of a township in Ùig, a loan-name from ON **Lín-sætr* ' (the) flax-sheiling', with the stem form of the noun ON *lín* nt. 'flax (*Linum usitatissimum*)'. Flax from the Norse period has been found at *Barbhas* #47 and it is assumed that

537. In Norway, lemmings are only found in the mountains (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

538. This spelling is an attempt to link the Old Norse specific element in this name to its stressed form in Gaelic, viz *Siadar* #296, although the diphthong does not occur in half-stressed position.

539. (nMO) [l̪ĩːʃɑdər].

Albainn gu ruige Linn nan Ùiginneach.[537]

Anns na Meadhan-Aoisean, b' e SL *Læmr* f. an t-ainm a bh' air Gjerdrum (SL *Sunnlæmr*) agus Holter (SL *Norðlæmr*), bailtean fearainn ann an Akershus, Nirribhidh (*NG* II, 304–05, 413; Olsen 1919, 14–19). Thathas den bheachd gur h-e teannachadh air fillteach ann an SL *-heimr* f. 'tuineachadh' a th' ann an *Læmr*, agus ciad eileamaid an fhilltich à SL *hlær* buadh. 'ciùin, blàth' no à LB **hlaiwa* n. 'cnoc' (*NSL*). Bheireadh SL **Læm-árvág* cusp. '(am) bàgh aig **Læm-á* (ainm aibhne)' GA *[ˈl̪ɛ̃ːmaɾˌvaɣ] gu riaghailteach sa chiad char, ach is dòcha gun toireadh sin *Leumrabhagh* [ˈl̪ɛ̃ːmɾəˌvaɣ], le eadar-chàradh §40.

Gidheadh, mas ùghdarrasail cruthan tràtha an ainme seo (1776 *Lemurvay* ↄc), dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air an fhillteach SL **leir-heimr* f. 'làthach-thuineachadh', eileamaid a gheibhear ann an corra ainm-àite ann an ceann a deas Nirribhidh (*NE*, 151–52). Is dòcha gun toireadh SL **Leir-heim-vág* cusp. – a' cleachdadh bun-riochd ainm tùsail Lochlannais an tuineachaidh na shònraichear – GA *[ˈl̪ɛːɾʲamˌvaɣ] sa chiad àite, an uair sin [ˈl̪ɛ̃ːmɾəˌvaɣ], le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii) agus lùghdachadh san fhuaimreig neo-bheumte, leasachadh a chaidh a phiobrachadh, is dòcha, leis an ainm *Stìomrabhagh*, agus air a chur air shùilibh, 's dòcha, leis an fhacal Ghàidhlig *leum* [l̪ɛ̃ːm].

Ge be dè bunachas an ainme, is coltach gun deach *Leumrabhagh* a theannachadh gu *Leumaragh* *[ˈl̪ɛ̃ːməˌɾaɣ] gu h-ionadail, mar a thachair do GA *Stìomrabhagh* > *Stìomaragh*.

#236 *Lìnseadar* BRN
[ˈl̪ĩːˌʃaʤəɾ], (gin.) [ˈl̪ĩːˌʃaʤəɾʲ]; NB210319. 1726 *Linsader* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822, 1843–82 *Linshader*; 2007 *Linsiadar*‖*Linshader*; soighne rathaid *Linsiadar*[538].

> Oftedal 1954, 383: 'S e SL **Lín-setr* '(an) lìn-thuathanas' a th' ann an **Linshader** [ɪˈĩːʃɑdər][539]. Tha a dhà no a trì a thuathanasan ann an Nirribhidh air a bheil an t-ainm seo (*NG* XII, 265, 346 agus 376). Chan eil ainmean ann an *-setr* ann an Innis Tìle idir, ach gheibhear Tìl. *lín* n. ann an *Línakradalur*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig, na ainm-iasaid à SL **Lín-sætr* '(an) lìon-àirigh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *lín* n. 'lìon (*Linum usitatissimum*)'. Fhuaradh lorg air lìon bho linn nan Lochlannach ann am *Barbhas* #47 agus gabhar

537. Ann an Nirribhidh, chan fhaighear am beathach seo ach sna beanntan (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

538. 'S e oidhirp a tha san litreachadh seo air eileamaid shònrachaidh Lochlannais an ainme a cheangal ri a riochd Gàidhlig beumte, .i. *Siadar* #296, ged nach nochd an dà-fhoghar ann an suidheachadh leth-bheumte.

539. (nMO) [l̪ĩːʃɑdər].

the oily, nutritous seeds of this plant were used as food (Dickson 2010, 74–75); according to Martin (1703, 2), the plant was still being grown in Lewis at the beginning of the 18th century.

For the question of ON *sætr,* as opposed to ON *setr*, see *Siadar* #296.

#237 *Lìonal* NIS (Eng. *Lionel*)
[ˈʃ̃ĩə̃nɑɬ̃], [ˈʃ̃ĩə̃nɔɬ̃], (gen.) *Lìonail* [ˈlĩə̃nal], [ˈlĩə̃nɔl]; NB527634. 1718 *Linoll*; 1726 *Linol*; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Leanol*; 1821, 1822 *Lionel*; 1843–82 *Lional*; 2007 *Lional*‖*Lionel*.

> Oftedal 1954, 372: '**Lional** [ʟˈiənɑʟ][540] is a compound of ON *lín* nt. "flax; linen" and some form of ON *vǫllr* m. "field". The Scottish Gaelic forms of Old Norse place-names are usually derived from Old Norse dative or accusative forms and we are here in the presence either of the accusative singular **Línvǫll* or of a plural form (dative *-vǫllum* or accusative *-vǫllu*). I prefer the latter possibility because the form *í Línwollum* is attested, from Indre Holmedal, Norway, about 1360 (*NG* XII, 306). The nominative of the name may then be reconstructed as **Línvellir*. The development from an older long *í* to ScG [iə] is regular before non-palatal consonants, cf. ScG *lìon* [ʟˈiən] "fishing net" with OG *lín*.'

The name of a township in Nis; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Taylor (2011, s.v. *Lionel*: ScG *Lìonail* [*sic*]) agrees with a solution from ON **Lín-vǫll*, but, as Oftedal mentions in his notes, a solution from ON **Lín-hól* acc. (so MacBain 1922, 98), with accusative of the noun ON *hóll* m. 'hill', would be more likely because of the lenited [l] in the genitive of the Gaelic name; further, one would expect ScG [ə] from unstressed ON *ǫ* but ScG [ɔ] from unstressed ON *ó*.

MacKenzie (1932, 287) derives the specific from ON *lín* also, but the generic from ON *dalr* m. 'valley', remarking that *dalr* often takes the form *el* or *al* as a suffix; however, there is no evidence for that.

#238 *Lite Sithinn* CDL
*[ˌʃ̃iʰtʲə ˈʃi-iɲ̃], (gen.) *Lite Sithinn* *[ˌliʰtʲə ˈʃi-iɲ̃]; NB409151. 1843–82 *Allt Lite Sithinn*, *Loch Lite Sithinn*, *Mol Lite Sithinn*; the last two names were recorded as follows: [ˌɬɔx ˌʃ̃iʰtʲə ˈʃi-aɲ̃] and [ˌmɔ̃ɬ̃ ˌʃ̃iʰtʲə ˈʃi-an].

The name of a deserted settlement east of *Grabhair* #217, spelt *Lite Sithein* by Lawson (2011, 170).

540. (nMO) [ʝiənɑɬ], [ʟˈĩənəˠl̝ˠ].

ris gur h-ann mar bhiadh a dheigheadh sìol ùilleach mathasach an luis seo a chleachdadh (Dickson 2010, 74–75); a rèir MhicGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 2), bhathas fhathast a' cur an luis ann an Leòdhas aig toiseach na h-18mh linne.

A thaobh a' chrutha SL *sætr,* seach SL *setr*, faic *Siadar* #296.

#237 *Lìonal* NIS
[ˈʃ̃ĩə̃nɑɬ̃], [ˈʃ̃ĩə̃nɔɬ̃], (gin.) *Lìonail* [ˈlĩə̃nal], [ˈlĩə̃nɔl]; NB527634. 1718 *Linoll*; 1726 *Linol*; 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807 *Leanol*; 1821, 1822 *Lionel*; 1843–82 *Lional*; 2007 *Lional*‖*Lionel*.

> Oftedal 1954, 372: 'S e fillteach à SL *lín* n. 'lìon (.i. an lus, *Linum*); anart' agus cruth air choreigin de SL *vǫllr* f. 'field' a th' ann an **Lional** [ʟˈiənɑʟ].[540] Tàrmaichidh cruthan Gàidhlig aig ainmean-àite Lochlannais mar as trice ann an cruthan Lochlannais tabhartach no cuspaireach, agus an seo tha sinn an làthair aon chuid an tuiseil chuspairich shingilte **Línvǫll* no cruth iolra (tabhartach *-vǫllum* no cuspaireach *-vǫllu*). 'S fheàrr leam am fuasgladh mu dheireadh a chionn 's gum faighear an cruth *í Línwollum*, à Indre Holmedal, Nirribhidh, mu 1360 (*NG* XII, 306). Dh'fhaodte an uair sin cruth ainmneach an ainme ath-dhèanamh mar **Línvellir*. Tha an leasachadh à *í* fhada nas sine gu GA [iə] riaghailteach ro chonnragan neo-chàireanach, coim. GA *lìon* [ʟˈiən] 'lìon iasgaich' ri SG *lín*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Thèid Taylor (2011, s.v. *Lionel*: GA *Lìonail* [*sic*]) le fuasgladh à SL **Lín-vǫll*, ach, mar a mhothaicheas Oftedal na notaichean, bhiodh fuasgladh à SL **Lín-hól* cusp. (mar sin MacBain 1922, 98), le tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *hóll* f. 'tom, cnoc', na bu choltaiche a chionn na [l] sèimhichte ann an tuiseal ginideach an ainme Ghàidhlig; a thuilleadh, shùilichte GA [ə] à SL *ǫ* neo-bheumte ach GA [ɔ] à SL *ó* neo-bheumte.

Tàrmaichidh MacKenzie (1932, 287) an sònraichear ann an SL *lín* cuideachd, ach an seòrsaichear ann an SL *dalr* f. 'gleann', a' cantainn gun gabh *dalr* an cruth *el* no *al* gu tric mar iar-leasachan; gidheadh, chan eil fianais airson a leithid ann.

#238 *Lite Sithinn* CDL
*[ˌʃ̃iʰtʲə ˈʃi-iɲ̃], (gin.) *Lite Sithinn* *[ˌliʰtʲə ˈʃi-iɲ̃]; NB409151. 1843–82 *Allt Lite Sithinn*, *Loch Lite Sithinn*, *Mol Lite Sithinn*; chaidh an dà ainm mu dheireadh a chlàradh mar a leanas: [ˌɬɔx ˌʃ̃iʰtʲə ˈʃi-aɲ̃] agus [ˌmɔ̃ɬ̃ ˌʃ̃iʰtʲə ˈʃi-an].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs an ear air *Grabhair* #217, air a litreachadh *Lite Sithein* le Lawson (2011, 170).

540. (nMO) [ʝiənɑɬ], [ʟˈĩənəˠl̝ˠ].

The settlement was sited at *Geàrraidh Bid an Fhèidh* 'the enclosure of the peak of the deer (sg.)', above the sea. A little north of the *geàrraidh* is a loch called *Loch Lite Sithinn* 'the loch of *Lite Sithinn*' and, from there, *Allt Lite Sithinn* 'the stream of *Lite Sithinn*' runs down to the sea at *Mol Lite Sithinn* 'the pebble beach of *Lite Sithinn*', to the east of the *geàrraidh*. North of the loch is *Sìthean a' Bhràghad* 'the hillock of the upland'; west of the loch is *Bid nam Fiadh* 'the peak of the deer (pl.)'; and west of that, *Na Sìtheanan Biorach* 'the pointed hillocks'.[541] This area is about 0.2 km² (about 0.08 miles²).

The name *Lite Sithinn* does not make sense as a place-name and it may be the product of an onomastic tale, i.e. that ScG *lite* 'soup (lit. porridge)' would be made from *sitheann* 'venison' there; all the above names coming together to create such a tale. ScG *sitheann* m./f., (gen.) *sithinn*, has arisen from ScG *sìthean* 'hillock' and it is possible that ScG *lite* b. has arisen from ScG *leitir* b. 'slope', an appellative that might be appropriate at several places between *Sìthean a' Bhràghad* in the north (at 130 m (425 ft)) and *Geàrraidh Bid an Fhèidh* (at 30 m (100 ft)).[542]

The pronunciations [ɬɔx ˌʃiʰtʲə ˈʃi-aŋ] and [ˌmɔ̃ɬ ˌʃiʰtʲə ˈʃi-an] may support this explanation, with [ˈʃi-aŋ] [ˈʃi-an] a mixture of *sithinn* [ˈʃi-iɲ], the genitive of *sitheann*, and *sìthein* [ˈʃiːhaɲ] [ˈʃiːhan], the genitive of *sìthean*.[543]

#239 *Liùrbost* CTL (Eng. *Leurbost*)
[ˈɻuːrˌpɔsʈ], (gen.) *Liùrboist* [ˈluːrˌpɔʃtʲ]; NB370257. 1654 *Duyrboſt*; 1702 *Duyrliuſt* [*sic*]; 1718, 1726 *Leurbost*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Leurbust*; 1821, 1843–82, 1846 *Luirbost*; 2007, road sign *Liurbost*‖*Leurbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 399–401: '**Leurbost** [lˈuːrbɔst] is certainly not ON **Leir·bólstaðr* "(the) clay-farm", as commonly supposed. ON *leir-* (nt.) results in Lewis Gaelic [lˈeːð-], as in *Tòb Lèireabhaigh* [tɔːb ˈleːðəvɑj], a little bay on the east coast between *Steòrnabhagh* #309 and *Gruim·seadar* #224, and *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh* [ɑ̃viɴʲ ˈlˈeːðəvɑj],[544] the river that runs into it (on the Ordnance Survey Map erroneously called *Allt na Craoibhe*). The nominative of this name is *[lˈeːðəvɑɣ], which is either ON **Leir-vágr* "(the) clay-bay" or **Leiruvágr* "(the) bay of the

541. (1843–82) *Gearraidh Bid an Fheidh, Sithean a Bhraghad, Bid nam Fiadh, Sitheanan Biorach*.

542. ScG *sitheann* m./f. < EG *sideng* nt. 'deer'; ScG *sìthean* m. < EG *síd, síth* 'fairies' + the suffix *-án* (Cox 2002a, 59); ScG *leitir* f. < EG *leittir* (?< *leth* 'half' > 'steep' + *tír* 'land, ground' (*DIL*).

543. The difference between the consonant quality in ScG *sìthein* [ˈʃiːhaɲ] and [ˈʃiːhan] is dialectal; see *Baile Ailein* #28.

544. With lenition of the palatal lateral prevented by the preceding palatal nasal (Cox 2017, 62–63).

'S ann a bha an tuineachadh suidhichte far a bheil *Geàrraidh Bid an Fhèidh*, bhos cionn na mara. Beagan mu thuath air a' gheàrraidh, tha loch air a bheil *Loch Lite Sithinn* agus, às a sin, ruithidh *Allt Lite Sithinn* sìos chun na mara aig *Mol Lite Sithinn*, air taobh an ear a' gheàrraidh. Tuath air an loch, tha *Sìthean a' Bhràghad*; an iar air an loch, tha *Bid nam Fiadh*; is an iar air a sin, *Na Sìtheanan Biorach*.[541] Tha an àrainn seo mu 0.2 clm² (mu 0.08 mìle²).

Cha dèan an t-ainm *Lite Sithinn* ciall mar ainm-àite, agus 's math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à dinnsheanchas air choreigin a dh'èireas e, .i. gun robhas a' dèanamh GA *lite* (.i. brot) à *sitheann* san àite; na h-ainmean-àite shuas uile a' tighinn còmhla gus a leithid de sgeulachd a chruthachadh. Tha GA *sitheann* f./b., (gin.) *sithinn*, air èirigh à GA *sìthean* 'cnoc' agus is dòcha gun do dh'èirich GA *lite* b. à GA *leitir* b. 'leathad', ainmear a dh'fhaodadh a bhith iomchaidh ann an corra àite eadar *Sìthean a' Bhràghad* sa cheann a tuath (aig 130 m (425 tr.)) agus *Geàrraidh Bid an Fhèidh* (aig 30 m (100 tr.)).[542]

Is dòcha gun cuir na fuaimneachaidhean [ɬɔx ˌʃiʰtʲə ˈʃi-aŋ] agus [ˌmɔ̃ɬ ˌʃiʰtʲə ˈʃi-an] taic ris a' mhìneachadh seo is [ˈʃi-aŋ] [ˈʃi-an] nam measgachadh de *sithinn* [ˈʃi-iɲ], an tuiseal ginideach aig *sitheann*, agus *sìthein* [ˈʃiːhaɲ] [ˈʃiːhan], an tuiseal ginideach aig *sìthean*.[543]

#239 *Liùrbost* CTL
[ˈɻuːrˌpɔsʈ], (gin.) *Liùrboist* [ˈluːrˌpɔʃtʲ]; NB370257. 1654 *Duyrboſt*; 1702 *Duyrliuſt* [*sic*]; 1718, 1726 *Leurbost*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Leurbust*; 1821, 1843–82, 1846 *Luirbost*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Liurbost*‖*Leurbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 399–401: Is cinnteach nach e SL **Leir-bólstaðr* '(an) crèadh-thuathanas' a th' ann an **Leurbost** [lˈuːrbɔst], mar a shaoilear gu bitheanta. Bheir SL *leir-* (n.) GA [lˈeːð-] ann an Leòdhas, mar a tha ann an *Tòb Lèireabhaigh* [tɔːb ˈleːðəvɑj], bàgh beag air an oirthir an ear eadar *Steòrnabhagh* #309 agus *Gruimseadar* #224, agus *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh* [ɑ̃viɴʲ ˈlˈeːðəvɑj],[544] an abhainn a ruitheas dhan loch (air a bheil *Allt na Craoibhe* air mhearachd air map na Suirbhidh Òrdanais). 'S e *[lˈeːðəvɑɣ] cruth bunasach an ainme seo, aon chuid à SL **Leir-vágr* '(an) crèadh-bhàgh' no à **Leiruvágr* 'bàgh a' chrèadha, bàgh a' chladaich chrèadha, no

541. (1843–82) *Gearraidh Bid an Fheidh, Sithean a Bhraghad, Bid nam Fiadh, Sitheanan Biorach*.

542. GA *sitheann* f./b. < GT *sideng* n. 'fiadh'; GA *sìthean* f. < GT *síd, síth* 'sìthichean' + an t-iar-leasachan *-án* (Cox 2002a, 59); GA *leitir* b. < GT *leittir* (?< *leth* 'leth' > 'cas'+ *tír* 'tìr') (*DIL*).

543. Tha an diofar eadar feart na connraige mu dheireadh ann an GA *sìthein* [ˈʃiːhaɲ] agus [ˈʃiːhan] dualchainnteach; faic *Baile Ailein* #28.

544. Le sèimheachadh san taobhach chàireanach air a bhacadh leis an t-srònach chàireanach a thig roimhe (Cox 2017, 62–63).

clay, (the) bay of the clay beach, or (the) bay of the river **Leira*".[fn]

> 'fn: The latter interpretation is preferable. **Leira* would then be the Old Norse name of the present *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh*. That this river should be so named is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the nearest river to the north (*River Greeta* or *Creed* on the Ordance Survey Map) is called ScG *Abhainn Ghrìoda* [ɑ̃vɪɴʲ ɣðiːd], doubtlessly from ON **Grýta*. **Leira* means "(the) clayey one", **Grýta* "(the) stony or pebbly one", and it is very natural that these two neighbouring rivers should have had names that distinguished between them in such a clear way. Both are common river names in Norway, see *NE*, 81ff. and 141ff.

'On the other hand, it is difficult to tell which Old Norse form [ʟˈuːrbɔst] does represent. One might guess at **Ljúfarbólstaðr*, from **Ljúf*, a woman's name (meaning 'friendly, agreeable'), but this is improbable because the name *Ljúf* is not found in the old literature and because **Ljúfarbólstaðr* would more probably have yielded ScG *[ʟˈu(ː)ərbɔst], without loss of the second syllable. There is, however, a woman's name *Ljúfa* (weak declension), found in Lnb., and an assembly place in Vågå, Norway, is called *a Liufærwange* in a document from 1336 (*NG* IV[1], 96). The latter name is unexplained.[545] Another conjecture is **Lygru·bólstaðr*, which might conceivably have resulted in the modern form, although the expected result is rather [ʟˈuːrəbɔst] or [ʟˈiːrəbɔst]. This name would contain the surname *Lygra* (?'fair'); one *Einarr Lygra* is mentioned in Sverris saga Sigurðssonar (Flateyjarbók). Neither explanation is completely satisfactory.

'Blaeu's *Atlas* shows a village *Keanleurvay* at the head of *Loch Keand·leuroy*, the present *Loch Leurbost*. This village and its name are now forgotten; *Crothairgearraidh* #158 was probably part of it. *Keanleurvay* reflects a pronunciation *[kʼɑɴ ˈluːrvɑj], showing *[ʟˈuːrvaɣ] to be an ancient name of the loch or part of it. This is perhaps ON **Lýrvágr* '(the) pollock bay', from *lýrr* m. 'pollock' (cf. *Løraberg* and *Lørhelja* in Shetland, Jakobsen 1936, 147). If this is so, one might tentatively derive *Leurbost* from ON **Lýrbólstaðr*, a contracted form of **Lýrvágsbólstaðr* 'pollock-bay farm'. But the hypothesis is far from convincing.'

545. It was the name of an assembly place, and likely identical to the one in Vågå mentioned by Schøning in 1778 (*NG* ibid.) and thus very close to the parish church. As the name of the farm next to the vicarage is *Lye* (from ON **Lýgin*), Olaf Rygh connects it with **Ljúfarvangr* (ibid.); cf. *NO*, s.vv. **Ljúfarvangr* (for **Ljúgar-*?) and **Lýgin* (?< ON **ljúg* f. 'sacred place' or ON **lýgi* nt. 'assembly-place' and ON *vin* f. 'meadow' etc.).

bàgh na h-aibhne **Leira*'.[bn]

> bn: Tha am mìneachadh mu dheireadh nas fheàrr. B' e an t-ainm Lochlannais air an abhainn air a bheil *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh* an-diugh a bhiodh ann an **Leira*. Tha e air a dhèanamh nas dòcha gur h-ann mar sin a chaidh an abhainn seo ainmeachadh seach gur h-e GA *Abh·ainn Ghrìoda* [ɑ̃vɪɴʲ ɣðiːd] – gun teagamh à SL **Grýta* (*River Greeta* no *Creed* air mapa na Suirbhidh Òrdanais) – a th' air an abhainn as fhaisge a tuath. 'S e '(an) tè chrèadhach' as ciall do **Leira*, '(an) tè chlachach no mholagach' do **Grýta*, agus is dual gun robh ainmean air an dà abhainn seo a bha dealaichte bho chèile air dòigh cho soilleir. Tha an dà chuid nan ainmean bitheanta an Nirribhidh, faic *NE*, 81 ⁊a is 141 ⁊a.

Air an làimh eile, tha e duilich a ràdh cò an dearbh chruth Lochlannais a riochdaicheas [ʟˈuːrbɔst]. Dh'fhaodte **Ljúfarbólstaðr* a thomhas, à **Ljúf*, ainm boireannaich (a' ciallachadh 'càirdeil, taitneach'), ach cha choltach seo seach nach eil lorg air san t-seann litreachas is seach gum bu dòcha gun toireadh **Ljúfarbólstaðr* GA *[ʟˈu(ː)ərbɔst], gun chall na dàrna lide. Gidheadh, tha an t-ainm boireannaich *Ljúfa* (claonadh lag) ann, a gheibhear ann an Lnb., agus àite-tionail ann an Vågå, Nirribhidh, air a bheil *a Liufærwange* ann an sgrìobhainn à 1336 (*NG* IV[1], 96). Cha deach an t-ainm mu dheireadh a mhìneachadh.[545] 'S e tomhas eile a th' ann an **Lygrubólstaðr*, a dh'fhaodadh a bhith a' toirt an nua-chrutha, ged a bhite an dùil ri [ʟˈuːrəbɔst] no [ʟˈiːrəbɔst]. Bheireadh an t-ainm seo an sloinneadh *Lygra* (?'bàn') a-steach; tha iomradh air fear *Einarr Lygra* ann an Sverris saga Sigurðssonar (Flateyjarbók). Chan eil fear seach fear de na mìneachaidhean gu buileach riarachail.

Seallaidh *Atlas* Bhlaeu baile air a bheil *Keanleurvay* mar ainm aig ceann *Loch Keandleuroy*, .i. air a bheil *Loch Leurbost* an-diugh. Tha am baile seo agus a ainm air a dhol air dhìochuimhne; is math dh'fhaodte gun robh *Crothairgearraidh* #158 na phàirt dheth. Bidh *Keanleurvay* a' taisbeanadh an fhuaimneachaidh *[kʼɑɴ ˈluːrvɑj], ag innse gur h-e ainm àrsaidh air an loch no air pàirt dheth a bh' ann an *[ʟˈuːrvaɣ]. 'S dòcha gur h-e SL **Lýrvágr* '(an) liùgh-bhàgh' a tha seo, à *lýrr* f. 'liùgh, pollag' (coim. *Løraberg* agus *Lørhelja* ann an Sealtainn, Jakobsen 1936, 147). Mas fìor sin, dh'fhaodte, le teagamh, *Leurbost* a thoirt à SL **Lýrbólstaðr*, cruth teannaichte aig **Lýrvágsbólstaðr* 'tuathanas an liùgh-bhàigh'. Ach tha a' bharail fada bho bhith dearbhte.

545. B' e ainm air àite-tionail a bh' ann, agus ionann a rèir choltais agus am fear ann am Vågå air an tug Schøning iomradh ann an 1778 (*NG* ibid.) agus, mar sin, gu math faisg air eaglais na sgìreachd. A chionn 's gur h-e *Lye* (à SL **Lýgin*) ainm an tuathanais ri taobh taigh a' bhiocair, ceanglaidh Olaf Rygh e ri **Ljúfarvangr* (ibid.); coim. *NO*, s.vv. **Ljúfarvangr* (airson **Ljúgar-*?) agus **Lýgin* (?< SL **ljúg* f. 'àite naomh' no SL **lýgi* n. 'àite-tionail' agus SL *vin* f. 'lèana' ⁊c).

As regards ON **Ljúfarbólstað* acc., the form ON *Ljúfa* does not make it more likely that the disyllabic *Ljúfar* or *Liúfu* would yield monosyllabic ScG [ˈɲ̊ʊ̥ːɾ]-. As regards ON **Lygrubólstað* acc., it is possible that such a form would yield ScG *[ˈɲ̊əɣɾə] > *[ˈɲ̊əːɾə].[546]

Liùrbost itself is represented by *Duyrbost* [*sic*] on Blaeu's map (1654). Oftedal may be correct regarding *Keanleurvay* and *Loch Keandleuroy*, or they may have something to do with ScG *Tòb Lèireabhaigh* 'the bay of **Lèireabhagh*' NB422296, a bay north of *Gruimseadar* #224, south of *Àranis* #19, or ScG *Leumrabhagh* #235, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; several names in the south-east have been misplaced on Blaeu's map.

ON *hlýr* nt. 'cheek; flat face of an axe blade; bow of a boat' has not previously been offered as a solution for the first element in the name *Liùrbost*, perhaps because the word no longer occurs today other than in a few derivatives in Nynorsk: *lyra* f. 'protruding wrinkle or fold on the head; box on the ear'; *lyra* vb 'to listen with the ear and face towards a sound'; and the compound *lyrodd* m. 'part of a boat's bow'. ON **Hlýr-bólstað* acc. '(the) *hlýr*-farm' might have denoted the long slope of the hill at the western end of the village and would yield ScG *Liùrbost* [ˈɲ̊ʊ̥ːɾˌb̥ɔsʈ̪] regularly.[547]

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#240 *Loch Croistean* ÙIG (Eng. *Lochcroistean*)
[ˌɲ̊ɔx ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən], (gen.) idem;[548] NB112302. 1843–82, 1895–1896 *Loch Chroisteam*; 1934, 102 *Croisten* (*loch*); 2007 *Loch Croistean*‖*Lochcroistean*; road sign *Loch Croistean.*

The name of a small settlement near the township *Ungaiseadar* #346, in Ùig, beside a loch called *Loch Croistean*; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *loch* m. (#29) and an Old Norse loan-name in genitive position as specific.

546. For loss of the fricative [ɣ], cf. ScG *liaghra* m./f. [ˈɲ̊iəɾə] 'device for spinning wool' from ScG *liagh* f. [ɲ̊iəɣ] 'spoon; oar blade' + the suffix *-ar* (cf. ScG *salchar* 'dirt' < *salach* 'dirty' + *-ar*) + the vocalic plural ending *-a* (Cox 2017, 106 + fn 26): *liaghra* < **liaghara* 'blades, sticks', with syncope, cf. *a leabhra* < *a leabhara* voc. pl. 'O books' (ibid., 389 + fn 2); or one might consider ScG *liagh* + the collective suffix OG *-reḋ*, *-raḋ* (Thurneysen 1975, 169): EG **liaghraḋ* nt. > ScG *liaghra* m./f. (Cox ibid., 84), cf. EG *lúaithreḋ* nt. > ScG *luaithre* f. 'ash(es)'.

547. An ON **Hlýrabólstað* acc. '(the) sheltered or warm farm', with accusative masculine weak form of the (poetic) adjective *hlýr*, is phonetically less plausible: it would be more likely to yield ScG **Liùrabost*.

548. The form [ˌɲ̊ɔx ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲəm], after the map tradition, was recorded from an informant from *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172; however, Iain Taylor's informants – from *Bhaltos* #63 and *Loch Croistean* itself (personal communication) – used the form [ˌɲ̊ɔx ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən].

A thaobh SL **Ljúfarbólstað* cusp., cha dèan an cruth SL *Ljúfa* nas dòcha e gum faighte an cruth aon-lideach GA [ˈɲ̊ʊ̥ːɾ] às a' chruth dhà-lideach *Ljúfar* no *Ljúfu*. A thaobh SL **Lygrubólstað* cusp., is dòcha gun toireadh a leithid de chruth GA [ˈɲ̊əɣɾə] > [ˈɲ̊əːɾə].[546]

Tha *Liùrbost* fhèin air a riochdachadh le *Duyrbost* [*sic*] air mapa Bhlaeu (1654). Is dòcha gu bheil Oftedal ceart a thaobh *Keanleurvay* agus *Loch Keandleuroy*, air neo is dòcha gu bheil gnothach aca ri GA *Tòb Lèireabhaigh* NB422296, bàgh tuath air *Gruimseadar* #224, deas air *Àranis* #19, no GA *Leumrabhagh* #235, an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; tha corra ainm san ear-dheas às an àite air mapa Bhlaeu.

Cha tugadh iomradh air SL *hlýr* n. 'gruaidh, lethcheann; aghaidh rèidh air lainn tuaighe; toiseach bàta' mar-thà mar fhuasgladh do chiad eileamaid an ainme *Liùrbost*, 's math dh'fhaodte a chionn 's nach fhaighear am facal tuilleadh an-diugh ach ann an corra bhunadair ann an Nynorsk: *lyra* b. 'roc no filleadh a stobas a-mach air a' cheann; cluaisean, buille air a' chluais'; *lyra* gn. 'èist leis a' chluais agus an aghaidh a dh'ionnsaigh fuaime'; agus am fillteach *lyrodd* f. 'pàirt de thoiseach bàta'. Bhiodh SL **Hlýr-bólstað* cusp. '(an) *hlýr*-thuathanas' air beantainn ri leathad fada a' chnuic aig ceann an iar a' bhaile, is bheireadh sin GA *Liùrbost* [ˈɲ̊ʊ̥ːɾˌb̥ɔsʈ̪] gu riaghailteach.[547]

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#240 *Loch Croistean* ÙIG
[ˌɲ̊ɔx ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən], (gin.) idem;[548] NB112302. 1843–82, 1895–1896 *Loch Chroisteam*; 1934, 102 *Croisten* (*loch*); 2007 *Loch Croistean*‖*Lochcroistean*; soighne rathaid *Loch Croistean*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag faisg air a' bhaile fearainn *Ungaiseadar* #346, ann an Ùig, ri taobh locha air a bheil *Loch Croistean*; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *loch* f. (#29) is ainm-iasaid Lochlannais ann an suidheachadh ginideach na shònraichear.

546. Airson call an t-suathaich [ɣ], coim. GA *liaghra* f./b. [ˈɲ̊iəɾə] 'inneal toinneamh snàtha' à GA *liagh* b. [ɲ̊iəɣ] 'spàin; lann ràimh' + an iar-leasachan *-ar* (coim. GA *salchar* < *salach* + *-ar*) + an dùnadh fhuaimreagach iolra *-a* (Cox 2017, 106 + bn 26): *liaghra* < **liaghara* 'lannan, biorain', le teasgadh meadhain, coim. *a leabhra* < *a leabhara* gairm. iol. 'a leabhraichean' (ibid., 389 + bn 2); air neo dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air GA *liagh* + an iar-leasachan trusaidh SG *-reḋ*, *-raḋ* (Thurneysen 1975, 169): GT **liaghraḋ* n. > GA *liaghra* f./b. (Cox ibid., 84), coim. GT *lúaithreḋ* n. > GA *luaithre* b.

547. Chan eil SL **Hlýrabólstað* cusp. '(an) tuathanas fasgach no blàth', le cruth cuspaireach fireann lag a' bhuadhair (bhàrdail) *hlýr*, cho beulach gu fuaim-eòlach: bu choltaiche gun toireadh e GA **Liùrabost*.

548. Chaidh [ˌɲ̊ɔx ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲəm], air dualchas nam mapaichean, a chlàradh bho neach-fiosrachaidh à *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172; ach chleachd luchd-fiosrachaidh Iain Mhic an Tàilleir – à *Bhaltos* #63 agus *Loch Croistean* fhèin (conaltradh pearsanta) – an cruth [ˌɲ̊ɔx ˈkʰɾɔʃtʲən].

The form (1843–82) *Loch Chroisteam*[549] is recommended instead of *Loch Chrustan* (cf. below) in the Ordnance Survey Name Book (OS1/27/61/55), without further explanation. Assuming **Croistean* is the authoritative form of the loan-name in Gaelic, *Loch Croistean*, with delenition of the specific (as opposed to **Loch Chroistean*), is a likely outcome in the dialect (cf. *Loch Crò Mòr* as opposed to **Loch Chrò Mòr* (#152)).

ScG **Croistean* might derive from ON **Kross-stein* acc. '(the) cross-stone', with the stem form of the noun ON *kross* m. 'cross etc.' (#155) and accusative of the noun ON *steinn* m. 'stone, rock' (#171), although there is no sign or report of a cross-marked stone in the vicinity; cf. *Crustan* HY274289, in Orkney, perhaps from ON **Kross-steinn* nom. (Marwick 1970, 34).[550]

#241 *Loch Gainmhich* TSR (Eng. *Lochganvich*)
[ˌɬɔxə ˈg̊ãn̪ãviç],[551] (gen.) idem; NB290296. 1821 *Gannvich*, *Lh. Ganavich*; 1843–82 *Loch' a Gainmheich*; 1934, 4 *Locha ganamhaich*; 2007 *Loch a Ghainmhich*‖*Loch·ganvich*.

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar; earlier, of a place held under grazing tenancy by Major MacIver of *Aiginis* #4 and *Pabail* #261, and his heirs, which was made into five crofts by 1851 (Lawson 2008, 140).

A Gaelic name taken from the name of the loch to the south of the township, with ScG *loch* m. 'loch, lake' (#29) and the genitive of ScG *gainmheach* f. 'sand'[552] as an adjective.

The vowel [ə] here has no grammatical significance – it is not a form of the article, for example; it is simply an epenthetic vowel that occurs in order to avoid the cluster /xg/ at the onset of full stress; cf. *Loch Shiadair* #242.

The form *Loch Gainmhich* is fairly frequent as a place-name in Lewis, e.g. *Loch Gainmhich* NB319379, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), and NB237357, in *Britheas·cleit* #79, and *Loch Gainmhich Èitseal*[553] NB275351, also in *Britheascleit*. Place-names with indefinite nouns denoting the nature of the ground as specific are found both without the article as here, cf. ScG *Creagan Ghreòid* (#86), and with the article, e.g. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86 and *An Tòb Làthaich* (#256).

549. The final *m* of the Name Book version appears to be the result of transcription error.

550. MacIver's derivation (1934, 102) for *Loch Croistean* is 'gro-stane, grey rocks west of loch', but ON **Grá-stein* acc. '(the) grey rock' would yield ScG *[ˈg̊ra:ʃtʲən], *[ˈg̊rɔ:ʃtʲən] or similar.

551. (nMO) [ɬɔx ə gɑˈnɑviç].

552. ScG *gainmheach* derives from ScG *gaineamh* (< EG *gaineṁ*) + the suffix *-ach*, in a collective sense (Cox 2017, 122).

553. (nMO) [ɬɔx gɑˈnɑviç ˈe:ʧ(ə)ʃɑɬ] – '(the sandy loch) of [the mountain] *Èitseal*'.

Thèid an cruth (1843–82) *Loch Chroisteam*[549] a mholadh an àite *Loch Chrustan* (coim. shìos) ann an Ainm-Leabhar na Suirbhidh Òrdanais (OS1/27/61/55), gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh. An dùil gur h-e **Croistean* cruth ùghdarrasail an ainm-iasaid sa Ghàidhlig, is dual do *Loch Croistean* (seach **Loch Chroistean*) san dual-chainnt, le dì-shèimheachadh san t-sònraichear (coim. *Loch Crò Mòr* seach **Loch Chrò Mòr* (#152)).

Dh'fhaodadh GA **Croistean* tàrmachadh ann an SL **Kross-stein* cusp. '(a') chrois-chlach', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kross* f. 'crois ꝛc' (#155) agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *steinn* f. 'clach, creag' (#171), ged nach eil lorg no aithris air comharra croise air cloich air an àrainn; coim. *Crustan* HY274289, ann an Arcaibh, is dòcha à SL **Kross-steinn* ainmn. (Marwick 1970, 34).[550]

#241 *Loch Gainmhich* TSR
[ˌɬɔxə ˈg̊ãn̪ãviç],[551] (gin.) idem; NB290296. 1821 *Gannvich*, *Lh. Ganavich*; 1843–82 *Loch' a Gainmheich*; 1934, 4 *Locha ganamhaich*; 2007 *Loch a Ghainmhich*‖*Loch·ganvich*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar; na bu tràithe, air àite a bha fo ghabh-altas ionaltraidh aig Màidsear MacÌomhair *Aiginis* #4 is *Phabail* #261, agus a oigh-reachan, a chaidh còig chroitean a dhèanamh dheth ro 1851 (Lawson 2008, 140).

Ainm Gàidhlig a thàinig à ainm an locha deas air a' bhaile, le GA *loch* f. (#29) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig GA *gainmheach* b. 'gaineamh'[552] na bhuadhair.

Chan eil brìgh gràmair aig [ə] an seo – chan e cruth den alt a th' ann, mar eisimpleir; chan eil ann ach fuaimreag còmhnaidh a nochdas gus an còmhlan /xg/ a sheachnadh far an tòisich làn-bheum; coim. *Loch Shiadair* #242.

Tha an cruth *Loch Gainmhich* caran bitheanta mar ainm-àite ann an Leòdhas, m.e. *Loch Gainmhich* NB319379, ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), agus NB237357, ann am *Britheascleit* #79, agus *Loch Gainmhich Èitseal*[553] NB275351, ann am *Britheas·cleit* mar an ceudna. Gheibhear ainmean-àite le ainmear neo-dheimhinnte a' beantainn ri nàdar na talmhainn na shònraichear an dà chuid gun an t-alt mar seo, coim. GA *Creagan Ghreòid* (#86), agus leis an alt, m.e. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86 agus *An Tòb Làthaich* (#256).

549. Is coltach gu bheil an *m* dheiridh aig dreach an Ainm-Leabhair na mearachd trasgrìobhaidh.

550. 'S e am bunachas a th' aig MacIver (1934, 102) airson *Loch Croistean* 'gro-stane, grey rocks west of loch', ach bheireadh SL **Grá-stein* cusp. '(a') chreag liath' GA *[ˈg̊ra:ʃtʲən], *[ˈg̊rɔ:ʃtʲən] no a leithid.

551. (nMO) [ɬɔx ə gɑˈnɑviç].

552. 'S ann a thàrmaicheas GA *gainmheach* ann an GA *gaineamh* (< GT *gaineṁ*) + an iar-leasachan *-ach*, le brìgh trusaidh (Cox 2017, 122).

553. (nMO) [ɬɔx gɑˈnɑviç ˈe:ʧ(ə)ʃɑɬ] – '(an loch gainmhich) aig [a' bheinn] *Èitseal*'.

At the western end of the village was *Deanston* NB291299 (1843–82 *Little Deanston*). This was a new village built during the time of Sir James Matheson (who bought Lewis in 1844) for evictees from *An Riobh* #280, in Ùig. This was an experiment in which a Mr Alexander Smith of Deanston[554] in Perthshire attempted to create good farm land by draining the peat. The enterprise was a complete failure and the tenants had all left by 1853 (Lawson 2008, 141).

Deanston in Lewis, then, was a Scots loan-name. The town in Perthshire[555] was named after Walter Drummond, who was appointed Dean of Dunblane in 1500 (MacKay 2003, 54).

#242 *Loch Shiadair* CTL
[ˌl̪ɔxə ˈhiaɖ̪ərʲ], (gen.) idem; NB3329 (?NB336295, near *Beinn a' Bhuna*).

The name of a loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *loch* m. (#29) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific. ScG (rad.) **Siadar* derives from ON **Sætr* '(the) sheiling' (cf. #296).

For medial [ə], cf. *Loch Gainmhich* #241.

#243 *Lunndal* BRN (Eng. *Lundale*)
[ˈl̪ɔ̃ũ ˌd̪əl̪], (gen.) [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũ ˌd̪əl]; NB188324. 1821 *Lyndale, Landale*; 1822 *Lundale*; 1843–82 *Liùndal, Tòb Liùndail, Aird Bheag Liùndail*; 1846 *Lundale*; 1934, 40 *Liunndal*; 2007 *Lundal‖Lundale*; road sign *Lundal*.

> Oftedal 1954, 383: '**Lundale** [?][556] is probably a name in ON *-dalr* m. "valley". The first element cannot be identified from the map spelling.'

The name of a township in Ùig; once a part of the tack of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, until it became a farm in its own right sometime before 1760; it was made into four units by 1804 but cleared and incorporated into the farm at *Lìnseadar* #236 during the 1820s; it was broken into crofts in 1893 (Lawson 2008, 165).

Watson (1904, 265) states that ScG *Lunndal* is from ON **Hlunn-dal* acc. '(the) roller-valley', with the stem form of ON *hlunnr* m. 'roller or piece of wood used to launch boats or to prop up boats on land'[557] and the accusative

554. The Napier Commission 1884 IV, 3307; Thompson 1968, 85. This is contracted to 'Mr Dean' in error in Macdonald 1978, 40.

555. Called *Baile an Deadhain* 'the town of the dean' in Gaelic.

556. (nMO) [ɪ̃õ̃ʊ̯ɖəɻ̩].

557. So also Taylor (2011, s.v. *Lundale*), who gives *Lunndail*. ON *hlunnr* was borrowed as ScG *lunn* m. (e.g. MacLennan 1925, s.v.; Oftedal 1956, 78).

Aig ceann an iar a' bhaile, bha *Deanston* NB291299 (1843–82 *Little Deanston*). 'S e baile ùr a bha seo air a thogail ri linn an Ridire Seumas MacMhathain (a cheannaich Leòdhas ann an 1844) do dh'fhògarraich às *An Riobh* #280, ann an Ùig. 'S e deuchainn a bh' ann agus fear Mgr Alexander Smith à Deanston[554] ann an Siorrachd Pheairt airson sàr thalamh tuathanais a dhèanamh le bhith a' tràghadh na mònach. Dh'fhairtlich air an iomairt gu buileach agus bha an luchd-gabhail uile air falbh ro 1853 (Lawson 2008, 141).

Tha *Deanston* ann an Leòdhas na ainm-iasaid Albais a-rèist. Chaidh am baile ann an Siorrachd Pheairt[555] ainmeachadh air Walter Drummond, den do rinneadh Deadhan Dhùn Bhlàthain ann an 1500 (MacKay 2003, 54).

#242 *Loch Shiadair* CTL
[ˌl̪ɔxə ˈhiaɖ̪ərʲ], (gin.) idem; NB3329 (?NB336295, faisg air *Beinn a' Bhuna*).

An t-ainm air loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *loch* f. (#29) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear. Tàrmaichidh GA (bun.) **Siadar* ann an SL **Sætr* '(an) àirigh' (coim. #296).

Airson [ə] meadhain, coim. *Loch Gainmhich* #241.

#243 *Lunndal* BRN
[ˈl̪ɔ̃ũ ˌd̪əl̪], (gin.) [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũ ˌd̪əl]; NB188324. 1821 *Lyndale, Landale*; 1822 *Lundale*; 1843–82 *Liùndal, Tòb Liùndail, Aird Bheag Liùndail*; 1846 *Lundale*; 1934, 40 *Liunndal*; 2007 *Lundal‖ Lundale*; soighne rathaid *Lundal*.

> Oftedal 1954, 383: Is iongantach mana h-e ainm ann an SL *-dalr* m. 'gleann' a th' ann an **Lundale** [?][556]. Cha shònraichear a' chiad eileamaid bho litreachadh a' mhapa.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ùig; uair na chuibhreann den tac ann am *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, gus an deach e na thuathanas beag air a cheann fhèin uaireigin ro 1760; chaidh ceithir earrannan a dhèanamh dheth ro 1804 ach chaidh fhàsachadh rè nan 1820an gus a thoirt dhan tuathanas ann an *Lìnseadar* #236; chaidh a bhriseadh na chroitean ann an 1893 (Lawson 2008, 165).

Canaidh Watson (1904, 265) gur h-ann à SL **Hlunn-dal* cusp. '(an) lunn-ghleann' a tha GA *Lunndal*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *hlunnr* f. 'lunn no cabar air an cuirear bàta air bhog no a chumas bàta an-àird air tìr'[557] agus an cruth cusp-

554. The Napier Commission 1884 IV, 3307; Thompson 1968, 85. Thèid seo a theannachadh gu 'Mr Dean' air mhearachd ann am Macdonald 1978, 40.

555. Air a bheil *Baile an Deadhain* mar ainm sa Ghàidhlig.

556. (nMO) [ɪ̃õ̃ʊ̯ɖəɻ̩].

557. Mar sin cuideachd Taylor (2011, s.v. *Lundale*), a bheir GA *Lunndail*. Chaidh SL *hlunnr* na iasad na GA *lunn* f. (m.e. MacLennan 1925, s.v.; Oftedal 1956, 78).

of ON *dalr* m. ‘valley’ #166.[558] MacIver (1934, 40) agrees with this derivation but prefers the sense ‘boat place’, without explanation.

In his notes, Oftedal rejects the form ON **Lund-dal* (with the stem form of the specific) as an unexpected compound: ON *lundr* m. ‘grove, small wood’ is the noun indicated here, an element that appears as a rule (as specific) in the genitive case (Rygh 1898, 66), i.e. *lundar*, e.g. in *Lundarvoll*, near Stavanger, Norway, from ON **Lundarvǫllr* ‘(the) field of the grove’ (Særheim 2007, 151; *NG* X, 424: *Lundervold*). As a result, Oftedal suggests, although with reservation, ON **Lundadal*, presumably with genitive plural of ON *lundr*.[559] However, while ON **Lundardal* and ON **Lundadal* would probably yield ScG *[ˈl̪ɔ̃ũn̪d̪ə ˌd̪əl̪], ON **Lund-dal* ‘(the) copse-valley’ would yield ScG [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũ(n̪) ˌd̪əl̪] regularly.

The Board of Ordnance map form (1843–82 *Liùndal*) is in error but followed by MacIver (ibid.: *Liunndal*), although his ON *hlunnr* derivation requires a non-palatal initial.

#244 *Manaiseadar* CLA

[ˈmãniˌʃad̪ər], (gen.) *Mhanaiseadair* [ˈvãniˌʃad̪əɾʲ]; NB293491. 1934, 27 *Manishader*; 2017 *Manaisiadar*, *Lodan Mhanaisiadar*.

The name of an area by the shore, east of *Làbost* #229, in Sgìre a’ Chladaich; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Locally, it is thought this name means ‘the sheiling or farm of the monks’ – *Manaiseadar* is about 500m (about 1,600 ft) from *Teampall Eòin* ‘the church of [St] John’ (*Cill Sgàire* ‘the church of *Sgàire*’[560]) NB289488 – but this is a folk etymology based on the Gaelic word *manach* m. ‘monk’ itself; the Gaelic name could certainly not represent ON *munkr* m. ‘monk’.[561] However,

558. For ON *dalr* as a loan-word in Gaelic, see *Na Dailean* #167.

559. If this were ON **Lundadal* ‘(the) valley of the puffin(s)’, with genitive singular or plural of ON *lundi* m. ‘puffin’, it might be more likely as a place-name if the generic element meant ‘cliff’ or ‘stack’ or similar, but cf. *Làmadal* from ON **Lóm(a)dal* #233.

560. Lawson 2011, 99. It is said that the man’s name ScG *Sgàire* [ˈs̪kaːɾʲə] (rendered *Zachary* in English) has an Old Norse origin but, as Matheson (2008) admits, no Old Norse etymon has been identified. It is most probably a diminutive form of the biblical name ScG *Sechariah* (Eng. *Zechariah* (*Zachariah*), < Heb. זְכַרְיָה ([zᵊxaːˈja]), although Matheson (ibid.) sees travel the other way: *Sgàire* ‘has been anglicised by making use of the biblical *Zachariah* or *Zachary*’.

561. E.g. MacIver 1934, 27, who relates a further anecdote that a crew of six from the Isle of Man – Eng. *The Isle of Man* (ScG *Manainn*) is *Mǫn* in Old Norse – were making their way along the shore, and that they were shot here by Niall MacLeòid. (For Niall MacLeòid, see *Beirgheasaigh* #58.)

aireach aig SL *dalr* f. ‘gleann’ #166.[558] Thèid MacIver (1934, 40) leis a’ bhunachas seo ach ’s fheàrr leis a’ bhrìgh ‘àite bhàtaichean, bàta-lann’, gun mhìneachadh.

Na notaichean (nMO), cuiridh Oftedal SL **Lund-dal* an dàrna taobh, is e na fhillteach (le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir) ris nach bithear an dùil: ’s e an t-ainmear SL *lundr* f. ‘daireag, coille bheag’ air an toirear iomradh an seo, eileamaid a nochdas gu riaghailteach (mar shònraichear) san tuiseal ghinideach (Rygh 1898, 66), .i. *lundar*, m.e. ann an *Lundarvoll*, faisg air Stavanger, Nirribhidh, à SL **Lundarvǫllr* ‘achadh na daireig’ (Særheim 2007, 151; *NG* X, 424: *Lundervold*). Air sgàth seo, cuiridh Oftedal air shùilibh, ged as ann fo theagamh, SL **Lundadal*, ’s iongantach mana h-ann leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *lundr*.[559] Gidheadh, fhad ’s as math dh’fhaodte gun deigheadh SL **Lundardal* agus SL **Lundadal* nan GA *[ˈl̪ɔ̃ũn̪d̪ə ˌd̪əl̪], bheireadh SL **Lund-dal* ‘(an) daireag-ghleann’, GA [ˈl̪ɔ̃ũ(n̪) ˌd̪əl̪] gu riaghailteach.

Tha an cruth aig mapa Bhòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82 *Liùndal*) air mhearachd, agus MacIver (ibid.: *Liunndal*) ga leantainn, ged a dh’iarras am bunachas SL *hlunnr* aige toiseach neo-chàireanach.

#244 *Manaiseadar* CLA

[ˈmãniˌʃad̪ər], (gin.) *Mhanaiseadair* [ˈvãniˌʃad̪əɾʲ]; NB293491. 1934, 27 *Manishader*; 2017 *Manaisiadar*, *Lodan Mhanaisiadar*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ris an tràigh, an ear air *Làbost* #229, ann an Sgìre a’ Chladaich; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Thathas a’ dèanamh a-mach gu h-ionadail gur h-e ‘àirigh no tuathanas nam manach’ as ciall dhan ainm seo – tha *Manaiseadar* mu 500m (mu 1,600 tr.) à *Teampall Eòin* (*Cill Sgàire*[560]) NB289488 – ach ’s e dinnsheanchas a tha seo air a bhonntachadh air an fhacal Ghàidhlig *manach* f. fhèin; cha b’ urrainn dhan ainm Ghàidhlig a bhith a’ riochdachadh SL *munkr* f. ‘manach’ idir.[561] Gidheadh,

558. Airson SL *dalr* mar fhacal-iasaid sa Ghàidhlig, faic *Na Dailean* #167.

559. Nam b’ e seo SL **Lundadal* ‘gleann na buthaide (nam buathaidean)’, le tuiseal ginideach singilte (no iolra) an ainmeir SL *lundi* f. ‘buthaid’, ’s math dh’fhaodte gum biodh e na bu choltaiche mar ainm-àite nam b’ e ‘creag’ no ‘staca’ no a leithid, seach ‘gleann’, a bu chiall dhan eileamaid sheòrsachaidh, ach coim. *Làmadal* à SL **Lóm(a)dal* #233.

560. Lawson 2011, 99. A rèir aithris, tha bunachas Lochlannais aig an ainm fireannaich GA *Sgàire* [ˈs̪kaːɾʲə] (a thèid a thionndadh na *Zachary* sa Bheurla) ach, mar a dh’aidicheas Matheson (2008), chan eil lorg air tùs freagarrach san Lochlannais. Is iongantach mana h-eil ann ach cruth meanbhach aig an ainm bhìoballach GA *Sechariah* (Brl. *Zechariah* (*Zachariah*), < Eabh. זְכַרְיָה ([zᵊxaːˈja]), ged a chì Matheson (ibid.) an rathad eile e: *Sgàire* ‘has been anglicised by making use of the biblical *Zachariah* or *Zachary*’.

561. MacIver 1934, 27, a dh’innseas an tuilleadh naidheachd gun robh sgioba de shianar à Manainn – ’s e *Mǫn* a th’ ann an GA *Manainn* (Brl. *The Isle of Man*) san Lochlannais – an dèidh dhan bhàta aca briseadh, a’ gabhail romhpa air a’ chladach, is gun do mharbh Niall MacLeòid iad le peilear gunna. (Airson Nèill MhicLeòid, faic *Beirgheasaigh* #58.)

ScG *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃaʤ̊ər] was recorded by Ian Fraser on behalf of the School of Scottish Studies from Calum MacÌomhair (Malcolm MacIver) of *Àrnal* #20 in 1968,[562] and it may be worth considering whether the pronunciation of the name may have changed since then due to the folk etymology associated with it.

If ScG *Manaiseadar*, with short *a*, is the primary form of the name, it might be from ON **Manasætr* '(the) sheiling or farm of the slaves', with genitive plural of the noun ON *man* nt. 'slave; female slave; woman (cf. *NSL*, s.v. *Manvik*) and ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296). If ScG *Mànaiseadar*, with long *à*, was the earlier form of the name, it might originate in ON **Magnúsarsætr* '(the) sheiling or farm of *Magnús*', with genitive of the man's name *Magnús* m.[563] and ON *sætr*, with regular development.

#245 *Mangarstadh* ÙIG (Eng. *Mangersta*)
[ˈmãŋg̊əˌʂʈaɣ], (gen.) *Mhangarstaidh* [ˈvãŋg̊əˌʂʈaj]; NB009312. 1680 [?] *Mangray*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1794, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Mangastay*; 1821, 1822, 1832 *Mangersta*; 1843–82 *Mangursta*, *Traigh Mhangursta*; 1846 *Mangersta*; 2007, road sign *Mangurstadh‖Mangersta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 388–89: '**Mangersta** (CB) [mɑŋgəʂʈaɣ].[564] ON **Mangarastaðir* "(the) pedlar's farm", from ON *mangari* m. "pedlar", is satisfactory from the phonetic point of view, but I have not found *mangari* in any other place-name. It is not, however, very rare that a farm is named after the occupation of its possessor. In Norway, we have ON **Kaupmannsruð* "(the) merchant's farm" (*NG* II, 347), ON **Skinnararuð* "(the) skinner's or tanner's farm" (*NG* I, 100) and others. ON **Smiðsstaðir*, a frequent farm name, may be either from ON *smiðr* m. "smith" or from ON *Smiðr* m., a man's name. ScG [mɑŋgəʂʈaɣ] may also be imagined to be from ON **Magnúsarstaðir*, containing the personal name ON *Magnús* m., cf. *Mangaster* in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 157), but this would probably have yielded *[məːnəʂʈaɣ] in Lewis.[565]'

The name of a settlement in the south-west of ÙIG; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Mangarastaða* '(the) farm of the pedlar', with genitive of the noun

562. PN 1968–17A, 13:36.

563. ON *Magnús* was borrowed into Gaelic as *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəʂ], with compensatory lengthening (#245, fn 565).

564. (nMO) [mãŋg̊əɾʂʈaɣ], ScG *Geodha Mhangarstaidh* [ˌg̊ʼɔ· ˈvãŋg̊əʂʈaj] 'the cove of *Mangarstadh*'.

565. Later, Oftedal (1983) derives the man's name ScG *Mànas* ([ˈmãːnəʂ]) from ON *Magnús* (where ON *g* equals [ɣ]; cf. EG (AU 1102, 1103) *Maghnus ri Lochlainni*, Ir. *Mánas*); cf. *Manaiseadar* #244.

's e GA *Mànaiseadar* [ˈmãːniˌʃaʤ̊ər] a chlàraich Iain Friseal às leth Sgoil Eòlais na h-Alba bho Chalum MacÌomhair à *Àrnal* #20 ann an 1968,[562] agus is dòcha gum b' fhiach beachdachadh an deach fuaimneachadh an ainme atharrachadh bhon uair sin mar thoradh air an dinnsheanchas a bha ceangailte ris.

Mas e GA *Manaiseadar*, le *a* ghoirid, prìomh chruth an ainme, 's dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Manasætr* 'àirigh no tuathanas nan tràill' a tha e, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *man* n. 'tràill; tràill bhoireann; boireannach' (coim. *NSL*, s.v. *Manvik*) agus SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296). Nam b' e GA *Mànaiseadar*, le *à* fhada, cruth a bu tràithe an ainme, dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich e ann an SL **Magnúsarsætr* 'an àirigh no an tuathanas aig *Magnús*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Magnús* f.[563] agus SL *sætr*, le leasachadh riaghailteach.

#245 *Mangarstadh* ÙIG
[ˈmãŋg̊əˌʂʈaɣ], (gin.) *Mhangarstaidh* [ˈvãŋg̊əˌʂʈaj]; NB009312. 1680 [?] *Mangray*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1794, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Mangastay*; 1821, 1822, 1832 *Mangersta*; 1843–82 *Mangursta*, *Traigh Mhangursta*; 1846 *Mangersta*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Mangurstadh‖Mangersta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 388–89: **Mangersta** (CB) [mɑŋgəʂʈaɣ].[564] Tha SL **Mangarastaðir* 'tuathanas a' cheannaiche-siubhail', à SL *mangari* f. 'ceannaiche-siubhail', dòigheil a thaobh an fhuaim-eòlais, ach chan eil mi air *mangari* a lorg ann an ainm-àite sam bith eile. Chan ann ainneamh, ge-tà, a thèid tuathanas ainmeachadh air dreuchd an neach-seilbh aige. Ann an Nirribhidh, tha SL **Kaupmannsruð* 'tuathanas a' cheannaiche' (*NG* II, 347), SL **Skinnararuð* 'tuathanas an t-seiceadair no a' chairteir' (*NG* I, 100) agus feadhainn eile againn. Faodaidh SL **Smiðsstaðir*, ainm tuathanais bitheanta, a bhith aon chuid à SL *smiðr* f. 'gobha' no à SL *Smiðr* f., ainm fireannaich. Faodar a smaoineachadh cuideachd gur h-ann à SL **Magnúsarstaðir* a tha GA [mɑŋgəʂʈaɣ], leis an ainm fireannaich SL *Magnús* f., coim. *Mangaster* ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 157), ach is iongantach mana toireadh seo *[məːnəʂʈaɣ] ann an Leòdhas.[565]

An t-ainm air tuineachadh ann an ceann an iar-dheas ÙIG; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Mangarastaða* 'tuathanas a' cheannaiche-siubhail', le tuiseal

562. PN 1968–17A, 13:36.

563. Chaidh SL *Magnús* air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəʂ], le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh (#245, bn 565).

564. (nMO) [mãŋg̊əɾʂʈaɣ], GA *Geodha Mhangarstaidh* [ˌg̊ʼɔ· ˈvãŋg̊əʂʈaj].

565. Nas anmoiche, bheir Oftedal (1983) an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Mànas* ([ˈmãːnəʂ]) à SL *Magnús* (far an ionann SL *g* agus [ɣ]; coim. GT (AU 1102, 1103) *Maghnus ri Lochlainni*, GE *Mánas*); coim. *Manaiseadar* #244.

ON *mangari* m. 'pedlar' and accusative of ON *staðir* m. pl. (#331, fn 803).[566] If it were considered unlikely a pedlar would have a farm, perhaps the specific was a nickname in this instance.

Watson (1904, 271) suggests **Múnkastaðr* nom. sg. '(the) farm of the monks', with genitive plural of the noun Ice. *múnkr* m. (with long *ú*) 'monk' (cf. *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318), but ON **Munkastaða* (with genitive plural of ON *munkr* m., with short *u*) would probably yield ScG *[ˈmũŋ̊ɡəˈs̪t̪aɣ] or *[ˈmũŋ̊kəˈs̪t̪aɣ].[567]

#246 *Marabhig* CDL (Eng. *Marvig*)
[ˈmãrəˌviɡ̊ʲ], (gen.) *Mharabhig* [ˈvãrəˌviɡ̊ʲ]; NB414191. 1821 *Maravig*; 1843–82 *Mara·bhig*, *Loch Mharabhig*; 1846 *Marvig*; 2007 *Marbhig*‖*Marvig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 403–04: '**Mariveg** [mɑrəvigˈ][568] cannot be identical with *Marvik*, ON **Mar-vík* "(the) horse-bay", in Norway (*NG* X, 338), because this would have yielded ScG *[mɑràvigˈ][569] or *[mɑðàvigˈ].[570] It is either ON **Maravík* "(the) bay of the horses", containing the genitive plural of ON *marr* m. "horse", or ON **Mararvík* "(the) bay of the sea", compounded with ON *marr* m. "sea". The latter compound is quite adequate topographically, as the bay is connected directly with the sea (The Minch) and not with one of the numerous surrounding sea lochs.'

The name of a township in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Despite Oftedal's view that ON **Mararvík* '(the) bay of the sea' would suit the location of the loch, ON **Maravík* '(the) bay of the horses' would be the more straightforward solution phonetically.[571]

#247 *Am Margadh Ùr* STN (Eng. *Newmarket*)
*[əˌmᵐãr̃ãɡ̊əɣˈu̟ːɾ], (gen.) *A' Mhargaidh Ùir* *[əˌvãr̃ãɡ̊iˈu̟ːɾʲ]; NB423355. 1895–

566. Ir. *mangaire* m. 'pedlar' is compared with Eng. *monger* (*DIL*).

567. Cf. ScG (Taylor 2011, s.v. Eng. *Monkstadt*) *Mogastad* (Gordon 1963, 92, 107) [ˈmũgəstɔt] NG379674, in Skye, perhaps from ON **Munkstoptir*, with genitive of ON *munkr* and plural of ON *topt* f. (#339) (Cox 2007b, 70).

568. (nMO) [mɑɾ̪ᵊviɟ], *Loch Mharabhig* [ɬɔx ˈvɑrəviɟ] 'the loch of *Marabhig*'.

569. *[mɑràvɑgˈ] was printed in error.

570. The exact implication of Lawson's spelling (2011, 166): *Marbhig*.

571. MacIver's solution (1934, 64) from ON **Borg*(*ar*)*vík*, with the stem form (or genitive) of ON *borg* f. 'hill; fortification', is difficult to justify.

ginideach an ainmeir SL *mangari* f. 'ceannaiche-siubhail' agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *staðir* f. iol. (#331, bn 803).[566] Nan saoilte nach coltach gum biodh tuathanas aig ceannaiche-siubhail, is dòcha gur h-e far-ainm a bh' anns an t-sònraichear san t-seagh seo.

Cuiridh Watson (1904, 271) air shùilibh SL **Múnkastaðr* ainmn. sg. 'tuathanas nam manach', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir Tìl. *múnkr* f. (le *ú* fhada) 'manach' (coim. *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* #318), ach is iongantach mana toireadh SL **Munkastaða* (leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *munkr* f., le *u* ghoirid) GA *[ˈmũŋ̊ɡəˈs̪t̪aɣ] no *[ˈmũŋ̊kəˈs̪t̪aɣ].[567]

#246 *Marabhig* CDL
[ˈmãrəˌviɡ̊ʲ], (gin.) *Mharabhig* [ˈvãrəˌviɡ̊ʲ]; NB414191. 1821 *Maravig*; 1843–82 *Mara·bhig*, *Loch Mharabhig*; 1846 *Marvig*; 2007 *Marbhig*‖*Marvig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 403–04: Chan fhaod **Mariveg** [mɑrəvigˈ][568] a bhith co-ionann ri *Marvik*, SL **Mar-vík* '(an t-)each-bhàgh', ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* X, 338), a chionn 's gun toireadh seo GA *[mɑràvigˈ][569] no *[mɑðàvigˈ].[570] 'S e aon chuid SL **Maravík* 'bàgh nan each' a th' ann, le ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *marr* f. 'each', no SL **Mararvík* 'bàgh na mara', air fhilleadh le SL *marr* f. 'muir'. Tha am fillteach mu dheireadh gu math iomchaidh a thaobh cruth na tìre, seach gu bheil an loch ceangailte gu dìreach ris a' mhuir (An Cuan Sgìth) seach fear den iomadh loch mara a tha mun cuairt.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

A dh'aindeoin beachd Oftedal gum freagradh SL **Mararvík* 'bàgh na mara' suidheachadh an locha an seo, 's e SL **Maravík* 'bàgh nan each' am fuasgladh a bu dhìriche gu fuaim-eòlach.[571]

#247 *Am Margadh Ùr* STN
*[əˌmᵐãr̃ãɡ̊əɣˈu̟ːɾ], (gin.) *A' Mhargaidh Ùir* *[əˌvãr̃ãɡ̊iˈu̟ːɾʲ]; NB423355. 1895–

566. Cuirear GE *mangaire* f. 'ceannaiche-siubhail' an coimeas ri Brl. *monger* (*DIL*).

567. Coim. GA (Taylor 2011, s.v. Brl. *Monkstadt*) *Mogastad* (Gordon 1963, 92, 107) [ˈmũgəstɔt] NG379674, san Eilean Sgitheanach, is dòcha à SL **Munkstoptir*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *munkr* agus cruth iolra an ainmeir SL *topt* b. (#339) (Cox 2007b, 70).

568. (nMO) [mɑɾ̪ᵊviɟ], *Loch Mharabhig* [ɬɔx ˈvɑrəviɟ].

569. Chaidh *[mɑràvɑgˈ] a chlò-bhualadh air mhearachd.

570. An dearbh bhuil aig litreachadh Lawson (2011, 166): *Marbhig*.

571. Tha am fuasgladh aig MacIver (1934, 64) à SL **Borg*(*ar*)*vík*, le bun-riochd (no tuiseal ginideach) an ainmeir SL *borg* b. 'cnoc; daingneach', doirbh fhìreanachadh.

1896, 1919HG, 2007, 2016, soighne rathaid *Newmarket*; 2020[572] *Am Margaidh Ùr*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: '**Newmarket**: no Gaelic form recorded.'

The name of a township and area of Steòrnabhagh #309, whose crofts were established in the 1850s (Lawson 2011, 54). The English name *Newmarket* is normally used, with the adjective Eng. *new* and the noun Eng. *market*, usually written as one word.

The form (2020) *Am Margaidh Ùr*, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *margaidh* 'market' + the adjective ScG *ùr* 'new' (#41), is evidently an attempt at translating *Newmarket* into Gaelic, but *margadh* m. (rather than *margadh*/*margaidh*[573] f.) would be expected in Lewis, hence the head-name *Am Margadh Ùr*.

#248 *Mealbost* STN (Eng. *Melbost*)
[ˈmjãɫ̃ˠa̯ˌb̥ɔsˠt̪], (gen.) *Mhealboist* [ˈvjãɫ̃ˠa̯ˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB467327. 1654 *Naelgaboſt*; 1703 *Melboſt*; 1718 *Mellboast and Eynaclett*; 1726 *Melbost*; 1750M, 1776 *Melbust*; 1785 *Mellbost*, *Mellboste*; 1789, 1804 *Melbust*; 1807 *Mebust* [*sic*]; 1821, 1821W, 1822, 1843–82, 1845 *Melbost*; 2007, road sign *Mealabost*‖*Melbost*; 2019 *Mealabost*‖*Mealbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: '**Melbost** [mjɑɪàbɔst][574] is ON **Mel-bólstaðr* "(the) sandbank-farm". The word *melr* m. means a "sandy bluff or bank" and is used by itself as a farm name in several instances in Norway (e.g. *NG* IX, 93, XI, 30, and XII, 436). Cf. also *Melhaugar* (*NG* VI, 309) and, in Orkney, *Melsetter*, spelled *Melsettir* in 1492 (Marwick 1952, 183). **Meðal-bólstaðr* "(the) central-farm, the farm in the middle" suggests itself immediately because this is a familiar Norwegian farm name (cf. *NG* XIII, 136); but it is difficult to reconcile with the modern pronunciation and, moreover, **Mel-bólstaðr* is better justified by the topography of the place. Marwick prefers, for *Melsetter*, the derivation from *melr*, although he does not rule out *meðal-* entirely.'

It is difficult to see how ScG [mjãɫ̃]- might derive from ON *meðal-*; ScG *[ˈmẽ-əɫ̃]- or *[ˈmĩ-əɫ̃]-, with hiatus, would be more likely, cf. ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aʂ]- < *[ˈb̥ɾʲiː-aːʂ]- from ON **Breið-ás-klett* #79. ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. '(the) sandbank-farm', with the stem form of ON *melr* m. 'sandbank', is very suitable from both

572. <https://www.openstreetmap.org/#map=13/58.2310/-6.3927>.

573. With the dative normalised as the radical form. ScG *margadh* (EG *marg*(*g*)*aḋ*) is a loan from ON *markað*, accusative of ON *markaðr* m. (originally from Lat. *mercātus*) (*DIL*, s.v. *marg*(*g*)*ad*; Marstrander 1915, 61, 154; de Vries 1962, s.v. *markaðr*). Eng. *market* was borrowed as ScG *marcaid* f. /mɑrkɑdʲ/, /mãrkɑdʲ/ (Oftedal 1956, 53).

574. I.e. [ˈmjãɫ̃ˠa̯ˌb̥ɔsˠt̪].

1896, 1919HG, 2007, 2016, soighne rathaid *Newmarket*; 2020[572] *Am Margaidh Ùr*.

Oftedal 1954, 392: **Newmarket**: cha deach cruth Gàidhlig a chlàradh.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn agus àrainn ann an Steòrnabhagh #309, a chaidh a chroitean a dhèanamh sna 1850an (Lawson 2011, 54). 'S e an t-ainm Beurla *Newmarket* a chleachdar mar as àbhaist, leis a' bhuadhair Brl. *new* 'ùr' agus an ainmear Brl. *market* 'fèill, margadh', mar as trice air an sgrìobhadh mar-aon.

Is follaiseach gur h-e oidhirp air Gàidhlig a chur air *Newmarket* a th' anns a' chruth (2020) *Am Margaidh Ùr*, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *margaidh* + a' bhuadhair GA *ùr* (#41), ach bhite a' sùileachadh *margadh* f. (seach *margadh*/*margaidh*[573] b.) ann an Leòdhas, às a sin an ceann-ainm *Am Margadh Ùr* (fir.).

#248 *Mealbost* STN
[ˈmjãɫ̃ˠa̯ˌb̥ɔsˠt̪], (gin.) *Mhealboist* [ˈvjãɫ̃ˠa̯ˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB467327. 1654 *Naelgaboſt*; 1703 *Melboſt*; 1718 *Mellboast and Eynaclett*; 1726 *Melbost*; 1750M, 1776 *Melbust*; 1785 *Mellbost*, *Mellboste*; 1789, 1804 *Melbust*; 1807 *Mebust* [*sic*]; 1821, 1821W, 1822, 1843–82, 1845 *Melbost*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Mealabost*‖*Melbost*; 2019 *Mealabost*‖*Mealbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: 'S e SL **Mel-bólstaðr* '(an t-)oitir-thuathanas' a th' ann am **Melbost** [mjɑɪàbɔst][574]. 'S e 'bruach gainmhich' as ciall dhan fhacal *melr* f. agus thèid a chleachdadh leis fhèin mar ainm tuathanais ann an corra àite ann an Nirribhidh (m.e. *NG* IX, 93, XI, 30, is XII, 436). Cuideachd, coim. *Melhaugar* (*NG* VI, 309) agus, ann an Arcaibh, *Melsetter*, air a sgrìobhadh *Melsettir* ann an 1492 (Marwick 1952, 183). Thig **Meðal-bólstaðr* '(am) meadhan-thuathanas, an tuathanas sa mheadhan' a-steach air duine air bhall a chionn 's gur h-e ainm tuathanais mòr-aithnichte a th' ann ann an Nirribhidh (coim. *NG* XIII, 136); ach tha e duilich a rèiteachadh ris an nuadh-fhuaimneachadh agus, a thuilleadh, tha **Mel-bólstaðr* nas coltaiche bho thaobh cruth na tìre. Airson *Melsetter*, 's fheàrr le Marwick bunachas à *melr*, ged nach cuir e *meðal-* gu buileach an dàrna taobh.

Tha e duilich fhaicinn ciamar a gheibhte GA [mjãɫ̃]- à SL *meðal-*; bhiodh GA *[ˈmẽ-əɫ̃]- no *[ˈmĩ-əɫ̃]-, le beàrnas, na bu choltaiche, coim. GA *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aʂ]- < *[ˈb̥ɾʲiː-aːʂ]- à SL **Breið-ás-klett* #79. Tha SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. '(an t-)oitir-thuathanas', leis a' bhun-riochd aig SL *melr* f. 'bruach gainmhich', gu math

572. <https://www.openstreetmap.org/#map=13/58.2310/-6.3927>.

573. Agus an tuiseal tabhartach air àbhaisteachadh na chruth bunasach. Is ann a tha GA *margadh* (GT *marg*(*g*)*aḋ*) na iasad à SL *markað*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *markaðr* f. (bho thùs à Laid. *mercātus*) (*DIL*, s.v. *marg*(*g*)*ad*; Marstrander 1915, 61, 154; de Vries 1962, s.v. *markaðr*). Chaidh Brl. *market* air iasad na GA *marcaid* b. /mɑrkɑdʲ/, /mãrkɑdʲ/ (Oftedal 1956, 53).

574. .i. [ˈmjãɫ̃ˠa̯ˌb̥ɔsˠt̪].

the phonetics and the topography; cf. *Mealbost* #249, in Nis, and *Mealbost* #250, on *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260.

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#249 *Mealbost* CLA (Eng. *Melbost*)
[ˈmjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔsn̪t̪], (gen.) *Mhealboist* [ˈvjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔʃtʲ]; also *Mealbost Bhuirgh* [ˌmjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔsn̪t̪ ˈvuɪɾ̠ˠˌuj]; NB415572. 1843–82 *Mealabost*; 2007 *Mealabost* (*Bhuirgh*)‖*Melbost*; road sign *Mealabost*‖ *Melbost* (*Borve*)*, Mealabost Bhuirgh*‖*Melbost Borve.*

Lawson (2008, 65) explains that the village was called *Ulbost* before 1810, e.g. (1718, 1726) *Ulbost*, (1821, 1822, 1846) *Ulbost Borve*, although Gammeltoft (2001, 136) assumes the form is a misrepresentation – ?the result of miscopying. The name is sometimes used with *Borgh* #68 as a contrastive element, i.e. the *Mealbost* which belongs to *Borgh* rather than the *Mealbost* #248 beside *Bràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75.

Because there is no sand in the vicinity, MacIver (1934, 72: *Mialabost*) rejects a derivation from ON **Mel-bólstað* acc., suggesting ON *męl* f. ‘shingle, pebbles’ instead, but one would not get ScG [mjãn̪t̪]- from ON *męl*. However, ON *melr* meant either ‘sandbank’ or ‘gravelbank’ and ON **Mel-bólstað* acc. would suit the pebbly nature of the bay here.[575] Cf. *Mealbost* #248, near *Steòrnabhagh* #309, and *Mealbost* #250, on *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260.

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#250 *Mealbost* ÙIG
*[ˈmjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔsn̪t̪], (gen.) *Mhealboist* *[ˈvjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔʃtʲ]; NB104380. 1843–82 *Meàlabost*; Macaulay 1972, 334 *Mealabost*.

The name of an area beside a beach (*Tràigh na Cille* ‘the beach of the church’) on *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260; no longer extant. Cf. *Mealbost* #248, near *Steòrnabhagh* #309, and *Mealbost* #249, in Nis.

#251 *Miabhag* ÙIG (Eng. *Miavaig*)
[ˈmĩãvəɣ], (gen.) *Mhiabhag* [ˈvĩãvæɣʲ], *Mhiabhaig* [ˈvĩãvæɣʲ]; NB084345. 1750M *L. Miavagh*; 1821, 1822 *Miavaig*; 1843–82 *Miabhag*, *Beinn Mhiabhag*; 1846 *Miavaig*; 2007 *Mìabhig*‖*Miavaig*; road sign *Miabhaig*‖*Miavaig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 386: ‘**Meavig** (CB) [mi-ɑvɑg], genitive and dative [mi-ɑvæg′], is originally a bay name in ON *-vík*. (CB) [mi-ɑvɑg′] is also the name of a bay in Harris (*Loch Meavaig*). Both bays are elongated

575. ScG *Èire* *[ˈeːɾʲə], the name of the shore about 600 m (about 2,000 ft) west of the settlement, a loan-name from ON **Eyri*, dative of ON *eyrr* f. ‘sandbank or gravelbank’, supports this. Cf. ScG *Èire Solt* (#180, fn 399).

freagarrach bho thaobh an dà chuid an fhuaim-eòlais agus cruth na tìre; coim. *Mealbost* #249, ann an Nis, agus *Mealbost* #250, air *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260.

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#249 *Mealbost* CLA
[ˈmjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔsn̪t̪], (gin.) *Mhealboist* [ˈvjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔʃtʲ]; cuideachd *Mealbost Bhuirgh* [ˌmjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔsn̪t̪ ˈvuɪɾ̠ˠˌuj]; NB415572. 1843–82 *Mealabost*; 2007 *Mealabost* (*Bhuirgh*)‖*Melbost*; soighne rathaid *Mealabost*‖ *Melbost* (*Borve*)*, Mealabost Bhuirgh*‖*Melbost Borve.*

Mìnichidh Lawson (2008, 65) gur h-e *Ulbost* a bh’ air a’ bhaile seo ro 1810, m.e. (1718, 1726) *Ulbost*, (1821, 1822, 1846) *Ulbost Borve*, ged a ghabhas Gammeltoft (2001, 136) ris gur h-e mì-riochdachadh a th’ ann – ?mar thoradh air droch lethbhreacadh. Thèid an t-ainm a chleachdadh air uairean le *Borgh* #68 na eileamaid iomsgaraidh, .i. *Mealbost* a bhuineas do *Bhorgh* seach *Mealbost* #248 ri taobh *Bhràigh na h-Aoidhe* #75.

A chionn ’s nach eil gainmheach san àrainn, cuiridh MacIver (1934, 72: *Mialabost*) bunachas à SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. an dàrna taobh, a’ moladh SL *męl* b. ‘dòirneagan, molagan’ na àite, ach chan fhaighte GA [mjãn̪t̪]- à SL *męl*. Gidheadh, b’ e aon chuid ‘bruach gainmhich’ no ‘bruach mholagan’ a bu chiall do SL *melr* agus fhreagradh SL **Mel-bólstað* cusp. nàdar molagach a’ bhàigh an seo.[575] Coim. *Mealbost* #248, faisg air *Steòrnabhagh* #309, agus *Mealbost* #250, air *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260.

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #70.

#250 *Mealbost* ÙIG
*[ˈmjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔsn̪t̪], (gin.) *Mhealboist* *[ˈvjãn̪t̪ə ˌbɔʃtʲ]; NB104380. 1843–82 *Meàlabost*; Macaulay 1972, 334 *Mealabost*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ri taobh traghad gainmhich (*Tràigh na Cille*) air *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260; gun a bhith air mhaireann tuilleadh. Coim. *Mealbost* #248, faisg air *Steòrnabhagh* #309, agus *Mealbost* #249, ann an Nis.

#251 *Miabhag* ÙIG
[ˈmĩãvəɣ], (gin.) *Mhiabhag* [ˈvĩãvæɣʲ], *Mhiabhaig* [ˈvĩãvæɣʲ]; NB084345. 1750M *L. Miavagh*; 1821, 1822 *Miavaig*; 1843–82 *Miabhag*, *Beinn Mhiabhag*; 1846 *Miavaig*; 2007 *Mìabhig*‖*Miavaig*; soighne rathaid *Miabhaig*‖*Miavaig*.

> Oftedal 1954, 386: Tha **Meavig** (CB) [mi-ɑvɑg], ginideach is tabhartach [mi-ɑvæg′], bho thùs na ainm bàigh ann an SL *-vík*. Tha (CB) [mi-ɑvɑg′] cuideachd na ainm bàigh sna Hearadh (*Loch Meavaig*). Tha an dà bhàgh

575. Cuiridh GA *Èire* *[ˈeːɾʲə], ainm a’ chladaich mu 600 m (mu 2,000 tr.) an iar air an tuineachadh, ainm-iasaid à SL **Eyri*, an tuiseal tabhartach aig SL *eyrr* b. ‘bruach gainmhich no mholagan’, a thaic ris a seo. Coim. GA *Èire Solt* (#180, bn 399).

and narrow and suggest the adjective ON *mær*, *mjár*, *mjór* "slim, narrow", but the form of the name does not correspond well with ON **Mæ-vík*, **Mjá-vík* or **Mjó-vík* (nor with forms containing the adjective in the weak declension, i.e. **Mævavík* etc.). ON **Mæ-vík* or **Mjá-vík* has manifestly become **[mjɑ̃vɑg] in [tɔ:bˈvjɑ̃vɑgʹ], a bay near *Liùrbost* #239. The short stressed vowel in this latter name in unexpected, but no other interpretation seems possible.

'On the other hand, [mi-ɑvɑg] may be derived from ON **Miðjavík* or **Miðjuvík* "(the) central bay, the bay in the middle". The former contains the adjective ON *miðr* "central", the latter the noun ON *miðja* f. "centre, middle". The name is justified topographically for both the bays in question, and the phonetic development is perfectly regular. There is a **Miðjusund* in Norway (see *NG* XIII, 307). An alternative form, **Miðvík* (cf. *NG* XIII, 77: **Miðvíkar*), must be ruled out because the modern form has three syllables.

'The usual Scottish Gaelic counterpart of ON *vík* is [vigʹ]; the rarer form, [vɑg] is a back-formation from genitive and dative forms with palatal [gʹ], modelled on such patterns as (nom.) *caileag* [kɑlɑg] "girl" ~ (gen.) *caileige* [kɑlægʹ(ə)] or [kɑlɑgʹ(ə)], (dat.) *caileig* [ˈkɑlægʹ] or [ˈkɑlɑgʹ].'

The name of a small settlement at the head of a bay west of *Na h-Ùigean* #345, in Ùig; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse (see below).

#251 (i) The stressed vowel in Gaelic

Oftedal cites Borgstrøm's transcription [mi-ɑvɑg] above, but he himself recorded a diphthongal form in 1963: (nMO) (Murdo MacLeod, *Mangarstadh* #245) [mɪ̃ãvaɣ̞], ɡʹ], (Norman Morrison, *Brèinis* #77) [mɪ̃ãvæⁱgʹ].

Oftedal also compares the name (MO) *[ˈmjɑ̃vɑg] (< (MO) [ˌtɔ:b ˈvjɑ̃vɑgʹ]) in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, noting that the stressed vowel was a short monophthong [ã], but the present author recorded [ˈmɪ̃ãvaɣ̊], (gen.) [ˈvɪ̃ãvaɣ̊] (without palatalisation), with a diphthong.

Oftedal encountered a similar difficulty the same year when he recorded the stressed vowel in the name *Mialastadh* #252: (Norman Morrison) [mɪ̃ãʟəstaɣ], but (Murdo MacLeod) [mjɑ̃ɻəstaɣ̞], (gen.) [vɻ̊ɑ̃ɻəstæj]. In addition, Oftedal notes the alternation between [i-a] and [ia] found, for example, in the name *Briacleit* #78.

Though convenient in transcriptions, the description (1) [ia] ~ (2) [i-a] is essentially phonemic rather than phonetic. Phonetically, the distinction is a question of tone: in principal, in (1) stress occurs regularly on the first element

cumhang is air an sìneadh a-mach, na chuireas air shùilibh am buadhair SL *mær*, *mjár*, *mjór* 'seang, cumhang', ach cha fhreagair cruth an ainme ro mhath ri SL **Mæ-vík*, **Mjá-vík* no **Mjó-vík* (no ri cruthan sam biodh am buadhair na chlaonadh lag, .i. **Mævavík* ɔc). Gu follaiseach, tha SL **Mæ-vík* no **Mjá-vík*, bàgh faisg air *Liùrbost* #239, air a dhol na *[mjɑ̃vɑg] ann an [tɔ:bˈvjɑ̃vɑgʹ]. Cha shùilichear an fhuaimreag bheumte ghoirid san ainm mu dheireadh a tha seo, ach cha choltach gun gabh mìneachadh eile a bhith.

Air an làimh eile, dh'fhaodadh [mi-ɑvɑg] tàrmachadh ann an SL **Miðjavík* no **Miðjuvík* '(am) bàgh meadhanach, am bàgh sa mheadhan'. Is e am buadhair SL *miðr* 'meadhanach' a tha san dàrna fear; an t-ainmear SL *miðja* b. 'boillsgean, meadhan' san fhear eile. Freagraidh an t-ainm a rèir cruth na tìre anns gach àite a tha seo, agus tha am fàs fuaim-eòlach gu buileach riaghailteach. Gheibhear **Miðjusund* ann an Nirribhidh (faic *NG* XIII, 307). Feumar cruth eile, **Mið-vík* (coim. *NG* XIII, 77: **Mið-víkar*), a chur an dàrna taobh seach gu bheil trì lidean aig an nuadh-riochd.

Is e [vigʹ] an seise àbhaisteach Gàidhlig a th' aig SL *vík*; 's e cùlchinntinn a th' anns a' chruth as gainne [vɑg] à riochdan ginideach is tabhartach le [gʹ] chaoil, air an stèidheachadh air pàtrain a leithid GA (bun.) *caileag* [kɑlɑg] 'nighean' ~ (gin.) *caileige* [kɑlægʹ(ə)] no [kɑlɑgʹ(ə)], (tabh.) *caileig* [kɑlægʹ] no [kɑlɑgʹ].

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag aig ceann bàigh an iar air *Na h-Ùigean* #345, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais (faic shìos).

#251 (i) An fhuaimreag bheumte sa Ghàidhlig

'S e tras-sgrìobhadh Bhorgstrøm a th' anns an tras-sgrìobhadh [mi-ɑvɑg] a dh'ainmicheas Oftedal shuas, ach 's e riochd dà-fhogharach a chlàraich e fhèin ann an 1963: (nMO) (Murchadh MacLeòid, *Mangarstadh* #245) [mɪ̃ãvaɣ̞], ɡʹ], (Tormod Moireasdan, *Brèinis* #77) [mɪ̃ãvæⁱgʹ].

Nì Oftedal coimeas mar an ceudna ris an ainm (MO) *[mjɑ̃vɑg] (< (MO) [tɔ:bˈvjɑ̃vɑgʹ]) ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, a' mothachadh gun robh an fhuaimreag na h-aon-fhoghar goirid [ã], ach 's e [ˈmɪ̃ãvaɣ̊], (gin.) [ˈvɪ̃ãvaɣ̊] (gun chaolachadh), le dà-fhoghar, a chlàraich an t-ùghdar sa.

Thachair Oftedal ri duilgheadas ceudna an aon bhliadhna nuair a chlàraich e an fhuaimreag bheumte anns an ainm *Mialastadh* #252: (Tormod Moireasdan) [mɪ̃ãʟəstaɣ], ach (Murchadh MacLeòid) [mjɑ̃ɻəstaɣ̞], (gin.) [vɻ̊ɑ̃ɻəstæj]. A thuilleadh, togaidh Oftedal na h-iomlaide eadar [i-a] agus [ia] a gheibhear, mar eisimpleir, anns an ainm *Briacleit* #78.

Ge goireasach ann an tras-sgrìobhaidhean e, 's ann a tha an tuairisgeul (1) [ia] ~ (2) [i-a] fuinn-eòlach seach fuaim-eòlach aig bun. Gu fuaim-eòlach, 's e ceist fuinn a th' anns an dealachadh: ann am prionnsabal, ann an (1) gheibhear beum air ciad

of the vocalism, but the second element tends to stand out to the ear as the tone rises rather than falls; in (2), stress occurs regularly on the first element also, but the tone falls rather than rises: (1) [ɪ̄ə́] ~ (2) [ɪ̄à] (cf. Oftedal 1956, 25–27).

Hence, alternation is sometimes found between (1) [ɪ̄ə́], (2) [ɪ̄à] and (rarely)(3) [i̯a], which are usually transcribed (1) [ia], (2) [i-a], (3) [ja], although they are not truly phonetic transcriptions.

ScG [ia] from ON *miðja* no *miðju* is unexpected; [i-a] would be more likely or simply [i-ə] (cf. ScG *fadhail* f. [ˈfə-əl] 'ford, isthmus' < ON *vaðil* acc. m.); cf. *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79.

#251 (ii) The Gaelic name ending

If one accepts [aǧ] to be the primary reflex of the final syllable, ON *vík* f. 'bay' does not suit, although Oftedal tries to argue a process of back-formation, i.e. [aǧ] < [aǧʲ] < [æǧʲ], on the pattern of ScG (rad.) *caileag* 'girl', (gen.) *caileig*(*e*), (dat.) *caileig* etc. However, no other example occurs in Lewis in which ON *vík* yields ScG [aǧ] rather than [iǧʲ]; cf. the names *Brèibhig* #76, *Cirbhig* #124, *Crùlabhig* #159, *Fìbhig* #185, *Gràsabhig* #218, *Ìslibhig* #228, *Marabhig* #246, *Sanndabhig* #285 and *Sanndig* #286 – all from final ON *-vík*.

Neither is ON *vág*, accusative of *vágr* m. 'bay', suitable as ON *g* represents the velar fricative [ɣ] here; cf. ScG *bàgh* [b̪aːɣ] (#24), itself from ON *vág* acc., also ScG *Càrlabhagh* #98.

One might consider ON *vang* acc. m. 'meadow, field' (see *Ungaiseadar* #346), i.e. that EG [βãŋg] would yield ScG [vaǧ]; cf. EG *fairsing* > ScG *farsaing* > *farsainn*, but > *farsaig* in Lewis. However, ON *vangr* does not suit the topography particularly well.[576]

#251 (iii) The element *miabhag*

In addition to the Ùig name *Miabhag*, several similar names are found in Lewis and Harris:

> #251 (iii) (a) *Miabhag* NB368240, opposite *Liùrbost*, on the other side of *Loch Èireasort* (#180, fn 399), mentioned by Oftedal, above: (1843–82) *Miabhag*, *Allt Mhiabhaig*, *Amhuinn Mhiabhaig*, *Eilean Mhiathbhag*, *Tòb Mhiabhaig*; (MO) [tɔːb ˈvjãvɑg′]; (RC) [ˈmĩãvaǧ]. The Gaelic name was once the name of a settlement at the head of a small sea loch; today, the site of the settlement is a part of the moorland.

576. Neither is ON *angr* m. 'bay, inlet' suitable – an element not found outside Scandinavia (Arne Kruse, personal communication) – as final *r* is part of the root; cf. *Stavanger* and *Hardanger* in Norway.

eileamaid an fhuaimreagachaidh gu riaghailteach, ach tha an dàrna h-eileamaid dualtach a bhith a' seasamh a-mach dhan chluais is am fonn ag èirigh seach a' tuiteam; ann an (2), gheibhear beum air a' chiad eileamaid gu riaghailteach mar an ceudna, ach bidh am fonn a' tuiteam seach ag èirigh: (1) [ɪ̄ə́] ~ (2) [ɪ̄à] (coim. Oftedal 1956, 25–27).

Às a seo, gheibhear iomlaid air uairean eadar (1) [ɪ̄ə́], (2) [ɪ̄à] agus (gu h-ainneamh) (3) [i̯a], a thras-sgrìobhar mar as trice (1) [ia], (2) [i-a], (3) [ja], ged nach e tras-sgrìobhaidhean fuaim-eòlach a th' annta ann an da-rìribh.

Cha bhite an dùil ri GA [ia] à SL *miðja* no *miðju*; bhiodh [i-a] na bu cholt-aiche no dìreach [i-ə] (coim. GA *fadhail* b. [ˈfə-əl] 'àth, tairbeart' < SL *vaðil* cusp. f.); coim. *Briacleit* #78, *Britheascleit* #79.

#251 (ii) Dùnadh an ainme Ghàidhlig

Ma ghabhar ris gum b' e [aǧ] prìomh riochd dùnadh an ainme, cha fhreagradh SL *vík* b. 'bàgh' ris, ged a dh'fheuchas Oftedal ri cùl-chinntinn a chur air dòigh, .i. gun d' fhuaradh [aǧ] < [aǧʲ] < [æǧʲ], air an aon phàtran ri GA (bun.) *caileag*, (gin.) *caileig*(*e*), (tabh.) *caileig* ↄc. Cha lorgar eisimpleir eile, ge-tà, far an deach SL *vík* na GA [aǧ] ann an Leòdhas seach [iǧʲ]; coim. na h-ainmean *Brèibhig* #76, *Cirbhig* #124, *Crùlabhig* #159, *Fìbhig* #185, *Gràsabhig* #218, *Ìslibhig* #228, *Marabhig* #246, *Sanndabhig* #285 agus *Sanndig* #286 – uile à SL *-vík* deiridh.

Cha fhreagradh SL *vág*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig *vágr* f. 'bàgh', na bu mhotha agus SL *g* a' riochdachadh an t-suathaich sgannaich [ɣ] an seo; coim. GA *bàgh* [b̪aːɣ] (#24), e fhèin à SL *vág* cusp., cuideachd GA *Càrlabhagh* #98.

Dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air SL *vang* cusp. f. 'lèana, achadh' (faic *Ungaiseadar* #346), .i. gun toireadh GT [βãŋg] > GA [vaǧ]; coim. GT *fairsing* > GA *farsaing* > *farsainn*, ach > *farsaig* ann an Leòdhas. Gidheadh, cha choltach gum freagair SL *vangr* ro mhath ri cruth na tìre.[576]

#251 (iii) An eileamaid *miabhag*

A thuilleadh air an ainm *Miabhag* ann an Ùig, tha corra ainm ceudna ann an Leòdhas agus sna Hearadh:

> *#251* (*iii*) (*a*) *Miabhag* NB368240, mu choinneimh *Liùrboist*, air taobh thall *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399), air an toir Oftedal iomradh, shuas: (1843–82) *Miabhag*, *Allt Mhiabhaig*, *Amhuinn Mhiabhaig*, *Eilean Mhiathbhag*, *Tòb Mhiabhaig*; (MO) [tɔːb ˈvjãvɑg′]; (RC) [ˈmĩãvaǧ]. Bha an t-ainm Gàidhlig uair na ainm air tuineachadh aig ceann locha mara bhig; an-diugh, tha làrach an tuineachaidh na pàirt den mhòintich.

576. Cha fhreagradh SL *angr* f. 'bàgh, tòb' na bu mhotha – eileamaid air nach eil lorg taobh a-muigh Lochlainn (Arne Kruse, conaltradh pearsanta) – agus *r* dheiridh na phàirt den fhreumh; coim. *Stavanger* agus *Hardanger* ann an Nirribhidh.

#251 (iii) (b) **Miabhag* NB166155, on the east side of *Loch Langabhat*, in the centre of the island: (1843–82) *Cléiteachean* [*sic*] *Mhìabhag* 'the hills of—', *Allt Chléiteachean Mhìabhag* 'the stream of—', *Lochan Chléiteachean Mhìa·bhag* [× 2] 'the lochs of—'. The name **Miabhag* may have been given to the bay here independently, or the settlement name under (a), above, may have been used as the specific element in names on the moor where stock from the settlement would graze during the summer.

#251 (iii) (c) *Miabhag* or *Miabhag nam Beann* '*Miabhag* of the mountains' (contrast *Miabhag nam Bàgh*, below) NB095057, in north-west Harris: (1843–82) *Meavaig*, *Loch Meavaig*, *Àrd Meavaig*; (OSNB 1/18/4/156) *Meavaig*, *Loch Meavaig* (Murdo McAulay, A. A. Carmichael); (MacIver 1934, 50) *Miavaig*; (CB) [mi-ɑvɑg′], but (RC) (PN1974-002B @ 12.15) [ˈmĩãvaǧ], (IDU) idem.

#251 (iii) (d) *Miabhag* or *Miabhag nam Bàgh* '*Miabhag* of the bays' (contrast *Miabhag nam Beann*, above) NG156964, in south Harris: (1843–82) *Meavag*, *Obe Meavag*, *Ardmeavag*, *Meavag Mill*; (OSNB 1/18/4/292) *Obe Meavag*, *Mea·vag* (Angus McAulay); (MacIver 1934, 52) *Miavaig*; (IDU) [ˈmĩãvaǧ].

In each of the above locations, there is a small bay with a narrow opening. On the whole, the evidence suggests that all these names have the same form – ScG *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaǧ] – as *Miabhag* in Ùig.

#251 (iv) ON **Mæ-vǫk*

In Ùig *Miabhag*, if the Norse name originally denoted the bay, ON *vǫk* f. may have been the name's specific element, a form which would yield ScG [vəǧ] regularly but might yield [vaǧ] under the influence of the Gaelic suffix *-ag* §36 (ii). The primary sense of the Norse word was 'opening, hole in the ice, i.e. an open passage in a loch, river etc.'; in Norway, cf. *Vaka* (*NG* XI, 97), *Vaker* (*NG* V, 28) and *Våk* (Hoel 1999, 54, 289: 'a spring that does not freeze; an open water channel in the ground (*i jorda*)').

Guided by the pronunciation [i-a], Oftedal had to reject ON *mær* 'thin; narrow' as a solution for the name's specific element, but, were [ia] the primary form of the name in Gaelic, that sort of vocalisation would develop regularly from ON *mæ-*; cf. ScG *Cliasgro* #131.[577]

577. Where *mæ-* is the stem form of the radical masculine adjective *mær*. The reflexes *mær*, *mjór* and *mjár*, above, are variants. The reflex *mær* is the oldest, the variants *mjór* and *mjár* arising by analogical levelling with nominal variants, for example *sær*, *sjór*, *sjár* 'sea, ocean; loch'; cf. ScG *Siabost* #295, fn 689. ScG [ia] would not be expected from either ON *jó* or *já*, *pace* Watson (1904, 272: *Miavaig* < ON **Mjó-vík*).

#251 (iii) (b) **Miabhag* NB166155, air taobh an ear *Loch Langabhat*, am meadhan an eilein: (1843–82) *Cléiteachean* [*sic*] *Mhìabhag*, *Allt Chléiteachean Mhìabhag*, *Lochan Chléiteachean Mhìabhag* [× 2]. Dh'fhaodte gun deach an t-ainm **Miabhag* a thoirt air a' bhàgh an seo gu neo-eisimeileach, air neo gun deach ainm an tuineachaidh fo (a), shuas, a chleachdadh mar eileamaid shònrachaidh ann an ainmean air a' mhòintich far am biodh sprèidh an tuineachaidh ag ionaltradh as t-samhradh.

#251 (iii) (c) *Miabhag* no *Miabhag nam Beann* (iomsgaraich *Miabhag nam Bàgh*, shìos) NB095057, an ceann an iar-thuath na Hearadh: (1843–82) *Meavaig*, *Loch Meavaig*, *Àrd Meavaig*; (ALSO 1/18/4/156) *Meavaig*, *Loch Meavaig* (Murdo McAulay, A. A. Carmichael); (MacIver 1932, 50) *Miavaig*; (CB) [mi-ɑvɑg′], ach (RC) (PN1974-002B @ 12.15) [ˈmĩãvaǧ], (IDU) idem.

#251 (iii) (d) *Miabhag* no *Miabhag nam Bàgh* (iom-sgaraich *Miabhag nam Beann*, shuas) NG156964, an ceann a deas na Hearadh: (1843–82) *Meavag*, *Obe Meavag*, *Ardmeavag*, *Meavag Mill*; (ALSO 1/18/4/292) *Obe Meavag*, *Meavag* (Angus McAulay); (MacIver 1932, 52) *Miavaig*; (IDU) [ˈmĩãvaǧ].

Anns gach àite a tha shuas, tha bàgh beag aig a bheil beul cumhang. Cuiridh an fhianais air shùilibh am bitheantas gur h-e an t-aon chruth – GA *Miabhag* [ˈmĩãvaǧ] – a th' aig na h-ainmean uile a tha seo is gur h-ionann iad agus *Mia·bhag* ann an Ùig.

#251 (iv) SL **Mæ-vǫk*

Ann am *Miabhag* an Ùig, nam b' ann a' riochdachadh a' bhàigh a bha an t-ainm Lochlannach bho thùs, is dòcha gum b' e SL *vǫk* b. eileamaid sheòrsachaidh an ainme, cruth a bheireadh GA [vəǧ] gu riaghailteach ach a dh'fhaodadh a bhith a' toirt [vaǧ] fo bhuaidh an iar-leasachain Ghàidhlig *-ag* §36 (ii). B' e 'fosgladh, toll san deigh, .i. seòl fosgailte ann an loch, abhainn ɔc' prìomh bhrìgh an fhacail Lochannais; ann an Nirrbhidh, coim. *Vaka* (*NG* XI, 97), *Vaker* (*NG* V, 28) agus *Våk* (Hoel 1999, 54, 289: 'fuaran nach reòdh; clais uisge fosgailte san talamh (*i jorda*)').

Air a stiùireadh leis an fhuaimneachadh [i-a], bha aig Oftedal ri SL *mær* 'caol; cumhang' a chur an dàrna taobh mar fhuasgladh do dh'eileamaid shònrachaidh an ainme, ach, mas e [ia] prìomh riochd an ainme sa Ghàidhlig, bhiodh a leithid de dh'fhuaimreagachadh ag èirigh gu riaghailteach à SL *mæ-*; coim. GA *Cliasgro* #131.[577]

577. Far an e bun-riochd a' bhuadhair bhunasaich fhireann *mær* a th' ann am *mæ-*. Tha na riochdan *mær*, *mjór* agus *mjár*, shuas, nan eugsamhailean. 'S e *mær* an riochd as sine, agus na h-eugsamhailean *mjór* agus *mjár* air èirigh le co-rèiteachadh ri eugsamhailean ainmearach, mar eisimpleir *sær*, *sjór*, *sjár* 'muir, cuan; loch'; coim. GA *Siabost* #295, bn 689. Cha bhite an dùil ri GA [ia] à aon chuid SL *jó* no *já*, a dh'aindeoin Watson (1904, 272: *Miavaig* < SL **Mjó-vík*).

In this instance, perhaps the Old Norse compound **Mæ-vǫk* '(the) narrow-opening' had – by semantic extension – the sense 'bay with a narrow opening' which would have been appropriate for the topography of *Miabhag* in Ùig, as well as of the four other locations where the name form is found #251 (iii).

#252 *Mialastadh* ÙIG (Eng. *Mealista*)
[ˈmĩãɫə ˌstaɣ], (gen.) *Mhialastaidh* [ˈvĩãɫə ˌstæj],[578] NA992241. 1680 *Island Mealistay*; 1726 *Melista*; 1750M, 1776 *Malisty*; 1789 *Malistay*; 1797 *Melista*; 1801 *Malistay*; 1807 *Malisty*, *Malistay*; 1821, 1822 *Mealisa* [*sic*]; 1845 *Mealister*; 1860 *Mealastay*; 2007 *Mealasta*‖*Mealista*.

Oftedal 1954, 389: '**Mealista** [?]. A name in ON *-staðr* or *-staðir*.'

MacBain (1922, 110–11) is of the opinion that ON *melr* f. 'sandbank' lies behind this name (see *Mealbost* #248), but one would expect ScG *[ˈmjãɫ̃ə ˌstaɣ] if it were.

It is possible that *Mialastadh* is from ON **Mælisstaða* acc. pl. '(the) farm of the measure', with genitive singular of ON *mælir* m., which was used of a unit of measure, usually of dry goods such as corn, or else of a unit of land sufficient to sow a *mælir*'s worth of seed (*mælisland*). For ON *mælir* in the Northern Isles, see Jakobsen 1928, s.v. ³**mel*, and Marwick 1929, s.v. †*meal*.

For ON *staða*, accusative plural of *staðr* m. 'farm', see #331, fn 803.

A comparison may be made with the mountain name ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɫəʃˌvaɫ], contracted to *Mialaiseal* [ˈmĩãɫə ˌʃaɫ][579] NB022270, perhaps from ON **Mælisfjall* '(the) mountain of the measure'. In this instance, it is not certain whether the mountain was named in this way because of its conical shape, or because of some connection or other with the village *Mialastadh*.[580]

#253 *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* PRC
[ˌmɔ̃ɫ̃ ˈxa-iˌɣʲɑɾi],[581] (gen.) *Mhol Chadhaigearraidh* [ˌvɔ̃ɫ̃ ˈxa-iˌɣʲɑɾi]; NB366065. 1821 *Mole Hagarray*; 1843–82 *Mol Chadha Gearraidh*, *Mol Ceodha Gearraidh* [*sic*], *Amhuinn Mol Chadha Gearraidh*; 1934, 61 *Molchágearry*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the east side of A' Phàirc; a Gaelic name, with ScG *mol* m., a loan-word from ON *mǫl* m. 'gravel, pebbles',[582] and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

578. (nMO) [mĩaɪəstaɣ], [mjãˌəstaɣ], *Eilean Mhialastaidh* -[vˌiãˌəstæj] 'the island of—' NA980215 (see #251 (i)).

579. (nMO) [ˈmĩaɪəʃɑɪ].

580. The summit of *Mialaiseal* is about 4.25 km (2.6 miles) from the village *Mialastadh*.

581. A contracted form [ˌmɔɫ̃ ˈhaɣ̃əɾi] was also recorded.

582. Cf. ScG *Malanis* < ON **Malarnes* (#62).

Sa charachadh seo, is dòcha gum b' e 'bàgh aig a bheil beul cumhang' – le sìneadh ciallachais – a bu bhrìgh dhan fhillteach Lochlannais **Mæ-vǫk* '(an) cumhang-fhosgladh', a bha iomchaidh a thaobh cruth na tìre ann am *Miabhag* ann an Ùig cho math ris na ceithir àitichean eile far an lorgar an t-ainm #251 (iii).

#252 *Mialastadh* ÙIG
[ˈmĩãɫə ˌstaɣ], (gin.) *Mhialastaidh* [ˈvĩãɫə ˌstæj],[578] NA992241. 1680 *Island Mealistay*; 1726 *Melista*; 1750M, 1776 *Malisty*; 1789 *Malistay*; 1797 *Melista*; 1801 *Malistay*; 1807 *Malisty*, *Malistay*; 1821, 1822 *Mealisa* [*sic*]; 1845 *Mealister*; 1860 *Mealastay*; 2007 *Mealasta*‖*Mealista*.

Oftedal 1954, 389: **Mealista** [?]. Ainm ann an SL *-staðr* no *-staðir*.

Tha MacBain (1922, 110–11) am beachd gur h-e SL *melr* f. 'bruach gainmhich' a tha air cùl an ainme seo (faic *Mealbost* #248), ach bhite an dùil ri GA *[ˈmjãɫ̃ə ˌstaɣ] nam b' e.

Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Mælisstaða* cusp. iol. 'tuathanas an tomhais' a tha *Mialastadh*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach shingilte aig SL *mælir* f., a bhathas a' cleachdadh mar aonad meud, mar bu trice airson bathair thioram mar arbhar, air neo do dh'aonad fearainn san gabhadh sìol a bu luach *mælir* de mheud a chur (*mælisland*). Airson SL *mælir* sna h-Eileanan a Tuath, faic Jakobsen 1928, s.v. ³**mel*, agus Marwick 1929, s.v. †*meal*.

Airson SL *staða*, an tuiseal cusp. iolra aig *staðr* f. 'tuathanas', faic #331, bn 803.

Faodar coimeas a dhèanamh ris an ainm beinne GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩãɫəʃˌvaɫ], air a theannachadh gu *Mialaiseal* [ˈmĩãɫə ʃaɫ][579] NB022270, is dòcha à SL **Mælisfjall* 'beinn an tomhais'. San t-seagh seo, chan eil cinnt an ann a chionn a crutha bhinneanaich a chaidh a' bheinn ainmeachadh air an dòigh seo, no a chionn ceangail air choreigin ris a' bhaile *Mialastadh*.[580]

#253 *Mol Chadhaigearraidh* PRC
[ˌmɔ̃ɫ̃ ˈxa-iˌɣʲɑɾi],[581] (gin.) *Mhol Chadhaigearraidh* [ˌvɔ̃ɫ̃ ˈxa-iˌɣʲɑɾi]; NB366065. 1821 *Mole Hagarray*; 1843–82 *Mol Chadha Gearraidh*, *Mol Ceodha Gearraidh* [*sic*], *Amhuinn Mol Chadha Gearraidh*; 1934, 61 *Molchágearry*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh an ear Na Pàirce; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *mol* f., facal-iasaid à SL *mǫl* f. 'grinneal, molagan',[582] agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

578. (nMO) [mĩaɪəstaɣ], [mjãˌəstaɣ], *Eilean Mhialastaidh* -[vˌiãˌəstæj] NA980215 (faic #251 (i)).

579. (nMO) [ˈmĩaɪəʃɑɪ].

580. Tha mullach na beinne *Mialaiseal* mu 4.25 clm (2.6 mìle) bhon bhaile *Mialastadh*.

581. Chlàraicheadh an cruth teannaichte [ˌmɔ̃ɫ̃ ˈhaɣ̃əɾi] mar an ceudna.

582. Coim. GA *Malanis* < SL **Malarnes* (#62).

ScG **Cadhaigearraidh* might derive from ON **Kofagerði* '(the) enclosure of the hut', with genitive of the noun ON *kofi* m. '(ecclesiastical) cell; hut, shed'[583] and ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosure' (#192). For ON *kofi*, cf. *Caithiseadar* #92, in Nɪs; for the alternation *o* ~ *a* in Gaelic, see §43 (i).

However, a derivation from an Old Norse loan-name with a loan-word from EG (disyllabic) *cáe* f. (cf. ScG *cadha* m. 'pass') as specific would be suitable topographically. Cf. other Old Norse loan-names in which Gaelic loan-words may occur:

With EG *búaile* 'field, enclosure': ScG *Buaileabhal* ['b̥uələˌvaɬ̪] NB199407, in *Cirbhig* #124 (< ON *-fjall* nt. 'mountain'), ScG *Buaileabhair* ['b̥uələˌvəɾʲ] NB249467, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295) (< ON *-varða* f. 'cairn') and ScG *Buaileabhig* (Oftedal 1980, 188) ['buəl'əvig'][584] NB424290, in *Gruimseadar* #224 (< ON *-vík* f. 'bay');

With EG *crec* 'rock': ScG *Creagastrom* (nMO) [kr'egəstrəm], [kʿr'egəˀstrəm̩] NF857481 (#7), in Benbecula, and ScG *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰliəs̪əmˌkɾʲeg̊] NB205402 (#131), in *Cirbhig*;

With EG *áirġe* 'milking place → sheiling': ScG **Tiongalairidh* ['tʲʲʰĩŋg̊əˌɬaɾʲi] approx. NB193379, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331) (< ON *þingvall-* (stem form) m. 'assembly-field' (#13)); and

With EG *lénae* 'meadow': ScG *Lianacleit* (nMO) [lˈĩãnəglˈeht'][585] NF790495, in Benbecula (< ON *-klett* acc. m. 'mountain' (#130)), and ScG *Lianacuidh* (nMO) [lˈĩãnəguj][586] NF760464, in South Uist (< ON *-kví* 'fold' f. (#161)).

#254 *Mol na Hearadh* TLS
[ˌmɔ̃ɬ̪ nə 'hɛɾəɣ], (gen.) *Mhol na Hearadh* [ˌvɔ̃ɬ̪ nə 'hɛɾəɣ]; NB195118. 1821 *Mole na Harig*; 1843–82 *Mól na Hèrradh*.

The name of a small settlement on the Lewis side of the border with Harris (ScG *Na Hearadh*); a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *mol* m. 'pebble beach', a loan-word from ON *møl* f. 'gravel, pebbles', and *Na Hearadh*,[587] in genitive position as specific. ScG *Na Hearadh* originates in ON **Herað* (or **Heruð* pl.), from ON *herað* nt. 'district or area', with the plural Gaelic article used to accommodate

583. Norw. *kove* is even used of small sheltered bays (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

584. (nMO) [buɤləviɟ].

585. (nMO) [lˈĩũnə-kleˆd̪' (-t')], [lˈĩãnəˀklɛˇtˈʃ].

586. (nMO) [lˈĩũnəkuˌ̯ (-g̊uj)].

587. Harris constitutes the southern third and Lewis the northern two thirds of the same island §2.

Dh'fhaodadh GA **Cadhaigearraidh* tàrmachadh ann an SL **Kofagerði* 'leas a' bhotha', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *kofi* f. 'ceall (eaglaise); both, bothan, seada'[583] agus SL *gerði* n. 'leas' (#192). Airson SL *kofi*, coim. *Caithiseadar* #92, ann an Nɪs; airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a* sa Ghàidhlig, faic §43 (i).

Gidheadh, bhiodh bunachas à ainm-iasaid Lochlannais agus GT (dà-lideach) *cáe* b. (coim. GA *cadha* f.) mar fhacal-iasaid na shònraichear iomchaidh a thaobh cruth na tìre. Coim. ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais eile sam faodar facail-iasaid Ghàidhlig a nochdadh:

Le GT *búaile* 'buaile': GA *Buaileabhal* ['b̥uələˌvaɬ̪] NB199407, ann an *Cirbhig* #124 (< SL *-fjall* n. 'beinn'), GA *Buaileabhair* ['b̥uələˌvəɾʲ] NB249467, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295) (< SL *-varða* b. 'càrn') agus GA *Buaileabhig* (Oftedal 1980, 188) ['buəl'əvig'][584] NB424290, ann an *Gruimseadar* #224 (< SL *-vík* b. 'bàgh');

Le GT *crec* 'creag': GA *Creagastrom* (nMO) [kr'egəstrəm], [kʿr'egəˀstrəm̩] NF857481 (#7), ann am Beinn na Fadhla, agus GA *Cliasamcreag* ['kʰliəs̪əmˌkɾʲeg̊] NB205402 (#131), ann an *Cirbhig*;

Le GT *áirġe* 'àite bleoghain → àirigh': GA **Tiongalairidh* ['tʲʲʰĩŋg̊əˌɬaɾʲi] mu NB193379, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331) (< SL *þingvall-* (bun-riochd) f. 'tional-raon' (#13)); agus

Le GT *lénae* 'liana': GA *Lianacleit* (nMO) [lˈĩãnəglˈeht'][585] NF790495, am Beinn na Fadhla (< SL *-klett* cusp. f. 'beinn' (#130)), agus GA *Lianacuidh* (nMO) [lˈĩãnəguj][586] NF760464, an Uibhist a Deas (< SL *-kví* 'buaile, crò' b. (#161)).

#254 *Mol na Hearadh* TLS
[ˌmɔ̃ɬ̪ nə 'hɛɾəɣ], (gin.) *Mhol na Hearadh* [ˌvɔ̃ɬ̪ nə 'hɛɾəɣ]; NB195118. 1821 Mole na Harig; 1843–82 *Mól na Hèrradh*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag air taobh Leòdhais crìoch na Hearadh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *mol* f., facal-iasaid à SL *møl* b. 'grinneal, molagan', agus *Na Hearadh* (Brl. *Harris*),[587] ann an suidheachadh ginideach na shònraichear. 'S ann a thàrmaicheas GA *Na Hearadh* ann an SL **Herað* (no **Heruð* iol.), à SL *herað* n. 'sgìre no roinn', agus an t-alt iolra Gàidhlig air a chleachdadh gus an *h*

583. Thèid Nirr. *kove* a chleachdadh fiù 's air bàghannan beaga fasgach (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

584. (nMO) [buɤləviɟ].

585. (nMO) [lˈĩũnə-kleˆd̪' (-t')], [lˈĩãnəˀklɛˇtˈʃ].

586. (nMO) [lˈĩũnəkuˌ̯ (-g̊uj)].

587. 'S e na Hearadh an trian as fhaide deas agus Leòdhas an dà thrian as fhaide tuath den eilean cheudna §2.

the presence of Old Norse initial *h* in Gaelic, i.e. by accepting it on a morphophonemic level as though it were aspiration after the plural article in Gaelic (see *Tàbost* #315 (ii)).

#255 ***Mol Shanndabhig*** STN (Eng. *Lower Sandwick*)
[ˌmɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈhãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ], (gen.) *Mhol Shanndabhig* [ˌvɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈhãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ]; NB440318. 1843–82 *Mol Shandabhig*, *Little Sandwick*, *Mol Shandabhig Bheag*; 1955 *Mol Sandwick*; 2007, road sign *Mol Shanndabhaig*‖*Lower Sandwick.*

The name of a township in Steòrnabhagh #309, created in the 1820s (Lawson 2011, 67); a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *mol* m. 'pebble beach' (#254) and the Old Norse loan-name ScG *Sanndabhig* #285 in the genitive as specific.

#256 ***Mol Truisg*** PRC
[ˌmɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈt̪ʰrɯ̟ʃkʲ], (gen.) *Mhol Truisg* *[ˌvɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈt̪ʰrɯ̟ʃkʲ];[588] NB357056. 1595 [?] *Tnyſk*; 1610, 1635 [?] *Tniſk*; 1636 [?] *Tnyſk*; 1843–82 =, *Eilean Glas Mol Truisg*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the east side of A' Phàirc, whose inhabitants were evicted in the early 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162); a Gaelic name, with the loan-words ScG *mol* m. 'pebble beach' (#254) and genitive of ScG *trosg* m. 'cod (*Gadus morhua*)', from ON *þorsk*, accusative of ON *þorskr* m., with metathesis §40 (ii).

In Gaelic names where a noun occurs adjectivally as specific, as here, there are examples with the article, e.g. *An Tòb Làthaich* [əˌn̪̊ʰɔ·b̥ˈɫaːhiç] 'the inlet of mud' NB200423, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134, and *An Àird Fhraoich* [əˌn̪̊ɑ·d̥ˈɾɯːiç] 'the headland of heather' NB250473, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295); however, the construction noun + (gen.) noun without the article is common, e.g. *Loch Clacharain* [ˌɫɔx ˈkʰɫɑxəɾan] 'the loch of (the) stonechat' NB242366, in *An Dùn* #170, and *Cnoc Chala Muc* [ˌkʰɾõʰkˌxɑɫ̪ə ˈmɯ̟ʰk] 'the hill of (the) harbour of whales' NB220328,[589] in *Callanis* #94.

#257 ***Morsgail*** ÙIG (Eng. *Morsgail*)
[ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl], (gen.) *Mhorsgail* [ˈvɔ̃ˌʂkɪl]; NB136224. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Mhorsgail*, *Loch Mhorsgail*, *Druim Mhorsgail*; 2007 *Morsgail*‖*Morsgail.*

588. Lenition in the genitive is not found in ScG (1843–82) *Eilean Glas Mol Truisg* 'the green island of *Mol Truisg*'.

589. With the name ScG **Cala Muc* 'the harbour of whales' lenited in the genitive as specific, with genitive plural of ScG *muc* f. 'whale' (EG *muc*(*c*)), without lenition, indicating that **Cala Muc* is an old name, created before lenition in genitive plural indefinite nouns developed – Thomson (1983, 95–96) suggests that lenition only developed here in the 17th century.

thoisich às an Lochlannais a cheadachadh sa Ghàidhlig, .i. le bhith a' gabhail ris an *h* aig ìre chruth-fhuinn-eòlaich, mar gur e analachadh an dèidh an uilt iolra a bh' ann anns a' Ghàidhlig (faic *Tàbost* #315 (ii)).

#255 ***Mol Shanndabhig*** STN
[ˌmɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈhãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ], (gin.) *Mhol Shanndabhig* [ˌvɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈhãũn̪̊d̪əˌviɣ̊ʲ]; NB440318. 1843–82 *Mol Shandabhig*, *Little Sandwick*, *Mol Shandabhig Bheag*; 1955 *Mol Sandwick*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Mol Shanndabhaig*‖*Lower Sandwick.*

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Steòrnabhagh #309, a chaidh a chruthachadh sna 1820an (Lawson 2011, 67); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *mol* f. (#254) agus an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA *Sanndabhig* #285 san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

#256 ***Mol Truisg*** PRC
[ˌmɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈt̪ʰrɯ̟ʃkʲ], (gin.) *Mhol Truisg* [ˌvɔ̃ɫ̪ ˈt̪ʰrɯ̟ʃkʲ];[588] NB357056. 1595 [?] *Tnyſk*; 1610, 1635 [?] *Tniſk*; 1636 [?] *Tnyſk*; 1843–82 =, *Eilean Glas Mol Truisg*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann an ceann an ear na Pàirce, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162); ainm Gàidhlig, leis na facail-iasaid GA *mol* f. 'grinneal, molagan' (#254) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig GA *trosg* f. 'seòrsa èisg (*Gadus morhua*)', à SL *þorsk*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *þorskr* f., le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii).

Ann an ainmean Gàidhlig san nochd ainmear mar bhuadhair na shònraichear, mar a nochdas an seo, gheibhear eisimpleirean leis an alt, m.e. *An Tòb Làthaich* [əˌn̪̊ʰɔ·b̥ˈɫaːhiç] NB200423, air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134, agus *An Àird Fhraoich* [əˌn̪̊ɑ·d̥ˈɾɯːiç] NB250473, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295); gidheadh, tha an co-chur ainmear + (gin.) ainmear às aonais an uilt bitheanta, m.e. *Loch Clacharain* [ˌɫɔx ˈkʰɫɑxəɾan] NB242366, air *An Dùn* #170, agus *Cnoc Chala Muc* [ˌkʰɾõʰkˌxɑɫ̪ə ˈmɯ̟ʰk] NB220328,[589] ann an *Callanis* #94.

#257 ***Morsgail*** ÙIG
[ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl], (gin.) *Mhorsgail* [ˈvɔ̃ˌʂkɪl]; NB136224. 1843–82 *Gearraidh Mhorsgail*, *Loch Mhorsgail*, *Druim Mhorsgail*; 2007 *Morsgail*‖*Morsgail.*

588. Cha nochd sèimheachadh san tuiseal ghinideach ann an GA (1843–82) *Eilean Glas Mol Truisg*.

589. Leis an ainm GA **Cala Muc* 'port mhuc' air a shèimheachadh san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear, leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig GA *muc* f. (GT *muc*(*c*)), gun sèimheachadh, a dh'innseas gur h-e seann ainm a th' ann an **Cala Muc*, a chaidh a chruthachadh mus do dh'èirich sèimheachadh ann an ainmearan ginideach iolra neo-dheimhinnte – tha Thomson (1983, 95–96) den bheachd nach do dh'èirich sèimheachadh an seo gus an 17mh linn.

The name of an old settlement at the northern end of *Loch Mhorsgail*, in Ùig, today a hunting lodge; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

MacKenzie (1932, 288) proposes the Old Norse name contains a personal name[590] and ON *gil* nt. 'ravine'. Taylor (2011, s.v.) suggests it may mean 'sea-house', probably in consideration of ON *marr* m. 'sea' and ON *skáli* m. 'hut; hall, room', but the location is about 1.8 km (about 1.1 miles) from the sea and the vowel ON *á* would yield ScG [a] in a half- or weakly stressed syllable.[591]

There is a deep ravine at NB135231, at the northern end of *Druim Mhorsgail*, called ScG (≈1843–82) *Gil Cnoc Nighean Dhonnchaidh* 'the ravine of the hill of the daughter of *Donnchadh*', and this may be the ravine cited in the Old Norse name. ON **Marsgil* '(the) ravine of the horse', with genitive of the noun ON *marr* m. 'horse', would probably yield ScG [ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] regularly; for the alternation *a* ~ *o*, see §43 (ii).

MacIver (1934, 100) says he heard old people call the place *Mosgail* rather than *Morsgail*.[592] One may compare ScG *muirsgian* f. 'razor-fish, *Ensis siliqua* and *Ensis arcuatus*': (Arran) [muskʼən] (*LASID* IV, 210), (Gairloch) [mũʃkʼən] (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *razor-fish*), although the word was recorded as *mursaig* on the west of Ùig (Faclan bhon t-Sluagh, s.v. *muirsgian*).

#258 ***Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*** TSR (Eng. *Upper Carloway*)
[ˌmũɬ̪ɔx ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj], (gen.) *Mhullach Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌvũɬ̪ɔx ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj]; NB207430. 1654 *Kadlowa oc.*; 1718 *Upper Carlovay*; 1726 *Upper Carlava*; 1750M *Carlowa*; 1797 *Carlaway*; 1807 *Carlowa*; 1821 *Upp*r. *Carloway*; 1822 *Upper Carloway*; 1845 *Carlo·way*; 1843–82 *Carlobhaidh or Carloway*; 1846 *Loch Carloway*; 2007 *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*‖*Upper Carloway*.

The name of a township at the head of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* 'the loch of *Càrla·bhagh*', in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with ScG *mullach* m. 'top, summit' (EG idem) and genitive of the Old Norse loan-name ScG *Càrlabhagh* #98. The names of the townships *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* 'the summit of *Càrlabhagh*' and *Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh* 'the hill of *Càrlabhagh*' (see *An Cnoc* #134) are distinguished by their generics, although they both employ the same specific of place. However, the form (1654) *Kadlowa oc.* – with a printing error and an abbreviation for ScG *uachdrach* or, as used in Lewis Gaelic, *uarach* 'upper, higher' – suggests that

590. Citing the surname Eng. *Mawer*, which Black (1946, s.v. *Maver*) originates in ScG *maor* m. 'land officer, steward' (> Scots *mawr*).

591. However, ON *skáli* is possibly behind the name ScG *Sgàlabhal* [ˈʂ̪kɑːɬ̪əˌvaɬ̪] NB142198, from ON **Skálafjall*, with genitive of the specific and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain'.

592. As a result, MacIver suggests ON **Mósskáli*, with genitive of the noun ON *mór* m. 'moor' (cf. *Mossend* (#110)), but the long vowels of the Old Norse form would not suit the Gaelic pronunciation.

An t-ainm a bh' air seann tuineachadh aig ceann a tuath *Loch Mhorsgail*, ann an Ùig, an-diugh na loidse seilge; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Cuiridh MacKenzie (1932, 288) air adhart gur dòcha gur h-ann à ainm pearsanta[590] agus SL *gil* n. 'gil, slugaid' a tha an t-ainm Lochlannais. Cuiridh Taylor (2011, s.v.) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-e 'muir-thaigh' as ciall dha, agus e is math dh'fhaodte a' beachdachadh air SL *marr* f. 'muir' agus SL *skáli* f. 'bothan; talla, rum', ach tha an t-àite mu 1.8 clm (mu 1.1 mìle) bhon mhuir agus bheireadh an fhuaimreag SL *á* GA [a] ann an lide leth- no lag-bheumte.[591]

Tha gil dhomhainn aig NB135231, aig ceann a tuath *Dhruim Mhorsgail*, air a bheil GA (≈1843–82) *Gil Cnoc Nighean Dhonnchaidh*, agus is dòcha gur h-e seo a' ghil a tha ga h-ainmeachadh san ainm Lochlannais. Is iongantach mana toireadh SL **Marsgil* 'gil an eich', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *marr* f. 'each', GA [ˈmɔ̃ˌʂkɪl] gu riaghailteach; airson na h-iomlaide *a* ~ *o*, faic §43 (ii).

Innsidh MacIver (1934, 100) gun cuala e seann daoine a' cantainn *Mosgail* seach *Morsgail* ris an àite.[592] Faodar coimeas a dhèanamh ri GA *muirsgian* b. 'seòr·sa maoraich, *Ensis siliqua* agus *Ensis arcuatus*': (Arainn) [muskʼən] (*LASID* IV, 210), (Geàrrloch) [mũʃkʼən] (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *razor-fish*), ged a chaidh am facal a chlàradh na *mursaig* air taobh an iar Ùig (Faclan bhon t-Sluagh, s.v. *muirsgian*).

#258 ***Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*** TSR
[ˌmũɬ̪ɔx ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj], (gin.) *Mhullach Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌvũɬ̪ɔx ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj]; NB207430. 1654 *Kadlowa oc.*; 1718 *Upper Carlovay*; 1726 *Upper Carlava*; 1750M *Carlowa*; 1797 *Carlaway*; 1807 *Carlowa*; 1821 *Upp*r. *Carloway*; 1822 *Upper Carloway*; 1845 *Carlo·way*; 1843–82 *Carlobhaidh or Carloway*; 1846 *Loch Carloway*; 2007 *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*‖*Upper Carloway*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn aig ceann *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*, air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *mullach* f. (GT idem) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais GA *Càrlabhagh* #98. Tha ainmean nam bailtean fearainn *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* agus *Cnoc Chàrlabhaigh* (faic *An Cnoc* #134) air an sgaradh bho chèile le an seòrsaichearan, ged a chleachdas na dhà an t-aon sònraichear àite. Gidheadh, tha an cruth (1654) *Kadlowa oc.* – le mearachd clòdha agus giorr·achadh air GA *uachdrach* no, mar a chanar ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais, *uarach*

590. Ag ainmeachadh an ainm sloinnidh Brl. *Mawer*, a thàrmaicheas Black (1946, s.v. *Maver*) ann an GA *maor* f. 'oifigeir talmhainn, stiùbhart' (> Alb. *mawr*).

591. Gidheadh, is dòcha gu bheil SL *skáli* air cùl an ainme GA *Sgàlabhal* [ˈʂ̪kɑːɬ̪əˌvaɬ̪] NB142198, à SL **Skálafjall*, le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn'.

592. Mar thoradh air seo, cuiridh MacIver SL **Mósskáli* air shùilibh, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *mór* f. 'mòinteach' (coim. *Mossend* (#110)), ach cha fhreagradh fuaimreagan fada a' chrutha Lochlannais am fuaimneachadh Gàidhlig.

Mullach Chàrlabhaigh may once have been called **Càrlabhagh Uachdrach*; or perhaps the *uarach ~ ìorach* 'upper ~ lower' distinction, fairly common in Lewis, had been imposed from outside the area – *Kol oc. ~ Kol Ycrach* (#150) and *Holm Ocrach ~ Holm Ycrach* (#330) appear on Blaeu's map (1654).[593] That might be the result of administrative use, in the same way that *Siabost bho Dheas* for example is sometimes used instead of *Siabost a Deas* (#295), the local form.

#259 *Orasaigh* CDL (Eng. *Orinsay*)
[ˈɔrəˌn̪ˠsæj], (gen.) idem; NB364120. 1821 *Ormsay*, *Crinsay* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Ordsaigh*; 2007 *Òrasaigh*‖*Orinsay*.

The name of a township on the north side of *Loch Shealg* (#108), in A' Phàirc; a loan-name from CSc. **Orfirisøy* '(the) island of the ebbing-place', with genitive of the noun (ON) *orfiri* nt. (variant of *ørfiri*) 'a place that dries out at low tide' and CSc. **øy* f. 'island'. The township got its name from the name of the island opposite, ScG *Eilean Orasaigh* 'the island of *Orasaigh*' NB366114.

This loan-name is common in the Western Isles, e.g. ScG *Eilean Orasaigh* [ˌelanˈɔrəˌn̪ˠsaj] NB217320, in *Callanis* #94, in An Taobh Siar; *Eilean Orasaigh* (nMO) [ˈelanˈɔrəsɛj] NB368253, in *Liùrbost* #239, and *Eilean Orasaigh* (*Chrosaboist*) (nMO) [ˈelanˈɔrəsæj (xrɔsəbɔʃʲ)] NB401240, in *Crosabost* #156, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; and *Eilean Orasaigh* (nMO) [elanˈɔrəsɑj] NB413213, in *Crò Mòr* #154, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch. There is a freshwater loch in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch called ScG *Loch Orasaigh* 'the loch of *Orasaigh*', cf. ScG *Eilean Loch Orasaigh* (nMO) [ˈelaŋ̩ ɬɔxˈɔrəsæj] 'the island of *Loch Orasaigh*' NB387281 (1843–82 *Eilean Mór*).

The form found in Lewis has apparently been contracted; one would expect ScG *[ˈɔr̂ə-əˌn̪ˠsæj] in the first instance; cf. ScG *Orfhasaigh* (nMO) [ɔrɔ̀-əsæj] NF727172 and (nMO) [ɔrɔ̀ːsaj] NF820438, in South Uist, and (Campbell 1949, 214; Borgstrøm 1936, 290[594]) *Oro'osaidh* NF714060 – the apostrophe indicating hiatus – in Barra.

Some of the English forms of these names are written with medial *n*, e.g. *Orinsay* here and *Oronsay* (ScG *Orasa*) NR356886, beside Colonsay. The latter island's tradition links its name to the name St (Eng.) *Oran* (King and Scammell 2017, 4),[595] and the spelling has apparently spread to other places. However, the

593. As happened on the Tasglann nan Eilean Siar website: <http://www.tasglann.org.uk/gd/heritage-groups/carloway> – 27 November 2019.

594. Borgstrøm states that Monro's form (1549) is *Orvansay*, but that form refers to the island south of Colonsay NR355887; Monro has *Orbandsay* for the island in Barra (Chapp. 97 and 166, respectively).

595. And the folk etymology is still being circulated, e.g. Haswell-Smith 2015, 55. For place-names linked to this saint, see Watson 1926, 309, and <https://www.saintsplaces.gla.

'nas fhaide shuas' – a' cur air shùilibh gur dòcha gum b' e **Càrlabhagh Uachdrach* a chante ri *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* uair; air neo 's dòcha gun deach an sgaradh *uarach ~ ìorach*, a tha meadhanach bitheanta ann an Leòdhas, a chur air an àite bhon taobh a-muigh – air mapa Bhlaeu (1654), nochdaidh *Kol oc. ~ Kol Ycrach* (#150) agus *Holm Ocrach ~ Holm Ycrach* (#330).[593] Dh'fhaodte sin a bhith mar thoradh air cleachdadh rianachd, mar a thèid *Siabost bho Dheas* mar eisimpleir a chleachdadh air uairean an àite *Siabost a Deas* (#295), an cruth ionadail.

#259 *Orasaigh* CDL
[ˈɔrəˌn̪ˠsæj], (gin.) idem; NB364120. 1821 *Ormsay*, *Crinsay* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Ordsaigh*; 2007 *Òrasaigh*‖*Orinsay*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air taobh a tuath *Loch Shealg* (#108), anns A' Phàirc; ainm-iasaid à LB **Orfirisøy* 'eilean an àite-tràghaidh', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir (SL) *orfiri* n. (eugsamhail air *ørfiri*) 'àite a thràigheas aig muir-tràigh' agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean'. 'S ann bho ainm an eilein a th' air beulaibh a' bhaile, GA *Eilean Orasaigh* NB366114, a fhuair am baile a ainm.

Tha an t-ainm-iasaid seo bitheanta ann an Innse Gall, m.e. GA *Eilean Orasaigh* [ˌelanˈɔrəˌn̪ˠsaj] NB217320, ann an *Callanis* #94, air An Taobh Siar; *Eilean Orasaigh* (nMO) [ˈelanˈɔrəsɛj] NB368253, ann an *Liùrbost* #239, agus *Eilean Orasaigh* (*Chrosaboist*) (nMO) [ˈelanˈɔrəsæj (xrɔsəbɔʃʲ)] NB401240, ann an *Crosabost* #156, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; agus *Eilean Orasaigh* (nMO) [elanˈɔrəsɑj] NB413213, ann an *Crò Mòr* #154, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch. Tha loch fìoruisge ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch air a bheil GA *Loch Orasaigh*, coim. GA *Eilean Loch Orasaigh* (nMO) [ˈelaŋ̩ ɬɔxˈɔrəsæj] NB387281 (1843–82 *Eilean Mór*).

Is coltach gun deach an cruth a gheibhear ann an Leòdhas a theannachadh; bhite a' sùileachadh GA *[ˈɔr̂ə-əˌn̪ˠsæj] sa chiad àite; coim. GA *Orfhasaigh* (nMO) [ɔrɔ̀-əsæj] NF727172 agus (nMO) [ɔrɔ̀ːsaj] NF820438, ann an Uibhist a Deas, agus (Campbell 1949, 214; Borgstrøm 1936, 290[594]) *Oro'osaidh* NF714060 – an t-asgair a' sònrachadh beàrnas – ann am Barraigh.

Sgrìobhar cuid de chruthan Beurla nan ainmean seo le *n* mheadhain, m.e. *Orinsay* an seo is *Oronsay* (GA *Orasa*) NR356886, ri taobh Cholbhasa. Ceanglaidh beul-aithris an eilein mu dheireadh a ainm ri ainm an Naoimh (Brl.) *Oran* (King is Scammell 2017, 4),[595] agus a rèir choltais tha an litreachadh air sgaoileadh a

593. Tha seo air tachairt air làraich-lìn Thasglann nan Eilean Siar: <http://www.tasglann.org.uk/gd/heritage-groups/carloway> – 27 Samhain 2019.

594. Canaidh Borgstrøm gur h-e *Orvansay* an cruth a th' aig an Rothach (1549), ach beanaidh an cruth sin ris an eilean deas air Colbhasa NR355887; is e *Orbandsay* a th' aig an Rothach airson an eilein ann am Barraigh (Caibb. 97 agus 166, fa leth).

595. Agus sgaoilear an dinnseanchas seo fhathast, m.e. Haswell-Smith 2015, 55. Airson ainmean-àite ceangailte ris an naomh seo, faic Watson 1926, 309, agus <https://www.saint·

saint's Early Gaelic name was *Oḋrán* and, were the saint's name behind the Old Norse form, one would probably expect CSc. **Oðransøy* or similar,[596] which would yield ScG **Odhrasa*(*igh*) **[əːrə̥ˌsa(j)] or similar. (All these islands are tidal.)

#260 ***Pabaigh Mhòr*** ÙIG

[ˌpʰab̥ɛj ˈvoːɾ], [ˌpʰab̥aj ˈvoːɾ], (gen.) *Phabaigh Mhòr* [ˌfab̥ɛj ˈvoːɾ], [ˌfab̥aj ˈvoːɾ], or simply *Pabaigh* [ˈpʰaˌb̥ɛj], [ˈpʰaˌb̥aj],[597] (gen.) *Phabaigh* [ˈfaˌb̥ɛj], [ˈfaˌb̥aj]; NB101379. 1549 *Pabay*; 1600+, 1630 *Pappa*; 1654 *Paba*; 1680 *Pabay*; 1703 *Pabbay*; 1714 *Babbay I.*; 1718, 1726 *Pabbay*; 1750M, 1776 *Pabay*; 1804 *Pabay I.*; 1807 *Pabay*; 1821 *Pabhay* [*sic*]; 1822 *Pabbay*; 1843–82 *Pabaidh Mhor*; 1845 *Pabay*; 1846 *Pabbay*.

The name of an island opposite *Bhaltos* #63, in ÙIG; a Gaelic name, with an Old Norse loan-name as generic + the adjective ScG *mòr* in the sense 'greater' (#2), used to distinguish *Pabaigh Mhòr* from *Pabaigh Bheag* 'lesser *Pabaigh*', an island north of *Pabaigh Mhòr*.

Pabaigh is from CSc. **Papøy*, i.e. **Papaøy*, with genitive plural of (ON) *papi* m. 'hermit, monk' and CSc. **øy* f. 'island' §16. There is an old church, dedicated to St Peter (Martin 1703, 28), and a graveyard on the island at ScG *Tràigh na Cille* 'the beach of the church' NB104377; cf. the names ScG *Cnoc na Cille* 'the hill of the church' and *Loch an Teampaill* 'the loch of the temple', facing the beach. (For settlement locations on the island, see *Garrabost* #190 and *Mealbost* #250.)

Cf. ScG *Pabaigh* NF888878 in Harris, NF778194[598] in South Uist, NL602875 in Barra (Borgstrøm 1936, 289: 'the hermit's isle', and 1937, 102 [pʻɑpëi], 132 [pʻɑpei]) and NG672270 in Skye. There are reflexes of the same Old Norse form at HY664295 (*Papa Stronsay*[599]) and HY490523 (*Papa Westray*) in Orkney; HU364377 (*Papa*), HU169607 (*Papa Stour*) and HU338611 (*Papa Little*) in Shetland; and near Djúpivogur, in south-south-east Iceland (*Papey*; Lnb., Prologue (p. 2): *í Papey* 'in *Papey*').[600]

In Lewis, cf. *Pabail* #261 and **Papanis* (#340).

ac.uk/saint.php?id=171>.

596. Cf. the men's names EG *Beccán* > ON *Bekan* and EG *Taḋg* > ON *Taðg* (Schulze-Thulin 2001, 72, 78).

597. (nMO) [pʻabæj].

598. (nMO) [pɑpɑj].

599. Recorded in Orkneyinga saga (Flateyjarbók II, 417): *j Papey hina litlu* (i.e. *í Papey ina litlu* 'to *Pabey* the little, i.e. to *Little Papey*').

600. For further information on these names and their context, see <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides.html>.

dh'àitichean eile. Gidheadh, b' e *Oḋrán* ainm Gàidhlig Thràth an naoimh seo agus, nan robh ainm an naoimh air cùl a' chrutha Lochlannais, is iongantach mana bite a' sùileachadh LB **Oðransøy* no a leithid,[596] a bheireadh GA **Odhrasa*(*igh*) **[əːrə̥ˌsa(j)] no a leithid. (Tha na h-eileanan seo uile nan eileanan tràghaidh.)

#260 ***Pabaigh Mhòr*** ÙIG

[ˌpʰab̥ɛj ˈvoːɾ], [ˌpʰab̥aj ˈvoːɾ], (gin.) *Phabaigh Mhòr* [ˌfab̥ɛj ˈvoːɾ], [ˌfab̥aj ˈvoːɾ], no dìreach *Pabaigh* [ˈpʰaˌb̥ɛj], [ˈpʰaˌb̥aj],[597] (gin.) *Phabaigh* [ˈfaˌb̥ɛj], [ˈfaˌb̥aj]; NB101379. 1549 *Pabay*; 1600+, 1630 *Pappa*; 1654 *Paba*; 1680 *Pabay*; 1703 *Pabbay*; 1714 *Babbay I.*; 1718, 1726 *Pabbay*; 1750M, 1776 *Pabay*; 1804 *Pabay I.*; 1807 *Pabay*; 1821 *Pabhay* [*sic*]; 1822 *Pabbay*; 1843–82 *Pabaidh Mhor*; 1845 *Pabay*; 1846 *Pabbay*.

An t-ainm air eilean mu choinneimh *Bhaltois* #63, ann an ÙIG; ainm Gàidhlig, le ainm-iasaid Lochlannais na sheòrsaichear + a' bhuadhair GA *mòr* sa bhrìgh 'nas motha' (#2), ga chleachdadh gus *Pabaigh Mhòr* a dhealachadh ri *Pabaigh Bheag*, eilean tuath air *Pabaigh Mhòr*.

'S ann à LB **Papøy* a tha *Pabaigh*, .i. **Papaøy*, leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig (SL) *papi* f. 'aonaran' agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean' §16. Tha seann eaglais, air a cois-rigeadh ris an Naomh Peadar (MacGilleMhàrtainn 1703, 28), agus cladh air an eilean aig GA *Tràigh na Cille* NB104377; coim. na h-ainmean GA *Cnoc na Cille* agus *Loch an Teampaill*, mu choinneimh na tràghad. (Airson àitichean tuineachaidh air an eilean, faic *Garrabost* #190 agus *Mealbost* #250.)

Coim. GA *Pabaigh* NF888878 sna Hearadh, NF778194[598] ann an Uibhist a Deas, NL602875 ann am Barraigh (Borgstrøm 1936, 289: 'the hermit's isle', agus 1937, 102 [pʻɑpëi], 132 [pʻɑpei]) agus NG672270 san Eilean Sgitheanach. Tha riochdan den aon chruth Lochlannais aig HY664295 (*Papa Stronsay*[599]) agus HY490523 (*Papa Westray*) ann an Arcaibh; HU364377 (*Papa*), HU169607 (*Papa Stour*) agus HU338611 (*Papa Little*) ann an Sealtainn; agus faisg air Djúpivogur, ann an ceann a deas 's an ear-dheas Innis Tìle (*Papey*; Lnb., Prologue (d. 2): *í Papey* 'ann am *Papey*').[600]

Ann an Leòdhas, coim. *Pabail* #261 agus **Papanis* (#340).

splaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=171>.

596. Coim. na h-ainmean fireannaich GT *Beccán* > SL *Bekan* agus GT *Taḋg* > SL *Taðg* (Schulze-Thulin 2001, 72, 78).

597. (nMO) [pʻabæj].

598. (nMO) [papaj].

599. Air a chlàradh san Orkneyinga saga (Flateyjarbók II, 417): *j Papey hina litlu* (.i. *í Papey ina litlu* 'do *Phabey* am beag, .i. do *Phabey Bheag*').

600. Airson tuilleadh fiosrachaidh mu na h-ainmean seo agus an cuid co-theags, faic <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides.html>.

#261 *Pabail* RBH (Eng. *Bayble*)
[ˈpʰaʊ̯əl], (gen.) *Phabail* [ˈfaʊ̯əl]; NB524316. 1549 *Ellan Fabill*; 1654 *Pabble, Pabble illé* §15, *Yl. na Fabble*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Bible*; 1797 *Pebble-head*; 1801, 1804 *Bible*;[601] 1807 *Pebble*; 1843–82 *Beinn Phabaill, Eillean beăg Phabaill, Eillean mōr Phabaill, Ciatha Phabaill or Bayble Quay, Amhuinn mhor Phabaill*; 1845 *Bayble*.

The name of two townships in An Rubha:

Pabail Uarach [ˌpʰaʊ̯əl ˈuəɾɔx], (gen.) *Phabail Uaraich* [ˌfaʊ̯əl ˈuəɾiç]; NB527317. 1718 *Upper-bible*; 1726 *Upper Bible*; 1821 *Uppr byble*; 1843–82 *Pabaill Ard, Bagh Phabail Ard*; 1846 *Upper Byble*; 1895–1896 *Upper Bayble*; 2007, road sign *Pabail Uarach*‖*Upper Bayble*.

Pabail Ìorach [ˌpʰaʊ̯əl ˈiəɾɔx], (gen.) *Phabail Ioraich* [ˌfaʊ̯əl ˈiəɾiç]; NB519313. 1718 *Nether-bible*; 1726 *Neather Bible*; 1821 *Nether Byble*; 1843–82 *Pabaill Iosal, Bagh Phabail Iosal*; 1895–1896 *Lower Bayble*; 2007 *Pabail Iarach*‖*Lower Bayble*; road sign *Pabail larach* [*sic*]‖*Lower Bayble.*

> Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Bayble** [?],[602] Bartholomew's Half-inch Map *Pabaill*, must be identical with *Papýli* in Iceland (Lnb.[603]) and *Papuli* in Orkney (Orkneyinga saga[604]), "generally regarded as a contraction of ON **Papabýli* '(the) home or settlement of *Papae*', i.e. of early Celtic clergy"[605] (Marwick 1952, 89). The name also occurs elsewhere in the Hebrides, e.g. in Taransay.'

A Gaelic name from ON **Papýli*, itself a contraction of ON **Papabýli* '(the) farm of the monks', with genitive plural of ON *papi* m. 'hermit, monk'[606] and ON *býli*

601. Which permits Charles M. Robertson (1864–1927) to write, 'The fires of religious controversy still rage furiously in the north. The subject of a new Bible and a new Creed[,] it will be adding fuel to the flame to say that Lewis has not only a Bible [i.e. *Pabail*] and a Creed [i.e. ScG *Abhainn Ghrìoda*] but also a Cross [i.e. ScG *Cros* #155] and Grace [i.e. ScG *Griais* #220] all to itself ...' (in King 2019, 52). The name ScG *Abhainn Ghrìoda* [ˌãviɲ ˈɣɾʲiːd̪ə] NB417318 (Eng. *The River Creed*) contains a loan-name from ON **Grýta*, a river name in the sense '(the) stoney one' #239 (Oftedal 1956, 67: /ãviɴ' 'ɣðiːd/; (nMO) [ˈãvɪŋᵊ ˈɣðiːd]).

602. (nMO) *Pabail Àrd* [ˈpʻapəl ˈɑːd̪], *Pabail Ìosal* [ˈpʻapəl ˈiɤsəɻ], *Bàgh Phabail* [ˈbaːɣ ˈfapəɻ], *Beinn Phabail* [ˈbẽĩɴ' ˈfapəɻ], *Eilean Phabail* [ˈelɑn ˈfapəɻ] 'the bay, the mountain and the island of *Pabail*'.

603. Lnb., Prologue (p. 2): *í Papyli*, and Part IV, Chap. X (p. 306): *i Papýli* 'to *Papýli*', *í Papýli* 'in *Papýli*'.

604. Flateyjarbók II, 429–30: *j Papule*, 453: *i Papule*, 498: *i Papuli*.

605. Marwick uses the form *papae*, i.e. *pāpae* the nominative plural of Lat. *pāpa*, which was borrowed into Old Gaelic as *pápa* 'father; pope; hermit, monk'.

606. It is unclear whether ON *papi* derives from OG *pápa* or OE *pāpa* (de Vries, s.v.).

#261 *Pabail* RBH
[ˈpʰaʊ̯əl], (gin.) *Phabail* [ˈfaʊ̯əl]; NB524316. 1549 *Ellan Fabill*; 1654 *Pabble, Pabble illé* §15, *Yl. na Fabble*; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1790 *Bible*; 1797 *Pebble-head*; 1801, 1804 *Bible*;[601] 1807 *Pebble*; 1843–82 *Beinn Phabaill, Eillean beăg Phabaill, Eillean mōr Phabaill, Ciatha Phabaill or Bayble Quay, Amhuinn mhor Phabaill*; 1845 *Bayble*.

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn anns An Rubha:

Pabail Uarach [ˌpʰaʊ̯əl ˈuəɾɔx], (gin.) *Phabail Uaraich* [ˌfaʊ̯əl ˈuəɾiç]; NB527317. 1718 *Upper-bible*; 1726 *Upper Bible*; 1821 *Uppr byble*; 1843–82 *Pabaill Ard, Bagh Phabail Ard*; 1846 *Upper Byble*; 1895–1896 *Upper Bayble*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Pabail Uarach*‖ *Upper Bayble*.

Pabail Ìorach [ˌpʰaʊ̯əl ˈiəɾɔx], (gin.) *Phabail Ioraich* [ˌfaʊ̯əl ˈiəɾiç]; NB519313. 1718 *Nether-bible*; 1726 *Neather Bible*; 1821 *Nether Byble*; 1843–82 *Pabaill Iosal, Bagh Phabail Iosal*; 1895–1896 *Lower Bayble*; 2007 *Pabail Iarach*‖*Lower Bayble*; soighne rathaid *Pabail larach* [*sic*]‖*Lower Bayble.*

> Oftedal 1954, 396: 'Feumaidh e a bhith gur h-ionann **Bayble** [?],[602] *Pabaill* air Mapa Leth-òirlich Bhartholomew, agus *Papýli* ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.[603]) agus *Papuli* ann an Arcaibh (Orkneyinga saga[604]), a tha na theannachadh air SL **Papabýli* 'am fàrdach no tuineachadh aig *Papae*,[605] .i. aig clèirich Cheilteach thràth' (Marwick 1952, 89). Nochdaidh an t-ainm ann an àiteachean eile ann an Innse Gall, m.e. ann an Tarasaigh.'

Ainm Gàidhlig à SL **Papýli*, na theannachadh air SL **Papabýli* 'tuathanas nam manach', leis an tuiseal ghinideach iolra aig SL *papi* f. 'aonaran, manach'[606] is SL *býli*

601. A leigeas do Charles M. Robertson (1864–1927) a sgrìobhadh, 'The fires of religious controversy still rage furiously in the north. The subject of a new Bible and a new Creed[,] it will be adding fuel to the flame to say that Lewis has not only a Bible [.i. *Pabail*] and a Creed [.i. GA *Abhainn Ghrìoda*] but also a Cross [.i. GA *Cros* #155] and Grace [.i. GA *Griais* #220] all to itself ...' (ann an King 2019, 52). Gabhaidh an t-ainm GA *Abhainn Ghrìoda* [ˌãviɲ ˈɣɾʲiːd̪ə] NB417318 (Brl. *The River Creed*) a-steach ainm-iasaid à SL **Grýta*, ainm aibhne sa bhrìgh '(an) tè chlachach' #239 (Oftedal 1956, 67: /ãviɴ' 'ɣðiːd/; (nMO) [ˈãvɪŋᵊ ˈɣðiːd]).

602. (nMO) *Pabail Àrd* [ˈpʻapəl ˈɑːd̪], *Pabail Ìosal* [ˈpʻapəl ˈiɤsəɻ], *Bàgh Phabail* [ˈbaːɣ ˈfapəɻ], *Beinn Phabail* [ˈbẽĩɴ' ˈfapəɻ], *Eilean Phabail* [ˈelɑn ˈfapəɻ].

603. Lnb., Prologue (d. 2): *í Papyli*, agus Pàirt IV, Caib. X (d. 306): *i Papýli* 'do *Phapýli*', *í Papýli* 'ann am *Papýli*'.

604. Flateyjarbók II, 429–30: *j Papule*, 453: *i Papule*, 498: *i Papuli*.

605. Cleachdaidh Marwick an cruth *papae*, .i. *pāpae*, an tuiseal ainmneach iolra aig Laid. *pāpa*, a chaidh air iasad dhan t-Sean Ghàidhlig na *pápa* 'athair; pàp, pàpa; aonaran, manach'.

606. Chan eil e cinnteach an ann à SG *pápa* no SBrl. *pāpa* a tha SL *papi* (de Vries, s.v.).

nt. 'residence, farm', the Old East Scandinavian form of *bóli*.[607]

As Oftedal notes, reflexes of this Old Norse name occur elsewhere in Scotland: *Pabail* NG030991 in Taransay and NF736679 in North Uist; it is also found in Caithness (*Papel* ND343728), in Orkney (*Paplay* ND468913, HY510006 and HY555385) and in Shetland (*Papil* HP645129, HP543041, HU607905 and HU369314).[608, 609] Cf. *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260 and **Papanis* (#340).

During the last fifty years, it appears that the contrastive elements ScG *àrd ~ ìosal* (lit. 'high ~ low') have become *uarach ~ ìorach* ('upper ~ lower'), perhaps through the influence of local government administrators.

#262 *A' Phàirc* CLA (Eng. *Park*)
[ə ˈfaːˠpʲkʲ], (gen.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːˠpʲkʲ(ə)], or *Pàirc Bharbhais* [ˌpʰaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvaɾ̂ˌvaʃ], (gen.) *Phàirc Bharbhais* [ˌfaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvaɾ̂ˌvaʃ]; NB360490. 1895–1896, 1941 *Barvas Park*; 2007 *Pàirc Bharabhais*‖*Park*.

The name of an area in *Barbhas* #47, in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *pàirc* f. (from Scots *park*, *pairk* etc.), called *Park* in English. Unlike the areal name A' Phàirc §3 (vii), ScG *pàirc* in this context means 'field, enclosed land', a sense that probably came into Lewis Gaelic as a result of 19th-century changes in land use.

#263 *A' Phàirc* TSR (Eng. *Breasclete Park*)
[ə ˈfaːˠpʲkʲ], (gen.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːˠpʲkʲ(ə)], or *Pàirc Bhritheascleit* [ˌpʰaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvɾʲi-aˌn̪ʃkleʰtʲ], (gen.) *Phàirc Bhritheascleit* [ˌfaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvɾʲi-aˌn̪ʃkleʰtʲ]; NB217347. 2007 *Pàirc Bhreascleit*‖*Breasclete Park*.

The name of an area in the township *Britheascleit* #79, in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, identical to #262, called *Breasclete Park* in English.

#264 *A' Phàirc* TSR (Eng. *Carloway Park*)
[ə ˈfaːˠpʲkʲ], (gen.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːˠpʲkʲ(ə)], or *Pàirc Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌpʰaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj], (gen.) *Phàirc Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌfaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj], or (locally) *A' Bhuaile* [ə ˈvuələ], (gen.) *Na Buaile* [nə ˈb̪uələ]; NB209425. 1974 *Park*; 2007

607. *Býli* is found in Old West Scandinavian, but mostly in compounds. Cf. *Eòrrabidh* #182, with OESc. *býr* rather than OWSc. *bór*.

608. For further information about these names and their context, see <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides.html>.

609. Note also that mention is made at <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides6.html> of ScG *Papastaidh* NB52913103, the name of a small shingle beach east of *Cidhe Phabail* ('the quay of *Pabail*'), with the suggestion that it derives from ON **Papastǫð* 'the landing place of the monks'.

n. 'fàrdach, tuathanas', an cruth Seann Lochlannais an Ear aig *bóli*.[607]

Mar a sheallas Oftedal, lorgar riochdan den ainm Lochlannais a tha seo ann an àitichean eile ann an Albainn: *Pabail* NG030991 ann an Tarasaigh agus NF736679 ann an Uibhist a Tuath; tha e ri lorg cuideachd ann an Gallaibh (*Papel* ND343728), ann an Arcaibh (*Paplay* ND468913, HY510006 agus HY555385) agus ann an Sealtainn (*Papil* HP645129, HP543041, HU607905 agus HU369314).[608, 609] Coim. *Pabaigh Mhòr* #260 agus **Papanis* (#340).

Rè an leth-cheud bliadhna mu dheireadh, is coltach gu bheil na sònraichearan sgaraidh GA *àrd ~ ìosal* air a dhol nan *uarach ~ ìorach*, is dòcha fo bhuaidh luchd-rianachd an riaghaltais ionadail.

#262 *A' Phàirc* CLA
[ə ˈfaːˠpʲkʲ], (gin.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːˠpʲkʲ(ə)], no *Pàirc Bharbhais* [ˌpʰaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvaɾ̂ˌvaʃ], (gin.) *Phàirc Bharbhais* [ˌfaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvaɾ̂ˌvaʃ]; NB360490. 1895–1896, 1941 *Barvas Park*; 2007 *Pàirc Bharabhais*‖*Park*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh am *Barbhas* #47, air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *pàirc* b. (à Alb. *park*, *pairk* ↄc), air a bheil *Park* sa Bheurla. Ao-coltach ri ainm na sgìre A' Phàirc §3 (vii), 's e 'talamh cuairtichte' as ciall do GA *pàirc* an seo, brìgh a thàinig a-steach do Ghàidhlig Leòdhais, is math dh'fhaodte, le atharrachaidhean ann an cleachdadh na talmhainn san 19mh linn.

#263 *A' Phàirc* TSR
[ə ˈfaːˠpʲkʲ], (gin.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːˠpʲkʲ(ə)], no *Pàirc Bhritheascleit* [ˌpʰaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvɾʲi-aˌn̪ʃkleʰtʲ], (gin.) *Phàirc Bhritheascleit* [ˌfaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈvɾʲi-aˌn̪ʃkleʰtʲ]; NB217347. 2007 *Pàirc Bhreascleit*‖ *Breasclete Park*.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Britheascleit* #79, air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, co-ionann ri #262, air a bheil *Breasclete Park* sa Bheurla.

#264 *A' Phàirc* TSR
[ə ˈfaːˠpʲkʲ], (gin.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːˠpʲkʲ(ə)], no *Pàirc Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌpʰaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj], (gin.) *Phàirc Chàrlabhaigh* [ˌfaˑˠpʲkʲ ˈxɑːl̪əˌvaj], no (gu h-ionadail) *A' Bhuaile* [ə ˈvuələ], (gin.) *Na Buaile* [nə ˈb̪uələ]; NB209425. 1974 *Park*; 2007

607. Is ann a gheibhear *býli* ann an Seann Lochlannais an Iar, ach mar as trice ann am filltich. Coim. *Eòrrabidh* #182, le SLE *býr* seach SLI *bór*.

608. Airson tuilleadh fiosrachaidh mu na h-ainmean seo agus an cuid co-theags, faic <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides.html>.

609. Mothaich cuideachd gun toirear iomradh aig <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides6.html> air GA *Papastaidh* NB52913103, an t-ainm air mol beag an ear air *Cidhe Phabail*, is gun cuirear air shùilibh gur h-ann à SL **Papastǫð* 'laimrig nam manach' a tha e.

Pàirc Chàrlabhaigh‖Carloway Park.

The name of part of the township *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, in An Taobh Siar; a Gaelic name, identical to #262. It seems likely that the alias, *A' Bhuaile*, which consists of a native Gaelic generic of the same meaning as the Scots loan-word *pàirc* (#262), is an example of nativisation.

#265 *A' Phàirc* TSR (Eng. *New Shawbost*)
[ə ˈfaːɾʲkʲ], (gen.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːɾʲkʲ(ə)], or *Pàirc Shiaboist* [ˌpʰaˑɾʲkʲ ˈhia ˌb̥ɔʃtʲ],[610] (gen.) *Phàirc Shiaboist* [ˌfaˑɾʲkʲ ˈhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB262464. 1955–61 *New Shawbost*; 2007 *Pàirc Shiaboist‖New Shawbost*.

The name of part of the township *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), in An Taobh Siar, where some of those evicted from *An Riobh* #280 were sent c.1850–51 (Lawson 2008, 108–09); a Gaelic name, identical to #262, called *New Shawbost* in English.

#266 *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* STN (Eng. *Manor Park*)
*[ˌpʰaˑɾʲkʲ ə ˈvãnəɾʲ], (gen.) *Phàirc a' Mhaineir* *[ˌfaˑɾʲkʲ ə ˈvãnəɾʲ]; NB427338. 2020OS *Manor Park*; 2020[611] =.

The name of a housing estate (built in 1939[612]) and of an area of the town *Steòrnabhagh* #309; a Gaelic name translated from the English *Manor Park*, with the noun ScG *pàirc* f. (#262) and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *mainear* m. (from Eng. *manor*). The location is usually known by its English name *Manor Park*, itself based on the name of one of the fields of the former *Manor Farm* (or *Home Farm*[613]) or on the name of the farm itself.

#267 *Pàirc Gharraboist* RBH (Eng. *New Garrabost*)
[ˌpʰaˑɾʲkʲ ˈɣɑɾəˌb̥ɔʃtʲ], (gen.) *Phàirc Gharraboist* [ˌfaˑɾʲkʲ ˈɣɑɾəˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB511329. 1964 *New Garrabost*.

The name of part of the township *Garrabost* #189, in An Rubha, called *New Garrabost* in English; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *pàirc* f. 'park, field' (#262) and the Old Norse loan-name *Garrabost* in the genitive as specific.

610. (nMO) [pʻarʼkʼ ˈhiab̥ɔst] ('[st] *sic*').

611. <https://www.openstreetmap.org/#map=17/58.21703/-6.38509>.

612. <https://stornowayhistoricalsociety.org.uk/old-manor-revisited/>.

613. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/crofts-and-residences/12328>.

Pàirc Chàrlabhaigh‖Carloway Park.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258, air An Taobh Siar; ainm Gàidhlig, co-ionann ri #262. Is coltach gu bheil an t-ainm eile, *A' Bhuaile*, a tha na sheòrsaichear Gàidhlig dùthchasach den aon chèill ris an fhacal-iasaid Albais *pàirc* (#262), na eisimpleir de dhùthchasachadh.

#265 *A' Phàirc* TSR
[ə ˈfaːɾʲkʲ], (gin.) *Na Pàirce* [nə ˈpʰaːɾʲkʲ(ə)], no *Pàirc Shiaboist* [ˌpʰaˑɾʲkʲ ˈhia ˌb̥ɔʃtʲ],[610] (gin.) *Phàirc Shiaboist* [ˌfaˑɾʲkʲ ˈhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB262464. 1955–61 *New Shawbost*; 2007 *Pàirc Shiaboist‖New Shawbost*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), air An Taobh Siar, dhan deach cuid den fheadhainn a chaidh fhuadach às *An Riobh* #280 a chur c.1850–51 (Lawson 2008, 108–09); ainm Gàidhlig, co-ionann ri #262, air a bheil *New Shawbost* sa Bheurla.

#266 *Pàirc a' Mhaineir* STN
*[ˌpʰaˑɾʲkʲ ə ˈvãnəɾʲ], (gin.) *Phàirc a' Mhaineir* *[ˌfaˑɾʲkʲ ə ˈvãnəɾʲ]; NB427338. 2020OS *Manor Park*; 2020[611] =.

An t-ainm air ionad thaighean (a chaidh a thogail ann an 1939[612]) agus air ceàrnaidh den bhaile *Steòrnabhagh* #309; ainm Gàidhlig air a thionndadh bhon Bheurla *Manor Park*, leis an ainmear GA *pàirc* b. (#262) agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *mainear* f. (à Brl. *manor*). Tha an t-àite air aithneachadh mar as trice leis an ainm Bheurla, e fhèin air a stèidheachadh air an ainm a bh' air fear de na h-achaidhean a bh' aig an tuathanas *Manor Farm* (no *Home Farm*[613]), air neo air ainm an tuathanais fhèin.

#267 *Pàirc Gharraboist* RBH
[ˌpʰaˑɾʲkʲ ˈɣɑɾəˌb̥ɔʃtʲ], (gin.) *Phàirc Gharraboist* [ˌfaˑɾʲkʲ ˈɣɑɾəˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB511329. 1964 *New Garrabost*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Garrabost* #189, anns An Rubha, air a bheil *New Garrabost* sa Bheurla; ainm Gàidhlig leis an ainmear GA *pàirc* b. (#262) agus an ainm-iasaid Lochlannais *Garrabost* san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

610. (nMO) [pʻarʼkʼ ˈhiab̥ɔst] ('[st] *sic*').

611. <https://www.openstreetmap.org/#map=17/58.21703/-6.38509>.

612. <https://stornowayhistoricalsociety.org.uk/old-manor-revisited/>.

613. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/crofts-and-residences/12328>.

#268 *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* BRN
*[əˌfe-iɲ ə ˈʃiəɾ], (gen.) *Na Peighinn a-Siar* *[nəˌpʰe-iɲ ə ˈʃiəɾ]; NB138407. 1843–82 *Pheghinn as'Iar*, *Tiarsburaidh na Peghinn as'Iar*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the west of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, in Beàrnaraigh; a Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *peighinn* f. 'penny', indicating the old land valuation (#269), + the adverb ScG (*a-*)*siar* used adjectively in the sense 'in the west, western' (< EG *s-iar* 'to the west'); cf. *An Taobh Siar* (Eng. *The West Side*), the name of the area in Lewis §3 (xi).

#269 *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* ÙIG
[ˌpʰe-iɲ ˈɣõ-iʎ], (gen.) *Pheighinn Dhòmhnaill* [ˌfe-iɲ ˈɣõ-iʎ]; NB043321. 1819 *Peindonil* (in Lawson 2008, 220); 1821 *Penny Donald*; 1822 *Pennydonald*; 1843–82 *Peighinn Dhomhnuill*, *Iollabhir Pheighinn Dhomhnuill*.

The name of a township deserted in 1840 and which is now a part of the township *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172 (Lawson 2008, 220–22), in Ùig, with ScG *peighinn* f. 'penny; an amount of land (initially worth a penny)' and genitive of the man's name ScG *Dòmhnall* m. (EG *Doṁnall*).[614]

As regards the element ScG *peighinn*, this alludes to a system of land valuation introduced by the Norse and the word itself is thought by some to derive from ON *pen*(*n*)*ingr* m. (Henderson 1910, 132–33; Dwelly, s.v. *peighinn*));[615] cf. *Penningrud* in Hedmark, Norway (*NG* III, 59), with ON *ruð* nt. 'clearing'. In discussing the name *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148, however, Oftedal does not raise the issue, perhaps because he was sceptical or had dismissed the question.

OEng. *penning* 'penny' developed into OG *pinginn* (*DIL*),[616] via metathesis §40, and OG *pinginn* yields ScG *peighinn* regularly, cf. ScG *aingeal* [ˈãjəɬ̪] < EG *aingel* < Lat. *angelus*. There is probably, then, no reason to consider a Norse etymology here.

#270 *Peighinn Thinndealan* BRN
[ˌpʰe-iɲ ˈhẽĩɲd̪ʲə ɬ̪an], (gen.) *Pheighinn Thinndealan* [ˌfe-iɲ ˈhẽĩɲd̪ʲə ɬ̪an]; NB183332. 1821, 1822 *Benhindlan*; 1843–82 *Sgeir Thìnndealan*; *Beinn Thìnndealan*.

614. Borrowed into Old Norse as *Dufnall*, *Dufniall*, cf. Nn. *Dovnald* (*NO*, s.v.)

615. Rixson 2010, 141–42: 'pennylands [date] from c. 995 and the introduction of Hiberno-Norse coinage'; this was a valuation system based on usage that origininated in the west Highlands and islands, adapted and adopted by the Norse (Easson 1986, 101–31: 129–30).

616. De Vries (s.v. *pengr*, *penningr*) derives OG *pinginn* from Old Norse and the latter from Old English or Middle Low German.

#268 *A' Pheighinn a-Siar* BRN
*[əˌfe-iɲ ə ˈʃiəɾ], (gin.) *Na Peighinn a-Siar* *[nəˌpʰe-iɲ ə ˈʃiəɾ]; NB138407. 1843–82 *Pheghinn as'Iar*, *Tiarsburaidh na Peghinn as'Iar*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh an iar *Bheàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, ann am Beàrnaraigh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *peighinn* b. 'sgillinn', a' sònrachadh seann luachadh an fhearainn (#269), + a' cho-ghnìomhair GA (*a-*)*siar* air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'san àird an iar' (< GT *s-iar* 'chun na h-àirde an iar'); coim. *An Taobh Siar*, ainm na ceàrnaidh ann an Leòdhas §3 (xi).

#269 *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* ÙIG
[ˌpʰe-iɲ ˈɣõ-iʎ], (gin.) *Pheighinn Dhòmhnaill* [ˌfe-iɲ ˈɣõ-iʎ]; NB043321. 1819 *Peindonil* (ann an Lawson 2008, 220); 1821 *Penny Donald*; 1822 *Pennydonald*; 1843–82 *Peighinn Dhomhnuill*, *Iollabhir Pheighinn Dhomhnuill*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn a chaidh fhàsachadh ann an 1840 is a tha a-nis na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172 (Lawson 2008, 220–22), ann an Ùig, le GA *peighinn* b. 'sgillinn; meud talmhainn (an toiseach as luach peighinn (sgillinn))' is tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Dòmhnall* f. (GT *Doṁnall*).[614]

A thaobh na h-eileamaid GA *peighinn*, tha seo a-mach air siostam luachaidh fearainn a thugadh a-steach leis na Lochlannaich, agus canaidh cuid gur h-ann à SL *pen*(*n*)*ingr* f. a tha am facal fhèin (Henderson 1910, 132–33; Dwelly, s.v. *peighinn*);[615] coim. *Penningrud* ann an Hedmark, Nirribhidh (*NG* III, 59), le SL *ruð* n. 'raon gun chraobhan ann an coille'. Ann a bhith a' deasbad an ainme *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148, ge-tà, cha thog Oftedal a' phuing seo idir, is math dh'fhaodte seach gun robh e amharasach mu deidhinn air neo gun robh e air a' cheist a chur an dàrna taobh.

Chaidh SBrl. *penning* 'peighinn' na SG *pinginn* (*DIL*),[616] le eadar-chàradh §40, agus thèid SG *pinginn* na GA *peighinn* gu riaghailteach, coim. GA *aingeal* [ˈãjəɬ̪] < GT *aingel* < Laid. *angelus*. Is math dh'fhaodte, a-rèist, nach eil adhbhar sam bith ann a bhith a' smaoineachadh air freumhachd Lochlannais an seo.

#270 *Peighinn Thinndealan* BRN
[ˌpʰe-iɲ ˈhẽĩɲd̪ʲə ɬ̪an], (gin.) *Pheighinn Thinndealan* [ˌfe-iɲ ˈhẽĩɲd̪ʲə ɬ̪an]; NB183332. 1821, 1822 *Benhindlan*; 1843–82 *Sgeir Thìnndealan*; *Beinn Thìnndealan*.

614. Air iasad dhan Lochlannais na SL *Dufnall*, *Dufniall*, coim. Nn. *Dovnald* (*NO*, s.v.).

615. Rixson 2010, 141–42: 'pennylands [date] from c. 995 and the introduction of Hiberno-Norse coinage'; b' e siostam luachaidh a bha seo a bha stèidhichte air cleachdadh a thàrmaich ann an ceann an iar na Gàidhealtachd is nan eilean, air atharrachadh is air uchd-mhacachadh leis na Lochlannaich (Easson 1986, 101–31: 129–30).

616. Bheir de Vries (s.v. *pengr*, *penningr*) SG *pinginn* às an t-Seann Lochlannais agus sin às an t-Sean Bheurla no a' Mheadhan-Ghearmailtis Ìoraich.

The name of a deserted settlement in Ùig, opposite *Circeabost* #125, whose inhabitants were evicted to *An t-Achadh Mòr* #2 in the 1820s (Lawson 2011, 147); with ScG *peighinn* f. 'an amount of land (originally valued at a penny)' (#269) and with an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive case as specific.

It is probable that ScG **Tinndealan* derives from ON **Tind(a)land* '(the) tooth-shore', with the stem form (or genitive plural) of the noun ON *tindr* m. 'peak, summit; spike, tooth of an implement' and ON *land* nt. 'shore', and that the Norse name denoted a part of the shore here which forms a sort of sharp corner jutting into the sea.[617] ON *tindr* is also found in the loan-name ScG *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪ʲəɾʲ] NB226461, in *Na Dailean* #167, which derives from the plural form ON **T̃indar* (Cox 2000, 231–36; 2002a, 381).

#271 *Am Poileagan* BAC (Eng. *New Street*)
[ə ˈmpʰɔləɣ̊an], (gen.) *A' Phoileagain* [ə ˈfɔləɣ̊an]; NB477414. 2007, 2020OS *Am Poileagan*‖*New Street*; road sign =.

The name of an area in the township *Am Bac* #23, called *New Street* in English; a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *poileagan* m. 'polygon' (< Eng. *polygon*).

Taylor (2011, s.v. *New Street*) notes that the meaning of the Gaelic name here is unclear. However, it has been suggested that it is connected with a battle or the name of a battle in the First World War[618] and, if so, it probably derives from the name *Polygon Wood* in Belgium – the Battle of Polygon Wood took place between 26 September and 3 October 1917 during the second stage of the Third Battle of Ypres. *Polygon Wood* (ScG *Coille a' Phoileagain*; Dut. *Polygoonbos*, Fr. *Bois du Polygone*) is about 8 km (about 5 miles) east of Ypres, with the war grave Polygon Wood Cemetery nearby.[619] The wood was apparently named after its shape; the cemetery is hexagonal.[620]

Why this name was applied to this location, however, is still obscure. The 1921–30 map shows a dozen new lots (crofts) in the vicinity and it is likely the

617. Not as in Macaulay 1972, 330: ON '*Tindarland* "(the) land of the peaks"', with nominative plural of the specific.

618. Iain Greumach (Ian Graham), personal communication. The name was also linked to the Boer War, but no evidence of a similar name was found in South Africa.

619. <http://www.ww1battlefields.co.uk/flanders/polygon-wood/>.

620. C. N. Trueman, 'Polygon Wood': <https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/world-war-one/battles-of-world-war-one/polygon-wood/>;<https://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/55100/polygon-wood-cemetery/>.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann an Ùig, mu choinneimh *Chirceaboist* #125, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach sna 1820an dha*n Achadh Mhòr* #2 (Lawson 2011, 147); le GA *peighinn* b. 'meud talmhainn (an toiseach as luach peighinn (sgillinn))' (#269) agus le ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Is math dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich GA **Tinndealan* ann an SL **Tind(a)land* '(am) fiacail-chladach', le bun-riochd (no ginideach iolra) an ainmeir SL *tindr* f. 'binnean, mullach; bior, fiacail air acfhainn' agus SL *land* n. 'cladach', agus gum beanadh an t-ainm Lochlannais ris a' chladach an seo far an dèan e nàdar de dh'oisean biorach dhan mhuir.[617] Gheibhear SL *tindr* mar an ceudna san ainm-iasaid GA *Tinndir* [ˈtʲʰẽĩn̪ʲəɾʲ] NB226461, anns *Na Dailean* #167, a thàrmaicheas anns a' chruth iolra SL **T̃indar* (Cox 2000, 231–36; 2002a, 381).

#271 *Am Poileagan* BAC
[ə ˈmpʰɔləɣ̊an], (gin.) *A' Phoileagain* [ə ˈfɔləɣ̊an]; NB477414. 2007, 2020OS *Am Poileagan*‖*New Street*; soighne rathaid =.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh den bhaile fearainn *Am Bac* #23, air a bheil *New Street* mar ainm sa Bheurla; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *poileagan* f. 'ioma-shliosach' (< Brl. *polygon*).

Canaidh Taylor (2011, s.v. *New Street*) nach soilleir ciall an ainme Ghàidhlig seo. Gidheadh, chaidh a chur air shùilibh gu bheil e ceangailte ri ainm blàir no àite far an robh blàr sa Chogadh Mhòr[618] agus, mas fìor sin, 's iongantach mana tàrmaich e san ainm *Coille a' Phoileagain* sa Bheilg – thachair Blàr Choille a' Phoileagain eadar 26 Sultain agus 3 Dàmhair 1917 rè dàrna h-ìre Threas Blàr Ypres. Tha *Coille a' Phoileagain* (Brl. *Polygon Wood*; Duit. *Polygoonbos*, Fr. *Bois du Polygone*) mu 8 clm (mu 5 mìle) an ear air Ypres, agus an cladh cogaidh *Coille a' Phoileagain* faisg oirre.[619] A rèir choltais, chaidh a' choille ainmeachadh air a cruth; tha cruth sia-cheàrnach air a' chladh.[620]

Tha e doilleir fhathast, ge-tà, carson a chaidh an t-ainm seo a thoirt air an àite. Seallaidh am mapa 1921–30 dusan lota (croit) ùr air an àrainn agus is math

617. Chan ann mar a tha ann am Macaulay 1972, 330: SL '**Tindarland* "(the) land of the peaks"', le cruth ainmneach iolra an t-sònraicheir.

618. Iain Greumach, conaltradh pearsanta. Chaidh an t-ainm a cheangal ri Cogadh nam Boer cuideachd, ach cha d' fhuaradh fianais sam bith air a leithid de dh'ainm ann an Afraga a Deas.

619. <http://www.ww1battlefields.co.uk/flanders/polygon-wood/>.

620. C. N. Trueman, 'Polygon Wood': <https://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/world-war-one/battles-of-world-war-one/polygon-wood/>;<https://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/cemetery/55100/polygon-wood-cemetery/>.

name stems from the period when this area was being built up.[621]

It is impossible to say whether there is a parallel with the name *Waterloo*, the English name for ScG *Achadh a' Chùirn* NG661231, in Skye, which acquired its name when the area was settled by soldiers returning from the Battle of Waterloo (1815) (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Waterloo*); or with the name *The Dardanelles* NR362931, in Colonsay, where it was said that ploughing the land was worse than going through the Dardanelles strait in the First World War (1915) (King and Scammell 2017, 28, 31, 55).

#272 *Am Poll Dubh* TLS
[əˌmpʰɔuɬ̪ ˈd̪ˠuˠʰ], (gen.) *A' Phuill Dhuibh* [əˌfəiʎ̪ ˈɣuˠj]; ?NB242156.

The name of a deserted settlement near *Griogasbol* #222, on the edge of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), where people are recorded living in the 1820s (Lawson 2011, 200); a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *poll* m. (EG *poll* 'hole' < OEng. *pól* (*DIL*), but in the sense 'marine pool; small round bay' perhaps from ON *poll*, accusative of ON *pollr* m.[622]) + the adjective ScG *dubh* 'black, dark' (#210).

#273 *Port Mholair* RBH (Eng. *Portvoller*)
[ˌpʰɔ(ʂ)ʈˈvɔɻ̪əɾ(ʲ)],[623] (gen.) *Phort Mholair* [ˌfɔ(ʂ)ʈˈvɔɻ̪əɾ(ʲ)]; NB561366. 1821 *Port Vollar*; 1843–82 *Portmhollair*; 1983, 27 *Port Mholair*‖*Portvoller*; road sign *Port Bholair*.

> Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Portvoller** [?]: *-voller* is possibly some Old Norse element.'

The name of a township in An Rubha; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *port* m. 'landing place' (EG *port* 'bank, shore', < Lat. *portus* (*DIL*)) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

In his notes, Oftedal suggests ScG **Port a' Bhallair*(*e*) 'the landing place of the cormorant', with the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *ballaire* m. 'cormorant', although, as he himself notes, *sgarbh* is used in the dialect for this bird §8.

621. Murchadh Moireach (Murdo Murray, 1890–1964), who kept a diary of his experiences as a soldier during the First World War (MacAsgaill 1970), was born at No. 18 (Black 2002, 749–50) in a different part of the township. He was at the Second Battle of Ypres in 1915; his diary ends in June 1917.

622. For ON *pollr* in loan-names in Scotland, see Cox 1994, 50–57.

623. (nMO) [pʻɔʂʈ ˈvɑɪɛˇɻ̍ʼ]. Traditionally, this name has been spelt with *mh* (as opposed to *bh*) in Gaelic, although nasalisation was not recorded.

dh'fhaodte gun tàrmaich an t-ainm san àm a chaidh a' cheàrnaidh seo a thogail.[621]

Tha e do-dhèanta a ràdh a bheil a sheise san ainm *Waterloo*, an t-ainm Beurla a th' air GA *Achadh a' Chùirn* NG661231, san Eilean Sgitheanach, a fhuair a ainm nuair a chaidh an àrainn a thuineachadh le saighdearan a' tilleadh à Blàr Waterloo (1815) (Taylor 2011, s.v. *Waterloo*); air neo san ainm *The Dardanelles* NR362931, ann an Colbhasaigh, far an deach a ràdh gun robh e na bu mhiosa a bhith a' treabhadh na talmhainn na bhith a' dol tro chaolas nan Dardanelles sa Chogadh Mhòr (1915) (King agus Scammell 2017, 28, 31, 55).

#272 *Am Poll Dubh* TLS
[əˌmpʰɔuɬ̪ ˈd̪ˠuˠʰ], (gin.) *A' Phuill Dhuibh* [əˌfəiʎ̪ ˈɣuˠj]; ?NB242156.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs faisg air *Griogasbol* #222, air bòrd *Loch Shìophort* (#113), far an robh daoine a' fuireach san 1820an (Lawson 2011, 200); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *poll* f. (GT *poll* 'toll' < SBrl. *pól* (*DIL*), ach sa bhrìgh 'poll, linne; bàgh beag cruinn', 's dòcha à SL *poll*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *pollr* f.[622]) + am buadhair GA *dubh* (#210).

#273 *Port Mholair* RBH
[ˌpʰɔ(ʂ)ʈˈvɔɻ̪əɾ(ʲ)],[623] (gin.) *Phort Mholair* [ˌfɔ(ʂ)ʈˈvɔɻ̪əɾ(ʲ)]; NB561366. 1821 *Port Vollar*; 1843–82 *Portmhollair*; 1983, 27 *Port Mholair*; 2007 *Port Mholair*‖*Portvoller*; soighne rathaid *Port Bholair*.

> Oftedal 1954, 396: **Portvoller** [?]: is dòcha gur h-e eileamaid Lochlannais air choreigin a th' ann a' *-voller*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *port* f. 'laimrig' (GT *port* 'bruach, cladach', < Laid. *portus* (*DIL*)) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Na notaichean, cuiridh Oftedal GA **Port a' Bhallair*(*e*) air shùilibh, leis an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *ballaire* f. 'sgarbh', ged as e, mar a mhothaicheas e fhèin, *sgarbh* a chleachdar san dualchainnt airson an eòin seo §8.

621. Rugadh Murchadh Moireach (1890–1964), a sgrìobh leabhar-latha air na dh'fhiosraich e is e na shaighdear rè a' Chogaidh Mhòir (MacAsgaill 1970), air Lota 18 (Black 2002, 749–50) ann an ceàrnaidh eile den bhaile fearainn. Bha e ann an Dàrna Blàr Ypres ann an 1915; crìochnaichidh an leabhar-latha aige san Ògmhios 1917.

622. Airson SL *pollr* ann an ainmean-iasaid ann an Albainn, faic Cox 1994, 50–57.

623. (nMO) [pʻɔʂʈ ˈvɑɪɛˇɻ̍ʼ]. Gu dualchasach, sgrìobhar an t-ainm seo le *mh* (seach *bh*) sa Ghàidhlig, ged nach deach srònachadh a chlàradh.

If the specific is an Old Norse loan-name, one may think of ON *vǫllr* m. 'field, plain'. One would expect ScG *[ˈvɔn̪ɔɾ] from ON **Vǫllr* nom., but Oftedal suggests ON **Vellir* pl., or rather an early form of it, i.e. **Vællir* (and compares *Valler NG* II, 130, VII, 85, *Vallen NG* IV[1], 134,[624] *Vallene NG* V, 149, and *Valle NG* VIII, 49, in Norway), with short ON *æ* becoming [ɑ] before ScG [l̪] /ɪ/, but, as he himself notes, ScG *[ˈveɲ̊əɾʲ] (with medial /ɪʼ/) would be more likely.

One might consider a specific from ON **Malir*,[625] plural of ON *mǫl* f. 'shingle, gravel',[626] a solution that suits the nature of the bay here. However, ON *mǫl*[627] is a collective noun and one would also have to accept that the Gaelic name may have lost its nasality.

#274 *Port nan Giùran* RBH (Eng. *Portnaguran*)
[ˌpʰɔ(ʂ)ʈ nə ˈŋg̊ʲu̥ːɾan],[628] (gen.) *Phort nan Giùran* [ˌfɔ(ʂ)ʈ nə ˈŋg̊ʲu̥ːɾan]; NB559372. 1843–82 *Port nan Giuran*; 1934, 85 *Portnangiuran*; 2007 *Port nan Giùran*‖*Portnaguran*; road sign *Port nan Giuran*‖*Portnaguran*.

> Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Portnaguran** [?]. Bartholomew's Half-inch Map spells *Port nan Giuran*, indicating ScG *Port nan Giùran* ...'

The name of a township in An Rubha that was made into crofts in 1825 (Lawson 2011, 126); a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *port* m. 'landing place' (#273) and the genitive plural Gaelic article + genitive plural of the noun ScG *giùran* m. 'a type of barnacle with a stalk, *Lepas anatifera*',[629] although it is not possible to be certain of the meaning here.

Dwelly gives *giùran* 'fennel; gills of fish; = *giodhran*; cow parsnip [Colonsay]' and *giodhran* 'barnacle ([shell]fish); instrument placed on the nose of an unruly horse; barnacle goose'.[630] It is probable that both *giùran* and *giodhran* go back to EG **giġrán*, from EG *giġra* f. (earlier *gi*(*u*)*ġrann* f.) 'wild goose,

624. A derivation considered uncertain (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

625. Which would be lenited to initial [v] in Gaelic in the genitive case.

626. The genitive of the Old Norse word is found in ON **Malarnes* > ScG *Malanis* (#62). ScG *mol* m. 'shingle, gravel' is a loan-word from ON *mǫl* f. (#253).

627. Although a plural form of the noun occurs in the name *Stenmalarna* in several places in Bohuslän, in western Sweden, an area once part of Norway (e.g. Löfdahl 2006, 107) (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

628. (nMO) [pʻɔʂʈ ə ˈŋʼùːɾaɳ].

629. Rather than *Balanus balanoides* or *Chthalamus stellatus*, for example, that are stalkless barnacles.

630. MacIver (1934, 85) goes with 'fish gills, which at one time in its history used to cover the landing beach.'

Mas e ainm-iasaid Lochlannais a th' anns an t-sònraichear, smaoinichear air SL *vǫllr* f. 'liana, raon'. Bhite an dùil ri GA *[ˈvɔn̪ɔɾ] à SL **Vǫllr* ainmn., ach cuiridh Oftedal SL **Vellir* iol. air shùilibh, air neo cruth tràth dheth, .i. **Vællir* (agus nì e coimeas ri *Valler NG* II, 130, VII, 85, *Vallen NG* IV[1], 134,[624] *Vallene NG* V, 149, agus *Valle NG* VIII, 49, ann an Nirribhidh), agus SL *æ* ghoirid a' dol na [ɑ] air thoiseach air GA [l̪] /ɪ/, ach, mar a mhothaicheas e fhèin, bhiodh GA *[ˈveɲ̊əɾʲ] (le /ɪʼ/ mheadhain) na bu choltaiche.

Dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air sònraichear à SL **Malir*,[625] an cruth iolra aig SL *mǫl* b. 'mol, grinneal',[626] fuasgladh a fhreagras nàdar a' bhàigh an seo. Gidheadh, 's e ainmear trusaidh a th' ann an SL *mǫl*[627] agus dh'fheumte gabhail ris gur dòcha gu bheil an t-ainm Gàidhlig air a shrònachadh a chall.

#274 *Port nan Giùran* RBH
[ˌpʰɔ(ʂ)ʈ nə ˈŋg̊ʲu̥ːɾan],[628] (gin.) *Phort nan Giùran* [ˌfɔ(ʂ)ʈ nə ˈŋg̊ʲu̥ːɾan]; NB559372. 1843–82 *Port nan Giuran*; 1934, 85 *Portnangiuran*; 2007 *Port nan Giùran*‖*Portnaguran*; soighne rathaid *Port nan Giuran*‖*Portnaguran*.

> Oftedal 1954, 396: **Portnaguran** [?]. Litrichidh Mapa Leth-òirlich Bhartholomew *Port nan Giuran*, a' sònrachadh GA *Port nan Giùran* ...

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha a chaidh a dhèanamh na chroitean ann an 1825 (Lawson 2011, 126); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *port* f. (#273) agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach iolra + tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir GA *giùran* f. 'seòrsa bàirnich air a bheil stoc, *Lepas anatifera*',[629] ged nach urrainnear a bhith cinnteach às a' chèill an seo.

Bheir Dwelly *giùran* 'fennel; gills of fish; = *giodhran*; cow parsnip [Colbhasa]' agus *giodhran* 'barnacle ([shell]fish); instrument placed on the nose of an unruly horse; barnacle goose'.[630] Is math dh'fhaodte gun tèid an dà chuid *giùran* agus *giodhran* air ais gu GT **giġrán*, à GT *giġra* b. (na bu tràithe *gi*(*u*)*ġrann* f.) 'gèadh

624. Bunachas sa bheileas a' cur teagamh (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

625. A dheigheadh a shèimheachadh na [v] thoisich sa Ghàidhlig san tuiseal ghinideach.

626. Gheibhear cruth ginideach an fhacail Lochlannais ann an SL **Malarnes* > GA *Malanis* (#62). Tha GA *mol* f. na fhacal-iasaid à SL *mǫl* b. (#253).

627. Ged a nochdas cruth iolra an ainmeir san ainm-àite *Stenmalarna* ann an corra àite ann am Bohuslän, anns an t-Suain an iar, ceàrnaidh a bha uair ann an Nirribhidh (m.e. Löfdahl 2006, 107) (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

628. (nMO) [pʻɔʂʈ ə ˈŋʼùːɾaɳ].

629. Seach *Balanus balanoides* no *Chthalamus stellatus*, mar eisimpleir, a tha nam bàirnich gun stoc.

630. Thèid MacIver (1934, 85) le 'fish gills, which at one time in its history used to cover the landing beach.'

Branta leucopsis (Eng. *barnacle goose*)' (*DIL*) + the suffix *-án* (ScG *-an* §36 (iv)), and that the senses 'type of goose', 'type of shellfish', 'fish gills' and 'cow parsnip (> fennel)' are all connected from the point of view of their rudimentary forms: a similarity in the profile of the head and/or by their having a 'neck' (cf. Eng. *stalk barnacle* or *goose barnacle* for the shellfish *Lepas anatifera*). EG *giġra* goes back to the same root (IE **geg*) as ScG *gèadh* m. 'goose' (MacBain, s.v. *giodhran*).[631]

ScG *giùran* 'wood barnacle' (i.e. Eng. *stalk*/*goose barnacle*) and *breamag* 'acorn barnacle (*Sessilia*)' were recorded in *Lìonal* #237, in Nis; *giuran* [*sic*] 'shellfish' in *Siabost* #295, in An Taobh Siar; *cathan-dubh* 'barnacle goose' in Ùig; and *diùraidean* pl. 'small barnacle-like shells encrusted on wood floating on the sea for a time' in *An Dùn* #170, in An Taobh Siar (Faclan bhon t-Sluagh).

If it is correct that *giùran* in this name denotes the shellfish *Lepas anatifera*, perhaps a raft of them attached to driftwood once appeared at the landing place.

#275 *Port Nis* NIS (Eng. *Port of Ness*)
See *Cealagbhol* #101.

#276 *Raon na Crèadha* STN (Eng. *Plasterfield*)
[ˌɾũːn nə ˈkʰɾʲia-ə] or [ˌɾũːn nə ˈkʰɾʲia-a], (gen.) idem; NB440331.

Another Gaelic name for Eng. *Plasterfield* – see *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1 – with ScG *raon* m. 'field, plain' and the genitive of the feminine Gaelic article + the genitive of the noun ScG *crèadh* f. 'clay'; cf. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86.

#277 *Rathanis* CTL (Eng. *Ranish*)
[ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ], (gen.) *Rathanis* [ˈɾa-aˌniʃ]; NB402248. 1654 *Raerneß*; 1703 *Raerneſs*; 1718 *Raarnish*; 1726 *Rarnish*; 1750M *Point of Ranish*; 1776, 1789, 1790 *Ranish*; 1797 *Rairnish*; 1801, 1807, 1821 *Ranish*; 1843–82 *Ranish, Aird Ranish, Rudha Ranish or Ranish Point*; 1845 *Rhu-Rairnish*; 2007 *Ranais*‖*Ranish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 398: '**Raerinish** [ɾɑ-ɑniʃ][632] reminds one of the Norwegian name *Rånes* (*NG* I, 245, II, 218, XIII, 341, and XIV, 23), which at least in some instances contains the noun ON *rǫ́* f., in the genitive (ON **Ráarnes*) or without case ending (ON **Rá-nes*). ON *rǫ́* has various meanings: "nook, corner", "pole, rod" and "dividing line". The meaning "pole, rod" may be disregarded; there is nothing in the shape of the promontory alluded to

631. For the goose *Branta leucopsis* and its link with the shellfish in folklore and for references, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barnacle_goose#Folklore>; for a Highland reference, see Campbell 1860, xviii.

632. (nMO) (1) [ɾɑːniʃ] [*sic*], (2) [ˈɾɑːniʃ] (for [ˈɾɑ-ɑniʃ] or [ˈɾɑː-ɑniʃ]), *Rubha Rathanis* [ɾʊːə ˈɾɑːniʃ] (for [ɾɑ-ɑniʃ]) 'the promontory of—'.

fiadhaich, *Branta leucopsis* (Brl. *barnacle goose*)' (*DIL*) + an leasachan *-án* (GA *-an* §36 (iv)), agus gu bheil na brìghean 'seòrsa geòidh', 'seòrsa maoraich', 'garbhan èisg' agus 'odharan (> fineal)' uile ceangailte a thaobh nam bun-chruthan aca: coltas san leth-cheann agus/no 'amhach' orra (coim. Brl. *stalk barnacle* no *goose barnacle* air a' mhaorach *Lepas anatifera*). Thèid GT *giġra* air ais chun an aon fhreumh (IE **geg*) 's a thèid GA *gèadh* f. (MacBain, s.v. *giodhran*).[631]

Chaidh GA *giùran* 'wood barnacle' (.i. Brl. *stalk*/*goose barnacle*) is *breamag* 'acorn barnacle (*Sessilia*)' a chlàradh ann an *Lìonal* #237, ann an Nis; *giuran* [*sic*] 'maorach' ann an *Siabost* #295, air An Taobh Siar; *cathan-dubh* 'barnacle goose' ann an Ùig; agus *diùraidean* iol. 'small barnacle-like shells encrusted on wood floating on the sea for a time' air *An Dùn* #170, air An Taobh Siar (Faclan bhon t-Sluagh).

Mas ceart gur h-e am maorach *Lepas anatifera* ris am bean *giùran* san ainm seo, is dòcha gun do nochd ràth dhiubh air fiodh-cladaich sa phort uair.

#275 *Port Nis* NIS
Faic *Cealagbhol* #101.

#276 *Raon na Crèadha* STN
[ˌɾũːn nə ˈkʰɾʲia-ə] no [ˌɾũːn nə ˈkʰɾʲia-a], (gin.) idem; NB440331.

Ainm Gàidhlig eile air Brl. *Plasterfield* – faic *Achadh a' Phlastair* #1 – le GA *raon* f. 'blàr, achadh' agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *crèadh* b.; coim. *A' Bhuaile Chrèadha* #86.

#277 *Rathanis* CTL
[ˈɾɑ-aˌniʃ], (gin.) *Rathanis* [ˈɾa-aˌniʃ]; NB402248. 1654 *Raerneß*; 1703 *Raerneſs*; 1718 *Raarnish*; 1726 *Rarnish*; 1750M *Point of Ranish*; 1776, 1789, 1790 *Ranish*; 1797 *Rairnish*; 1801, 1807, 1821 *Ranish*; 1843–82 *Ranish, Aird Ranish, Rudha Ranish or Ranish Point*; 1845 *Rhu-Rairnish*; 2007 *Ranais*‖*Ranish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 398: Cuiridh **Raerinish** [ɾɑ-ɑniʃ][632] air chuimhne an t-ainm Nirribheach *Rånes* (*NG* I, 245, II, 218, XIII, 341, agus XIV, 23), anns a bheil ann an corra eisimpleir co-dhiù an t-ainmear SL *rǫ́* b., san tuiseal ghinideach (SL **Ráarnes*) no gun dùnadh tuiseil (SL **Rá-nes*). Tha caochladh chiallan aig SL *rǫ́*: 'cùil, oisean', 'pòla, slat' agus 'loidhne dealachaidh'. Faodar a' chiall 'pòla, slat' a chur an dàrna taobh; chan eil dad ann an

631. Airson a' gheòidh *Branta leucopsis* agus a cheangail ris a' mhaorach ann am beul-aithris agus airson tharraingean, faic <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barnacle_goose#Folklore>; airson tarraing Gàidhealaich, faic Campbell 1860, xviii.

632. (nMO) (1) [ɾɑːniʃ] [*sic*], (2) [ˈɾɑːniʃ] (for [ˈɾɑ-ɑniʃ] or [ˈɾɑː-ɑniʃ]), *Rubha Rathanis* [ɾʊːə ˈɾɑːniʃ] (for [ɾɑ-ɑniʃ]).

that permits of this characterisation. As for the meaning 'dividing line', it cannot be ruled out entirely, but it cannot now be determined what it would have referred to. "Nook" is better; this is, indeed, a very fitting description of the recess on the south side of the headland (near *Cuidhir* #161) where part of the village of **Raerinish** is situated.

'ON **Raðarnes* "(the) promontory of the mound", from *rǫð* f. "moraine, earthen mound", describes the headland quite well, but this derivation is made improbable by the modern pronunciation (ON *-að-* normally gives ScG [ə]).'

The name of a township in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, on the promontory between the head of *Loch Ghruimseadair* 'the loch of *Gruimseadar* #224' and the mouth of *Loch Èireasort* 'the loch of **Èireasort* (#180, fn 399)'; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Ráarnes*, with genitive of the noun ON *rá* (later *rǫ́*) f. in the sense 'nook, corner', although the sense 'pole, rod' cannot be disregarded entirely as Oftedal suggests: the name need not only denote the shape of a feature but perhaps a particular situation or event, as was probably the case with ScG *Cnoc na Cleith* 'the hill of the stake' NB1941, in *Cirbhig* #124, and *Palla an Taoid* 'the ledge of the rope' NB1844, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202.[633]

#278 *Rèimeir* ÙIG
[ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɛɾʲ], (gen.) *Rèimeir* [ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɛɾʲ]; NB089364.

The name of an area in the south of the township *Bhaltos* #63, in Ùig, where landless cottars lived until c.1921, when many of them were moved to the newly allotted village *An Riobh* #280.[634]

A Gaelic name, perhaps a loan from ON **Reim-mór* '(the) leash-plain', with the stem form of the noun ON *reim* f. 'leash' and ON *mór* m. in the sense 'sandy plain'. ON **Reim-mór* would yield ScG *[ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmaɾ] or *[ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɔɾ] in the first instance but perhaps [ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɛɾʲ] in the local dialect, under the influence of final [ɾʲ]; for the alternation [ɾ] ~ [ɾʲ], see §13.

#279 *Rias* PRC
[ɾiaʂ̪], (gen.) [ɾiaʂ̪]; NB223128. 1821 *Avon Kieos* [*sic*]; 1843–82 =.

The name of a deserted settlement on the banks of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in A' Phàirc; a Gaelic name consisting of an Old Norse loan-name, from ON **Hreysa*,

633. Fraser (1978, 10) follows MacBain (1922, 102) in suggesting ON **Rá(r)nes* '(the) roe deer-promontory (or (the) promontory of the roe deer)', but there is no evidence that the roe deer was ever present in the Western Isles, although MacBain takes the Old Norse name as evidence that it once was.

634. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations>: search for *Reithmir*.

cruth an rubha air an toirear iomradh a cheadaicheas an tuairisgeul seo. A thaobh na cèille 'loidhne dealachaidh', cha ghabh e toirmeasg gu tur, ach cha ghabh e co-dhùnadh a-nise cò ris a bheanadh e. 'S ann a tha 'cùil' nas fheàrr; gu dearbha, 's e tuairisgeul gu math iomchaidh a th' ann air a' chùil a tha air taobh a deas an rubha (faisg air *Cuidhir* #161) far a bheil pàirt den bhaile **Raerinish**.

Bheir SL **Raðarnes* 'rubha a' mhill', à *rǫð* b. 'tom, meall ùire', tuairisgeul cuibheasach math air an rubha, ach tha seo mì-choltach a rèir an nuadh-fhuaimneachaidh (bheir SL *-að-* GA [ə] mar as àbhaist).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, air an rubha eadar ceann a-staigh *Loch Ghruimseadair* (#224) agus beul *Loch Èireasort* (#180, bn 399); ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, is dòcha à SL **Ráarnes*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *rá* (nas anmoiche *rǫ́*) b. sa bhrìgh 'cùil, oisean', ged nach urrainnear a' bhrìgh 'pòla, slat' a chur gu buileach an dàrna taobh mar a chuireas Oftedal air shùilibh: chan fheum an t-ainm a bhith a' beantainn ri cruth feirt a-mhàin ach is dòcha ri suidheachadh no tachartas àraidh, mar a thachair, is iongantach, le GA *Cnoc na Cleith* 'cnoc a' phuist' NB1941, ann an *Cirbhig* #124, agus *Palla an Taoid* 'palla an ròpa' NB1844, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202.[633]

#278 *Rèimeir* ÙIG
[ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɛɾʲ], (gin.) *Rèimeir* [ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɛɾʲ]; NB089364.

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh ann an ceann a deas a' bhaile fearainn *Bhaltos* #63, ann an Ùig, san robh coitearan gun talamh a' fuireach gus mu 1921, nuair a chaidh mòran dhiubh dhan bhaile *An Riobh* #280 a bha air ùr-lotadh aig an àm.[634]

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad, is dòcha, à SL **Reim-mór* '(an t-)iall-rèidhlean', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *reim* b. 'iall' agus SL *mór* f. san t-seagh 'rèidhlean gainmhich'. Bheireadh SL **Reim-mór* GA *[ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmaɾ] no *[ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɔɾ] sa chiad char ach is dòcha [ˈɾɛ̃ːˌmɛɾʲ] san dualchainnt ionadail, fo bhuaidh [ɾʲ] deiridh; airson na h-iomlaide [ɾ] ~ [ɾʲ], faic §13.

#279 *Rias* PRC
[ɾiaʂ̪], (gin.) [ɾiaʂ̪]; NB223128. 1821 *Avon Kieos* [*sic*]; 1843–82 =.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ri bòrd *Loch Shìophort* (#113), anns A' Phàirc; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, à SL **Hreysa*, an tuiseal claon

633. Leanaidh Fraser (1978, 10) MacBain (1922, 102) ann a bhith a' moladh SL **Rá(r)nes* '(an t-)earb-rubha (no rubha na h-earba)', ach chan eil fianais ann gun robh an earb ruadh a-riamh sna h-Eileanan Siar, ged a ghabhas MacBain ris gu bheil an t-ainm Lochlannais fhèin na fhianais gun robh uair.

634. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations>: lorg *Reithmir*.

oblique case of ON *hreysi* nt. 'cairn; cave', in this instance perhaps denoting the rocky knoll to the north of the settlement. ON *ey* would yield ScG [eː], which would yield [ia] before a broad consonant, cf. EG *fésóc* > ScG (Lewis) *feusag* ['fiaʂaɡ̊] 'beard' and *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27.

#280 ***An Riobh*** ÙIG (Eng. *Reef*)
[ə 'ɾɪf], [ə 'ɾu̥f], (gen.) *Na Riobhadh* [nə 'ɾɪvəɣ], [nə 'ɾu̥ivəɣ]; NB108345. 1843–82 *Reef*; 2007 *An Riof*‖*Reef*; road sign *Riof*‖*Reef*.

> Oftedal 1954, 387: '**Reef** [?][635] is, if the pronunciation is *[ʀif], the representative of ON **Rif* nt. "(the) reef". A farm with this name (*Reve*, from ON **Rifi* dat.) is located in Jæren, in south-west Norway (*NG* X, 134). *De Riv*, *De Rif* is common in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 91), but apparently not as a farm-name. The possibility that the name is from English *reef* may safely be discarded. There are no English village names in Lewis except for a few settlements near *Steòrnabhagh* #309.'

The name of a settlement in the north-east of Ùig, whose inhabitants were evicted around 1850–51 to *Deanston*, beside *Loch Gainmhich* #241, to *Pàirc Shiaboist* #265 in An Taobh Siar, and to *Am Baile Àrd* #32 in Sgìre a' Chladaich (Lawson 2008, 67–68, 108, 141, 193–96); the land was divided into crofts again in 1921.[636]

The vowel in ScG *riobh* and the medial consonant [v] in the genitive (cf. *A' Chlibh* #132) suggest we are dealing with a loan-word from Old Norse. There is no marine reef in the vicinity, however, and it is more likely that ScG *riobh* here is a loan-word from ON *rifa* f. 'rent, rift', the very feature found at the north end of the settlement. ON *rifa* would yield EG *['ɾiβə] in the first instance, hence ScG [ɾɪf], [ɾu̥f], with (1) apocope §44 (iii) (cf. *Am Bac* #23), (2) lowering or rounding of the vowel before a non-palatal consonant[637] and (3) devoicing of the final consonant (cf. *A' Chlibh*).

Fraser (1978, 12) notes that ScG *rif* 'reef' occurs three times as a settlement name on the west of Scotland: here in Ùig, in Wester Ross and in Tiree. As noted, there is no reef in this instance, but there is in Wester Ross, of which Watson (1904, 260) writes that ScG *An Rif* ('as Eng. *riff*'; Eng. *Reiff* NB966144) originates in ON *rif* nt. 'reef', and no doubt the name originally denoted the reef (today called *Bodha a' Bhùraich* (≈ibid.) 'the sunken rock of the roar') outside the village bay. In Tiree,

635. (nMO) [ʀɪf], [ʀuf].

636. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/1989>.

637. E.g. Oftedal 1956, 82. ScG /v/ is neutral today (as is /f/).

aig SL *hreysi* n. 'càrn; uamh', san t-seagh seo is dòcha a' beantainn ris a' chnoc chreagach aig ceann a tuath an tuineachaidh. Bheireadh SL *ey* GA [eː], a bheireadh [ia] air thoiseach air connraig leathainn, coim. GT *fésóc* > GA (Leòdhas) *feusag* ['fiaʂaɡ̊] agus *Baile a' Ghreusaich* #27.

#280 ***An Riobh*** ÙIG
[ə 'ɾɪf], [ə 'ɾu̥f], (gin.) *Na Riobhadh* [nə 'ɾɪvəɣ], [nə 'ɾu̥ivəɣ]; NB108345. 1843–82 *Reef*; 2007 *An Riof*‖*Reef*; soighne rathaid *Riof*‖*Reef*.

> Oftedal 1954, 387: Mas e *[ʀif] am fuaimneachadh, riochdaichidh **Reef** [?][635] SL **Rif* n. '(am) bodha'. Tha tuathanas air a bheil an t-ainm seo (*Reve*, à SL **Rifi* tabh.) ann an Jæren, ann an ceann an iar-dheas Nirribhidh (*NG* X, 134). Tha *De Riv*, *De Rif* bitheanta ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 91), ach chan ann mar ainm tuathanais a rèir choltais. Gun teagamh, faodar an smuain a chur an dàrna taobh gur h-ann às a' Bheurla *reef* a tha an t-ainm. Chan fhaighear ainmean Beurla air bailtean ann an Leòdhas ach air corra thuineachadh faisg air *Steòrnabhagh* #309.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh air taobh an ear-thuath Ùig, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach mu 1850–51 a *Dheanston*, ri taobh *Loch Gainmhich* #241, a *Phàirc Shiaboist* #265 air An Taobh Siar, agus dha*n Bhaile Àrd* #32 ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich (Lawson 2008, 67–68, 108, 141, 193–96); chaidh an talamh a roinn na croitean a-rithist ann an 1921.[636]

Cuiridh an fhuaimreag ann an GA *riobh* agus a' chonnrag mheadhain [v] san tuiseal ghinideach (coim. *A' Chlibh* #132) air shùilibh gu bheileas a' dèiligeadh ri facal-iasaid às an Lochlannais. Chan eil bodha san àrainn, ge-tà, agus is coltaiche gu bheil GA *riobh* an seo na fhacal-iasaid à SL *rifa* b. 'sgoltadh, beàrn', an dearbh feart a gheibhear ann an ceann a tuath an tuineachaidh. Bheireadh SL *rifa* GT *['ɾiβə] sa chiad char, às a sin GA [ʀɪf], [ʀu̥f], le (1) teasgadh deiridh §44 (iii) (coim. *Am Bac* #23), (2) ìsleachadh no cruinneachadh san fhuaimreig ro chonnraig neo-chàireanaich[637] agus (3) dì-ghuthachadh sa chonnreig dheiridh (coim. *A' Chlibh*).

Mothaichidh Fraser (1978, 12) gun nochd GA *rif* 'bodha' trì tursan na ainm tuineachaidh air taobh an iar na h-Albann: an seo an Ùig, ann an Ros an Iar agus ann an Tiriodh. Mar a thuirteadh, chan eil bodha iomchaidh san t-seagh seo, ach tha ann an Ros an Iar, den sgrìobh Watson (1904, 260) gun tàrmaich GA *An Rif* ('as Eng. *riff*'; Brl. *Reiff* NB966144) ann an SL *rif* n. 'bodha', agus chan eil teagamh nach beanadh an t-ainm bho thùs ris a' bhodha (air a bheil *Bodha a' Bhùraich* (≈ibid.) an-diugh) air taobh a-muigh bàgh a' bhaile. Gidheadh, ann an Tiriodh

635. (nMO) [ʀɪf], [ʀuf].

636. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/1989>.

637. M.e. Oftedal 1956, 82. Tha GA /v/ (/f/) neo-fheartail an-diugh (mar a tha /f/).

however, the older forms of ScG *An Rif* (Eng. *The Reef* NM005450) suggest the name is from ScG *An Righe* 'the plain'[638] and that it became Eng. *The Reef* via morphemic substitution. For ScG *gh* becoming Eng. *v*/*f*, cf. ScG *Ceann Righe* 'the head of the plain' NH700752 > Eng. *Kinrive*, in Ross-shire, and ScG *Èitigh* (which lies behind the name ScG *Beinn Èite Mòr* (Eng. *Ben Etive Mor* NN213542)) > Eng. *Etive*, in Perthshire (Watson 1926, 46, fn 3). In Tiree, ScG *An Righe* eventually became ScG *An Rif* under the influence of the English name *The Reef*.[639]

#281 *Ròna(i)gh* NIS

[ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj], (gen.) *Ròna(i)gh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj];[640] HW811324. 1549 *Ronay*; 1583 *Rona*; 1600+a *Ile of Ronay*; 1607 *Rona*; 1610, 1635 *Rona Iland*; 1636 *Rona*; 1680 *Ronay*; 1682 *I. Rona of Barro* (see #314); 1703, 1797 *Rona*; 1843–82 *Rona or Ronaidh*.

The island *Ròna(i)gh* (Eng. *Rona*) lies about 70 km (44 miles) north-north-east of *Rubha Robhanais* #284, in NIS. The island was deserted from about 1840 onwards, although shepherds frequently lived there until the last quarter of the 19th century (Robson 1991, 77; Lawson 2008, 16–17). The related names *Tobha Ròna(i)gh*[641] 'the promontory of *Ròna(i)gh*' and *Teampall Ròna(i)gh* 'the church of *Ròna(i)gh*' also occur.

Watson (1926, 309) maintains that the church was named after St *Ròna(i)n* – abbot of Kingarth in Bute – who died in 737.[642] Along with the name of the church in *Eòrrabidh* #182, in NIS,[643] he compares *St Ronan's Isle*, west of mainland Shetland, and *Teampall Ròna(i)g* 'the church of Rona', the old parish church in Iona.[644] However, if were the saint's name behind the name of the island,

638. ScG *righe* (or *ruighe*) f. (< EG *riġe* 'sìneadh') 'outstretched part of a mountain or the base of a mountain' (MacBain 1911, s.v. *ruighe*; MacLennan 1925, s.v. *ruighe*), > 'field, bottom of valley' (Dwelly, s.v. *righe*; MacLennan ibid., s.v. *ridhe*), > 'plain'.

639. For the old forms of the name, see Holliday 2016, 403–04.

640. Oftedal 1956, 71: /ʁɔːnɑj/ from ON **Hraun-øy*, without further explanation.

641. With ScG *tobha* < ON *hǫfða*, oblique case of *hǫfði* f. 'protruding promontory' (cf. ScG *clobha* [ˈkʰl̪̃o-ə] < ON *klofa*, oblique case of ON *klofi* m.); cf. ScG *An Tobha* (nMO) [ɲˈn̪ho-ə] 'the *tobha*' NB133384, in *Tòpsann* #335 (*pace* Oftedal, who derives it in his notes from ON *tǫ́*, i.e. ON *tá* f. 'toe')), so Macaulay 1972, 330. Contrast ScG *An Obha* in Islay, from the same source (rather than ON *haugr* m. 'hill' (Henderson 1910, 198), which would yield the vowel ScG [ɔː] (cf. #282)); cf. ScG *tòb* and *òb* < ON *hóp* acc. m. (#315 (iii)), with the same variation regarding the treatment of ON initial *h*.

642. Martin Martin (1703, 21) similarly.

643. (1843–83) *Teampull Ròna(i)dh* NB522654. *Teampall Ròna(i)n* is the form used for the church locally. *ECC*, 26, gives *Teampall Ròna(i)dh*/*Ròna(i)n*.

644. For Watson's form (*Teampull Rónaig*) for the old church on Iona, cf. 1561 *Tempill-Ronaige* (Reeves 1857, 415–16); Gillies (1906, 182) cites *Teampull Ròna(i)n*, however, along with *Port Ròna(i)n* 'the landing place of—' and *Cladh Ròna(i)n* 'the graveyard of—'.

cuiridh na cruthan as sine aig GA *An Rif* (Brl. *The Reef* NM005450) air shùilibh gur h-ann à GA *An Righe*[638] 'an rèidhlean' a tha e bho thùs agus gun deach GA *An Righe* na Brl. *The Reef* le ionadachadh cruitheamach. Airson GA *gh* a' dol na Brl. *v*/*f*, coim. GA *Ceann Ruighe* NH700752 > Brl. *Kinrive*, ann an Siorrachd Rois, agus GA *Èitigh* (a tha air cùl an ainme GA *Beinn Èite Mòr* NN213542) > Brl. *Etive*, ann an Siorrachd Pheairt (Watson 1926, 46, bn 3). Ann an Tiriodh, chaidh GA *An Righe* mu dheireadh thall na GA *An Rif* fo bhuaidh an ainme Bheurla *The Reef*.[639]

#281 *Ròna(i)gh* NIS

[ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj], (gin.) *Ròna(i)gh* [ˈɾɔ̃ːnaj];[640] HW811324. 1549 *Ronay*; 1583 *Rona*; 1600+a *Ile of Ronay*; 1607 *Rona*; 1610, 1635 *Rona Iland*; 1636 *Rona*; 1680 *Ronay*; 1682 *I. Rona of Barro* (faic #314); 1703, 1797 *Rona*; 1843–82 *Rona or Ronaidh*.

Tha an t-eilean *Ròna(i)gh* (Brl. *Rona*) mu 70 clm (44 mìle) an ear-thuath 's a bhith tuath air *Rubha Robhanis* #284, NIS. Chaidh fhàsachadh bho mu 1840 air adhart, ged a bhiodh cìobairean a' fuireach ann gu tric gus an cairteal mu dheireadh den 19mh linn (Robson 1991, 77; Lawson 2008, 16–17). Tha na h-ainmean co-cheangailte *Tobha Ròna(i)gh*[641] 'rubha *Ròna(i)gh*' agus *Teampall Ròna(i)gh*[642] 'eaglais *Ròna(i)gh*' ann.

Cumaidh Watson (1926, 309) a-mach gur h-ann air an Naomh *Ròna(i)n* – aba Cheann a' Gharaidh ann am Bòd – a chaochail an 737 a chaidh an teampall ainmeachadh.[643] Cuide ri ainm na h-eaglaise ann an *Eòrrabidh* #182, NIS, nì e coimeas ri *St Ronan's Isle*, an iar air tìr-mòr Shealtainn, agus ri *Teampall Ròn·aig*, seann eaglais na sgìre ann an Ì.[644] Gidheadh, mas e ainm an naoimh a bha air

638. GA *righe* (no *ruighe*) b. (< GT *riġe* 'sìneadh') 'pàirt de bheinn air a shìneadh a-mach no bun beinne' (MacBain 1911, s.v. *ruighe*; MacLennan 1925, s.v. *ruighe*), > 'achadh, bonn glinne' (Dwelly, s.v. *righe*; MacLennan ibid., s.v. *ridhe*), > 'rèidhlean'.

639. Airson shean chruthan an ainme, faic Holliday 2016, 403–04.

640. Oftedal 1956, 71: /ʁɔːnɑj/ à SL **Hraun-øy*, gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh.

641. Le GA *tobha* < SL *hǫfða*, an tuiseal claon aig *hǫfði* f. 'rubha stobach' (coim. GA *clobha* [ˈkʰl̪̃o-ə] < SL *klofa*, an tuiseal claon aig SL *klofi* f.); coim. GA *An Tobha* (nMO) [ɲˈn̪ho-ə] NB133384, ann an *Tòpsann* #335 (*pace* Oftedal, a bheir à SL *tǫ́* e na notaichean, .i. SL *tá* b. 'corrag coise'), mar sin Macaulay 1972, 330. Iomsgaraich GA *An Obha* ann an Ìle, às an aon tùs (seach SL *haugr* f. 'cnoc' (Henderson 1910, 198), a bheireadh GA [ɔː] (coim. #282)); coim. GA *tòb* is *òb* < SL *hóp* cusp. f. (#315 (iii)), is an t-aon eugsamhlachadh a thaobh mar a làimh-sicheadh SL *h* thoisich.

642. (1843–83) *Teampull Ròna(i)dh* NB522654. 'S e *Teampall Ròna(i)n* an cruth a chleachdar air an eaglais gu h-ionadail. Bheir *ECC*, 26, *Teampall Ròna(i)dh*/*Ròna(i)n*.

643. Màrtainn MacGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 21) mar an ceudna.

644. Airson cruth Watson (*Teampull Rónaig*) air an t-seann eaglais ann an Ì, coim. 1561 *Tempill-Ronaige* (Reeves 1857, 415–16); cleachdaidh Gillies (1910, 182) *Teampull Ròna(i)n*, getà, cuide ri *Port Ròna(i)n* is *Cladh Ròna(i)n*.

CSc. **Rónansøy* ‘*Rònan*’s island’ (with genitive *s*) would be the most likely original form, which would yield ScG **Rònasaigh* *[ˈɾɔ̃ːnəˌn̪saj] regularly.

Johnston (1903, 256) connects both *Rònaigh* north of Lewis and *Rònaigh* north of Raasay NG623581 with the saint’s name, but Watson (ibid.) sees ON *hraun* nt. ‘rocky ground’ behind the Raasay *Rònaigh*, translating as ‘(the) rough island’. Both Henderson (1910, 180, 189) and MacKenzie (1932, 278) consider the Lewis *Rònaigh* to derive from ON **Hraun-ey* (CSc. **Hraun-øy*) also (see below), a name which has its parallel in Gaelic in *An Garbh-Eilean* ‘the rough island’ in *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177.

The first element in the name *Rònaigh* has also been taken to be from EG *rón* m. ‘seal’ (Forbes 1923, 302),[645] but there is no evidence that the word *rón* was borrowed from Gaelic into Old Norse; note the Gaelic name *Seiligeadh* NB207451 < ON **Selagjá* ‘(the) cove of the seals’, with genitive plural of ON *selr* m. ‘seal’, and ON *gjá* f. ‘ravine, cove’, although ON **Seljugjá* ‘(the) cove of the willow’ is perhaps more likely because of the quality of the lateral (so Oftedal 1980, 185).[646, 647]

645. The man’s name ScG *Rònan* is based on EG *rón* (ScG *ròn*) + the diminutive suffix *-an* (Morgan 1989; cf. Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990).

646. But see ScG *Seilearo* < ON **Sel-rauf* (#31 (i), fn 65).

647. The following story was related by Angus Gunn – a Nessman who had lived upon Rona is his youth – in his 84th year: ‘Ronan came to Lews [*sic*] to convert the people to the Christian faith. He built himself a prayerhouse at Eorabay. But the people were bad and they would not give him peace. The men quarrelled about everything, and the women quarrelled about nothing, and Ronan was distressed and could not say his prayers for their clamour. He prayed to be removed from the people of Eorabay, and immediately an angel came and told him to go down to the “laimirig” – a natural landing-rock – where the “cionaran-cro”† – “cragen”‡ – was waiting him. Ronan arose and hurried down to the sea-shore shaking the dust of Eorabay off his feet, and taking nothing but his “pollaire” – satchel – containing the Book, on his breast. And there, stretched along the rock, was the great “cionaran-cro”, his great eyes shining like two stars of night. Ronan sat on the back of the “cionaran-cro”, and it flew with him over the sea, usually wild as the mountains, now smooth as the plains, and in the twinkling of two eyes reached the remote isle of the ocean. Ronan landed on the island, and that was the land full of “nathair bheumnaich, gribh inich, nathair nimhe, agus leomhain bheucaich” – biting adders, taloned griffins, poisonous snakes, and roaring lions. All the beasts of the island fled before the holy Ronan and rushed backwards over the rocks into the sea. And that is how the rocks of the island of Roney are grooved and scratched and lined with the claws and the nails of the unholy creatures. The good Ronan built himself a prayer-house in the island where he could say his prayers in peace.’ (*Carmina Gadelica* I, 126–27) † (*CG*) ‘cionaran-cro’ is probably ScG *cionnaran-crò*, from ScG *ceannmhor* adj. ‘big-headed’ (cf. the noun *ceannmhor* (#118)) + the suffix *-an* and (gen.) *crò*, *crà* (OG *crú* ‘blood > wound > death’); cf. Dwelly: *cionnan-crò* ‘leader of a school of whales’; Forbes 1905, 384: (pl.) *seachd* (seven) *cionarain-cro* [*sic*]. ‡ (*CG*)

cùl ainm an eilein, b’ e LB **Rónansøy* ‘eilean *Rònain*’ (le *s* ghinidich) an cruth tùsail a bu choltaiche, a bheireadh GA **Rònasaigh* *[ˈɾɔ̃ːnəˌn̪saj] gu riaghailteach.

Ceanglaidh Johnston (1903, 256) an dà chuid *Rònaigh* tuath air Leòdhas agus *Rònaigh* tuath air Ratharsaigh NG623581 ri ainm an naoimh, ach chì Watson (ibid.) SL *hraun* n. ‘talamh creagach’ air cùl *Rònaigh* Ratharsaigh, ag eadartheangachadh ‘(an) garbh-eilean’. Saoilidh an dà chuid Henderson (1910, 180, 189) agus MacKenzie (1932, 278) gun tàrmaich *Rònaigh* Leòdhais ann an SL **Hraun-ey* (LB **Hraun-øy*) mar an ceudna (faic shìos), ainm a gheibh a sheise sa Ghàidhlig anns *An Garbh-Eilean* anns *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177.

Thugadh ciad eileamaid an ainme *Rònaigh* cuideachd à GT *rón* f. ‘ròn’ (Forbes 1923, 302),[645] ach chan eil fianais sam bith ann gun deach am facal *rón* air iasad às a’ Ghàidhlig dhan Lochlannais; mothaich an t-ainm Gàidhlig *Seiligeadh* NB207451 < SL **Selagjá* ‘geodha nan ròn’, le SL *selr* f. ‘ròn’ sa ghinideach iolra agus SL *gjá* b. ‘geodha’, ged as dòcha gu bheil SL **Seljugjá* ‘geodha an t-seilich’ nas coltaiche a chionn feart an taobhaich (mar sin Oftedal 1980, 185).[646, 647]

645. Tha an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Rònan* stèidhichte air GT *rón* (GA *ròn*) + an iar-leasachan mheanbhach *-an* (Morgan 1989; coim. Ó Corráin is Maguire 1990).

646. Ach faic GA *Seilearo* < SL **Sel-rauf* (#31 (i), bn 65).

647. Chaidh an sgeulachd a leanas a thional bho Aonghas Gunnach – Niseach a bha air fuireach air Rònaigh na òige – is e na 84mh bliadhna: Thàinig Rònan a Leòdhas gus a mhuinntir iompachadh chun a’ chreideimh Chrìosdaidh. Thog e taigh-ùrnaigh dha fhèin ann an Eòrrabidh. Ach bha na daoine mì-mhodhail agus chan fhàgadh iad na aonar e. Bhiodh na fireannaich a’ trod mun a h-uile rud, is bhiodh na boireannaich a’ trod mu neoni, is bha Rònan na èiginn is cha b’ urrainn dha a ùrnaighean a ràdh a chionn na h-ùpraide. Rinn e ùrnaigh ach an dealaicheadh e ri Eòrrabidh agus, air làraich nam bonn, thàinig aingeal is dh’innis e dha a dhol sìos chun na làimrige – àite nàdarra airson a dhol air tìr – far an robh an ‘cionaran-cro’† – ‘cragen’‡ – a’ feitheamh ris. Dh’èirich Rònan is chaidh e na chabhaig sìos chun a’ chladaich a’ crathadh duslach Eòrrabidh bhàrr a chasan, agus gun a thoirt leis ach a ‘phollaire’ – màileid – san robh an Leabhar, na uchd. Agus, an sin, na shìneadh air a’ chreig, bha an ‘cionaran-cro’ mòr, a dhà shùil mhòir a’ deàrrsadh mar dhà rionnaig na h-oidhche. Shuidh Rònan air muin a’ ‘chionarain-cro’, agus sgiathalaich e leis thar a’ chuain, dham b’ àbhaist a bhith cho fiadhaich ris na beanntan, ach a bha a-nise cho còmhnard ris na rèidhlein, agus a ràinig ann am prioba na dà shùla eilean iomallach a’ chuain. Chaidh Rònan air tìr agus nach b’ e siud an tìr làn nathraichean-beumnach, ghrìbh-ìnich, nathraichean nimhe agus leòmhainn bheucach. Theich beathaichean uile an eilein mu choinneimh Rònain naoimh, nan deannan an comhair an cùl thairis air na creagan dhan mhuir. Agus ’s e sin as coireach gu bheil creagan eilean Rònaigh air an sgrìobadh agus air an sgròbadh le crògan agus le ìnean nan creutairean mì-naomha. Thog Rònan còir taigh-ùrnaigh dha fhèin san dèanadh e a ùrnaighean aig fois. (*Carmina Gadelica* I, 126–27). † Is math dh’fhaodte gur h-e (*CG*) ‘cionaran-cro’ GA *cionnaran-crò*, à GA *ceannmhor* buadh. ‘air a bheil ceann mòr’ (coim. an t-ainmear *ceannmhor* (#118)) + an iar-leasachan *-an* agus (gin.) *crò*, *crà* (SG *crú* ‘fuil > lot > am bàs’); coim. Dwelly: *cionnan-crò* ‘leader of a school of whales’; Forbes 1905, 384: (iol.) *seachd cionarain-cro*

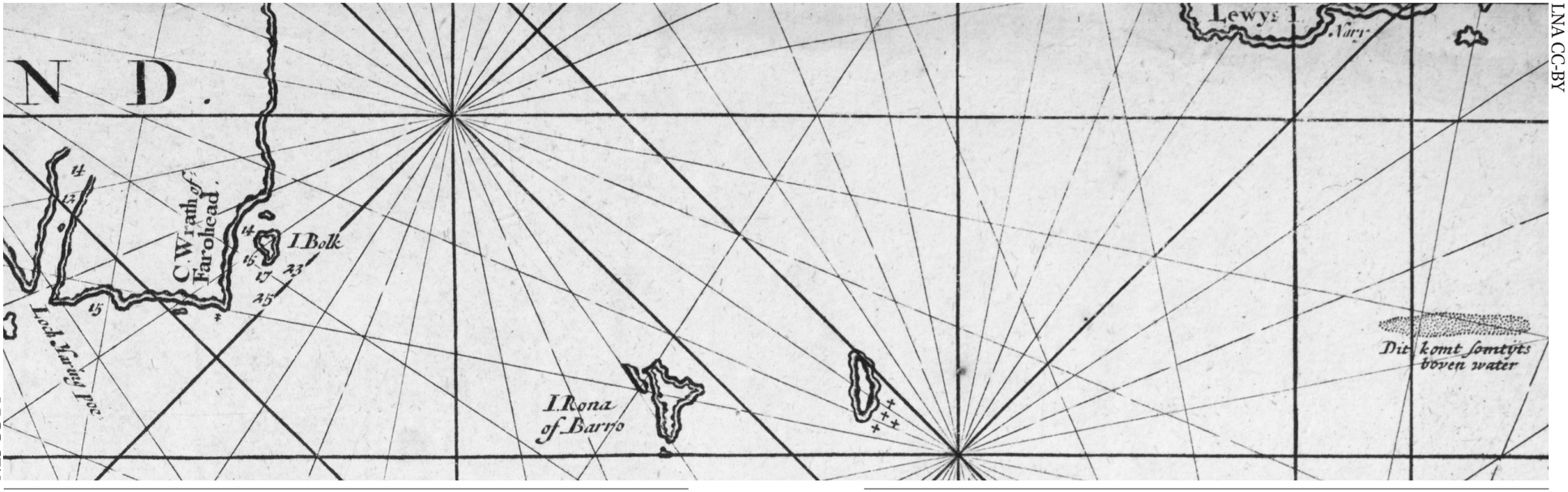
According to Rygh (1898, 69–70), the meaning of the Old Norse word *hraun* was 'bedrock' (*fjellgrunn*), but the word is also found in the names of skerries and islands built up by boulders (Hovda 1961, 230, 305),[648] and, while parts of *Rònaigh* have no soil, a hundred foot cliff on the west side of the promontory *Fianis*[649] is topped with a bank of large stones thrown up by the force of the sea (Lawson ibid., 14).

It seems most likely that the name *Rònaigh* derives from CSc. **Hraun-øy* '(the) boulder-pile island, (the) stony island'. It is probable, however, that the Norse used the plural form *Hraun-øyjar* for the Raasay *Rònaigh* as the name is mentioned in the plural in Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (Chap. 319 (Vigfusson 1887 I, 334)): *Síðan sigldu þeir til Rauneyja* (gen. pl.) 'after that they sailed

A rèir Rygh (1898, 69–70), b' e 'bonn-creige' (*fjellgrunn*) a bu chiall dhan fhacal Lochlannais *hraun*, ach gheibhear am facal cuideachd ann an ainmean sgeirean agus innseachan air an togail an-àirde le ulbhagan (Hovda 1961, 230, 305),[648] agus, fhad is a tha cuibhreannan de *Rònaigh* gun ùir idir, tha creag ceud troigh a dh'àirde air taobh an iar an rubha *Fianis*[649] a tha a mullach air a còmhdachadh le bruaich de chlachan mòra air an tilgeadh suas le neart na mara (Lawson ibid., 14).

Tha a h-uile coltas air gur h-ann ann an LB **Hraun-øy* '(an t-)urrdhag-eilean, (an t-)eilean clachach' a tha an t-ainm *Rònaigh* air tàrmachadh. Is math dh'fhaodte, ge-tà, gum b' e SL *Hraun-øyjar* iol. a bh' aig na Lochlannaich air *Rònaigh* Ratharsaigh agus luaidh air an ainm san iolra ann an Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (Caib. 319 (Vigfusson 1887 I, 334)): *Síðan sigldu þeir til Raun·*

Johannes van Keulen, 'Paskaart vande noord cust van Schotland ...', 1682



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'cragen' is probably ScG *càrigean* (Dwelly: 'sea-serpent'); cf. Norw. *kraken* 'the sea monster', a mythical creature in the sea west of Norway (cf. Alfred Tennyson's 'The Kraken' and *The Kraken Wakes* by John Wyndham), i.e. Norw. *krake* (ON *kraki* m.) + the suffixed definite article §82 (v) (b).

648. Cf. *NO*: *steingrunn*, *ur*, *røys, skarv* 'rocky ground, boulder pile, mound of stones, rocky mountainous terrain'.

649. ScG *Fianis*, perhaps a loan-name from ON *Fé-nes*, with the stem form of the noun ON *fé* nt. 'cattle; sheep' and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i); cf. ScG *Rubha Fianis* [ˌɾuˑ ˈfĩə̯ˌniʃ], (nMO) [ˌɾɯ ˈfiuˇniʃ] 'the promontory of—' NB184386, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), and perhaps ScG *Àird Bhianis* (?for **Àird Fianis*) 'the headland of—' (#186).

[*sic*]. ‡ Is math dh'fhaodte gur h-e (*CG*) 'cragen' GA *càrigean* (Dwelly: 'sea-serpent'); coim. Nirr. *kraken* 'an uilebheist mara', mith-chreutair sa mhuir an iar air Nirrbhidh (coim. 'The Kraken' aig Alfred Tennyson is *The Kraken Wakes* le John Wyndham), .i. Nirr. *krake* (SL *kraki* f.) + an t-alt deimhinnt iar-leasaichte §82 (v) (b).

648. Coim. *NO*: *steingrunn*, *ur*, *røys, skarv* 'ùir chlachach, urrdhag, meall de chlachan, talamh chlachach sna beanntan'.

649. GA *Fianis*, is dòcha na ainm-iasaid à SL **Fé-nes*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *fé* n. 'crodh; caoraich' agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i); coim. GA *Rubha Fianis* [ˌɾuˑ ˈfĩə̯ˌniʃ], (nMO) [ˌɾɯ ˈfiuˇniʃ] NB184386, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), agus is dòcha GA *Àird Bhianis* (?airson **Àird Fianis*) (#186).

to *Rauneyjar* (rad. pl.[650])',[651] with the plural form of the generic element often used of islands with the sense 'promontory', such as here (*NSL*, s.v. *øy*).[652] A third name ScG *Rònaigh* NF896564[653] occurs on the east side of Benbecula; '(the) stony island' appears to be the sense of CSc. **Hraun-øy* in this instance.

In Gaelic tradition, *Rònaigh na h-Abh* or *Rònaigh an Tabh* 'Rònaigh of the ocean' occurs as the alias of the Lewis *Rònaigh*.[654] ON *haf* nt. 'sea, ocean' was

650. When borrowed into Gaelic, the endings of Old Norse names were often not preserved (but see, for example, *Cleitir* #130); as a result, the oblique reflexes of final CSc. **øy* (ON *ey*) 'island' §16 – (gen. sg.) **øyjar*, (dat.) **øyju*, (acc.) **øy* and (gen. pl.) **øyja*, (dat.) **øyjum*, (acc.) **øyjar* – have usually yielded [a] in Argyllshire and [aj] ([æj], [ɛj]) in the remainder of the Hebrides. But it is worth considering whether the local form of the name ScG *Ratharsaigh* ['ʀɑ-ɑrˠsˠaj], (Dieckhoff 1932) [ʀaˈarsa, ʀa:arsɐ] (Eng. *Raasay*) NG566425, i.e. *Ratharsair* ['ʀɑ-ɑrˠsɛrʲ], (*AFB*) /ʀa.ərsɪrʲ/, preserves the radical plural reflex of the element. It is suggested, for example by Henderson (1910, 130, 180) and MacBain (1922, 36, though more doubfully at 76), that *Ratharsaigh* derives from ON **Rárássey* 'the island of the ridge of the roedeer', with genitive singular of the noun ON *rá* f. 'roe deer' and genitive singular of ON *áss* f. 'ridge', with metathesis in the Gaelic form. However, perhaps the strong current that runs around the island, especially opposite Portree, is reflected in the name of the island: CSc. **Rásarøyjar* 'the islands of the current', with genitive singular of (ON) *rás* b. 'strong current' (Hovda 1961, 150) would probably yield EG **Rásaráir* in the first place, and **Ráarsáir* with metathesis §40 (iii), hence ScG *Ratharsair*, with shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus (represented by *th* in Gaelic orthography in this instance). ScG *Ratharsair* was then altered to *Ratharsaigh* in other areas according to their own usage – a solution, amongst others, proposed by Johnston (1903, 251) and Mackay (2013, 1), without further explanation. Groome (1885, 234), amongst others, notes that the 'tidal current in the Sound [of Raasay], particularly in the narrow part S[outh] of Portree Bay, is very strong.' In Norway, cf. *Råsa* (*NSL*). The name *Reusa an t-Sruith* 'Reusa of the current' NR736992 (besides *Reusa MhicPhàidein* and *Garbh-Reusa*) lies west of Crinan, in which both the loan-name (< CSc. **Ræs-øy* '(the) current-island', with a by-form of (ON) *rás*) and the Gaelic specific denote the same marine feature (Cox 1998b, 25). (The current around *Ratharsair* is not as strong as the one around *Reusa*.)

651. Initial *hr* became *r* in Norway in the eleventh century, but not in Iceland (Haugen 1976, 208; Indrebø 1951, 85). There is no evidence to suggest that ON *hr-* and *r-* were treated differently in Gaelic; the earlier form is used in this volume.

652. ON *hraun* is a loan-word in the Gaelic names *Mullach an Ròin* (gen. sg.) 'the summit of the stony ground' NB0717 in Harris, south of *Loch Reusort* (#112), and *Mullach nan Ròn* (gen. pl.) 'the summit of the *ròn*s' NB3509 in A' Phàirc; cf. *Ròn Beag* and *Ròn Mòr* near *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, mentioned by Mackenzie (1903), and *Clach ma Ràin* NB1743 (#48, fn 95), in *Borghaston* (Cox 2002a, 207).

653. With *Rònaigh Beag* 'lesser *Rònaigh*' for the northern and *Rònaigh Mòr* 'greater *Rònaigh*' for the southern part.

654. (1561) *Rona na nav* (*Collectanea* 1847, 4); (1700) *Rona-a-taiff* (Morrison MS, in Robson 1991, x).

eyja (gin. iol.) 'an dèidh sin sheòl iad a **Rauneyjar* (bun. iol.[650])',[651] agus cruth iolra na h-eileamaid seòrsachaidh ga chleachdadh gu tric mu eileanan san t-seagh 'rubha', mar a tha an seo (*NSL*, s.v. *øy*).[652] Tha an treas ainm GA *Rònaigh* NF896564[653] ri lorg air taobh an ear Bheinn na Fadhla; is coltach gum b' e '(an t-)eilean clachach' a bu chiall do LB **Hraun-øy* san t-seagh seo.

Ann an dualchas na Gàidhlig, gheibhear *Rònaigh na h-Abh* no *Rònaigh an Tabh* mar ainm eile air *Rònaigh* Leòdhais.[654] Chaidh SL *haf* n. 'an Cuan Siar' air iasad

650. Cha deach dùnaidhean nan ainmean Lochlannais a ghleidheadh gu tric (ach faic, mar eisimpleir, *Cleitir* #130), nuair a chaidh iad air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig; mar sin dheth, tha riochdan claona LB **øy* (SL *ey*) deiridh 'eilean' §16 – (gin. sg.) **øyjar*, (tabh.) **øyju*, (cusp.) **øy* agus (gin. iol.) **øyja*, (tabh.) **øyjum*, (cusp.) **øyjar* – air a dhol, mar as trice, na [a] ann an Earra-Ghàidheal agus [aj] ([æj], [ɛj]) anns a' chòrr de dh'Innse Gall. Ach 's fhiach beachdachadh an cùm cruth ionadail an ainme GA *Ratharsaigh* ['ʀɑ-ɑrˠsˠaj], (Dieckhoff 1932) [ʀaˈarsa, ʀa:arsɐ] (Brl. *Raasay*) NG566425, .i. *Ratharsair* ['ʀɑ-ɑrˠsɛrʲ], (*AFB*) /ʀa.ərsɪrʲ/, riochd bunasach iolra na h-eileamaid. Tha e air a chur air shùilibh, mar eisimpleir le Henderson (1910, 130, 180) agus MacBain (1992, 36, ach nas teagmhaiche aig 76), gur h-ann à SL **Rárássey* 'eilean druim na h-earba' a tha *Ratharsaigh*, le tuiseal ginideach singilte an ainmeir SL *rá* b. 'earb ruadh' agus an tuiseal ghinideach shingilte aig SL *áss* f. 'druim', le eadar-chàradh sa chruth Ghàidhlig. Gidheadh, 's dòcha gu bheil an sruth làidir a ruitheas mun cuairt air an eilean, gu h-àraidh mu choinneimh Phort Rìgh, air a riochdachadh ann an ainm an eilein: 's math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh LB **Rásarøyjar* 'eileanan an t-srutha', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir (SL) *rás* b. 'sruth làidir' (Hovda 1961, 150) GT **Rásaráir* sa chiad àite, agus **Ráarsáir* le eadar-chàradh §40 (iii), às a sin GA *Ratharsair*, le giorrachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ro bheàrnas (air a riochdachadh le *th* ann an ceart-sgrìobhadh na Gàidhlig anns an t-seagh seo). Chaidh GA *Ratharsair* atharrachadh an uair sin gu *Ratharsaigh* ann an àitichean eile a rèir a' chleachdaidh aca fhèin – fuasgladh, am measg eile, a thèid a chur air adhart le Johnston (1903, 251) agus Mackay (2013, 1), gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh. Canar Groome (1885, 234), am measg eile, gu bheil sruth an làin ann an Caolas Ratharsair, gu h-àraidh deas air bàgh Phort Rìgh, glè làidir. Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Råsa* (*NSL*). Gheibhear an t-ainm *Reusa an t-Sruith* NR736992 (cho math ri *Reusa MhicPhàidein* agus *Garbh-Reusa*) an iar air a' Chrìonan, sam bi an dà chuid an t-ainm-iasaid (< LB **Ræs-øy* '(an) sruth-eilean', le frith-riochd aig (SL) *rás*) agus an sònraichear Gàidhlig ag amas air an aon fheart mara (Cox 1998b, 25). (Chan eil an sruth mu thimcheall air *Ratharsair* cho làidir ris an fhear mu thimcheall air *Reusa*.)

651. Chaidh *hr* thoisich na *r* an Nirribhidh san 11mh linn, ach chan ann an Innis Tìle (Haugen 1976, 208; Indrebø 1951, 85). Chan eil fianais ann gun dèiligte ri SL *hr-* is *r-* air atharrachadh dhòighean sa Ghàidhlig; thèid an cruth as tràithe a chleachdadh san leabhar seo.

652. Tha SL *hraun* 'talamh clachach' na fhacal-iasaid sna h-ainmean Gàidhlig *Mullach an Ròin* (gin. sg.) NB0717 sna Hearadh, deas air *Loch Reusort* (#112), is *Mullach nan Ròn* (gin. iol.) NB3509 anns A' Phàirc; coim. *Ròn Beag* is *Ròn Mòr* faisg air *Eadar Dhà Fhadhail* #172, air an toir Mackenzie (1903) iomradh, is *Clach ma Ràin* NB1743 (#48, bn 95), ann am *Borghaston* (Cox 2002a, 207).

653. Le *Rònaigh Beag* air ceann a tuath agus *Rònaigh Mòr* air ceann a deas an eilein.

654. (1561) *Rona na nav* (*Collectanea* 1847, 4); (1700) *Rona-a-taiff* (LS a' Mhoireasdanaich, ann an Robson 1991, x).

borrowed into Gaelic in the definite sense 'the ocean, the Atlantic'; in the southern part of the Western Isles, the plural article is used in order to accommodate ON initial *h* (as occurs in the name *Na Hearadh* < ON **Herað* nt. '(the) district, area' (#254, #315 (ii))), i.e. *na h-abh*; in the northern part, ON initial *h* was treated via back-formation, i.e. as though it were a lenited form of initial *t* in Gaelic, i.e. *an tabh*. These Gaelic reflexes are usually indeclinable.[655]

In English, *North Rona* rather than *Rona* is sometimes used in order to distinguish the northerly island from the southerly islands of the same name; in addition to *North Rona*, MacCulloch (1819, 99, 152 and 212) uses *Rona* (*West*) for the Benbecula *Rònaigh* and *Rona* (*East*) for the Raasay *Rònaigh*.

For a connection to name form **Barraigh*, see *Sùlaisgeir* #314.

#282 *Rothasgair* TSR

[ˈrɔ-əˌʂkəɾʲ], (gen.) *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌʂkəɾʲ]; NB193416. 1843–82, 1895 *Rothasgeir*; 1934, 7 *Rodha-Sker*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: '**Roasgeir** [rɔ-əskəð][656] might be taken for a name in ON *-sker* nt. "skerry", were it not for the fact that all recorded *sker*-names in Lewis, as well as the appellative ScG [skʼeð], have palatal [kʼ]. There is at least one skerry in the adjoining bay of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98) that might have given its name to this hamlet. Hermann Pálsson suggests ON **Hrófasker*, with genitive plural of ON

655. Several spelling forms are found, some as the result of back-formation, e.g. *na haf* (McDonald 1972, 148); *na h-abh* (Daliburgh), *an t-saimh* (Leverburgh) (Faclan bhon t-Sluagh); *an sabh a-siar* (*Sgìre nan Loch*) (Mackenzie 1906, 385: *an sabh a's iar*); *haf a-siar* (Christiansen 1938, 4: *haf-a-siar*, 15: *haf-a-shiar* [in error]); *samh* 'surge, white crest of wave' (MacLennan 1925: ?< ON *haf*); *amh, tamh* (Dwelly); and, as a result of eclipsis and reinterpretation of the meaning, *damh* 'stag' (*Rònaigh an Daimh*: 'which appears to be "Rona of the stag" but may in fact be *Rònaigh an Taibh* "Rona of the Atlantic"' (Taylor 2011, 124, s.v. *North Rona*)). The word also occurs in the text of the Treaty of Perth (1266): *Manniam cum cæteris insulis Sodorensibus, et omnibus aliis insulis, ex parte occidentali et australi magni Haffne* (Munch 1874) 'Man and all the islands of the Western Isles, and all the other islands from the western and southern part of the great ocean'. Lat. *magni* is the genitive (masculine/neuter) of Lat. *magnus* 'great' and the text's *haffne* is presumably a genitive form, or in genitive position, also. However, while *haffne* does not appear to be Gaelic and while it cannot represent the genitive form ON *hafs* or (with suffixed article) *hafsins*, it might represent a petrified form of the dative case, i.e. ON (*í*) *hafinu* '(in) the ocean'.

656. (nMO) [rɔ-əskəð].

dhan Ghàidhlig san t-seagh dheimhinnte 'an cuan mòr, an Cuan Siar'; na b' fhaide a deas sna h-Eileanan Siar, chaidh an t-alt iolra Gàidhlig a chleachdadh gus *h* thoisich na Lochlannais a cheadachadh sa Ghàidhlig (mar a chaidh a dhèanamh leis an ainm *Na Hearadh* < SL **Herað* n. '(an) sgìre, roinn' (#254, #315 (ii))), .i. *na h-abh*; na b' fhaide a tuath, chaidh dèiligeadh ri *h* thoisich na Lochlannais tro chùl-chinntinn, .i. mar gum b' e an cruth sèimhichte aig *t* thoisich na Gàidhlig a bh' ann, .i. *an tabh*. Mar as trice, tha na riochdan Gàidhlig seo do-chlaonaidh.[655]

Sa Bheurla, cleachdar *North Rona* seach *Rona* air uairean gus an t-eilean mu thuath a dhealachadh ris na h-eileanan mu dheas air a bheil an t-aon ainm; a thuilleadh air *North Rona*, cleachdaidh MacCulloch (1819, 99, 152 agus 212) *Rona* (*West*) air *Rònaigh* Bheinn na Fadhla agus *Rona* (*East*) air *Rònaigh* Ratharsaigh.

Airson ceangail ris a' chruth ainme **Barraigh*, faic *Sùlaisgeir* #314.

#282 *Rothasgair* TSR

[ˈrɔ-əˌʂkəɾʲ], (gin.) *Rothasgair* [ˈɾɔ-əˌʂkəɾʲ]; NB193416. 1843–82, 1895 *Rothasgeir*; 1934, 7 *Rodha-Sker*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: Dh'fhaodte gabhail ri **Roasgeir** [rɔ-əskəð][656] mar ainm ann an SL *-sker* n. 'sgeir', mana b' e gur h-i [kʼ] chaol a th' aig na h-ainmean uile ann an SL *sker* a chaidh a chlàradh ann an Leòdhas, cho math ris an ainmear bhitheanta GA *sgeir* b. [skʼeð]. Tha co-dhiù aon sgeir ann an *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* (#98) ri taobh a' bhaile seo a dh'fhaodadh a bhith air ainm a thoirt dha. Molaidh Hermann Pálsson SL **Hrófasker*, leis a' chruth ghinid-

655. Lorgar caochladh riochdan litreachaidh, cuid dhiubh mar thoradh air cùl-chinntinn, m.e. *na haf* (McDonald 1972, 148); *na h-abh* (Dalabrog), *an t-saimh* (An t-Òb) (Faclan bhon t-Sluagh); *an sabh a-siar* (*Sgìre nan Loch*) (Mackenzie 1906, 385: *an sabh a's iar*); *haf a-siar* (Christiansen 1938, 4: *haf-a-siar*, 15: *haf-a-shiar* [air mhearachd]); *samh* 'tonn, bàirlinn; cìr gheal air tonn' (MacLennan 1925: ?< SL *haf*); *amh, tamh* (Dwelly); le stràc air mhearachd ann an *Rònaigh an Tàimh* 'Rona of the ocean' <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/2458128>; agus, mar thoradh air dùbhradh agus am facal air ath-mhìneachadh, *damh* 'fiadh fireann' (*Rònaigh an Daimh*: air a bheil coltas 'Rona of the stag' ach a dh'fhaodas a bhith airson *Rònaigh an Taibh* 'Rona of the Atlantic' (Taylor 2011, 124, s.v. *North Rona*)). Nochdaidh am facal san teags ann an Cunnradh Pheairt (1266): *Manniam cum cæteris insulis Sodorensibus, et omnibus aliis insulis, ex parte occidentali et australi magni Haffne* (Munch 1874) 'Manainn le eileanan uile nan Eilean Siar, agus na h-eileanan eile uile à àird an iar agus àird a deas a' chuain mhòir'. 'S e Laid. *magni* an cruth ginideach (fireann/neodrach) aig Laid. *magnus* 'mòr' and bhite an dùil gum biodh *haffne* an teagsa na chruth ginideach, no ann an suidheachadh ginideach, cuideachd. Gidheadh, fhad 's nach eil coltas Gàidhlig air *haffne* agus fhad 's nach urrainn dha a bhith a' riochdachadh a' chrutha ghinidich SL *hafs* no (leis an alt iar-leasaichte) *hafsins*, 's dòcha gun riochdaich e cruth glèidhte den tuiseal thabhartach, .i. SL (*í*) *hafinu* '(anns) a' chuan'.

656. (nMO) [rɔ-əskəð].

hróf f. “shed for boats” and, granted that an irregular development has taken place, the explanation is a plausible one. But the interpretation remains somewhat uncertain.’

The name of part of the township *Cirbhig* #124, in An Taobh Siar.

According to its spelling of the name, the Board of Ordnance (1843–82) takes the name’s generic to be ON *sker* nt. ‘skerry’ but, as Oftedal points out, one would expect [ˌsʲkʲəɾʲ] or [ʃkʲəɾʲ] if it were.

As suggested by MacIver (1934, 7), ScG *Rothasgair* is probably from ON **Rauðaskarð* ‘(the) red pass’, with the accusative weak neuter form of the adjective ON *rauðr* ‘red’ and accusative of ON *skarð* nt. ‘pass’. ON **Rauðaskarð* would regularly yield EG *[ˈɾɔːðəˌsʲkəɾʲ], > *[ˈɾɔːəˌsʲkəɾʲ], with loss of the fricative, > ScG *[ˈɾɔəˌsʲkəɾʲ], with shortening of the stressed vowel before hiatus; cf. CSc. **Hraun-øy* > ScG *Rònaigh* #281 and ON *skaut* nt. > ScG *sgòd* m. ‘corner of a sail’ (#7); for final ON *skarð* > ScG [ˌsʲkəɾʲ], cf. ON *garð* in ScG *Bradhagair* #74.[657]

ScG *Rothasgair* is situated below *Beàrn Èibhle* ‘the gap or pass of the fire or embers’ (Cox 2002a, 176), a break in the cliff on the west of the village, where there may be iron deposits – hence *An Tobar Ruadh* ‘the red well’ below.

#283 *Rubha an Tiompain* RBH (Eng. *Tiumpan Head*)
[ˌɾuˑəˈɲtʲʰə̃ũ̯mpan], (gen.) idem; NB571376. 1750 *Hempan Head* [*sic*]; 1750M *Kempan Head* [*sic*]; 1821 *Champanhead*; 1843–82 *Tiumpan Head, Loch an Tiumpan*; 1845 *Tuimpan Head*; 2007 *Rubha an t-Siumpain*‖*Tiumpan Head*; road sign *Rubha an t Siumpain*‖*Tiumpan Head*.

The name of the northernmost promontory in An Rubha, north of *Port Mholair* #273. *Taigh-solais Rubha an Tiompain* ‘the *Rubha an Tiompain* lighthouse’ was built here in 1900, with accomodation for three keepers and their families; the lighthouse was automated in 1985.[658]

Rubha an Tiompain is a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *rubha* m. ‘promontory’ (§3 (iv)) and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *tiompan* m., a noun used in the sense ‘hill’ in several places,[659] e.g. *Tiompan* NB191453, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202 (Cox 2002a, 381); cf. *Knocktimpen* NX942949, with a first element from ScG *cnoc* m. ‘hill’, in Dumfriesshire (Watson 1924, 144); *Màm an Tiompain* ‘the hill of the *tiompan*’ (≈Gillies 1906, 218); *Maoil an Tiompain* ‘the hill of the *tiompan*’, in the Loch Broom area (Watson 1904, 247; ≈Robertson,

657. ON *Rauðaskarð*, with genitive of ON *rauði* m. ‘bog iron’, would yield the same form in Scottish Gaelic.

658. The Northern Lighthouse Board: <https://www.nlb.org.uk/lighthouses/tiumpan-head/>.

659. Dwelly, s.v. ‘one-sided knoll’; Faclan bhon t-Sluagh, s.v. *tiumpan* (Skye) ‘one-sided hill’.

each iolra aig SL *hróf* b. ‘bothan do bhàtaichean’ agus, a’ gabhail ris gu bheil leasachadh neo-riaghailteach air tachairt, tha am mìneachadh reusanta. Ach tha e fhathast caran mì-chinnteach.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Cirbhig* #124, air An Taobh Siar.

A rèir mar a tha an t-ainm seo air a litreachadh aige, gabhaidh Bòrd an Òrdanais (1843–82) ris gur h-e SL *sker* n. ‘sgeir’ a th’ anns an t-seòrsaichear ach, mar a chanas Oftedal, bhite an dùil ri [ˌsʲkʲəɾʲ] no [ʃkʲəɾʲ] nam b’ e.

Mar a mholas MacIver (1934, 7), is math dh’fhaodte gur h-ann à SL **Rauðaskarð* ‘(am) bealach ruadh’ a tha GA *Rothasgair*, le tuiseal cuspaireach lag neodrach a’ bhuadhair SL *rauðr* ‘ruadh’ agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *skarð* n. ‘bealach’. Bheireadh SL **Rauðaskarð* GT *[ˈɾɔːðəˌsʲkəɾʲ], > *[ˈɾɔːəˌsʲkəɾʲ], le call an t-suathaich, > GA *[ˈɾɔəˌsʲkəɾʲ], le giorrachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ro bheàrnas, gu riaghailteach; coim. LB **Hraun-øy* > GA *Rònaigh* #281 agus SL *skaut* n. > GA *sgòd* f. (#7); airson SL *skarð* deiridh > GA [ˌsʲkəɾʲ], coim. SL *garð* ann an GA *Bradhagair* #74.[657]

Tha GA *Rothasgair* na laighe fo *Bheàrn Èibhle* ‘beàrn an teine no na grìosaich’ (Cox 2002a, 176), sgoltadh sna creagan air taobh an iar a’ bhaile, far am faod sriantan iarainn a bhith – às a sin, *An Tobar Ruadh* fodha.

#283 *Rubha an Tiompain* RBH
[ˌɾuˑəˈɲtʲʰə̃ũ̯mpan], (gin.) idem; NB571376. 1750 *Hempan Head* [*sic*] 1750M *Kempan Head* [*sic*]; 1797 *Tiumpan-head*; 1821 *Champanhead*; 1843–82 *Tiumpan Head, Loch an Tiumpan*; 1845 *Tuimpan Head*; 2007 *Rubha an t-Siumpain*‖*Tiumpan Head*; soighne rathaid *Rubha an t Siumpain*‖*Tiumpan Head*.

An t-ainm a th’ air an rubha as fhaide a tuath anns An Rubha, tuath air *Port Mholair* #273. Chaidh *Taigh-solais Rubha an Tiompain* a thogail ann an 1900, le àite-fuirich do thriùir fhreiceadan agus an teaghlaichean; chaidh an taigh-solais a chur air a sheòl fhèin ann an 1985.[658]

Is e ainm Gàidhlig a th’ ann an *Rubha an Tiompain*, leis an ainmear GA *rubha* f. (§3 (iv)) agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *tiompan* f., ainmear a thèid a chleachdadh sa bhrìgh ‘cnoc’ ann an corra àite,[659] m.e. *Tiompan* NB191453, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202 (Cox 2002a, 381); coim. *Knocktimpen* NX942949, ann an Siorrachd Dhùn Phris (Watson 1924, 144); *Màm an Tiompain* (≈Gillies 1906, 218); *Maoil an Tiompain*, ann an sgìre Loch Bhraoin

657. Bheireadh SL **Rauðaskarð*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *rauði* f. ‘iarann boglaich’, an t-aon riochd sa Ghàidhlig.

658. An Northern Lighthouse Board: <https://www.nlb.org.uk/lighthouses/tiumpan-head/>.

659. Dwelly, s.v. ‘one-sided knoll’; Faclan bhon t-Sluagh, s.v. *tiumpan* (An t-Eilean Sgitheanach) ‘one-sided hill’.

in King 2019, 180); and perhaps *Trumpan* NG224609, in Skye (Forbes 1923, 435).[660]

ScG *tiompan* (OG *timpán* 'timbrel, drum; some kind of stringed instrument' (*DIL*)) originates in Lat. *tympanum*.[661] While *tiompan* denotes a stringed instrument in Scottish Gaelic tradition (John Purser, personal communication, and Purser 2007, 35), the sense 'hill' may have arisen from biblical usage: although the Old Testament in Gaelic (first published 1783–1801) was translated from Hebrew, which uses Heb. תֹּף ([tof]) 'timbrel, tambourine', ScG *tiompan* etc. is used consistently for the forms given by the Latin Vulgate,[662] translated as *timbrel* in the King James Version.[663]

ScG [ˌɾuˑ əˈn̪ʲʰʊ̃ũ̯pan] is reinterpreted as (2007) *Rubha an t-Siumpain*, through back-formation, cf. ScG *Tom an t-Searraich* [ˌt̪ʰɔ̃m əˈn̪ʲʰɑɾiç] 'the hillock of the foal' NB309394,[664] in which the initial of the specific is eclipsed in the same way.[665]

#284 *Rubha Robhanis* NIS (Eng. *Butt of Lewis*)
[ˌɾuˈɾo-əˌniʃ], (gen.) idem; NB519664. 1701 *Rowaneſs*; 1702 *Rowaness*; 1821, 1822

660. For *An Tiompanach* NR7206, the name of the straits between Kintyre and Sanda, in Argyllshire, see Cox 2010b, 75.

661. In the 10th century, Cormac gives the definition *Timpán .i. tim* (*.i. boc*) *.i. sail* 7 *bán .i. uṁæ bís inti. Uel quasi simpán a simphonia .i. ón bindius* (≈Meyer 1994, 109, §1258) '*Timpán*, i.e. pliant (i.e. soft), i.e. [?like] willow + [?]bright, i.e. it is made of copper (or brass). Or like *simpán* from *simphonia*, i.e. from the sweetness [of sound]'.

662. ScG *tiompan* < Lat. (acc. sg.) *tympanum* (Job 21: 12; Psalms 81: 2), *tiompan* < Lat. (dat. sg.) *tympano* (Psalms 149: 3, 150: 4) and *tiompanaibh* < Lat. (dat. pl.) *tympanis* (Exodus 15: 20, Judges 11: 34, 2 Samuel 6: 5, 1 Chronicles 13: 8).

663. Cf. the extended sense in *Eòlas an Spealaidh: Cùm bogha air do chorp, 's cùm amach do thiompan.* (*Tiompan* = *'the posterior'* = *'an deireadh'.*) 'Scythe lore: Keep your body arched and stick out your bottom. (*Tiompan* = "the posterior" = "the rear".)' (≈Alexander Carmichael's fieldwork notes (Stiùbhart 2009, 142)).

664. 'Tom an t-Searraich' is the name of a well-known song by Ruaraidh Mac a' Ghobhainn (Eng. Roderick Smith) (1894–1954), from *Bradhagair a Deas* #74 (Comunn Gàidhealach Leódhais 1982, 197–98; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/orain/tom_an_t_searraich/>).

665. In the view of the Northern Lighthouse Board (≈ibid.), '[t]he Gaelic name is *Rudha Tiompan*. This could be from *tom* "rounded knoll or hill"; a "one-sided knoll" is called *tiompan*. But as we have very few Gaelic place-names in Lewis, it is most likely a Norse name, probably from *sjón* "sight", which could also be a scouting position where the beacon fires were lit. It could have been an ideal situation for a ward hill.' But the Gaelic form of the name is incorrect; ScG *tom* m. has a broad initial, as opposed to *tiompan*, which has a slender initial; and, while *tiompan* has a long stressed vowel in the form of a diphthong (on account of the heavy cluster *mp* (Cox 2017, 13)), ON *sjón* has a long stressed vowel in the form of a monophthong. In addition, out of 2912 names collected in An Taobh Siar, only about 1280 contained Old Norse loan-names and/or loan-words (Cox 2002a, 111–12), i.e. about 44% §101.

(Watson 1904, 247; ≈Robertson, ann an King 2019, 180); agus is dòcha *Trumpan* NG224609, san Eilean Sgitheanach (Forbes 1923, 435).[660]

Tàrmaichidh GA *tiompan* (SG *timpán* 'timbrel, drum; some kind of stringed instrument' (*DIL*)) ann an Laid. *tympanum*.[661] Ged a bheanas *tiompan* ri ionnsramaid teuda ann an dualchas Gàidhlig na h-Albann (John Purser, conaltradh pearsanta, agus Purser 2007, 35), is dòcha gun do dh'èirich a' bhrìgh 'cnoc' ann an ainmeanàite à cleachdadh a' Bhìobaill: ged a chaidh An Seann Tiomnadh sa Ghàidhlig (air fhoillseachadh airson na ciad uarach 1783–1801) eadar-theangachadh bhon Eabhrais, a chleachdas Eabh. תֹּף ([tof]) '(Brl.) timbrel, tambourine', thèid GA *tiompan* ɔc a chleachdadh gu cunbhalach airson na th' aig a' Bhìoball Laidinn,[662] a thèid a thionndadh na *timbrel* ann am Bìoball an Rìgh Seumas.[663]

Thèid GA [ˌɾuˑ əˈn̪ʲʰʊ̃ũ̯pan] ath-mhìneachadh na (2007) *Rubha an t-Siumpain*, le cùl-chinntinn, coim. GA *Tom an t-Searraich* [ˌt̪ʰɔ̃m əˈn̪ʲʰɑɾiç] NB309394,[664] san tèid toiseach an t-sònraicheir a dhùbhradh air an aon dòigh.[665]

#284 *Rubha Robhanis* NIS
[ˌɾuˈɾo-əˌniʃ], (gin.) idem; NB519664. 1701 *Rowaneſs*; 1702 *Rowaness*; 1821, 1822

660. Airson ainm a' chaolais *An Tiompanach* NR7206 eadar Cinn Tìre agus Sannda, ann an Earra-Ghàidheal, faic Cox 2010b, 75.

661. San 10mh linn, bheir Cormac am bunachas *Timpán .i. tim* (*.i. boc*) *.i. sail* 7 *bán .i. uṁæ bís inti. Uel quasi simpán a simphonia .i. ón bindius* (≈Meyer 1994, 109, §1258) '*Timpán*, .i. so-lùbach (.i. bog), .i. [?coltach ri] seileach 7 bàn, .i. umha a bhios innte. No mar *simpán* à *simphonia*, .i. bhon bhinneas'.

662. GA *tiompan* < Laid. (cusp. sg.) *tympanum* (Iòb 21: 12; Sailm 81: 2), *tiompan* < Laid. (tabh. sg.) *tympano* (Sailm 149: 3, 150: 4) agus *tiompanaibh* < Laid. (tabh. iol.) *tympanis* (Ecsodus 15: 20, Britheamhan 11: 34, 2 Samuel 6: 5, 1 Eachdraidh 13: 8).

663. Coim. a' bhrìgh shìnte ann an *Eòlas an Spealaidh: Cùm bogha air do chorp, 's cùm amach do thiompan.* (*Tiompan* = *'the posterior'* = *'an deireadh'.*) (≈notaichean obair-raoin Alasdair MhicGilleMhìcheil (Stiùbhart 2009, 142)).

664. 'S e 'Tom an t-Searraich' an t-ainm a th' air òran ro-aithnichte le Ruaraidh Mac a' Ghobhainn (1894–1954), à *Bradhagair a Deas* #74 (Comunn Gàidhealach Leódhais 1982, 197–98; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/alba/oran/orain/tom_an_t_searraich/>).

665. Ann am beachd an Northern Lighthouse Board (≈ibid.), '[t]he Gaelic name is *Rudha Tiompan*. This could be from *tom* "rounded knoll or hill"; a "one-sided knoll" is called *tiompan*. But as we have very few Gaelic place-names in Lewis, it is most likely a Norse name, probably from *sjón* "sight", which could also be a scouting position where the beacon fires were lit. It could have been an ideal situation for a ward hill.' Ach tha cruth Gàidhlig an ainme ceàrr; tha toiseach leathann aig GA *tom* f., seach *tiompan*, aig a bheil toiseach caol; agus, ged a tha fuaimreag bheumte fhada ann an cruth dà-fhoghair ann an *tiompan* (air sàillibh a' chòmhlain thruim *mp* (Cox 2017, 13)), tha fuaimreag bheumte fhada ann an cruth aon-fhoghair ann an SL *sjón*. A thuilleadh, à 2912 de dh'ainmean air an cruinneachadh air An Taobh Siar, cha robh ach mu 1280 san robh ainm-iasaid agus/no facal-iasaid Lochlannais (Cox 2002a, 111–12), .i. mu 44% §101.

Butt of the Lewis or Point of Eoropie; 1843–82 *Rudha Ròbhanais or Rudh Eorrapidh or Butt of Lewis*; 1845 *Butt of Lewis*; 2007 *Rubha Robhanais‖Butt of Lewis*.

The name of the northernmost promontory in Nis, north of *Eòrrabidh* #182. *Taigh-solais Rubha Robhanis* 'the Butt of Lewis lighthouse' NB519664 was constructed here in 1862, with accommodation for three keepers and their families; the lighthouse was automated in 1998.[666]

Rubha Robhanis is a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *rubha* m. (§3 (iv)) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific, from ON **Rófunes* '(the) promontory of the tail', with genitive of the noun ON *rófa* f. 'tail' and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' (§3 (i)).

#285 *Sanndabhig* STN (Eng. *Sandwick*)
[ˈs̪ãũ(n̪)d̪əˌvi̯ɡʲ], (gen.) *Shanndabhig* [ˈhãũ(n̪)d̪əˌvi̯ɡʲ]; NB435325. 1785 *Sandyweick*; 1822 *Sandwick*; 1845 *Sandwich*; 1843–82 *Sandwick, Sandwick Loch*; 2007 *Sanndabhaig‖Sandwick*.

> Oftedal 1954, 393:[667] '**Sandwick** [sũũ(ɴ)dig′][668] (pronunciation quoted from memory) is ON **Sand-vík* "(the) sand-bay". There are many parallels, both in the Hebrides and elsewhere. In *Beàrnaraigh* #51 there is a bay called *Camas Shanndaig*[669] [kɯməs ˈhɑ̃ũdəvig][670] 'the bay of *Sanndaig*'; here, the development has been somewhat different. There are well over 50 farms of this name in Norway; it is repeatedly met with in Iceland; in Orkney and Shetland it is found several times as *Sandwi*(*c*)*k*.'

The name of an area that occurs in the names of two townships in Steòrnabhagh, created in the 1820s: *Mol Shanndabhig* 'the pebble beach of *Sanndabhig*' (Eng. *Lower Sandwick*) #255 by the sea, and *Cnoc Shanndabhig* 'the hill of *Sanndabhig*' (Eng. *Sandwick Hill*) #146 by the main road (Lawson 2011, 67).

A loan-name from ON **Sand-vík* '(the) sandy bay, lit. (the) sand-bay', with the stem form of ON *sandr* m. 'sand' and ON *vík* f. 'bay', a name that suits the nature of the bay.

666. <https://www.nlb.org.uk/lighthouses/butt-of-lewis/>.

667. The two transcriptions of Old Norse loan-names in this extract may have been substituted for each other in error.

668. (nMO) [sɑ̃ʊɴd̪əvi̯ɡ′].

669. Cf. *Sanndaig* #286, in An Taobh Siar.

670. Leg. final [ɡ′]; but this transcription is surprising: Oftedal obtained the pronunciation from the Rev. Niall M. MacDhòmhnaill (Neil M. Macdonald), who was born in *Beàrnaraigh*, but the 1843–82 map gives *Camus Shanndig* (NB137380) and Macaulay (1972, 332) *Camus Shanndaig*.

Butt of the Lewis or Point of Eoropie; 1843–82 *Rudha Ròbhanais or Rudh Eorrapidh or Butt of Lewis*; 1845 *Butt of Lewis*; 2007 *Rubha Robhanais‖ Butt of Lewis*.

An t-ainm a th' air an rubha as fhaide a tuath ann an Nis, tuath air *Eòrrabidh* #182. Chaidh *Taigh-solais Rubha Robhanis* NB519664 a thogail an seo ann an 1862, le àite-fuirich do thriùir fhreiceadan agus an teaghlaichean; chaidh an taigh-solais a chur air a sheòl fhèin ann an 1998.[666]

Is e ainm Gàidhlig a th' ann an *Rubha Robhanis*, leis an ainmear GA *rubha* f. (§3 (iv)) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear, à SL **Rófunes* 'rubha an earbaill', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *rófa* b. 'earball' agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' (§3 (i)).

#285 *Sanndabhig* STN
[ˈs̪ãũ(n̪)d̪əˌvi̯ɡʲ], (gin.) *Shanndabhig* [ˈhãũ(n̪)d̪əˌvi̯ɡʲ]; NB435325. 1785 *Sandyweick*; 1822 *Sandwick*; 1845 *Sandwich*; 1843–82 *Sandwick, Sandwick Loch*; 2007 *Sanndabhaig‖Sandwick*.

> Oftedal 1954, 393:[667] 'S e SL **Sand-vík* '(an) gainmheach-bhàgh' a th' ann an **Sandwick** [sũũ(ɴ)dig′] (am fuaimneachadh bho chuimhne).[668] Tha a sheise ri lorg an iomadach àite, an dà chuid ann an Innse Gall agus an àitichean eile. Ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51, tha bàgh ris an canar *Camas Shanndaig*[669] [kɯməs ˈhɑ̃ũdəvig];[670] an seo, bha an leasachadh caran eadar-dhealaichte. Tha thairis air 50 tuathanas air a bheil an t-ainm seo ann an Nirribhidh; coinnichear ris uair is uair ann an Innis Tìle; ann an Arcaibh is Sealtainn gheibhear corra uair e mar *Sandwi*(*c*)*k*.

Ainm air ceàrnaidh a nochdas na shònraichear sna h-ainmean air dà bhaile fearainn ann an Steòrnabhagh, a chaidh a chruthachadh sna 1820an: *Mol Shanndabhig* (Brl. *Lower Sandwick*) #255 ris a' mhuir, agus *Cnoc Shanndabhig* (Brl. *Sandwick Hill*) #146 ris an rathad mhòr (Lawson 2011, 67).

Ainm-iasaid à SL **Sand-vík* '(am) bàgh gainmhich, gu lit. (an) gainmheach-bhàgh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sandr* f. 'gaineamh, gainmheach' agus SL *vík* b. 'bàgh', ainm a fhreagras ri nàdar a' bhàigh.

666. <https://www.nlb.org.uk/lighthouses/butt-of-lewis/>.

667. Is dòcha gun deach an dà thras-sgrìobhadh de dh'ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais san àsearrainn seo a chur an àite a chèile air mhearachd.

668. (nMO) [sɑ̃ʊɴd̪əvi̯ɡ′].

669. Coim. *Sanndaig* #286, air An Taobh Siar.

670. Leugh [ɡ′] dheiridh; ach tha an tras-sgrìobhadh seo na iongnadh: fhuair Oftedal am fuaimneachadh bhon Urr. Niall M. MacDhòmhnaill, a rugadh ann am *Beàrnaraigh*, ach is e *Camus Shanndig* a th' air a' mhapa 1843–82 (NB137380) agus *Camus Shanndaig* a th' aig Macaulay (1972, 332).

The different development referred to by Oftedal above is that the initial of the Old Norse generic does not survive in both ScG *Sanndabhig* and *Sanndaig*. In the first instance, ON **Sand-vík* would yield EG *[ˈsˠãn̪ˠˌβʲiːgʲ], which would yield ScG *[ˈsˠãũn̪ˠˌviɸ̊ʲ] naturally over time.[671] In consequence of the resulting awkward cluster [n̪ˠv], however, either an epenthetic vowel is added: hence ScG *Sanndabhig*, which preserves half-stress on the generic, cf. ScG *Loch Shanndabhat* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈhãũn̪ˠdəˌvaʰt̪ˠ][672] NB249369, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), with a loan-name from ON **Sand-vatn* '(the) sand-loch (i.e. sandy loch)', with ON *vatn* nt. 'loch'; or [v] is omitted: hence ScG *Sanndaig* #286 (and ScG *Camas Shanndaig*, above).

Perhaps Eng. *Sandwick* was borrowed from Gaelic before these developments took place.

#286 ***Sanndaig*** TSR
[ˈsˠãũn̪ˠdiɸ̊ʲ], (gen.) *Shanndaig* [ˈhãũn̪ˠdiɸ̊ʲ]; NB182400. 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822, 1832 *Sandwick*; 1843–82 *Sanndig*, *Mol Shanndig*, *Loch Shanndig*; 1846HO *Sandwick*.

The name of part of the township *An Dùn* #170, in An Taobh Siar; a loan-name from ON **Sand-vík* '(the) sand-bay (i.e. sandy bay)'; cf. *Sanndabhig* #285.

#287 ***Na Seachd Peighinnean*** CLA
[nəˈʃæxkˈpʰe-iɲən], (gen.) *Nan Seachd Peighinnean* idem; NB385543; 1843–82 *Siadeir or Seachd Peghinnean*.

An old alternative name for *Siadar* #296, in Sgìre a' Chladaich; a Gaelic name, with the plural Gaelic article + the dependent numeral ScG *seachd* (EG *secht*) + the plural form of the noun ScG *peighinn* f. 'penny', indicating the old land valuation (#269). Cf. *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148.

#288 ***Seiseadar*** RBH (Eng. *Sheshader*)
[ˈʃeˌʃaɖ̊ər], (gen.) [ˈheˌʃaɖ̊ərʲ]; NB552341. 1654 *Leſhadyr* [*sic*]; 1718 *Shesader*; 1726 *Shessadir*; 1750M, 1804, 1807, 1821 *Sheshader*; 1843–82 *Sheshadir*, *Bagh Sheshadir*; 1846 *Sheshader*; 2007 *Seisiadar*‖*Sheshader*; road sign *Seisiadar*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Sheshader** [?].[673] An ON *-setr* name.'

671. ScG /βʲ/ lost its palatal quality and /βʲ/ and /β/ fell together. Bilabial /β/ became labiodental /v/, although [β] as opposed to [v] (as an allophone of /v/) could still be heard from some older people in Lewis until at least the 1980s, e.g. (voc.) *a bhalaich!* [əˈβa̪ˠl̪ʲiç] as opposed to [əˈva̪ˠl̪ʲiç] 'O boys!'.

672. (nMO) [ɬɔxˈhɑ̃ʊ̯ˠdəvɑht].

673. (nMO) [ʃeʃaɖ̊əɾ̝].

'S e an leasachadh eadar-dhealaichte air an toir Oftedal iomradh shuas nach mair toiseach an t-seòrsaiche ir Lochlannais anns an dà riochd GA *Sanndabhig* agus *Sanndaig*. Sa chiad àite, bheireadh SL **Sand-vík* GT *[ˈsˠãn̪ˠˌβʲiːgʲ], a dheigheadh na GA *[ˈsˠãũn̪ˠˌviɸ̊ʲ] gu nàdarra ri ùine.[671] Mar thoradh air a' chòmhlan chearbach [n̪ˠv] a dh'èireas, ge-tà, aon chuid thèid fuaimreag còmhnaidh a chur ris: às a sin, GA *Sanndabhig*, a ghleidheas leth-bheum air an t-seòrsaiche ir, coim. GA *Loch Shanndabhat* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈhãũn̪ˠdəˌvaʰt̪ˠ][672] NB249369, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), le ainm-iasaid à SL **Sand-vatn* '(an) gainmheach-loch', le SL *vatn* n. 'loch'; air neo thèid cur às dhan [v]: às a sin, GA *Sanndaig* #286 (agus GA *Camas Shanndaig*, shuas).

Is dòcha gun tugadh Brl. *Sandwick* air iasad às a' Ghàidhlig mus do thachair na leasachaidhean seo.

#286 ***Sanndaig*** TSR
[ˈsˠãũn̪ˠdiɸ̊ʲ], (gin.) *Shanndaig* [ˈhãũn̪ˠdiɸ̊ʲ]; NB182400. 1750M, 1776, 1804, 1807, 1821, 1822, 1832 *Sandwick*; 1843–82 *Sanndig*, *Mol Shanndig*, *Loch Shanndig*; 1846 *Sandwick*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *An Dùn* #170, air An Taobh Siar; ainm-iasaid à SL **Sand-vík* '(an) gainmheach-bhàgh'; coim. *Sanndabhig* #285.

#287 ***Na Seachd Peighinnean*** CLA
[nəˈʃæxkˈpʰe-iɲən], (gin.) *Nan Seachd Peighinnean* idem; NB385543; 1843–82 *Siadeir or Seachd Peghinnean*.

Seann ainm eile air *Siadar* #296, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig iolra + an àireimh eisimeilich GA *seachd* (GT *secht*) + cruth iolra an ainmeir GA *peighinn* b. 'sgillinn', a' sònrachadh seann luachadh an fhearainn (#269). Coim. *Na Còig Peighinnean* #148.

#288 ***Seiseadar*** RBH
[ˈʃeˌʃaɖ̊ər], (gin.) [ˈheˌʃaɖ̊ərʲ]; NB552341. 1654 *Leſhadyr* [*sic*]; 1718 *Shesader*; 1726 *Shessadir*; 1750M, 1804, 1807, 1821 *Sheshader*; 1843–82 *Sheshadir*, *Bagh Sheshadir*; 1846 *Sheshader*; 2007 *Seisiadar*‖*Sheshader*; soighne rathaid *Seisiadar*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: **Sheshader** [?].[673] Ainm ann an SL *-setr*.

671. Chaill GA /βʲ/ a feart càireanach agus chaidh /βʲ/ is /β/ còmhladh. Chaidh an dàbhileach /β/ na bhil-dheudach /v/, ged a chluinnte [β] seach [v] (mar eil-fhuinn aig /v/) fhathast ann an Leòdhas aig corra sheann duine gus na 1980an co-dhiù, m.e. (gairm.) *a bhalaich!* [əˈβa̪ˠl̪ʲiç] seach [əˈva̪ˠl̪ʲiç].

672. (nMO) [ɬɔxˈhɑ̃ʊ̯ˠdəvɑht].

673. (nMO) [ʃeʃaɖ̊əɾ̝].

The name of a township in An Rubha; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, probably from ON **Sef-sætr* '(the) rushes-sheiling', with the stem form of the noun ON *sef* nt. 'rushes' + ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling' (#296); cf. *Sivesin* in Oppland, Norway (*NSL*, s.v.).[674]

#289 ***Sgapraid*** BRN
[ˈs̪kaʰpəˌɾɛd̪ʲ], [ˈs̪kaʰpəˌɾad̪ʲ], (gen.) idem; NB270278. 1843–82 *Scapraid*, *Loch Scapraid*, *Aird Scapraid*.

The name of a deserted settlement south of *Loch Gainmhich* #241, in Ùig; a Gaelic name whose origin is obscure.[675]

Taylor (1968, 143) derives ScG *Gob Stapanis* *[ˌg̊ob̥ ˈs̪taʰpəˌniʃ] 'the point of **Stapanis*' NA155044, on Boraraigh, St Kilda, from ON **Skalpanes* '(the) promontory of the caves', with genitive plural of the noun ON *skalpr* m. and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i), comparing Eng. *Scapa* HY440089, in Orkney. *Scapa* is thought to be from ON **Skalp-eið* (Marwick 1952, 100), with the stem form of ON *skalpr* and ON *eið* nt. 'isthmus' (#171), hence OIce. *Skálp-eið* (Orkneyinga saga: (gen.) *til Skaalp·eids*, (dat.) *fra Skaalpeidi*, (acc.) *a Skalpeid* (Flateyjarbók II, 451, 462, 491)). The primary meaning of ON *skalpr* was 'sheath', and Taylor suggests the element had the sense 'cave' on Boraraigh while Marwick suggests the sense in Orkney was 'hollow'.

Nn. *skopp* rather than Norw. *skolp* (< ON *skalpr*) is found in Setesdal and Telemark in the south of Norway (Torp 1919, s.v. ²*skolp*). In Orkney, the lateral was dropped sometime during the 16th century: 1492 *Scalpaye*, 1500 *Scalpay*, 1595 *Scapa*, 1614 *Skappa* (Marwick ibid.). However, there is no evidence to say that the development *lp* > *pp* took place early enough for ON **skappr* (**skoppr*) to be used in Lewis. Otherwise, in Gaelic it is unlikely that the lateral would disappear without trace, e.g. ScG *Gabhsann* [ˈg̊auˌs̪ən̪̊], from ON *Galt-sund* #188; indeed, ScG *Sgalpaigh* [ˈs̪kaɫ̪̊pɛj] is found at NG228959, in Harris, and NG609302, in Skye, perhaps from CSc. **Skalp-øy*, with CSc. **øy* f. 'island' §16.

674. Cox (1987 II, 205) derives ScG *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɫ̪̊] (NB211404 in *An Cnoc* TSR #134 and NB217431 in *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258) from ON **Sef-fjall* '(the) rushes-mountain', with ON *sef* and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain', with compensatory lengthening after loss of ON *f*. However, compensatory lengthening is found neither here nor in ScG *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌs̪krɔ] NB194424, from ON **Klifsgróf* '(the) stream of the steep slope', with genitive of the noun ON *klif* nt. 'steep slope' and ON *gróf* f. 'stream', which places considerable doubt on a derivation from ON **Sef-fjall*. ON *sef* was itself borrowed into Gaelic as *siobh* *[ʃif] > *siobhag* [ˈʃifaɣ̊] 'straw; wick'. ON **Seið-fjall* '(the) spell-mountain', with the stem form of ON *seiðr* m., would suit phonetically.

675. Lawson (2008, 141–42) writes (?ScG) *Scapraid*; Hebridean Connections (<https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/100799>) writes Eng. *Scapraid*, ScG *Sgàp·araid*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, is math dh'fhaodte à SL **Sef-sætr* '(an) luachair-àirigh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sef* n. 'luachair' + SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh' (#296); coim. *Sivesin* ann an Oppland, Nirribhidh (*NSL*, s.v.).[674]

#289 ***Sgapraid*** BRN
[ˈs̪kaʰpəˌɾɛd̪ʲ], [ˈs̪kaʰpəˌɾad̪ʲ], (gin.) idem; NB270278. 1843–82 *Scapraid*, *Loch Scapraid*, *Aird Scapraid*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs deas air *Loch Gainmhich* #241, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha a thùs doilleir.[675]

Tàrmaichidh Taylor (1968, 143) GA *Gob Stapanis* *[ˌg̊ob̥ ˈs̪taʰpəˌniʃ] NA155044, air Boraraigh, Hiort, ann an SL **Skalpanes* 'rubha nan uamh', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *skalpr* f. agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i), a' dèanamh coimeas ri Brl. *Scapa* HY440089, ann an Arcaibh. Thathas den bheachd gur h-ann à SL **Skalp-eið* a tha *Scapa* (Marwick 1952, 100), le bun-riochd SL *skalpr* agus SL *eið* n. 'aoidh, fadhail' (#171), às a sin STìl. *Skálp-eið* (Orkneyinga saga: (gin.) *til Skaalp·eids*, (tabh.) *fra Skaalpeidi*, (cusp.) *a Skalpeid* (Flateyjarbók II, 451, 462, 491)). B' e 'truaill' a bu phrìomh chiall dhan fhacal SL *skalpr*, agus cuiridh Taylor air shùilibh gur h-e 'uamh' a bu bhrìgh dhan eileamaid air Boraraigh agus Marwick gur h-e 'lag' a bu bhrìgh dhi ann an Arcaibh.

Gheibhear Nn. *skopp* an àite Nirr. *skolp* (< SL *skalpr*) ann an Setesdal is Telemark an ceann a deas Nirribhidh (Torp 1919, s.v. ²*skolp*). Ann an Arcaibh, tuitidh an taobhach às uaireigin san t-16mh linn: 1492 *Scalpaye*, 1500 *Scalpay*, 1595 *Scapa*, 1614 *Skappa* (Marwick ibid.). Gidheadh, chan eil fianais ann a dh'innseas gun do thachair an leasachadh *lp* > *pp* tràth gu leòr agus gun cleachdte SL **skappr* (**skoppr*) ann an Leòdhas. A chaochladh, anns a' Ghàidhlig cha choltach gum falbhadh an taobhach gun sgeul air, m.e. GA *Gabhsann* [ˈg̊auˌs̪ən̪̊], à SL **Galt-sund* #188; gu dearbha, gheibhear GA *Sgalpaigh* [ˈs̪kaɫ̪̊pɛj] aig NG228959, sna Hearadh, agus NG609302, san Eilean Sgitheanach, is dòcha à LB **Skalp-øy*, le LB **øy* b. 'eilean' §16.

674. Bheir Cox (1987 II, 205) GA *Sèabhal* [ˈʃeːˌvaɫ̪̊] (NB211404 air *A' Chnoc* TSR #134 is NB217431 ann am *Mullach Chàrlabhagh* #258) à SL **Sef-fjall* '(an) luachair-bheinn', le SL *sef* agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn', le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh an dèidh call SL *f*. Gidheadh, chan fhaighear fadachadh cuidhteachaidh aon chuid an seo no ann an GA *Cliosgro* [ˈkʰliˌs̪krɔ] NB194424 à SL **Klifsgróf* 'allt an leothaid chais', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *klif* n. 'leathad cas' agus SL *gróf* b. 'allt', a chuireas mòr-theagamh ann am bunachas à SL **Sef-fjall*. Chaidh SL *sef* fhèin air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na *siobh* *[ʃif] > *siobhag* [ˈʃifaɣ̊] 'sràbh; siobhag, buaic'. Fhreagradh SL **Seið-fjall* '(an) ortha-bheinn', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *seiðr* f., gu fuaim-eòlach.

675. Sgrìobhaidh Lawson (2008, 141–42) (?GA) *Scapraid*; sgrìobhaidh Hebridean Connections (<https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/100799>) Brl. *Scapraid*, GA *Sgàparaid*.

There is apparently no obvious Gaelic solution to this name either, but one might consider a form based on ScG *sgap* vb 'to scatter' (EG *scapaid*): ScG *sgap* + the suffixes *-ar* and *-id*[676] would yield *Sgapraid* (with syncope §44 (ii)) '(the) place from which something would be scattered', but, without anything to say what such a name might mean (e.g. flushing birds[677]), the solution is far from certain.

#290 ***Sgealadal*** PRC

[ˈsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əɫˠ], (gen.) *Sgealadail* [ˈsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əl]. 1776, 1789 *Skeladale*; 1801 *Skeradale* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Skeladale*.

The name of two deserted settlements, about 2 km (about 1.2 miles) from each other, on the east side of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), in A' Phàirc, distinguished by the adjectives ScG *beag* 'small' (#8), in the sense 'lesser', and ScG *mòr* 'large' (#2), in the sense 'greater':

Sgealadal Bheag

[ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əɫˠ ˈveɣ̊], (gen.) *Sgealadail Bheag* [ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əl ˈveɣ̊]; NB221099. 1821 [?] *Scalladale beg*; 1843–82 *Scéaladal Bheag*, *Amhuinn Scéaladail Bheag*, *Gleann Sgealadail Bheag*.

Sgealadal Mhòr

[ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əɫˠ ˈvoːɾ], (gen.) *Sgealadail Mhòr* [ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əl ˈvoːɾ]; NB218120. 1821 *Scalladale more*; 1843–82 *Sc̀ealadal Mhor* [*sic*], *Oitir Scèaladail Mhoir*, *Amhuinn Scéaladail Mhoir*.

A Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Skelludal* acc. '(the) valley of **Skella*', with genitive of a river name ON **Skella* f., based on the verb ON *skella* 'to clash, bang, strike', and accusative of the noun ON *dalr* f. 'valley'. There are waterfalls on a large river in both of these valleys and one of them may have been behind the Norse name. Cf. *Skjella*, the name of a river in Hedmark, Norway (*NSL*; see also *NE*, 219).

Cf. *Sgealasgro* #291.

676. Cf. ScG *Allt a' Chloichraid* (?= **Allt*(*a*) *Chloichraid*, with an epenthetic vowel) NB52516243 (*ECC*, 144) (?< ScG *clach* f. 'stone' + *-ar* + *-id*); also ScG *miasaid* 'basin' (< *mias* 'table'), ScG *slugaid* 'gully' (< *slug* 'gulp; gullet') and ScG *lomaid* 'bare place' (< *lom* 'bare') in Lewis (Cox 2002a, 60), and ScG *seòlaid* 'sea lane; harbour' (< *seòl* 'sail') and ScG *làthaid* 'muddy place' (< *làth* 'mud, mire') etc. in Ross-shire (Watson 1904, xxxviii, 62, 198, 221–22) (with an *-nt-* suffix (Calder 1972, 192–93; Pedersen 1913, §394, 3)).

677. Although ScG *sgap* has apparently not been attested in the senses 'to beat' or 'to flush'.

Cha choltach gu bheil fuasgladh follaiseach Gàidhlig dhan ainm seo ann nas motha, ach dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air cruth air a stèidheachadh air GA *sgap* gn. 'sgaoil' (GT *scapaid*): bheireadh GA *sgap* + na h-iar-leasachain *-ar* agus *-id*[676] *Sgapraid* (le teasgadh meadhain §44 (ii)) '(an t-)àite às an sgapte rudeigin', ach, gun dad a dh'innseas dè bu chiall dha leithid de dh'ainm (m.e. a' dùsgadh eun[677]), is fhada am fuasgladh bho bhith cinnteach.

#290 ***Sgealadal*** PRC

[ˈsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əɫˠ], (gin.) *Sgealadail* [ˈsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əl]. 1776, 1789 *Skeladale*; 1801 *Skeradale* [*sic*]; 1804, 1807 *Skeladale*.

An t-ainm air dà thuineachadh fhàs, mu dhà , fn (mu 1.2 mìle) bho chèile, air taobh an ear *Loch Shìophort* (#113), anns A' Phàirc, air an dealachadh leis na buadhairean GA *beag* (#8), sa bhrìgh 'nas lugha', agus GA *mòr* (#2), sa bhrìgh 'nas motha':

Sgealadal Bheag

[ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əɫˠ ˈveɣ̊], (gin.) *Sgealadail Bheag* [ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əl ˈveɣ̊]; NB221099. 1821 [?] *Scalladale beg*; 1843–82 *Scéaladal Bheag*, *Amhuinn Scéaladail Bheag*, *Gleann Sgealadail Bheag*.

Sgealadal Mhòr

[ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əɫˠ ˈvoːɾ], (gin.) *Sgealadail Mhòr* [ˌsˠkʲaɫˠəˌt̪əl ˈvoːɾ]; NB218120. 1821 *Scalladale more*; 1843–82 *Sc̀ealadal Mhor* [*sic*], *Oitir Scèaladail Mhoir*, *Amhuinn Scéaladail Mhoir*.

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha air iasad às an Lochlannais, 's dòcha à SL **Skelludal* cusp. '(an) gleann aig **Skella*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm aibhne **Skella* b., air a bhonntachadh air a' ghnìomhair SL *skella* 'glaodhraich, brag, buail', agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *dalr* f. 'gleann'. Tha easan air abhainn mhòir san dà ghleann a tha seo agus dh'fhaodte gu bheil fear dhiubh seo air cùl an ainme Lochlannais. Coim. *Skjella*, an t-ainm air aibhne ann an Hedmark, Nirribhidh (*NSL*; faic *NE*, 219, mar an ceudna).

Coim. *Sgealasgro* #291.

676. Coim. GA *Allt a' Chloichraid* (?= **Allt*(*a*) *Chloichraid*, le fuaimreig còmhnaidh) NB52516243 (*ECC*, 144) (?< GA *clach* b. + *-ar* + *-id*); cuideachd GA *miasaid* 'lag, àite ìosal' (< *mias*), GA *slugaid* 'gleann cumhang, gil' (< *slug*) agus GA *lomaid* 'àite lom' (< *lom*) ann an Leòdhas (Cox 2002a, 60), agus GA *seòlaid* 'slighe mara; cala' (< *seòl*) agus GA *làthaid* 'àite làn eabair no puill' (< *làth*) ꝛc ann an Siorrachd Rois (Watson 1904, xxxviii, 62, 198, 221–22) (le iar-leasachan *-nt-* (Calder 1972, 192–93; Pedersen 1913, §394, 3)).

677. Ged nach eil teist a rèir choltais air GA *sgap* sna brìghean Beurla 'to beat' no 'to flush'.

#291 *Sgealasgro* BRN (Eng. *Scaliscro*)
[ˈsˠkʲɑɫˠəˌsˠkɾo], (gen.) idem; NB134271. 1821 *Scaliscroe*; 1822 *Skaliseroe* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Sgealascro*, *Port Sgealascro*; 1846 *Skaliscroe*; 1934, 100 *Sgialascro*; 2007 *Scealascro*‖*Scaliscro*.

> Oftedal 1954, 384: '**Scaliscro** [?][678] is probably a river or burn name in ON *-gróf* f., an element very common in Lewis burn names. Another example of its use in present-day village names is *Cliasgro* #131.'

The name of an estate in Ùig; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Skellsgróf* '(the) stream of the clash', with genitive of the noun ON *skellr* m. 'clash, bang, blow' and ON *gróf* f. 'stream'; for medial [ə], cf. ScG *Teallas·bhagh* #322, from ON **Hjallsvág* acc.[679]

Cf. *Sgealadal* #290.

#292 *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* CLA
*[ˌsˠkʲeɾʲ ˈxəiˌʃaˠd̪əɾʲ], (gen.) idem; NB269499. 1843–82 *Sgeir Chuidhshader*.

The name of a rock in the sea, with ScG *sgeir* f. 'skerry', a loan-word from ON *sker* nt. §8 + genitive of the loan-name **Cuidhseadar*, from ON **Kví-sætr* '(the) pen-sheiling', with the stem form of ON *kví* f. 'pen, fold' + ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296). It appears that **Cuidhseadar* was the name of an area on *Àird Mhòr Bhradhagair* 'the large headland of *Bradhagair* #74'.

Cf. *Cuidhiseadar* #162; see also *Cuidhir* #161.

#293 *Sgianailt* ÙIG
[ˈsˠkʲĩəniˠɟtʲ], (gen.) idem; NB061173. 1776, 1801, 1804 *Skinet*; 1843–82 *Sgianuillt*, *Amhuinn Sgianuillt*, *Cleiteachean Sgianuillt*; 1860 *Sgianuillt*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the north side of *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112), in Ùig; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. The same name is found in An Taobh Siar: ScG *Sgianailt* [ˈsˠkʲĩũniˠɟtʲ], [ˈsˠkʲĩəniˠɟtʲ] (≈Cox 2002a, 365), (nMO) [scĩũniʲʟˠtˠ], NB203373, in *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).

In his notes, Oftedal considers ON *skín-*, the stem form of the verb ON *skína* 'to shine', cf. the man's name ScG *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ], from ON *Ívar* acc. m., with nasal *í* (or ON *Ingvar*, *Yngvar* acc. m. (Oftedal 1956, 96), but see §78 (iii), fn 6)).

For *Sgianailt* in An Taobh Siar, MacIver (1934, 5) suggests ON **Skjannahall* acc., with genitive of the noun ON *skjanni* m. 'the side of the head' and accusa-

678. (nMO) [skˈɑɻəskro].

679. MacIver (1934, 100) suggests ON **Skjǫlgukró* '(the) slanted fold', with the feminine weak form of the adjective ON *skjalgr* 'slanted' and ON *kró* f. (#152). One would expect an epenthetic vowel from the cluster ON *lg* and medial *s* in Gaelic is unexplained.

#291 *Sgealasgro* BRN
[ˈsˠkʲɑɫˠəˌsˠkɾo], (gin.) idem; NB134271. 1821 *Scaliscroe*; 1822 *Skaliseroe* [*sic*]; 1843–82 *Sgealascro*, *Port Sgealascro*; 1846 *Skaliscroe*; 1934, 100 *Sgialascro*; 2007 *Scealascro*‖*Scaliscro*.

> Oftedal 1954, 384: 'S iongantach mana h-e ainm aibhne no uillt ann an SL *-gróf* b. (eileamaid glè bhitheanta ann an ainmean uilt ann an Leòdhas) a th' ann an **Scaliscro** [?][678] Tha *Cliasgro* #131 na eisimpleir eile dhith ann an ainmean baile an latha an-diugh.

An t-ainm air oighreachd ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, is dòcha à SL **Skellsgróf* 'allt a' ghlaodhair', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *skellr* f. 'glaodhar, brag, buille' agus SL *gróf* b. 'allt'; airson [ə] meadhain, coim. GA *Teallasbhagh* #322, à SL **Hjallsvág* cusp.[679]

Coim. *Sgealadal* #290.

#292 *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* CLA
*[ˌsˠkʲeɾʲ ˈxəiˌʃaˠd̪əɾʲ], (gin.) idem; NB269499. 1843–82 *Sgeir Chuidhshader*.

An t-ainm air sgeir sa mhuir, le GA *sgeir* b. 'clach sa mhuir', facal-iasaid à SL *sker* n. §8 + tuiseal ginideach an ainm-iasaid **Cuidhseadar*, à SL **Kví-sætr* '(a') chro-àirigh', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kví* b. 'crò, buaile' + SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296). Is coltach gun robh **Cuidhseadar* na ainm air àite air *Àird Mhòr Bhradhagair* #74.

Coim. *Cuidhiseadar* #162; faic cuideachd *Cuidhir* #161.

#293 *Sgianailt* ÙIG
[ˈsˠkʲĩəniˠɟtʲ], (gin.) idem; NB061173. 1776, 1801, 1804 *Skinet*; 1843–82 *Sgianuillt*, *Amhuinn Sgianuillt*, *Cleiteachean Sgianuillt*; 1860 *Sgianuillt*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh a tuath *Loch Reusort* (#112), ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha air iasad às an Lochlannais. Gheibhear an t-aon ainm air An Taobh Siar: GA *Sgianailt* [ˈsˠkʲĩũniˠɟtʲ], [ˈsˠkʲĩəniˠɟtʲ] (≈Cox 2002a, 365), (nMO) [scĩũniʲʟˠtˠ], NB203373, ann an *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331).

Na notaichean, meòraichidh Oftedal air SL *skín-*, bun-riochd a' ghnìomhair SL *skína* 'deàrrsaich', coim. an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Ìomhar* [ˈĩəvəɾ], à SL *Ívar* cusp. f., le *í* shrònaich (no SL *Ingvar*, *Yngvar* cusp. f. (Oftedal 1956, 96), ach faic §78 (iii), bn 6).

Airson *Sgianailt* An Taoibh Siar, cuiridh MacIver (1934, 5) air shùilibh SL **Skjannahall* cusp., le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *skjanni* f. 'cliathaich a' chinn'

678. (nMO) [skˈɑɻəskro].

679. Cuiribh MacIver (1934, 100) air shùilibh SL **Skjǫlgukró* '(a') chrò fhiar', le cruth lag boireann a' bhuadhair SL *skjalgr* 'fiar' agus SL *kró* b. (#152). Bhite an dùil ri fuaimreig còmhnaidh às a' chòmhlan SL *lg* agus tha *s* mheadhain sa Ghàidhlig gun a mìneachadh.

tive of the noun ON *hallr* m. ‘slope, hill’ (with palatalisation in the final syllable as a result of genitive inflection in Gaelic). This is very unlikely: even if ON *ja* were to give ScG /iə/, ScG [n] /n/ from ON *nn* would be unexpected, and how ON *ll* would yield ScG *lt* is unexplained.

ON *skygni* nt. ‘hut, cover’ might be behind the name, or, perhaps better, a form of ON *skygna* f. ‘view, look’ or *skygna* vb ‘to view, to look (for)’; cf. *Skygne·bakken* and (with Norw. *skygning* m. ‘viewing, looking around’) *Skygnings·bergan* in Flekkefjord, Vest-Agder, Norway. The Old Norse stressed vowel *y* lengthens in Gaelic following the loss of the fricative *g* [ɣ] in Gaelic, cf. the man’s name ScG *Mànas* m. [ˈmãːnəs̪] < ON *Magnús* m. (#244, fn 563) and the loan-name ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̪ʊ̟ːˌʃtʲən], perhaps from ON **Bugsstein* acc. (#116). ON **Skygn-holti* dat. ‘(the) viewing-hill’, with the stem form of the specific and dative of the noun ON *holt* m.[680] ‘hill; stoney elevation’, would yield ScG [ˈs̪kʲĩəniʌ̹̊tʲ] regularly. Cf. ScG *Amar Sìne* [ˌãmərˈʃiːnə] NB224371, in *Tolstadh a’ Chaolais*, from ON **Hamar·inn Sýna* ‘the look-out rock’ (Cox 2007c, 17–19: 17); cf. ScG *An Àirigh Choimhead* ‘the look-out sheiling’ NB216406, in *An Cnoc* TSR #134 (Cox 2002a, 152).

#294 *Sgiogarstaidh* NIS (Eng. *Skigersta*)
[ˈs̪kʲiɡəˌs̪t̪aj], (gen.) idem; NB546615. 1654 *Skeggirsta*; 1750 *Skegastay*; 1750M *Skegafty*; 1776 *Skegasty*; 1789 *Stegasty* [*sic*]; 1790 *Skegasly* [*sic*]; 1794, 1804, 1807 *Skegasty*; 1821 *Skeygersta*; 1822 *Skegersta*; 1843–82 *Sgiogarstagh*, *Amhuinn Sgiog·arstaigh*, *Gil Sgiogarstaigh*, *Port Sgiogarstaigh*; 1846 *Skegersta*; 2007, road sign *Sgiogarstaigh*||*Skigersta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 389–90: ‘**Skegirsta** [skʹigəs̪ṭaj] (?[skʹigʹəs̪ṭaj])[fn] (pronunciation quoted from memory) sounds disappointingly like ON *Skeggja·staðir* “*Skeggi*’s farm”, whence it is currently explained.[681] But the *r* implied in the cluster [s̪ṭ] (phonemically /ʀst/[682]), as well as the non-palatal [g], render this derivation impossible. A better solution is ON **Skegg-árstaðir*, from a river name **Skegg-á* “(the) beard-river”. I have found no river of this name anywhere, but *Skjegga*, another derivation from ON *skegg* nt. “beard” is the name of a river in Søndre Land, Norway. As Oluf Rygh suggests in *NE* 219, the name may refer to foaming water. The river **Skegg-á* would then be identical with ScG *An t-Allt Fada* “the long stream”, a nearby rivulet.

680. Rather than *holt* nt. (Cox 2002a, 365), which means ‘grove, small wood’.

681. E.g. MacBain 1922, 110.

682. Leg. /ʀsd/.

agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *hallr* f. ‘leathad, cnoc’ (agus càireanachadh san lide mu dheireadh mar thoradh air mùthadh ginideach sa Ghàidhlig). Is ann a tha seo gu math ao-coltach: ged a bheireadh SL *ja* GA /iə/, cha shùilichte GA [n] /n/ à SL *nn*, agus cha mhìnichear ciamar a bheireadh SL *ll* GA *lt*.

Dh’fhaodte gu bheil SL *skygni* n. ‘bothan, còmhdach’ air cùl an ainme, air neo, nas fheàrr is dòcha, cruth à SL *skygna* b. ‘amharc, sealladh, sùil’ no *skygna* gn. ‘amhairc, coimhead, sir’; coim. *Skygnebakken* agus (le Nirr. *skygning* f. ‘sealltainn, coimhead timcheall’) *Skygningsbergan* ann am Flekkefjord, Vest-Agder, Nirribhidh. Fàsaidh an fhuaimreag bheumte Lochlannais *y* fada am beul nan Gàidheal an dèidh call an t-suathaich *g* [ɣ] sa Ghàidhlig, coim. an t-ainm fireannaich GA *Mànas* f. [ˈmãːnəs̪] < SL *Magnús* f. (#244, fn 563) agus an t-ainm-iasaid GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̪ʊ̟ːˌʃtʲən], ’s dòcha à SL **Bugsstein* cusp. (#116). Bheireadh SL **Skygn-holti* tabh. ‘(an t-)amharc-chnoc’, le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir agus tuiseal tabhartach an ainmeir SL *holt* f.[680] ‘cnoc; àirde chlachach’, GA [ˈs̪kʲĩəniʌ̹̊tʲ] gu riaghailteach. Coim. GA *Amar Sìne* [ˌãmərˈʃiːnə] NB224371, ann an *Tolstadh a’ Chaolais*, à SL **Hamarinn Sýna* ‘a’ chreag choimhead’ (Cox 2007c, 17–19: 17); coim. GA *An Àirigh Choimhead* NB216406, air *A’ Chnoc* TSR #134 (Cox 2002a, 152).

#294 *Sgiogarstaidh* NIS
[ˈs̪kʲiɡəˌs̪t̪aj], (gin.) idem; NB546615. 1654 *Skeggirsta*; 1750 *Skegastay*; 1750M *Skegafty*; 1776 *Skegasty*; 1789 *Stegasty* [*sic*]; 1790 *Skegasly* [*sic*]; 1794, 1804, 1807 *Skegasty*; 1821 *Skeygersta*; 1822 *Skegersta*; 1843–82 *Sgiogarstagh*, *Amhuinn Sgiog·arstaigh*, *Gil Sgiogarstaigh*, *Port Sgiogarstaigh*; 1846 *Skegersta*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Sgiogarstaigh*||*Skigersta*.

> Oftedal 1954, 389–90: Gu mì-fhortanach, ’s e SL *Skeggjastaðir* ‘(an) tuathanas aig *Skeggi*’ an coltas a th’ air **Skegirsta** [skʹigəs̪ṭaj] (?[skʹigʹəs̪ṭaj])[bn] (am fuaimneachadh bho chuimhne), mar a thèid a mhìneachadh an-dràsta.[681] Ach tha an *r* a tha ri thuigse sa chòmhlan [s̪ṭ] (gu fuinn-eòlach /ʀst/[682]), cho math ris a’ [g] neo-chàireanaich, a’ ciallachadh gu bheil am bunachas seo do-dhèanta. Tha SL **Skegg-árstaðir* na fhuasgladh nas fheàrr, à ainm aibhne, .i. **Skegg-á* ‘(an) fheusag-abhainn’. Cha d’ fhuair mi lorg air abhainn air a bheil an t-ainm seo an àite sam bith, ach ’s e *Skjegga*, bunachas eile à SL *skegg* n. ‘feusag’, an t-ainm air abhainn ann an Søndre Land, Nirribhidh. Mar a mholas Oluf Rygh ann an *NE* 219, faodaidh an t-ainm a bhith a’ beantainn ri uisge copach. B’ ionann an abhainn **Skegg-á*, a-rèist, agus GA *An t-Allt Fada*, sruth a tha faisg air làimh.

680. Seach *holt* n. (Cox 2002a, 365), dham bu chiall ‘craobhag, coille bheag’.

681. M.e. MacBain 1922, 110.

682. Leugh /ʀsd/.

The solution is not entirely satisfactory, as ON *-staðir* is usually preceded by a personal name and only rarely by a river name. It is to be hoped that further research may shed some more light upon this name.

fn: I am almost certain that the former notation, with non-palatal *g*, is the correct one.[683] Watson's spelling *Sgiogarsta* [1904, 271] supports this. The combination [ig] is rare but not absent in Lewis Gaelic; it is found in ScG *briogadh* [pðigəɣ], a verbal noun explained to me as "what you do between the rows of potatoes before hoeing".

The name of a township in Nis, one of those where a fishing village was established in 1824 and that was called *Baile nam Banntrach* 'the village of the widows' as a result of the number of men from the village that were drowned (Lawson 2008, 12).

Evemalm (2017, 129–30) suggests that the documentary forms without medial *r* (such as 1750 *Skegastay*) might originate in ON **Skeggjastaðir*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Skeggi* m., posing the question whether Blaeu's and the modern form of the name or the form without *r* is more authoritative, but one would not expect intrusive *r* here in Gaelic. It is as a consequence of this that Oftedal recommends ON **Skegg-árstaðir*, with genitive of the river name ON **Skegg-á* f. '(the) beard-river', with the stem form of ON *skegg* nt. 'beard' and ON *á* f. 'river'.[684]

It may be that there is a connection between *Sgiogarstaidh* and the specific in the name ScG *Àird Sgeiginis* [ˈs̪kʲeɡ̊ʲəˌnʲiʃ] 'the headland of **Sgeiginis*' NB545624, a headland about three quarters of a kilometre (a little under half a mile) from the settlement. Perhaps the element *skegg* was applied to some promontory or other in the vicinity[685] and perhaps that name was used as the specific in two new names: ON **Skegg-nes* '(the) **Skegg*-promontory' and ON **Skegg-á* '(the) **Skegg*-river' and, later on, that **Skegg-á* itself was used as specific in a further name, i.e. ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. pl. '(the) farm of (i.e. beside) **Skegg-á*'.

ON **Skegg-nes* would yield EG *[ˈs̪kʲegʲˌnʲiʃ], hence ScG [ˈs̪kʲeɡ̊ʲəˌnʲiʃ], with an epenthetic vowel, while ON **Skegg-árstaða* acc. would yield ScG **Sgeag·arstaidh* *[ˈs̪kʲeɡ̊əˌɛ̝ʈaj] in the first instance, with a non-palatal medial consonant. The alternation [e] ~ [i] in the stressed vowel of our name might be relatively recent (Cox 2006, 21).

683. (nMO) [scigəʂʈɑj] (-[ɟ]- ?), [skˈɤ̞g̊əᵡs̪ʈaˑj̚].

684. For ON *Skeggi* or *skegg* in Eng. *Skegness*, England, see Cameron and Ingsley 1998, 110.

685. Cf. the sense 'protruding extension of the stem of a warship' (*NO*, s.v. *skegg*).

Chan eil am fuasgladh gu buileach riarachail, seach gum faighear ainm pearsanta air thoiseach air SL *-staðir* mar as trice, ainm aibhne ach ainneamh. Thathas an dòchas gun sad tuilleadh rannsachaidh barrachd solais air an ainm seo.

bn: Tha mi an ìre mhath cinnteach gur h-e a' chiad tras-sgrìobhadh, le *g* neo-chàireanaich, am fear ceart.[683] Cuiridh litreachadh Watson *Sgiogarsta* [1904, 271] ris a seo. 'S ann a tha an co-mheasgachadh [ig] gann ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais ach tha e ann; gheibhear e ann an GA *briogadh* [pðigəɣ], ainmear gnìomhaireach a chaidh a mhìneachadh dhomh mar 'na bhios tu a' dèanamh eadar na ròdan buntàta mus bi thu a' tobhaigeadh'.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nis, air fear den fheadhainn far an deach baile iasgaich a stèidheachadh ann an 1824 agus ris an cante *Baile nam Bann·trach* mar thoradh air an uimhir de dh'fhireannaich às a' bhaile a chaidh a bhàthadh (Lawson 2008, 12).

Cuiridh Evemalm (2017, 129–30) air shùilibh gum faodte na cruthan sgrìobhainne gun *r* mheadhain (a leithid 1750 *Skegastay*) a bhith a' tàrmachadh ann an SL **Skeggjastaðir*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Skeggi* f., a' togail na ceiste an e cruth Bhlaeu agus an nua-chruth le *r* no an cruth gun *r* as earbsaiche, ach cha shùilichte *r* in-shàthte sa Ghàidhlig an seo. 'S ann a chionn seo a mholas Oftedal SL **Skegg-árstaðir*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm aibhne SL **Skegg-á* b. '(an) fheusag-abhainn', leis a' bhun-riochd aig SL *skegg* n. 'feusag' agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn'.[684]

Faodaidh e a bhith gu bheil ceangal eadar *Sgiogarstaidh* agus an sònraichear san ainm GA *Àird Sgeiginis* [ˈs̪kʲeɡ̊ʲəˌnʲiʃ] NB545624, àird mu thrì chairteil a' chile-meatair (beagan nas lugha na leth-mhìle) bhon tuineachadh. Is dòcha gun deach an eileamaid *skegg* a thoirt air rubha air choreigin air an àrainn,[685] agus gun deach an t-ainm sin a chleachdadh na shònraichear ann an dà ainm ùr: SL **Skegg-nes* '(an) **Skegg*-rubha' agus SL **Skegg-á* '(an) **Skegg*-abhainn' agus, na b' anmoiche, gun deach **Skegg-á* fhèin a chleachdadh na shònraichear ann an ainm eile, .i. SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. iol. '(an) tuathanas aig (.i. ri taobh) **Skegg-á*'.

Bheireadh SL **Skegg-nes* GT *[ˈs̪kʲegʲˌnʲiʃ], às a sin GA [ˈs̪kʲeɡ̊ʲəˌnʲiʃ], le fuaimreig còmhnaidh, fhad 's a bheireadh SL **Skegg-árstaða* cusp. GA **Sgeagar·staidh* *[ˈs̪kʲeɡ̊əˌɛ̝ʈaj] sa chiad char, le connraig mheadhain neo-chàireanaich. Dh'fhaodadh an iomlaid [e] ~ [i] ann am fuaimreig bheumte an ainm againne a bhith coimeasach ùr (Cox 2006, 21).

683. (nMO) [scigəʂʈɑj] (-[ɟ]- ?), [skˈɤ̞g̊əᵡs̪ʈaˑj̚].

684. Airson SL *Skeggi* no *skegg* ann am Brl. *Skegness*, Sasainn, faic Cameron agus Ingsley 1998, 110.

685. Coim. a' bhrìgh 'sìneadh stobach air toiseach luing-cogaidh' (*NO*, s.v. *skegg*).

In addition to ON *staða*, accusative plural of ON *staðr* m. (#331, fn 803), one might consider ON *stǫð* f. 'landing place' for the generic element, cf. *Cabh·arstaidh* #90.

#295 *Siabost* TSR (Eng. *Shawbost*)
[ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) *Shiaboist* [ˈhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]. 1654 *Schaboift*; 1718 *Shawbost*; 1726 *Sha·bost*; 1750M *Shabuft*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Shabust*; 1846 *Shawbost*; 2007 *Siabost‖Shawbost*.

Siabost a Deas
[ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ əˈd̥ʲæs̪],[686] (gen.) *Shiaboist a Deas* [ˌhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ əˈd̥ʲæs]; NB251462. 1821, 1822 *South Shawbost*; 1843–82 *Sheabost a Deas*; 2007 *Siabost bho Dheas‖South Shawbost*.

Siabost a Tuath
[ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ əˈt̪ʰuə],[687] (gen.) *Shiaboist a Tuath* [ˌhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ əˈt̪ʰuə]; NB260468. 1821, 1822 *North Shawbost*; 1843–82 *Sheabost a Tuath*; 2007 *Siabost bho Thuath‖North Shawbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: '**Shawbost** [ʃiabɔst] is ON **Sæ-bólstaðr* "(the) sea-farm"' This name does not occur in Norway, but there are many other compounds with *sæ-* m.: **Sæ-bú*, **Sæ-bør*, **Sæ-heimr*, **Sæ-þveit* etc. The phonetic development is regular, cf. ScG *Trialabhal* [triɑləvɑɪ] from ON **Þrælafjall* "(the) thralls' mountain", and ScG *Siadar* [ʃiadəð] #296.'

The name of two townships in An Taobh Siar, distinguished from each other by the adverbial phrases ScG *a deas* and *a tuath* in the sense 'southern, northern' (#74).[688] *Siabost* is a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Gammeltoft (2001, 146) judges that 'from the source evidence as well as the phonetic transcription, the variant ON *sjár* m. appears to be more likely.'[689] It

686. In *Siabost a Tuath*, *Siabost Thall* [ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ ˈhau̯ɬ̪] 'yonder *Siabost*' is sometimes heard.

687. In *Siabost a Deas*, *Siabost Thall* [ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ ˈhau̯ɬ̪] is sometimes heard.

688. *Siabost a Deas* and *Siabost a Tuath* are separated by *Abhainn Shiaboist* 'the river of—'. The forms *Siabost bho Dheas* and *Siabost bho Thuath* can be seen in error on road signs, the pattern for example in *Dail bho Dheas* and *Dail bho Thuath* (#166) copied by administrators.

689. In addition to ON *sær*, the variants *sjór* and *sjár* (all masculine) occur. CSc. *ai* /_*w* + vowel yields ON *æ*, e.g. CSc. **saiwaʀ* 'sea' etc. > ON *sær* but, by analogical levelling, *w* was sometimes reintroduced, which produced the development **æw* > **eu* > **eo* > *jó* – hence *sjór*; furthermore, by analogical levelling with the inflection (nom.) *ó* > (gen.) *á* in some nouns, e.g. *sjór*, (gen.) *sjávar*, the genitive reflex became a nominative form through back-formation, viz *sjár* (Iversen 1973, 25); cf. *mær, mjór, mjár* #251 (iv).

A thuilleadh air SL *staða*, an tuiseal ainmneach iolra aig SL *staðr* f. (#331, bn 803), dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air SL *stǫð* b. 'laimrig' airson an t-seòrsaicheir, coim. *Cabharstaidh* #90.

#295 *Siabost* TSR
[ˈʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) *Shiaboist* [ˈhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]. 1654 *Schaboift*; 1718 *Shawbost*; 1726 *Sha·bost*; 1750M *Shabuft*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Shabust*; 1846 *Shawbost*; 2007 *Siabost‖Shawbost*.

Siabost a Deas
[ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ əˈd̥ʲæs̪],[686] (gin.) *Shiaboist a Deas* [ˌhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ əˈd̥ʲæs]; NB251462. 1821, 1822 *South Shawbost*; 1843–82 *Sheabost a Deas*; 2007 *Siabost bho Dheas‖South Shawbost*.

Siabost a Tuath
[ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ əˈt̪ʰuə],[687] (gin.) *Shiaboist a Tuath* [ˌhiaˌb̥ɔʃtʲ əˈt̪ʰuə]; NB260468. 1821, 1822 *North Shawbost*; 1843–82 *Sheabost a Tuath*; 2007 *Siabost bho Thuath‖North Shawbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 377: 'S e SL **Sæ-bólstaðr* '(am) muir-thuathanas' a th' ann an **Shawbost** [ʃiabɔst]. Cha nochd an t-ainm seo ann an Nirribhidh, ach tha mòran fhillteach eile ann le SL *sæ-* f.: **Sæ-bú*, **Sæ-bór*, **Sæ-heimr*, **Sæ-þveit* ↀc. 'S ann a tha am fàs fuaim-eòlach riaghailteach, coim. GA *Trialabhal* [triɑləvɑɪ] < SL **Þrælafjall* 'beinn nan tràill', agus GA *Siadar* [ʃiadəð] #296.

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn air An Taobh Siar, air an dealachadh ri chèile leis na h-abairtean co-ghnìomhaireach GA *a deas* agus *a tuath* (#74).[688] Tha *Siabost* na ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais.

Bho fhianais nan tobraichean agus tras-sgrìobhadh fuaim-eòlach Oftedal, molaidh Gammeltoft (2001, 146) gum bu choltaiche gur h-e an t-eugsamhail SL *sjár* f. a bhios air cùl an ainme seo.[689] Is math dh'fhaodte, ge-tà, gun toireadh SL

686. Ann an *Siabost a Tuath*, cluinnear *Siabost Thall* [ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ ˈhau̯ɬ̪] air uairean.

687. Ann an *Siabost a Deas*, cluinnear *Siabost Thall* [ˌʃiaˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ ˈhau̯ɬ̪] air uairean.

688. Tha *Siabost a Deas* agus *Siabost a Tuath* air an sgaradh bho chèile le *Abhainn Shia·boist*. Chithear na cruthan *Siabost bho Dheas* agus *Siabost bho Thuath* air mhearachd air soighnichean rathaid agus am pàtran mar eisimpleir ann an *Dail bho Dheas* agus *Dail bho Thuath* (#166) air a leantainn le luchd-rianachd.

689. A thuilleadh air SL *sær*, gheibhear na h-eugsamhailean *sjór* agus *sjár* (uile fir.). Às an Lochlannais Bhitheanta *ai* /_*w* + fuaimreag, gheibhear SL *æ*, m.e. LB **saiwaʀ* 'muir' ↀc > SL *sær* ach, le co-rèiteachadh, chaidh *w* in-shàthadh a-rithist air uairean, far an d' fhuaradh an leas-achadh **æw* > **eu* > **eo* > *jó* – às a sin *sjór*; a thuilleadh, le co-rèiteachadh ris a' mhùthadh (bun.) *ó* > (gin.) *á* ann an cuid de dh'ainmearan, m.e. *sjór*, (gin.) *sjávar*, chaidh an riochd ginideach na fhear bunasach le cùl-chinntinn, .i. *sjár* (Iversen 1973, 25); coim. *mær*, *mjór*, *mjár* #251 (iv).

is probable, however, that ON *já* would yield a palatal consonant + a long monophthong in Gaelic, cf. ScG *greòd* [ɡ̊ʲɔːd̥] 'course earth, stones' < ON *grjót* nt. 'stones' (Cox 2002a, 254–55).[690] On the other hand, with breaking[691] ON *æ* would yield ScG [ia] regularly, as Oftedal shows above.

In addition to 'sea; salt water', ON *sær* was used of freshwater lochs, and it is most likely that this is the sense of the element in ON **Sæ-bólstað* acc. (as Gammeltoft notes ibid.), with the large freshwater *Loch a' Bhaile* 'the loch of the village' located in front of the bay *Loch Shiaboist* 'the loch of—'. Cf. *Baile an Loch* #29.

In English, the written form of this name is *Shawbost* and, under the influence of this spelling, the village is called Eng. [ˈʃɒːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪], although a local pronunciation [ˈʃaːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] survives or survived until recently (Cox 1990a, 50).

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#296 *Siadar* CLA (Eng. *Shader*)
[ˈʃiad̥ər], (gen.) *Shiadair* [ˈhiad̥əɾʲ],[692] or *Siadar a' Chladaich* 'the *Siadar* of *An Cladach* "the shore" §3 (xii)' (as opposed to *Siadar an Rubha* 'the *Siadar* of *An Rubha*' (#298)); NB3855. 1654 *Shader, Shader illé* (§15); 1680 *Chader* [*sic*]; 1703 *Shadar, Shadir, Shiadir*; 1750M *Chader*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Shader*; 1843–82 *Siadeir or Seachd Peghinnean* NB384551, *Amhuinn Shiadeir, Gleann Shiadeir*; 1845 *Shadir*. The name *Siadar* includes the two townships *Siadar Ìorach* and *Siadar Uarach*:

Siadar Ìorach [ˌʃiad̥ər ˈiərɔx],[693] (gen.) *Shiadair Ìoraich* [ˌhiad̥əɾʲ ˈiərɪç]; NB389547. 1718 *Nether Shather, Nether Shadder*; 1726 *Neather Shadir, Nether Shadir*; 1797 *Lower Strather*; 1821, 1822 *Nether Shader*; 1843–82 *Siadeir Iòrach*; 1845 *Lower Shadir*; 1846 *Nether Shader*; 2007, road sign *Siadar Iarach‖Lower Shader*. In the 1840s, the village was moved from *Cuidhbheatotar* NB385552 #160 to where it is today, including the farm *Beagnaigearraidh* NB384546 #49 (Lawson 2008, 72).

Siadar Uarach [ˌʃiad̥ər ˈuərɔx],[694] (gen.) *Shiadair Uaraich* [ˌhiad̥əɾʲ ˈuərɪç]; NB382536. 1718 *Upper Shadder*; 1726 *Upper Shadir*; 1821, 1822 *Upper Shader*; 1843–82 *Siadeir Uarach*; 2007, road sign *Siadar Uarach‖Upper Shader*. The village

690. Lengthening of the stressed vowel in ON **Tjarnargerði* > ScG *Teànnraigir* [ˈʧʰãːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] took place in Gaelic before original *rn* (#182, fn 410).

691. In which /eː/ breaks to /ia/, e.g. EG *bél* > ScG *beul* [b̥iaɬ̪] (see Cox 2017, 7, fn 20; Jackson 1968).

692. (nMO) *Abhainn Shiadair* [ãviɴʲ ˈhiad̥əɾ̪].

693. (nMO) (Iain Moireasdan from *Siadar Uarach*) [ʃatəɾ̪ ˈiɘrax].

694. (nMO) (Iain Moireasdan from *Siadar Uarach*) [ʃatəɾ̪ ˈʉɘrax].

já connrag chàireanach + aon-fhoghar fada sa Ghàidhlig, coim. GA *greòd* [ɡ̊ʲɔːd̥] 'morghan, clachan beaga' < SL *grjót* n. 'clachan' (Cox 2002a, 254–55) agus GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈʧʰãːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] NB184398 < SL **Tjarnargerði* 'leas an lochain',[690] le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *tjǫrn* b. 'lochan, loch beag'. Air an làimh eile, le briseadh[691] bheir SL *æ* GA [ia] gu riaghailteach, mar a sheallas Oftedal shuas.

A thuilleadh air 'muir, cuan; sàl', chleachdte SL *sær* airson lochan fìor-uisge, agus is fìor choltach gur h-e sin brìgh na h-eileamaid ann an SL **Sæ-bólstað* cusp. (mar a chuireas Gammeltoft air shùilibh ibid.), agus *Loch a' Bhaile* na loch mòr fìor-uisge air beulaibh a' bhàigh *Loch Shiaboist*. Coim. *Baile an Loch* #29.

Sgrìobhar *Shawbost* sa Bheurla agus fo bhuaidh an litreachaidh seo canar Brl. [ˈʃɒːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] ris a' bhaile, ged a mhaireas, no a mhair gu o chionn ghoirid, am fuaimneachadh [ˈʃaːˌb̥ɔsˌt̪] san sgìre (Cox 1990a, 50).

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#296 *Siadar* CLA
[ˈʃiad̥ər], (gin.) *Shiadair* [ˈhiad̥əɾʲ],[692] no *Siadar a' Chladaich* §3 (xii) (seach *Siadar an Rubha* (#298)); NB3855. 1654 *Shader, Shader illé* (§15); 1680 *Chader* [*sic*]; 1703 *Shadar, Shadir, Shiadir*; 1750M *Chader*; 1776, 1789, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Shader*; 1843–82 *Siadeir or Seachd Peghinnean* NB384551, *Amhuinn Shiadeir, Gleann Shiadeir*; 1845 *Shadir*. Gabhaidh an t-ainm *Siadar* a-steach an dà bhaile fearainn *Siadar Ìorach* agus *Siadar Uarach*:

Siadar Ìorach [ˌʃiad̥ər ˈiərɔx],[693] (gin.) *Shiadair Ìoraich* [ˌhiad̥əɾʲ ˈiərɪç]; NB389547. 1718 *Nether Shather, Nether Shadder*; 1726 *Neather Shadir, Nether Shadir*; 1797 *Lower Strather*; 1821, 1822 *Nether Shader*; 1843–82 *Siadeir Iòrach*; 1845 *Lower Shadir*; 1846 *Nether Shader*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Siadar Iarach‖Lower Shader*. Sna 1840an, chaidh am baile a ghluasad à *Cuidhbheatotar* NB385552 #160 gu far a bheil e an-diugh, a' gabhail a-steach an tuathanais *Beagnaigearraidh* NB384546 #49 (Lawson 2008, 72).

Siadar Uarach [ˌʃiad̥ər ˈuərɔx],[694] (gin.) *Shiadair Uaraich* [ˌhiad̥əɾʲ ˈuərɪç]; NB382536. 1718 *Upper Shadder*; 1726 *Upper Shadir*; 1821, 1822 *Upper Shader*; 1843–82 *Siadeir Uarach*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Siadar Uarach‖Upper Shader*. Bha am

690. Thachair fadachadh san fhuaimreig bheumte ann an SL **Tjarnargerði* > GA *Teànnraigir* [ˈʧʰãːɾɪˌɡ̊ʲəɾʲ] sa Ghàidhlig ro *rn* thùsail (#182, bn 410).

691. Far am bris /eː/ na /ia/, m.e. GT *bél* > GA *beul* [b̥iaɬ̪] (faic Cox 2017, 7, bn 20; Jackson 1968).

692. (nMO) *Abhainn Shiadair* [ãviɴʲ ˈhiad̥əɾ̪].

693. (nMO) (Iain Moireasdan à *Siadar Uarach*) [ʃatəɾ̪ ˈiɘrax].

694. (nMO) (Iain Moireasdan à *Siadar Uarach*) [ʃatəɾ̪ ˈʉɘrax].

lage was located outside (i.e. on the moorland side of) the main road, near *Clèid* NB388538 #126, but it was moved inside the road, to *Cnoc Fhionnlaigh* '*Fionnlagh*'s (Eng. *Finlay*'s) hill' NB382543, after 1851 (Lawson 2008, 74).

> Oftedal 1954, 375–76: '**Shader** [ʃiadəð][695] is ON **Sætr* "(the) sheiling; summer pasture with a house or houses". Originally, the word must have had a meaning closer to that of the cognate ON *setr* "seat or dwelling place". *Siadar* #297 is the same name. Since both this *Siadar* and *Siadar* #297 are on the coast and most sheilings (ScG *àirighean*) in Lewis are on the inland moor, it is unlikely that ON *sætr* is here found in its older meaning. The word ON *setr* is also found in the Hebrides, but only as the second component of names. It is pronounced -[ʃɑdəð] and -[ʃɑdər] on the west side of Lewis, mostly -[ʃɑdər] on the east side. It is not impossible that some of these names contain the element ON *sætr*, which in unstressed position might be expected to have the same phonetic development as ON *setr*, but I take them all to be compounded with ON *setr* because (a) all the instances I know of are located near the coast, and (b) most names compounded with ON *sætr* in Norway are of relatively late origin and have the definite article. It seems, then, as if the Norse dialect spoken in Lewis had a stressed ON *sætr* and an unstressed ON *setr* with approximately the same meaning.
>
> 'ON *sætr* and ON *setr* names are very frequent in Norway, especially in the northwest. They are not found in Iceland but abound in the Orkneys, Shetland and Caithness, as well as in the Hebrides. This indicates that most of these names are older than the colonisation of Iceland.'

A loan-name from ON **Sætr* '(the) sheiling or (the) farm'.

Because of the pronunciation of names in ScG *Siadar* (['ʃiaḓəɾ], as opposed to final *-seadar* -[ˌʃaḓəɾ]), Oftedal is obliged to recognise ON *sætr* in fully stressed position, but, in order to adhere to historical usage in Norway, he also introduces ON *setr* in weakly stressed position. In order to resolve this inconsistency, however, he accepts that both elements had a similar meaning in Lewis.

ON *sætr* and *setr* are cognates, deriving from the same Indo-European root but with different vowel grades: ON *sætr* < PSc. **sátiʀ*, a reflex of ON *sitja* (*sát*, *sátu*, *setinn*), a strong verb with the sense 'to sit'; ON *setr* < PSc. **setiʀ*, a reflex of ON *setja* (*setti* (< *satti*), *set*(*t*)*r* (< *sattr*)), a weak verb with the sense 'to set'. ON

695. (nMO) [ʃiaḓəɻ], [ʃiadər].

baile air taobh a-muigh an rathaid mhòir, faisg air *Clèid* NB388538 #126, ach chaidh a gluasad gu taobh a-staigh an rathaid, gu *Cnoc Fhionnlaigh* NB382543, an dèidh 1851 (Lawson 2008, 74).

> Oftedal 1954, 375–76: 'S e SL **Sætr* '(an) àirigh; innis no ionaltradh samhraidh air a bheil taigh no taighean' a th' ann an **Shader** [ʃiadəð].[695] Bho thùs, feumaidh e a bhith gun robh ciall aige na b' fhaisge air a' cho-bhunadair SL *setr* 'suidhe no àite-fuirich'. 'S e *Siadar* #297 an t-aon ainm. Seach gur h-ann ris a' mhuir a tha an dà chuid *Siadar* seo agus *Siadar* #297 agus seach gu bheil a' chuid mhòr de dh'àirighean ann an Leòdhas air a' mhòintich air falbh bhon mhuir, cha choltach gun lorgar SL *sætr* an seo na chèill as sine. Gheibhear am facal SL *setr* cuideachd sna h-Eileanan Siar, ach a-mhàin mar an dàrna h-eileamaid ann an ainmean. Canar -[ʃɑdəð] agus -[ʃɑdər] air taobh siar Leòdhais, mar as trice -[ʃɑdər] air an taobh sear. Chan eil e do-dhèanta nach i an eileamaid SL *sætr* a th' aig cuid de na ainmean seo, aig an saoilte gum biodh an t-aon leasachadh fuaim-eòlach 's a th' aig SL *setr* ann an suidheachadh neo-bheumte, ach gabhaidh mi ris gur h-ann air am filleadh le SL *setr* a tha iad uile a chionn agus (a) gu bheil gach eisimpleir air a bheil mise eòlach ri lorg ris a' mhuir, agus (b) gu bheil a' chuid as motha de dh'ainmean air am filleadh le SL *sætr* ann an Nirribhidh coimeasach anmoch agus rin lorg leis an alt dheimhinnte. Is coltach, a-rèist, gun robh SL *sætr* beumte agus SL *setr* neo-bheumte aig an dualchainnt Lochlannais a bha ga bruidhinn ann an Leòdhas, is cha mhòr nach robh an aon chiall aca.
>
> Tha ainmean ann an SL *sætr* agus SL *setr* glè bhitheanta ann an Nirribhidh, gu h-àraidh air an taobh an iar-thuath. Chan eil lorg orra ann an Innis Tìle ach tha iad lìonmhor ann an Arcaibh, Sealtainn agus Gallaibh, cho math ris na h-Eileanan Siar. Innsidh seo gu bheil a' chuid as motha de na h-ainmean seo nas sine na tuineachadh Innis Tìle.

Ainm-iasaid à SL **Sætr* '(an) àirigh no (an) tuathanas'.

A chionn fuaimneachadh nan ainmean ann an GA *Siadar* (['ʃiaḓəɾ], seach *-seadar* deiridh -[ˌʃaḓəɾ]), feumaidh Oftedal SL *sætr* ann an suidheachadh làn-bheumte aithneachadh, ach, gus a bhith a' leantainn cleachdadh eachdraidheil ann an Nirribhidh, bheir e SL *setr* a-steach ann an suidheachadh làn-bheumte cuideachd. Gus an neo-chunbhalachd seo fhuasgladh, ge-tà, gabhaidh e ris gur h-ionann brìgh na dà eileamaid ann an Leòdhas.

Tha SL *sætr* agus *setr* an co-dhàimh ri chèile, a' tighinn às an aon fhreumh Ind-Eòrpais ach le rangannan fuaimreig eadar-dhealaichte: SL *sætr* < UL **sátiʀ*, riochd aig SL *sitja* (*sát*, *sátu*, *setinn*), gnìomhair làidir aig an robh a' chiall 'suidh'; SL *setr* < UL **setiʀ*, riochd aig SL *setja* (*setti* (< *satti*), *set*(*t*)*r* (< *sattr*)), gnìomh-

695. (nMO) [ʃiaḓəɻ], [ʃiadər].

sitja and ON *setja* derive from Common Germanic **setjan* and **satjan*, respectively, representing the *e* and *o* grades, respectively, of Indo-European **séd*; the Indo-European *o* grade (= the Common Gaelic *a* grade) is found in weak verbs in causative relation with strong verbs with the *e* grade (Beito 1949, 11; Prokosch 1939, §54, e, f).

Although ON *setr* and ON *sætr* were traditionally held distinct in terms of sense, and although the words are kept distinct in classical Old Norse – ON *setr* with the sense 'residence, farm' and ON *sætr* with the sense 'summer house' – both could have either meaning. ON *setr* and ON *sætr* have fallen together in Modern Norwegian and (*pace* Fellows-Jensen (1984, 161), who sees ON *setr* alone as having lost its stem ending) a range of forms are found in Modern Norwegian, according to dialect – possibly under the influence of ON *set* nt. 'setting, seat' and/or ON *seta* f. 'sitting' – viz Norw. *set*, *sete*, *seto*, *seter*, *setra* (*NSL*, s.v. *set*, *seter*; Helleland 1989, 59–61, 66–67, cited in Foster 2018, 150–51).

Nicolaisen (2001, 118) claims that, in Scotland, '[a]part from some subtle aspects of Lewis Gaelic pronunciation, there is no way of distinguishing between [ON *setr* and ON *sætr*] by purely phonological means.' However, the evidence from Lewis is clearer than Nicolaisen suggests.

ON *setr* has a short [e]; ON *sætr* has long [ɛː]. From ON *sætr*, one would expect long ScG *è* in stressed position or, before a non-palatal consonant, [ia] or [iə], with breaking (Jackson 1968, 65–71), e.g. ScG *Gleann Èireacleit* [ˌg̊lãũn̪ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] NB266380, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), from ON **Ærklett* '(the) hill of the sheep (sg.)', with genitive singular of the noun ON *ær* f. 'sheep' and accusative of the noun ON *klettr* m. 'mountain', and ScG *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɫ̪əˌvaʰt̪] NB088358, in *A' Chlibh* #132, from ON **Þrælavatn* '(the) loch of the slaves', with genitive plural of the noun ON *þræll* m. 'servant, slave'. In half- or weakly stressed position, ON *æ* [ɛː] would yield ScG [a] naturally, e.g. ScG **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲi], from ON **Þingvall-ærgi* '(the) assembly-field-sheiling' (#95).

On the other hand, in stressed position ON *setr* would yield short ScG *e*, e.g. ScG *sgeir* [s̪kʲeɾʲ], from ON *sker* nt. 'skerry', and ScG *cleite* [ˈkʰleʰtʲə], from ON *kletti* dat. m. 'mountain', but ScG [ə] in weakly or unstressed position, e.g. ScG *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːb̥əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] NB182417, in *An Dùn* #170, from ON **Klýpusker* '(the) skerry of the rift', with genitive of the noun ON **klýpa* f. 'rift' (cf. Bm. *klype*), cf. ON *klýpa* vb 'to pick, to bite', although ScG [e] frequently survives in weakly stressed position, especially before an original geminate, e.g. ScG *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] < ON **Breið-ás-klett* acc. #79.

In those Old Norse loan-names treated by Oftedal,[696] and in similar loan-

696. I.e. (13) *Càiriseadar* #91, *Cearsadar* #120, *Gèiseadar* #203, *Giùrsadar* #207, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Iarsadar* #225, *Laidhmiseadar* #232, *Lìnseadar* #236, *Seiseadar* #288, *Siadar* CLA #296, *Siadar* TSR #297, *Siùiliseadar* #301, *Ungaiseadar* #346.

air lag dham bu chiall 'suidhich'. Tàrmaichidh SL *sitja* agus SL *setja* anns a' Ghearmanais Bhitheanta **setjan* agus **satjan*, fa leth, a' riochdachadh nan rangannan *e* agus *o*, fa leth, aig an fhreumh Ind-Eòrpais **séd*; lorgar ceum *o* na h-Ind-Eòrpais (= ceum *a* sa Ghàidhlig Bhitheanta) ann an gnìomhairean laga ann an dàimh adhbharach ri gnìomhairean làidir aig a bheil an ceum *e* (Beito 1949, 11; Prokosch 1939, §54, e, f).

Ged a chùmte na facail SL *setr* agus SL *sætr* fa leth gu dualchasach a thaobh brìghe, agus na facail air an cumail fa leth nan cruth san t-Seann Lochlannais chlasaigich – SL *setr* san t-seagh 'fàrdach, tuathanas' agus SL *sætr* san t-seagh 'taigh samhraidh' – dh'fhaodadh brìgh seach brìgh a bhith aig an dà chuid. Tha SL *setr* agus SL *sætr* air a dhol còmhladh anns an Nua-Nirribhis agus (*pace* Fellows-Jensen (1984, 161), nach fhaic gun do chaill ach SL *setr* a dhùnadh buin) gheibhear raon de chruthan anns an Nua-Nirribhis, a rèir dualchainnt – cuid dhiubh, is dòcha, fo bhuaidh SL *set* n. 'suidheachadh, suidhe' agus/no SL *seta* b. 'suidhe' – .i. Nirr. *set*, *sete*, *seto*, *seter*, *setra* (*NSL*, s.v. *set*, *seter*; Helleland 1989, 59–61, 66–67, air ainmeachadh ann am Foster 2018, 150–51).

Canaidh Nicolaisen (2001, 118) nach eil ann an Albainn – a thuilleadh air feartan seòlta ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais – dòigh fhuinn-eòlach ann air an gabh na h-eileamaidean SL *setr* agus SL *sætr* sgaradh bho chèile. Gidheadh, tha an fhianais à Leòdhas nas soilleire na chuireas Nicolaisen air shùilibh.

Tha [e] ghoirid aig SL *setr*; tha [ɛː] fhada aig SL *sætr*. À SL *sætr*, bhite an dùil ri GA *è* fhada ann an suidheachadh beumte no, ro chonnraig neo-chàireanaich, [ia] no [iə], le briseadh (Jackson 1968, 65–71), m.e. GA *Gleann Èireacleit* [ˌg̊lãũn̪ˈeːɾʲəˌkleʰtʲ] NB266380, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), à SL **Ærklett* 'cnoc na caorach', le ginideach singilte an ainmeir SL *ær* b. 'caora' is tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *klettr* f. 'beinn', agus GA *Trialabhat* [ˈt̪ʰɾiaɫ̪əˌvaʰt̪] NB088358, anns *A' Chlibh* #132, à SL **Þrælavatn* 'loch nan tràill', le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *þræll* f. 'sgalag, tràill'. Ann an suidheachadh leth- no lag-bheumte, bheireadh SL *æ* [ɛː] GA [a] gu nàdarra, m.e. GA **Tiongalairidh* [ˈtʲʰĩŋg̊əˌl̪aɾʲi], à SL **Þingvall-ærgi* '(an) tional-raon-àirigh' (#95).

Air an làimh eile, ann an suidheachadh beumte bheireadh SL *setr* GA *e* ghoirid, m.e. GA *sgeir* [s̪kʲeɾʲ], à SL *sker* n. 'sgeir, clach sa mhuir', agus GA *cleite* [ˈkʰleʰtʲə], à SL *kletti* tabh. f. 'beinn', ach GA [ə] ann an suidheachadh lag- no neo-bheumte, m.e. GA *Clìbisgeir* [ˈkʰliːb̥əˌʃkʲəɾʲ] NB182417, air *An Dùn* #170, à SL **Klýpusker* 'sgeir an sgoir', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL **klýpa* b. 'sgor' (coim. Bm. *klype*), coim. SL *klýpa* gn. 'pioc, bìd', ged a mhaireas GA [e] gu tric ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, gu h-àraidh ro eamhnadh tùsail, m.e. GA *Britheascleit* [ˈb̥ɾʲi-aˌs̪kleʰtʲ] < SL **Breið-ás-klett* cusp. #79.

Sna h-ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ris an dèilig Oftedal,[696] agus ann an ainmean-

696. .i. (13) *Càiriseadar* #91, *Cearsadar* #120, *Gèiseadar* #203, *Giùrsadar* #207, *Gruimseadar* #224, *Iarsadar* #225, *Laidhmiseadar* #232, *Lìnseadar* #236, *Seiseadar* #288, *Siadar* CLA #296, *Siadar* TSR #297, *Siùiliseadar* #301, *Ungaiseadar* #346.

names cited in this volume,[697] in stressed position the diphthong [ia] is found consistently in Lewis, i.e. ScG [ˈʃiaˌd̪ər] or [ˈʃiaˌd̪əɾʲ]:[698] *Siadar* here in Nis, *Siadar* #297 and **Siadar* (*Tom Shiadair* #334) in Sgìre a' Chladaich, *Siadar* (or *Siùili·seadar*) #298, in An Rubha, and **Siadar* (*Loch Shiadair* #242) in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. In half- or weakly stressed position, [ʃaˌd̪ər] or [ʃaˌd̪əɾʲ][699] is found consistently, e.g. *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩmiˌʃaˌd̪ər] #232, from ON **Lamb-sætr*. ScG stressed *Siadar* and ScG weakly stressed *-seadar*, therefore, represent original Norse names in ON (-)*sætr*.

In addition, however, there is small group of Old Norse loan-names in Scotland that does not follow the same pattern:

Syncope is found in Shetland, e.g. Eng. *Brouster* HU256516, from ON **Brúarsætr*, with genitive of the noun ON *brú* f. 'bridge' (Jakobsen 1936, 94: *Brūster*; *Halfdan a Bruar Sætri* is mentioned in 1299; see Nicolaisen 2001, 118, for further examples); in Orkney, e.g. Eng. *Inkster* HY415193, from ON **Engja*(*r*)*setr*, with genitive singular (or plural) of the noun ON *eng* f. 'meadow' (Marwick 1952, 105, 123: 1492 *Inkesettir*, 1642 *Inksetter*); and in Caithness, e.g. Eng. *Reaster* (DW) [ˈristər] ND259651, from ON **Hreysjasetr*, with genitive of the noun ON *hreysi* nt. 'pile of stones' (Waugh 1984, 18: 1538 *Ressi·ster*, 1604 *Rasseter*). In Lewis, cf. ScG *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪əɾ] NB237360,[700] in

697. I.e. (21) *Bàraiseadar* #46, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56, *Borraiseadar* #70, *Caithiseadar* #92, *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, *Eòiriseadar* #181, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205, *Giùrsadar* #208, *Glogaiseadar* #215, *Loch Shiadair* #242, *Manaiseadar* #244, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292, *Siadar* RBH #298, *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323, *Thàiseadar* #324, *Thamarsadar* #325, *Theòrsadar* #327, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341.

698. Variation between [ɾ] and [ɾʲ] §13 in final position is found even in the radical case, but (rad./dat.) *Siadar*, (gen.) *Shiadair* are written in this volume.

699. Variation between [ɾ] and [ɾʲ] §13 in final position is found even in the radical case, but (rad./dat.) *-s*(*e*)*adar*, (gen.) *-s*(*e*)*adair* are written in this volume.

700. The name of a hill (1843–82 *Amhaster*; 1934, 5, 1974 =), possibly from OWNorn **Ofansátr*, originally **Fyrir Ofan Sátr*, with the compound preposition *fyrir ofan* (+ acc.) 'above, over' + accusative of OWNorn **sátr* (< ON *sætr*), with metathesis and vowel reduction in Gaelic. In Norway, cf. *Oveinang*, Aust-Agder, from ON **Ofan Ein·ang* (*NSL*, s.v.); *Ovenvold* (now *Vold Ovre*), Buskerud, from ON **Ofan Vǫll* (≈*NG* V, 166–67, which gives the nominative); see also Rygh 1898, 16. The nasal [ã] cannot be due to the initial of the Old Norse form, nor due to the following *f* [v], despite a possible variant form ON **oman*, cf. Far. *oman*, Norw. dial. *oma* (Telemark) (and see de Vries 1962, 417), beside the commoner ON *ofan*. The development *ofan* > **oman* is one of direct phonemic interchange and we cannot presume an intermediate stage with *[ṽ]. The nasality could conceivably have been transmitted from the second syllable in Gaelic: *[ɔvãn] > *[ɔvã:] > *[ɔ̃vã:] >*[ɔ̃va] > [ãva]; see also Oftedal 1956, 42, for several words, e.g. ScG *abhainn* 'river', where nasality is difficult to explain historically.

iasaid ceudna air an ainmeachadh anns an leabhar seo,[697] ann an suidheachadh beumte gheibhear an dà-fhoghar GA [ia] gu cunbhalach ann an Leòdhas, .i. GA [ˈʃiaˌd̪ər] no [ˈʃiaˌd̪əɾʲ]:[698] *Siadar* an seo ann an Nis, *Siadar* #297 agus **Siadar* (*Tom Shiadair* #334) ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich, *Siadar* (no *Siùiliseadar*) #298, anns An Rubha, agus **Siadar* (*Loch Shiadair* #242) ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch. Ann an suidheachadh leth- no lag-bheumte, gheibhear GA [ʃaˌd̪ər] no [ʃaˌd̪əɾʲ][699] gu cunbhalach, m.e. GA *Laidhmiseadar* [ˈl̪ãĩmiˌʃaˌd̪ər] #232, à SL **Lamb-sætr*. Mar sin dheth, riochdaichidh ainmean-iasaid ann an GA *Siadar* beumte agus ann an GA *-seadar* lag-bheumte ainmean tùsail Lochlannais ann an SL (-)*sætr*.

A thuilleadh, ge-tà, tha grunnan beag de dh'ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ann an Albainn nach lean an t-aon phàtran:

Gheibhear teasgadh meadhain ann an Sealtainn, m.e. Brl. *Brouster* HU256516, à SL **Brúarsætr*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *brú* b. 'drochaid' (Jakobsen 1936, 94: *Brūster*; thèid iomradh a dhèanamh air *Halfdan a Bruar Sætri* ann an 1299; faic Nicolaisen 2001, 118, airson tuilleadh eisimpleirean); ann an Arcaibh, m.e. Brl. *Ink·ster* HY415193, à SL **Engja*(*r*)*setr*, le tuiseal ginideach singilte (no iolra) an ainmeir SL *eng* b. 'lèana' (Marwick 1952, 105, 123: 1492*Inkesettir*, 1642 *Inksetter*); agus ann an Gallaibh, m.e. Brl. *Reaster* (DW) [ˈristər] ND259651, à SL **Hreysjasetr*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hreysi* n. 'meall chlachan' (Waugh 1984, 18: 1538 *Ressister*, 1604 *Rasseter*). Ann an Leòdhas, coim. GA *Amhastar* [ˈãvaˌs̪t̪əɾ][700] NB237360, ann

697. .i. (21) *Bàraiseadar* #46, *Beinn Thòrsadair* #56, *Borraiseadar* #70, *Caithiseadar* #92, *Cnoc Eòrsadair* #141, *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147, *Cuidhiseadar* #162, *Eòiriseadar* #181, *Gil Thàiseadair* #205, *Giùrsadar* #208, *Glogaiseadar* #215, *Loch Shiadair* #242, *Manaiseadar* #244, *Sgeir Chuidhseadair* #292, *Siadar* RBH #298, *Teampall Chanaiseadair* #323, *Thàiseadar* #324, *Thamarsadar* #325, *Theòrsadar* #327, *Tom Shiadair* #334, *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* #341.

698. Gheibhear eugsamhlachadh eadar [ɾ] agus [ɾʲ] §13 dheiridh fiù 's san tuiseal bhunasach, ach sgrìobhar (bun./tabh.) *Siadar*, (gin.) *Shiadair* san leabhar seo.

699. Gheibhear eugsamhlachadh eadar [ɾ] agus [ɾʲ] §13 dheiridh fiù 's san tuiseal bhunasach, ach sgrìobhar (bun./tabh.) *-s*(*e*)*adar*, (gin.) *-s*(*e*)*adair* san leabhar seo.

700. An t-ainm air cnoc; (1843–82 *Amhaster*; 1934, 5, 1974 =), is dòcha à SNòrnI **Ofansátr*, bho thùs **Fyrir Ofan Sátr*, leis an roimhear fhillte *fyrir ofan* (+ cusp.) 'bhos cionn' + an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SNòrnI **sátr* (< SL *sætr*), le eadar-chàradh agus lùghdachadh fuaimreige sa Ghàidhlig. Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Oveinang*, Aust-Agder, à SL **Ofan Einang* (*NSL*, s.v.) agus *Ovenvold* (a-nise *Vold Ovre*), Buskerud, à SL **Ofan Vǫll* (≈*NG* V, 166–67, a bheir an cruth ainmneach); faic Rygh 1898, 16, cuideachd. Chan fhaod [ã] shròn ach a bhith mar thoradh air ceann-litir a' chrutha Lochlannais, no mar thoradh air an *f* [v] na dèidh, ged as coltach gun robh an cruth eugsamhail SL **oman* ann, coim. Fàr. *oman*, Nirr. dhual. *oma* (Telemark) (agus faic de Vries 1962, 417), ri taobh a' chrutha a bu bhitheanta SL *ofan*. 'S ann a tha an leasachadh *ofan* > **oman* mar thoradh air iomlaid fhuinneamaich dhìreach agus chan fhaodar ceum meadhanach le *[ṽ] a ghabhail oirnn. Gabhaidh e creidsinn gun deach an sròn achadh aiseag bhon dàrna lide sa Ghàidhlig: *[ɔvãn] > *[ɔvã:] > *[ɔ̃vã:] > *[ɔ̃va] > [ãva]; faic cuideachd Oftedal 1956, 42, airson corra fhacal, m.e. GA *abhainn*, far a bheil e duilich sròn achadh a mhìneachadh gu h-eachdraidheil.

Britheascleit #79, ScG *Borghastar* [ˈbˌɔɔ̃(ɣ)əˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] NB210411,[701] in *An Cnoc* #134, ScG *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːʤʲaˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] NB195394,[702] in *An Dùn* #170, and ScG *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] NB223382,[703] in *Cirbhig* #124 (Cox 2002a, 169, 186, 261, 275).

Apocope – cf. *Langset*, *Innset*, *Tynset* etc. in Norway, all from ON *setr* (*NSL* ibid.) – is found in Sutherland, e.g. (all with medial [s̪]) ScG *Caonasaid* (Eng. *Cunside*) NC583514,[704] ScG *Lianasaid Mhòr* (Eng. *Linsidemore*) NH542992,[705] ScG *Sanndasaid* (Eng. *Sandside*) NC963653[706] (see also Nicolaisen ibid., 119; MacBain 1922, 17; Watson 1906, 366).

Regarding the forms of the generic of these additional names in Lewis and in Sutherland, although it seems they are the equivalent of similarly reduced forms in the Northern Isles and in Norway, it is not clear whether they were imported from the Northern Isles or the result of linguistic developments taking place in Old Norn both in the north and west at the time they were created.

What the examples from Lewis and Sutherland share in common is that they indicate an original Old Norse element with a low rather than high vowel, and a suggestion of what lies behind this might be found in the lowering of short stressed vowels at the time of the Great Quantity Shift (1250–1550) in Norway (Indrebø 1951, 222–23) and/or in the small number of examples

701. Cf. (1843–82) *Borghastail* (?in error); the name of an area beside ScG *Loch Bhorghastar* (1843–82 *Loch Borghastail*), on which there is an island with an old fort, probably from OWNorn **Borg-sátr*, with the stem form of ON *borg* f. 'fort, stronghold' and OWNorn **sátr* (< ON *sætr*), with metathesis and vowel reduction in Gaelic.

702. Cf. (1843–82) *Goidaster*, (1974) *Geóidaster*; the name of an area, with an unknown specific and OWNorn **sátr* (< ON *sætr*), with metathesis and vowel reduction in Gaelic.

703. Cf. (1843–82) *Cnoc Eilaster*, (MacIver 1934, 5) *Eilastar*, (1974) *Cnoc Eilaster*; the name of a rocky area; a loan-name with an obscure specific and OWNorn **sátr* (< ON *sætr*), with metathesis and vowel reduction in Gaelic. Cox (1987 II, 127) suggests the specific in Old Norse is a loan-word from OG *ail* f. 'rock'; cf. ScG *Clach Eilistean* NB193421, in *Cirbhig* #124, a tautologous name with a structure made up of (1) a name in OG *ail* 'rock', viz OG **Ail*; (2) a name in ON *steinn* m. 'stone, rock', using the name OG **Ail* as specific, viz ON **El-stein* acc. and (3) a name in ScG *clach* f. 'stone', using the name ON **El-stein* as specific, viz ScG *Clach Eilistean*; also ScG *Eiliseadar* [ˈeli ʃaˌd̪ːəɾ] NG497653, in Skye, from ON **el* + ON *sætr* (Cox 1990b, 108). At any rate, the pronunciation [l] /lʲ/ in these Gaelic names argues against a derivation from either ON *hella* f. 'flagstone' or ON *hellir* m. 'cave'. Medial [a] in [ˈelaˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] is unexplained, however.

704. MacIlleathain 2010, 36; W. J. Watson in MacBain 1922, xii.

705. MacIlleathain 2010, 39; Watson 1904, 270; Charles M. Robertson in King 2019, 110.

706. MacIlleathain 2010, 41; Grannd 2013, s.v. *Sandside*: '**Sannsaid** [*sa**u**ˈsaid*] (first vowel nasalised)'.

am *Britheascleit* #79, GA *Borghastar* [ˈbˌɔɔ̃(ɣ)əˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] NB210411,[701] air *A' Chnoc* #134, GA *Cùideastar* [ˈkʰu̟ːʤʲaˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] NB195394,[702] air *An Dùn* #170, agus GA *Eileastar* [ˈelaˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] NB223382,[703] ann an *Cirbhig* #124 (Cox 2002a, 169, 186, 261, 275).

Gheibhear teasgadh deiridh – coim. *Langset*, *Innset*, *Tynset* ɔ̃c ann an Nirribhidh, uile à SL *setr* (*NSL* ibid.) – ann an Cataibh, m.e. (uile le [s̪] mheadhanaich) GA *Caonasaid* (Brl. *Cunside*) NC583514,[704] GA *Lianasaid Mhòr* (Brl. *Linsidemore*) NH542992,[705] GA *Sanndasaid* (Brl. *Sandside*) NC963653[706] (faic mar an ceudna Nicolaisen ibid., 119; MacBain 1922, 17; Watson 1906, 366).

A thaobh cruthan na h-eileamaid seòrsachaidh aig an tuilleadh ainmean seo ann an Leòdhas is Cataibh, ged as coltach gur h-ionann iad agus cruthan lùghdaichte ceudna sna h-Eileanan a Tuath agus Nirribhidh, chan eil e soilleir an deach an toirt a-steach às na h-Eileanan a Tuath air no a bheil iad mar thoradh air leasachaidhean cànanach a bha a' tachairt san t-Seann Nòrn an dà chuid san àird a tuath agus san àird an iar aig an àm a chaidh an cruthachadh.

'S e an rud a tha cumanta eadar na h-eisimpleirean an Leòdhas agus an fheadhainn an Cataibh gun sònraich iad eileamaid sheòrsachaidh thùsail Lochlannais aig an robh fuaimreag ìosal seach fuaimreag àrd, agus is dòcha gum faighte fathann de na tha air cùl seo ann an ìsleachadh nam fuaimreagan goirid aig àm a' Mhòr-Ghluasaid Faid (1250–1550) ann an Nirribhidh (Indrebø 1951, 222–23) agus/

701. Coim. (1843–82) *Borghastail* (?air mhearachd); an t-ainm air àite ri taobh GA *Loch Bhorghastar* (1843–82 *Loch Borghastail*), air a bheil eilean agus seann dùn air, is math dh'fhaodte à SNòrnI **Borg-sátr*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *borg* b. 'dùn, daingneach' agus SNòrnI **sátr* (< SL *sætr*), le eadar-chàradh agus lùghdachadh fuaimreige sa Ghàidhlig.

702. Coim. (1843–82) *Goidaster*, (1974) *Geóidaster*; an t-ainm air ceàrnaidh, ainm-iasaid Lochlannais le sònraichear neo-aithnichte agus SNòrnI **sátr* (< SL *sætr*), le eadar-chàradh agus lùghdachadh fuaimreige sa Ghàidhlig.

703. Coim. (1843–82) *Cnoc Eilaster*, (MacIver 1934, 5) *Eilastar*, (1974) *Cnoc Eilaster*; an t-ainm air àite creagach; ainm-iasaid aig a bheil sònraichear doilleir agus SNòrnI **sátr* (< SL *sætr*), le eadar-chàradh is lùghdachadh fuaimreige sa Ghàidhlig. Cuiridh Cox (1987 II, 127) air shùilibh gu bheil an sònraichear anns an Lochlannais na fhacal-iasaid à SG *ail* b. 'creag'; coim. GA *Clach Eilistean* NB193421, ann an *Cirbhig* #124, ainm ath-aithriseach le co-chur air a dhèanamh à (1) ainm ann an SG *ail* 'creag', .i. SG **Ail*; (2) ainm ann an SL *steinn* f. 'clach, creag', a' cleachdadh an ainme Ghàidhlig **Ail* na shònraichear, .i. SL **El-stein* cusp. agus (3) ainm ann an GA *clach* b., a' cleachdadh an ainme SL **El-stein* na shònraichear, .i. GA *Clach Eilistean*; agus GA *Eiliseadar* [ˈeli ʃaˌd̪ːəɾ] NG497653, san Eilean Sgitheanach, à SL **el* + SL *sætr* (Cox 1990b, 108). Co-dhiù, bhiodh am fuaimneachadh [l] /lʲ/ sna h-ainmean Gàidhlig seo a' cur an aghaidh bunachais à SL *hella* b. 'leac' no SL *hellir* f. 'uamh'. Tha [a] ann an [ˈelaˌn̪ːs̪təɾ] gun mhìneachadh, ge-tà.

704. MacIlleathain 2010, 36; W. J. Watson ann am MacBain 1922, xii.

705. MacIlleathain 2010, 39; Watson 1904, 270; Charles M. Robertson ann an King 2019, 110.

706. MacIlleathain 2010, 41; Grannd 2013, s.v. *Sandside*: '**Sannsaid** [*sa**u**ˈsaid*] (first vowel nasalised)'.

of *sōder* (instead of *seter*) found in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 94–95: 'corresponding to a **saatr*' < ON *sætr*).

In conclusion, ScG *siadar* and *-s(e)adar* names in Lewis derive from ON *sætr* rather than *setr*. The lack of palatalisation in the initial of ScG (Lewis) *-star* and (Sutherland) *-said* suggest original forms with a low front vowel, e.g. OWNorn **-sátr* < ON *-sætr*, but the syncope of *-star* and the apocope of *-said* may reflect similar developments in the donor language.

#297 *Siadar* TSR
[ˈʃiaˌd̥ər], (gen.) *Shiadair* [ˈhiaˌd̥əɾʲ]; NB192389. 1821 *L^h Shadder*; 1822 *L. Shadder*; 1843–82 *Shader*, *Loch Sheader*,[707] *Os Sheader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378: '**Shader** [ʃiadəð].[708]'

The name of part of the township *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), in An Taobh Siar; a loan-name from ON **Sætr*; identical to *Siadar* #296.

#298 *Siadar* RBH
[ˈʃiaˌd̥ər],[709] (gen.) *Shiadair* [ˈhiaˌd̥əɾʲ], or *Siadar an Rubha* 'the *Siadar* of An Rubha' (as opposed to *Siadar a' Chladaich* (#296)); NB534349. 1718 *Shadder*; 1726 *Shadir*; 1776 *Chader* [*sic*]; 1807, 1821 *Shader*; 1843–82 *Shadir*, *Druim Shadir*, *Allt Mor Shadir*; 1845 *Shadir*; 1846 *Shader*.

The name of a township in An Rubha (also called *Siùiliseadar* #301, §30 (v)); a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Sætr* '(the) sheiling'; the same as *Siadar* #296.

#299 *Silltinis* CDL (Eng. *Shieldinish*)
[ˈʃɛiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ],[710] (gen.) *Shilltinis* [ˈhɛiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ] [ˈheiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ]; NB282198. 1821 *Shildnish*; 1843–82 *Shilltenish*; 2007 *Sildinis*‖*Shieldinish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 402: '**Shiltenish** [ʃeiLʹtʹəniʃ] (pronunciation quoted from memory) is ON **Sildanes* "(the) promontory of the herring (pl.)", containing the genitive plural of *sild* f. "herring". The phonetic development is quite regular, cf. ScG *Sillteam* [ʃɛiLʹtʹæm], the name of an islet off *Beàrnaraigh* #51, ON **Sild-holmr*. There is no exact parallel farm name in Norway, but *sild* enters into many similar names, see for example

707. (nMO) *Loch Shiadair* [ɬɔx ˈhiɑdəð].
708. (nMO) [ʃiɑdəð].
709. (nMO) [ʃiaˌd̥əˌ].
710. ScG [ˈʃiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ] was recorded in error in Cox 2000, 215.

no anns a' bheagan eisimpleirean ann an *sōder* (seach *seter*) a gheibhear ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 94–95: co-ionann ri **saatr* < SL *sætr*).

San dealachadh, thig ainmean ann an GA *siadar* is *-s(e)adar* ann an Leòdhas à SL *sætr* seach *setr*. Cuiridh an dìth caolachaidh ann an toiseach GA (Leòdhas) *-star* is (Cataibh) *-said* air shùilibh cruthan tùsail le fuaimreig thoisich ìosail, m.e. SNòrnI **-sátr* < ON *-sætr*, ach is dòcha gun nochd an teasgadh meadhain ann an *-star* is an teasgadh deiridh ann an *-said* leasachaidhean ceudna sa chànan tabhairt.

#297 *Siadar* TSR
[ˈʃiaˌd̥əɾ], (gin.) *Shiadair* [ˈhiaˌd̥əɾʲ]; NB192389. 1821 *L^h Shadder*; 1822 *L. Shadder*; 1843–82 *Shader*, *Loch Sheader*,[707] *Os Sheader*.

> Oftedal 1954, 376: **Shader** [ʃiadəð].[708]

An t-ainm air earrainn den bhaile fearainn *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331), air An Taobh Siar; ainm-iasaid à SL **Sætr*; co-ionann ri *Siadar* #296.

#298 *Siadar* RBH
[ˈʃiaˌd̥əɾ],[709] (gin.) *Shiadair* [ˈhiaˌd̥əɾʲ], air neo *Siadar an Rubha* (seach *Siadar a' Chladaich* (#296)); NB534349. 1718 *Shadder*; 1726 *Shadir*; 1776 *Chader* [*sic*]; 1807, 1821 *Shader*; 1843–82 *Shadir*, *Druim Shadir*, *Allt Mor Shadir*; 1845 *Shadir*; 1846 *Shader*.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha (air a bheil *Siùiliseadar* #301 mar an ceudna §30 (v)); ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Sætr* '(an) àirigh'; co-ionann ri *Siadar* #296.

#299 *Silltinis* CDL
[ˈʃɛiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ] [ˈʃeiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ],[710] (gin.) *Shilltinis* [ˈhɛiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ] [ˈheiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ]; NB282198. 1821 *Shildnish*; 1843–82 *Shilltenish*; 2007 *Sildinis*‖*Shieldinish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 402: 'S e SL **Sildanes* 'rubha nan sgadan', leis a' chruth ghinideach iolra aig SL *sild* b. 'sgadan' a th' ann an **Shiltenish** [ʃeiLʹtʹəniʃ] (am fuaimneachadh bho chuimhne). Tha an leasachadh fuaim-eòlach gu tur riaghailteach, coim. GA *Sillteam* [ʃɛiLʹtʹæm], ainm eilein ri taobh *Bheàrnaraigh* #51, SL **Sild-holmr*. Chan fhaighear a dhearbh sheise ann an Nirribhidh, ach lorgar *sild* ann am mòran ainmean coltach ris, faic mar eisim-

707. (nMO) *Loch Shiadair* [ɬɔx ˈhiɑdəð].
708. (nMO) [ʃiɑdəð].
709. (nMO) [ʃiaˌd̥əˌ].
710. Chaidh [ˈʃiˌc̟ʲtʲəˌniʃ] a chlàradh air mhearachd ann an Cox 2000, 215.

NG XIII, 2, 349, XVI, 181, 285.[711] As the sea loch at this point is rather shallow for herring fishing on a large scale, the name probably refers to the landing of the catch (suggested by Hermann Pálsson).'

The name of a township in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, from ON **Sild-nes*, with the stem form of the noun ON *sild* f. 'herring' and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i), with an unstressed epenthetic vowel in Gaelic, or from ON **Sildanes*, as above. Cf. ScG *Silltinis* #300, in *Tolm* #330, and ScG *Buaile Shilltinis* 'the cattle fold of—' NB239153 (1843–82 *Buaile Shilldinish*), in *Àird an t-Sròim* #7.

Macaulay (1972, 333) writes ScG *Sillteam* for the name of the island cited by Oftedal, employing spelling that suggests the pronunciation [ˈʃɛ̝iɲ̊tʲæm].[712]

Historically, the length of the vowel was differentiated in Gaelic, on the one hand before single *l* + dental in a slender environment: (monophthong) *bailtean* [ˈb̥aɲ̊tʲən] 'villages', and on the other before double *ll* + dental in a slender environment: (diphthong) *saillte* [ˈs̪aiɲ̊tʲə] 'salted, salty'.[713] The cluster ON *ld* is dealt with here as though it were *ll* + dental; cf. ScG [ˈeiɲ̊tʲaɾʲ] 'church elder' < Scots *elder*.

Cf. ScG *Geodha an Sgadain* 'the cove of the herring' NB187443 and *Poll an Sgadain* 'the pool of the herring' NB189444, in *Na Geàrrannan* #202.

#300 ***Silltinis*** STN
[ˈʃeiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ], (gen.) *Shilltinis* [ˈheiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ]; NB457315. 1843–82 *Gob Shilldinish*, *Mol Shilldinish* (×2), *Rudha Shilldinish*, *Sgeir Mhor Shilldinish*.

The name of an old village located where *Tolm* #330 is today (Lawson 2011, 73); a loan-name with the same origin as *Silltinis* #299 in, Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

#301 ***Siùiliseadar*** RBH (Eng. *Shulishader*)
[ˈʃu̟ːlɪˌʃad̪ər], (gen.) *Shiùiliseadair* [ˈhju̟ːlɪˌʃad̪ər]; NB534349. 1654 *Souleſhadyr*; 1701 *Souleſhadir*; 1726 *Sullishader*; 1821 *Suilshader*; 1843–82 *Suil air Shadir*; 2007, road sign *Sulaisiadar*‖ *Shulishader*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: '**Shulishader** [?], an ON *-setr* name.'

711. Although *Sild*(*e*)*holmen* is a well-represented name in Norway, see <https://www.norgeskart.no>.

712. ScG *Sillteam* is derived from Ice. **Sild-hólmr* by Macaulay (ibid.) rather than ON **Sild-holmr*.

713. The same differentiation is found in broad clusters: ScG *Sealtainn* (Eng. *Shetland*) [ˈʃɑl̪̊tiɲ̊] < ScG **Sealtann* < ON *Hjaltland* (#315 (iv), fn 768)) ~ ScG *sealltainn* [ˈʃauɬ̪̊tiɲ̊] 'looking; showing'.

pleir *NG* XIII, 2, 349, XVI, 181, 285.[711] Seach gu bheil an loch mara san àite seo caran tana gus sgadan iasgach aig mòr-ìre, is math dh'fhaodte gun sònraich an t-ainm a bhith a' toirt iasg gu tìr (air a mholadh le Hermann Pálsson).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, à SL **Sild-nes*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sild* b. 'sgadan' is SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i), le fuaimreig còmhnaidh neo-bheumte sa Ghàidhlig, no à SL **Sildanes*, mar a tha shuas. Coim. GA *Silltinis* #300, ann an *Tolm* #330, agus GA *Buaile Shilltinis* NB239153 (1843–82 *Buaile Shilldinish*), ann an *Àird an t-Sròim* #7.

'S e GA *Sillteam* a sgrìobhas Macaulay (1972, 333) airson ainm an eilein air an toir Oftedal iomradh, a' cleachdadh litreachadh a chuireas am fuaimneachadh [ˈʃɛ̝iɲ̊tʲæm] air shùilibh.[712]

Gu h-eachdraidheil, gheibhear atharrachadh ann am fad na fuaimreig beumte sa Ghàidhlig, air an dàrna làimh ro *l* shingilte + deudach ann an àrainn chaoil: (aon-fhoghar) *bailtean* [ˈb̥aɲ̊tʲən], agus air an làimh eile *ll* dhùbailte + deudach ann an àrainn chaoil: (dà-fhoghar) *saillte* [ˈs̪aiɲ̊tʲə].[713] Thèid dèiligeadh ris a' chòmhlan SL *ld* an seo mar gur h-e *ll* + deudach a bh' ann; coim. GA [ˈeiɲ̊tʲaɾʲ] < Alb. *elder*.

Coim. GA *Geodha an Sgadain* NB187443 agus *Poll an Sgadain* NB189444, anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202.

#300 ***Silltinis*** STN
[ˈʃeiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ], (gin.) *Shilltinis* [ˈheiɲ̊tʲəˌniʃ]; NB457315. 1843–82 *Gob Shilldinish*, *Mol Shilldinish* (×2), *Rudha Shilldinish*, *Sgeir Mhor Shilldinish*.

An t-ainm air sean bhaile far a bheil *Tolm* #330 an-diugh (Lawson 2011, 73); ainm-iasaid aig a bheil an t-aon bhunachas ri *Silltinis* #299, an Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

#301 ***Siùiliseadar*** RBH
[ˈʃu̟ːlɪˌʃad̪ər], (gin.) *Shiùiliseadair* [ˈhju̟ːlɪˌʃad̪ər]; NB534349. 1654 *Souleſhadyr*; 1701 *Souleſhadir*; 1726 *Sullishader*; 1821 *Suilshader*; 1843–82 *Suil air Shadir*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Sulaisiadar*‖ *Shulishader*.

Oftedal 1954, 396: **Shulishader** [?], ainm ann an SL *-setr*.

711. Ged a tha *Sild*(*e*)*holmen* na ainm air a dheagh riochdachadh ann an Nirribhidh, faic <https://www.norgeskart.no>.

712. Bheirear GA *Sillteam* à Tìl. **Sild-hólmr* le Macaulay (ibid.) seach SL **Sild-holmr*.

713. Chithear an t-aon sgaradh ann an còmhlain leathann: GA *Sealtainn* [ˈʃɑl̪̊tiɲ̊] (< GA **Sealtann* < SL *Hjaltland* (#315 (iv), bn 768)) ~ GA *sealltainn* [ˈʃauɬ̪̊tiɲ̊].

The name of a township in An Rubha (also called *Siadar* #298, §30 (v)); once the name of a farm comprising the whole of An Rubha east of *Garrabost* #189 and *Pabail* #261 (Lawson 2011, 111); a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* '(the) sea-slope-sheiling', with the stem forms of the nouns ON *sjúr* m. 'sea' and ON *hlíð* f. 'slope'. ON *sjú-* originates in CSc. **siu-*, although the normal development was to ON *sjó-*:[714] PSc. *iu* /iu/ does not usually yield ON *jú* except before *f*, *g*, *k*, *p*, although there are exceptions, e.g. (CSc. **lius* >) ON *ljús* (*lius*) for ON *ljós* nt. 'light' (Iversen 1973, 25). ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* is suitable topographically.

ScG *Siùiliseadar* occurs in Skye as well, the name of an area of Portree (NG475434, cf. (1843–82) *Sulishadermore*), where the etymology ON **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* may also be suitable. In Norway, cf. *Sjolien* (*NG* XIII, 435) and *Sjobakkene* (*NG* XII, 68).

The 1843–82 map form is the result of folk etymology, i.e. that *Siùiliseadar* is from ScG *sùil air Siadar* 'a glance or look at *Siadar*'.

#302 *Smuaisibhig* PRC
[ˈsmũãʃəˌviɠʲ], (gen.) idem; NB273049. 1843–82 *Smuaisabhig*, *Tòb Smuaisabhig*, *Abhainn Smuaisabhig*; The Napier Commission 1884 II, p. 1150, para. 17557 *Smosi·vig*.

The name of a deserted settlement at the head of *Tòb Smuaisibhig*, within *Loch Cloidh* (#209), in A' Phàirc, whose inhabitants were evicted at the beginning of the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162). A river runs into one corner of the bay and a stream from a narrow gully (with waterfall) into the other.

A loan-name from Old Norse, with ON *vík* f. 'bay' as generic. The specific is uncertain but ON *smuga* (*smoga*) f. 'cleft, narrow opening' may be behind it, or rather ON **smug* (**smog*) nt. (cf. Nn. *smog* nt.), with a genitive in **smogs*, i.e. ON **Smogsvík* '(the) bay of the cleft' yielding EG **[ˈs̪mõːʃˌβʲiːgʲ], with palatalisation of *s* before the fricative, which would give ScG **[ˈs̪mõːʃəˌviɠʲ], with an epenthetic vowel, and ScG [ˈs̪mũãʃəˌviɠʲ], with [oː] > [ua], cf. ScG *sluagh* < *slòigh* 'people' (a not uncommon change in the older language (*Stair na Gaeilge* II.10.4)). Cf. ScG *Bùistean* [ˈb̥uːˌʃtʲən] from ON **Bugsstein* acc., but contrast ScG *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60 from CSc. **Vágsøy*.

ON **Smuga* '(the) cleft' yields ScG *Smudha*[715] NC419675 (Eng. *Smoo*), in Sutherland, regularly (Henderson 1910, 158; MacBain 1922, 17).

714. For ON *sjór*, see #295, fn 689.

715. *[ˈs̪mũ-ə], rhyming as follows: *mugha* : *dubha* : *chumha* : *Smudha* (Rob Donn: Mackay 1829, 553).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn anns An Rubha (air a bheil *Siadar* #298 cuideachd §30 (v)); uair an t-ainm air tuathanas a bha a' toirt a-steach An Rubha air fad an ear air *Garrabost* #189 agus *Pabail* #261 (Lawson 2011, 111); ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais; is dòcha à SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* '(a') mhuir-leathad-àirigh', le bun-riochdan nan ainmearan SL *sjúr* f. 'muir' agus SL *hlíð* b. 'leathad'. Tàrmaichidh SL *sjú-* ann an LB **siu-*, ged a b' e SL *sjó-* an leasachadh àbhaisteach:[714] cha toir UL *iu* /iu/ mar as trice SL *jú* ach ro *f*, *g*, *k*, *p*, ged a tha mura-bhithean ann, m.e. (LB **lius* >) SL *ljús* (*lius*) an àite SL *ljós* n. 'solas' (Iversen 1973, 25). Tha SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* iomchaidh a thaobh cruth na tìre.

Gheibhear GA *Siùiliseadar* san Eilean Sgitheanach cuideachd, an t-ainm air ceàrnaidh de Phort Rìgh (NG475434, coim. (1843–82) *Sulishadermore*), far am faod am bunachas SL **Sjú-hlíð-sætr* a bhith iomchaidh mar an ceudna. Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Sjolien* (*NG* XIII, 435) agus *Sjobakkene* (*NG* XII, 68).

Tha an cruth mapa 1843–82 mar thoradh air freumhachd beul-aithrise, .i. gur h-ann à GA *sùil air Siadar* a tha an cruth *Siùiliseadar*.

#302 *Smuaisibhig* PRC
[ˈsmũãʃəˌviɠʲ], (gin.) idem; NB273049. 1843–82 *Smuaisabhig*, *Tòb Smuaisabhig*, *Abhainn Smuaisabhig*; The Napier Commission 1884 II, d. 1150, earr.-roisg 17557 *Smosivig*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann *Thòb Smuaisibhig*, am broinn *Loch Cloidh* (#209), anns A' Phàirc, a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach aig toiseach na 19mh linne (Macdonald 1978, 162). Sruthaidh abhainn a dhàrna oisean an tàib agus allt à gil chumhaing (le eas) dhan fhear eile.

Ainm-iasaid às an Lochlannais, le SL *vík* b. 'tòb' na sheòrsaichear. Tha an sònraichear mì-chinnteach ach is dòcha gu bheil SL *smuga* (*smoga*) b. 'sgor, beul cumhang' air a chùlaibh, air neo nas ceirte SL **smug* (**smog*) n. (coim. Nn. *smog* n.), aig am biodh an cruth ginideach **smogs*, .i. SL **Smogsvík* 'tòb an sgoir' a' toirt GT **[ˈs̪mõːʃˌβʲiːgʲ], le càireanachadh san *s* ron t-suathach, a bheireadh GA **[ˈs̪mõːʃəˌviɠʲ], le fuaimreig còmhnaidh, agus GA [ˈs̪mũãʃəˌviɠʲ], le [oː] > [ua], coim. GA *sluagh* < *slòigh* (atharrachadh nach ainneamh san t-sean chànan (*Stair na Gaeilge* II.10.4)). Coim. GA *Bùistean* [ˈb̥uːˌʃtʲən] à SL **Bugsstein* cusp., ach iomsgaraich GA *Bhàcasaigh* [ˈvaːʰkəˌs̪aj] #60 à LB **Vágsøy*.

Bheir SL **Smuga* '(an) sgor' GA *Smudha*[715] NC419675, ann an Cataibh, gu riaghailteach (Henderson 1910, 158; MacBain 1922, 17).

714. Airson SL *sjór*, faic #295, bn 689.

715. *[ˈs̪mũ-ə], a' comhardadh mar a leanas: *mugha* : *dubha* : *chumha* : *Smudha* (Rob Donn: Mackay 1829, 553).

#303 *Sòbhal* CTL (Eng. *Soval*)
[ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪],[716] (gen.) *Shòbhal* [ˈhɔːˌvaɬ̪]; NB348247. 1843–82 *Subhall, Ceann Shubhall, Cnoc Mor Shubhall, Loch Shubhaill*; 2007 *Sobhal*‖*Soval.*

The name of an area east of ScG *Crothairgearraidh* #158, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, and of a shooting lodge; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Sauð-fjall* '(the) sheep-mountain', with the stem form of the noun ON *sauðr* m. 'sheep' and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain'. In his notes, Oftedal is of the view that the pronunciation [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪] might be for ScG (nMO) [ˈsɔ(ː)-əvaɬ], i.e. that it was from ON **Sauða·fjall* '(the) mountain of the sheep (pl.)', with genitive plural of the specific, as in ScG *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (but (nMO) [ˈsɔːvaɬ], ?for [sɔ-əvaɬ]) NB421275 (1843–82 *Loch Mor Shobhaill*), from ON **Sauðafjall*. For the alternation between a long vowel and hiatus in stressed syllables, see §43 (vii) (b).

#304 *An t-Sràid a Tuath* STN (Eng. *North Street*)
[əˌn̪ʰɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə], (gen.) *Na Sràide a Tuath* [nəˌs̪t̪ɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə]. NB444326. 2007 *Sràid a Tuath*‖*North Street.*

The name of part of the township *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, in Steòrnabhagh; a Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *sràid* f. 'street' (EG *sráit* (< Lat. *strāta* (*DIL*: through OE *strēt* or ON *stræti* nt.)) and the adverb ScG *a tuath* (#74) used adjectively in the sense 'northern'; previously called *Cnoc Dubhaig*[717] (Lawson 2011, 67). Cf. *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305.

#305 *An t-Sràid an Ear* STN (Eng. *East Street*)
[əˌn̪ʰɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈn̪ɛɾ], (gen.) *Na Sràide an Ear* [nəˌs̪t̪ɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈn̪ɛɾ]. NB443322. 2007 *Sràid an Ear*‖*East Street.*

The name of part of the township *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, in Steòrnabhagh; a Gaelic name, with the feminine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *sràid* f. 'street' (#304) and the adverb ScG *an ear* (EG *an-air*) used adjectively in the sense 'eastern'. Cf. *An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304.

#306 *An Sròm* BRN
[ə ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːm], (gen.) *An t-Sròim* [ə ˈn̪ʰɾə̃ĩm]; NB133306. 1821, 1822 *Strome*; 1843–82 *Strom, Mol an Stroim, Loch an Stroim*; 1846 *Strome.*

716. (nMO) [ˈsɔːvaɬ], (gen.) [ˈhɔːvaɬ].

717. NB449330, i.e. 'the hill of ScG **Dubhag* "(the) black place" (i.e. of land or a pool (since drained))', with the adjective ScG *dubh* 'black' (#210) + the suffix *-ag* (Cox 2002a, 59–60; Cox 2017, 124); contrast ScG *Am Blàr Buidhe* 'the yellow field' beside it.

#303 *Sòbhal* CTL
[ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪],[716] (gin.) *Shòbhal* [ˈhɔːˌvaɬ̪]; NB348247. 1843–82 *Subhall, Ceann Shubhall, Cnoc Mor Shubhall, Loch Shubhaill*; 2007 *Sobhal*‖*Soval.*

An t-ainm air ceàrnaidh an ear air GA *Crothairgearraidh* #158, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch, agus air loidse seilge; ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Sauð-fjall* '(a') chaora-bheinn', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *sauðr* f. 'caora' agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn'. Na notaichean, tha Oftedal den bheachd gur dòcha gur h-e giorrachadh air GA (nMO) [ˈsɔ(ː)-əvaɬ] a th' anns an fhuaimneachadh [ˈs̪ɔːˌvaɬ̪], .i. gur h-ann à SL **Sauðafjall* 'beinn nan caorach' a bha e, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir, mar a tha ann an GA *Sodhabhal* [ˈs̪ɔ-əˌvaɬ̪] (ach (nMO) [sɔːvaɬ], ?for [sɔ-əvaɬ]) NB421275 (1843–82 *Loch Mor Shobhaill*), à SL **Sauðafjall*. Airson na h-iomlaide eadar fuaimreag fhada agus beàrnas ann an lidean beumte, faic §43 (vii) (b).

#304 *An t-Sràid a Tuath* STN
[əˌn̪ʰɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə], (gin.) *Na Sràide a Tuath* [nəˌs̪t̪ɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈt̪ʰuə]. NB444326. 2007 *Sràid a Tuath*‖*North Street.*

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, ann an Steòrnabhagh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *sràid* b. (GT *sráit* (< Laid. *strāta* (*DIL*: tro SBrl. *strēt* no SL *stræti* n.)) agus a' cho-ghnìomhair GA *a tuath* (#74) air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'san àirde a tuath'; air an robh *Cnoc Dubhaig* mar ainm uair[717] (Lawson 2011, 67). Coim. *An t-Sràid an Ear* #305.

#305 *An t-Sràid an Ear* STN
[əˌn̪ʰɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈn̪ɛɾ], (gin.) *Na Sràide an Ear* [nəˌs̪t̪ɾaˑd̪ʲ ə ˈn̪ɛɾ]. NB443322. 2007 *Sràid an Ear*‖*East Street.*

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Cnoc Shanndabhig* #146, ann an Steòrnabhagh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig bhoireann + an ainmear GA *sràid* b. (#304) agus a' cho-ghnìomhair GA *an ear* (GT *an-air*) air a chleachdadh na bhuadhair sa bhrìgh 'san àirde an ear'. Coim. *An t-Sràid a Tuath* #304.

#306 *An Sròm* BRN
[ə ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːm], (gin.) *An t-Sròim* [ə ˈn̪ʰɾə̃ĩm]; NB133306. 1821, 1822 *Strome*; 1843–82 *Strom, Mol an Stroim, Loch an Stroim*; 1846 *Strome.*

716. (nMO) [ˈsɔːvaɬ], (gin.) [ˈhɔːvaɬ].

717. NB449330, .i. 'an cnoc [aig àite air an robh] GA **Dubhag* "(an t-)àite dubh" (.i. talamh no lòn (air a thràghadh bhon uair sin))', leis a' bhuadhair GA *dubh* (#210) + an iar-leasachan *-ag* (Cox 2002a, 59–60; Cox 2017, 124); iomsgaraich GA *Am Blàr Buidhe* ri a thaobh.

The name of a deserted settlement east of the mouth of *Loch Ròg Beag* (#107); a Gaelic name, with the masculine Gaelic article + the Old Norse loan-word ScG *sròm* f. 'stream, current' (< ON *straum* acc. m. (#7)).

A strong current runs between *Loch an t-Sròim* 'the loch of the stream' and *Loch Ròg Beag*, a fact recorded in the loan-name ScG *Stròmacleit* NB123309, from ON **Straum(a)klett* acc. '(the) stream-mountain or (the) mountain of the streams', with the stem form or genitive plural of the specific and accusative of ON *klettr* m. 'hill, mountain', above *Sgeir Mhòr an t-Sruth* 'the large skerry of the stream' NB128308 in *Loch Ròg Beag*.

#307 ***Sròmas*** PRC
[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪], (gen.) *Shròmais* [ˈɾɔ̃ːˌmaʃ]; NB259150, 1843–82 *Sròmos*, *Loch Shròmois*, *Amhuinn Shròmois*, *Amhuinn Gil Shròmois*.

The name of a deserted settlement in A' Phàirc, about 1 km (about 0.7 mile) from the east bank of *Loch Shìophort* (#113), whose inhabitants were evicted early in the 19th century (Macdonald 1978, 162) but where people were living, it seems, at the end of the century (Lawson 2011, 195).

ScG *Sròmas* is a loan-name from ON **Straum-óss* '(the) stream-mouth', with the stem form of ON *straumr* m. in the sense 'fast-moving water' (rather than 'current in water' (#7)) and ON *óss* m. 'mouth (of river etc.)'.[718] The Old Norse name would have denoted the mouth of *Abhainn Gil Shròmais* 'the river (of the ravine of *Sròmas*)' – there are waterfalls on the river.

Given the map forms, the name may have been pronounced *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmɔs̪] in the middle of the 19th century.

#308 ***Stèinis*** STN (Eng. *Steinish*)
[ˈʃt̪ʲẽːˌniʃ], (gen.) idem; NB448338. 1654 *Steniſh*, *Avon Steniſh*; 1714 *Row Stenich*; 1821, 1822 *Stenish*; 1843–82 *Steinish*, *Gob Steinish*; 1845 *Stenish*; 2007 *Stèinis*‖*Steinish*; road sign *Steinis*‖*Steinish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: '**Steinish** [?]. In Harris there is another locality for which the map gives the same name. If pronounced with long [eː], this name undoubtedly represents ON **Stein-nes*, literally "(the) stone-promontory",[719] or **Steinanes* "(the) promontory of the stones", both compounded with forms of ON *steinn* m. "stone". For corresponding Norwegian names, see *NG* X, 249, XIII, 93, and XVII, 93. For *Stenness*, Orkney, see Marwick 1952, 110.'

718. MacIver (1934, 62) suggests a derivation with ON *áss* m. 'ridge'.

719. So also MacBain 1922, 101, and Fraser 1978, 10.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs an ear air beul *Loch Ròg Beag* (#107); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an fhacal-iasaid Lochlannais GA *sròm* f. 'sruth' (< SL *straum* cusp. f. (#7)).

Ruithidh sruth làidir eadar *Loch an t-Sròim* agus *Loch Ròg Beag*, a tha air a chlàradh san ainm-iasaid GA *Stròmacleit* NB123309, à SL **Straum(a)klett* cusp. '(an t-)sruth-bheinn no beinn nan sruth', le bun-riochd no tuiseal ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *klettr* f. 'cnoc, beinn', bhos cionn *Sgeir Mhòr an t-Sruth* NB128308 ann an *Loch Ròg Beag*.

#307 ***Sròmas*** PRC
[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪], (gin.) *Shròmais* [ˈɾɔ̃ːˌmaʃ]; NB259150, 1843–82 *Sròmos*, *Loch Shròmois*, *Amhuinn Shròmois*, *Amhuinn Gil Shròmois*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs anns A' Phàirc, mu 1 clm (mu 0.7 mìle) a-mach bho bhòrd an ear *Loch Shìophort* (#113), a chaidh a mhuinntir fhuadach tràth san 19mh linn (Macdonald 1978, 162) ach far an robh daoine a' fuireach, a rèir choltais, aig deireadh na linne (Lawson 2011, 195).

Tha GA *Sròmas* na ainm-iasaid à SL **Straum-óss* '(an) sruth-òs', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *straumr* f. sa bhrìgh 'uisge na dheann-ruith' (seach 'sruth ann an uisge' (#7)) agus SL *óss* f. 'òs, beul aibhne ɔc'.[718] Bheanadh an t-ainm Lochlannais ri beul *Abhainn Gil Shròmais* – tha easan air an abhainn.

A rèir nan cruthan mapa, is iongantach mana b' e *[ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmɔs̪] fuaimneachadh an ainme am meadhan na 19mh linne.

#308 ***Stèinis*** STN
[ˈʃt̪ʲẽːˌniʃ], (gin.) idem; NB448338. 1654 *Steniſh*, *Avon Steniſh*; 1714 *Row Stenich*; 1821, 1822 *Stenish*; 1843–82 *Steinish*, *Gob Steinish*; 1845 *Stenish*; 2007 *Stèinis*‖*Steinish*; soighne rathaid *Steinis*‖*Steinish*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: **Steinish** [?]. Anns na Hearadh, tha àite eile ann dhan toir am mapa an t-aon ainm. Ma dh'fhuaimnichear le [eː] fhada e, chan eil teagamh nach riochdaich an t-ainm seo SL **Stein-nes*, gu litireil '(an) clach-rubha',[719] no **Steinanes* 'rubha nan clach', an dà chuid air am filleadh le cruthan aig SL *steinn* f. 'clach'. Airson ainmean co-cheangailte ann an Nirribhidh, faic *NG* X, 249, XIII, 93, agus XVII, 93. Airson *Stenness*, Arcaibh, faic Marwick 1952, 110.

718. Molaidh MacIver (1934, 62) bunachas le SL *áss* f. 'druim'.

719. Mar sin cuideachd MacBain 1922, 101, agus Fraser 1978, 10.

The name of a township east of *Steòrnabhagh* #309.

Although the Old Norse word *steinn* is not uncommon in loan-names in the Western Isles, e.g. ScG *Tom Stèineatotair* 'the hill of *Stèineatotair*' NB517607, in Nis,[720] it is more likely that *Stèinis* derives from ON **Steð-nes* '(the) anvil-promontory', with the stem form of the noun ON *steði* m. 'anvil' denoting the shape of the promontory out from *Gob Stèinis* 'the point of *Stèinis*'.

For ON *nes* nt. 'promontory', see §3 (i).

#309 *Steòrnabhagh* STN (Eng. *Stornoway*)
[ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ], (gen.) *Steòrnabhaigh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaj]; NB425329. 1549 *Steornvay*; 1572 *Stornoway*; 1573 *Stoÿcaſtel*; 1583 *Stoÿ caſtel*; 1595 *Stornway ca.*, *Stoy ca.*; 1600+ *Steornway*; 1600+a *Stornuay*, *Stornoway*; 1607 [?] *Stornway ca*; 1610, 1635 *Stornwaye caſt, Stoy caſt*; 1630 *Steornua*; 1636 *Stornway ca.*, *Stoy ca*; 1654 *Steornwa Caſtel, Loch Steornwa*; 1680 *Stornuvay*; 1703 *Stornvay*, *Sternvay*, *Storn-Bay*; 1714 *Stornvay Castle*; 1718 *Storneway*, *Stornoway*; 1726 *Stornua*; 1750M, 1775 *Stornawa*; 1776 *Stornowa*; 1785, 1789, 1790 *Stornaway*; 1797 *Stornoway or Stronevaidh, Stronoway,* [ScG] *stron a Bhaigh*; 1801, 1804 *Stornoway*; 1807 *Stornawa*; 1821, 1822, 1843–82, 1845, 1846 *Stornoway*; road sign *Steornabhagh*‖*Stornoway*.

> Oftedal 1954, 392–93: '**Stornoway** [ʃtʼɔːɳəvɑɣ][721] (the town) may be (a) ON **Stjǫrnuvágr*, lit. "(the) bay of the star", from ON *stjarna* f. "star". The lengthening of the vowel before the cluster *rn* in Gaelic is regular. **Stjarna* occurs in a few Norwegian place-names such as *Stjernegjerd* (*NG* XII, 134), *Stjernodden* (*NG* XVIII, 64) and *Stjernevågen*, from ON **Stjǫrnuvágr* (*NG* XVIII, 114). **Stjarna* occurs in two or three instances as a farm name by itself (*NG* V, 462, and XV, 235); *Stjernevågen* is named after an island **Stjarna*, now *Stjernøya*. What the word refers to is not quite clear, except in the name of the island which has a star-like shape. In the other instances, it may refer to an elevated situation, as in *NG* XV, 235, or to a strongly indented appearance of farm lands or of some natural formation. **Stjarna* (*NG* V, 462) may be an original river name, but it remains a mystery why a river should be so named. In the case of **Stornoway**, there is nothing in the topography particularly suggestive of a star shape, except possibly ScG *Rubha Àranis*, which protects the harbour. This promontory would then have had two Norse

720. [ˌt̪ʰɔ̃ũm ˈʃtʲẽːnəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾʲ], with a loan-name from ON **Steinatoptir* '(the) sites or ruins of the stones', with the genitive plural of ON *steinn* and the plural of ON *topt* f. 'site or ruin of a building' (#5, fn 17, #339); see also *Dùn Èistean* #171.

721. (nMO) [ʃt̪ɔːɳəvɑɣ], (gen.) [ʃt̪ɔːɳəvaj].

An t-ainm air baile fearainn an ear air *Steòrnabhagh* #309.

Ged nach eil am facal Lochlannais *steinn* ao-cumanta ann an ainmean-iasaid ann an Innse Gall, m.e. GA *Tom Stèineatotair* NB517607, ann an Nis,[720] is coltaiche gur h-ann à SL **Steð-nes* '(an t-)innean-rubha' a tha *Stèinis*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *steði* f. 'innean, teallach' a' beantainn ri cruth an rubha a-muigh bho *Ghob Stèinis*.

Airson SL *nes* n. 'rubha', faic §3 (i).

#309 *Steòrnabhagh* STN
[ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaɣ], (gin.) *Steòrnabhaigh* [ˈʃtʲɔːɳəˌvaj]; NB425329. 1549 *Steornvay*; 1572 *Stornoway*; 1573 *Stoÿcaſtel*; 1583 *Stoÿ caſtel*; 1595 *Stornway ca.*, *Stoy ca.*; 1600+ *Steornway*; 1600+a *Stornuay*, *Stornoway*; 1607 [?] *Stornway ca*; 1610, 1635 *Stornwaye caſt, Stoy caſt*; 1630 *Steornua*; 1636 *Stornway ca.*, *Stoy ca*; 1654 *Steornwa Caſtel, Loch Steornwa*; 1680 *Stornuvay*; 1703 *Stornvay*, *Sternvay*, *Storn-Bay*; 1714 *Stornvay Castle*; 1718 *Storneway*, *Stornoway*; 1726 *Stornua*; 1750M, 1775 *Stornawa*; 1776 *Stornowa*; 1785, 1789, 1790 *Stornaway*; 1797 *Stornoway or Stronevaidh, Stronoway,* [GA] *stron a Bhaigh*; 1801, 1804 *Stornoway*; 1807 *Stornawa*; 1821, 1822, 1843–82, 1845, 1846 *Stornoway*; soighne rathaid *Steornabhagh*‖*Stornoway*.

> Oftedal 1954, 392–93: Is dòcha gu bheil **Stornoway** [ʃtʼɔːɳəvɑɣ][721] (am baile) à (a) SL **Stjǫrnuvágr*, gu lit. 'bàgh na rionnaige', à SL *stjarna* b. 'rionnag'. Tha fadachadh san fhuaimreig air thoiseach air a' chòmhlan *rn* sa Ghàidhlig riaghailteach. Gheibhear **Stjarna* ann an corra ainm-àite ann an Nirribhidh, mar *Stjernegjerd* (*NG* XII, 134), *Stjernodden* (*NG* XVIII, 64) agus *Stjernevågen*, à SL **Stjǫrnuvágr* (*NG* XVIII, 114). Tha **Stjarna* fhèin na ainm tuathanais ann a dhà no a trì de dh'àitichean (*NG* V, 462, agus XV, 235); tha *Stjernevågen* air ainmeachadh air eilean air a bheil **Stjarna*, nise *Stjernøya*. Chan eil e gu buileach soilleir cò ris a bheanas am facal ach ann an ainm an eilein a tha a chruth coltach ri rionnaig. Sna h-eisimpleirean eile, is dòcha gu bheil gnothach aige ri àirdead an t-suidheachaidh, m.e. ann an *NG* XV, 235, no ri coltas gu math eagach an fhearainn no crutha nàdarra air choreigin. Is dòcha gur h-e ainm aibhne a bh' ann an **Stjarna* (*NG* V, 462) bho thùs, ach tha e ann an dubhar carson a bheirte a leithid de dh'ainm air abhainn. A thaobh **Stornoway**, chan eil dad na chruth a bheir air duine smaoineachadh air cruth rionnaige, ach is dòcha GA *Rubha Àranis*, a dhìonas an cala. Bhiodh dà ainm Lochlannais aig an rubha seo, a-rèist:

720. [ˌt̪ʰɔ̃ũm ˈʃtʲẽːnəˌt̪oʰt̪əɾʲ], le ainm-iasaid à SL **Steinatoptir* 'làraichean nan clach', leis a' chruth ghinideach iolra aig SL *steinn* agus an cruth iolra aig SL *topt* b. 'làrach taighe (#5, bn 17, #339); faic *Dùn Èistean* #171 mar an ceudna.

721. (nMO) [ʃt̪ɔːɳəvɑɣ], (gin.) [ʃt̪ɔːɳəvɑj].

names: **Stjarna* and the antecedent of ScG *Àranis* #19. (b) **Stjórnar·vágr*, compounded with the genitive of *stjórn* f. As a generic term, *stjórn* means "steerage, ruling" and also "rudder". "Rudder bay" is just possible; the shape of the bay would perhaps allow of comparison with a rudder. But the usual word for "rudder" must have been ON *stýri* nt. in these parts; this word is still preserved in the generic term ScG *stiùir* [ʃtʲuːð].[722] "Steerage bay" would be a somewhat unusual type of name, but by no means unique; it may be compared to the Norwegian names ON **Róðrsnes* (*NG* I, 341) and ON **Róðrarfjǫrðr* (*NG* XIII, 120), both containing ON *róðr* m. 'rowing'. A further possibility is that **Stjórnarvágr*, like many other *vágr*-names, contains a river name. **Stjórn* may have been the name of the rivulet that runs into the bay at its head (*Bayhead River*[723] on the Ordnance Survey map). A river with this name is actually found in southern Iceland, near Kirkjubæjarklaustur, in Síða. It is also attested in Norway – see *NE*, 247; no explanation is given of its meaning.'

The name of the largest settlement in Lewis and the main town in the Western Isles.

It is thought the many promontories, like rays, to the north of the island **Stjarna* (*Stjernøya*) gave rise to its name (*NSL*, s.v. *Stjernøy*), and the name ON **Stjǫrnuvág* acc. (with genitive of *stjarna* 'star') may be appropriate as the name of the bay from which the town *Steòrnabhagh* derives its own name: although there are several promontories in addition to *Rubha Àranis* on each side of the approach to *Steòrnabhagh*, the inner bay is marked by three promontories – *Àird a' Chlèir·ich* 'the promontory of the cleric' NB419325 to the south-west, *Àird nan Laogh* 'the promontory of the calves' NB419328 to the north-west and the promontory now *An Cidhe Mòr* 'the big quay' NB421327 (which protects the inner harbour and where a castle once stood) to the east – like the three points of a triangle.

Cf. (1843–82) *Loch Stornoway* NR733610 (Gillies 1906, 36: *Stornoway*; (CMR) *Loch Steòrnawȅ* (in King 2019, 340)), in Kintyre. It is clear that ON **Stjǫrnuvág* does not match the topography here, but ON **Stjórnarvág* (with genitive of *stjórn* 'rudder') might suit the shape of the bay. (MacKenzie (1931, 153) takes the Norse names here and in Lewis to have the same sense 'guiding bay'.)

722. Note that ScG *steòrn* vb 'to guide, to direct' is a loan from Old Norse, either from ON *stjórn* f. or ON *stjórna* vb.

723. ScG (≈1843–82) *Abhainn Ceann a' Bhàigh* 'the river of (the head of the bay)' (#102).

**Stjarna* agus an t-ainm Lochlannais air *Àranis* #19. (b) **Stjórnarvágr*, air a dhèanamh leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *stjórn* b. Mar ainmear bitheanta, 's e 'stiùireadh, riaghladh' is cuideachd 'falmadair, stiùir' as ciall do *stjórn*. Cha mhòr nach gabh 'bàgh an fhalmadair' creidsinn; cheadaicheadh cruth a' bhàigh a bhith a' dèanamh coimeas ri falmadair. Ach feumaidh e a bhith gum b' e SL *stýri* n. am facal àbhaisteach airson 'falmadair' sa cheàrnaidh seo; tha am facal seo air a ghleidheadh fhathast sa bhriathar bhitheanta GA *stiùir* [ʃtʲuːð].[722] Bhiodh coltas caran annasach air 'bàgh an stiùiridh' mar ainm, ach chan e 's nach biodh a sheise ann; gabhaidh e cur an coimeas ris na h-ainmean Nirribheach SL **Róðrsnes* (*NG* I, 341) agus SL **Róðrarfjǫrðr* (*NG* XIII, 120), an dà chuid le SL *róðr* m. 'iomramh'. A thuilleadh, faodar beachdachadh gu bheil ainm aibhne am broinn an ainme **Stjórnarvágr*, mar a bhitheas gu tric ann an ainmean *vágr* eile. Is dòcha gum b' e **Stjórn* ainm an uillt a ruitheas a-steach am bàgh aig a cheann (*Bayhead River*[723] air mapa na Suirbhidh Òrdanais). Is ann a tha abhainn air a bheil an t-ainm seo ann an ceann a deas Innis Tìle, faisg air Kirkjubæjarklaustur, ann an Síða. Tha teist air mar an ceudna ann an Nirribhidh – faic *NE*, 247; cha tèid ciall an ainme a mhìneachadh.

An t-ainm air an tuineachadh as motha ann an Leòdhas agus prìomh bhaile nan Eilean Siar.

Thathas den bheachd gur h-e am mòran rubhaichean, mar ghathan, air taobh a tuath an eilein **Stjarna* (*Stjernøya*) a b' adhbhar dha ainm (*NSL*, s.v. *Stjernøy*), agus is dòcha gum freagradh an t-ainm SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cusp. (leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig *stjarna* 'rionnag') mar ainm a' bhàigh às am faigh am baile *Steòrna·bhagh* a ainm fhèin: ged a tha caochladh rubha a thuilleadh air *Rubha Àranis* air gach taobh den t-seòlaid a-steach a *Steòrnabhagh*, tha am bàgh as fhaide a-staigh air a chomharradh le trì rubhaichean – *Àird a' Chlèirich* NB419325 san iar-dheas, *Àird nan Laogh* NB419328 san iar-thuath agus an rubha far a bheil *An Cidhe Mòr* NB421327 an-diugh (a dhìonas an cala as fhaide a-staigh agus far an robh caisteal uair) san ear – mar na trì rinnean aig triantan.

Coim. (1843–82) *Loch Stornoway* NR733610 (Gillies 1906, 36: *Stornoway*; (CMR) *Loch Steòrnawȅ* (ann an King 2019, 340)), ann an Cinn Tìre. Is lèir nach fhreagradh SL **Stjǫrnuvág* cruth na tìre an seo, ach dh'fhaodte gum freagradh **Stjórnarvág* (leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig *stjórn* 'falmadair') ri cumadh an locha. (Tha MacKenzie (1931, 153) den bheachd gum b' i an aon bhrìgh 'bàgh stiùiridh' a bh' aig na h-ainmean Lochlannais ann an seo agus ann an Leòdhas.)

722. Mothaich gur h-e facal-iasaid às an Lochlannais a th' ann an GA *steòrn* gn. 'treòraich, stiùir', aon chuid à SL *stjórn* b. no SL *stjórna* gn.

723. GA (≈1843–82) *Abhainn Ceann a' Bhàigh* (#102).

#310 *Stìomrabhagh* CDL

(1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲiːmrəˌvaɣ],[724] [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaɣ], (gen.) *Stìomrabhaigh* [ˈʃtʲiːmrəˌvaj], [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaj]; (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲiːməˌraɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌraɣ], (gen.) *Stìomaraigh* [ˈʃtʲiːməˌraj], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌraj]; NB346115. 1821 *Slimervay*; 1843–82 *Stiòmrabhagh, Tòb Stiòmrabhaigh, Lodan Stiomrabhaigh, Amhuinn Stiomrabhaigh*.

The name of a deserted settlement at the head of a sea loch (*Tòb Stìomrabhaigh*) on the north side of *Loch Shealg* (#108), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. The township was cleared in 1857 and its people sent to *Leumrabhagh* #235 (Macdonald 1978, 162).

Pronunciation (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲiːmrəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaɣ] is found generally, but pronunciation (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲiːməˌraɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌraɣ] locally.

This name is perhaps from ON **Stím-árvág* acc., with genitive of a river name ON **Stím-á* (with the stem form of the verb ON *stíma* 'to roar; to struggle' and ON *á* f. 'river'), and accusative of the noun ON *vágr* m. 'bay' (#98). ON **Stím-árvág* would yield EG *[ˈʃtʲiːmaːɾˌβaːɣ] in the first instance, regularly, which would perhaps yield ScG [ˈʃtʲĩːmrəˌvaɣ] (later [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaɣ]), with metathesis §40 (ii) and contraction (cf. ScG *imrich* f. 'removing, removal' < EG *immirc*(*h*)*e*, *immirġe*; ScG *magairle* m. 'testicle' < EG *macraille*). If this is correct, *Abhainn Stìomrabhaigh* 'the river of—', a broad watercourse that runs into *Lodan Stìomrabhaigh* 'the pool of *Stìomrabhagh*', or the race (1843–82 *Stròm*, cf. *An Sròm* #306) between *Lodan Stìomrabhaigh* and *Tòb Stìomrabhaigh* 'the inlet of *Stìomrabhagh*' may be behind the name.

Accordingly, *Stìomaragh* is a contracted form of *Stìomrabhagh*, cf. (generally) *Leumrabhagh* ~ (locally) *Leumaragh* #235, the name of a township about 3.5 km (about 2.2 miles) to the east.

#311 *Suaineabost* NIS (Eng. *Swainbost*)

[ˈs̪ũãn̪əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) *Shuaineaboist* [ˈhũãn̪əˌb̪ɔʃtʲ]; NB511624. 1654 *Suneboſt*;[725] 1703 *Shanaboſt* [*sic*]; 1718 *Swaneboast, Swanibost*; 1726 *Swanibose* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776 *Swanibuſt*; 1789 *Swanihust*; 1797 *Swainbost*; 1801 *Swanihust*; 1804, 1807 *Swanibust*; 1821 *Swainbost*; 1822 [?] *Swaiubost*; 1843–82 *Suainabost*; 2007 *Suaineabost*‖*Swainbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 373: '**Swanibost** [suɑnʼəbɔst] seems to represent ON **Sveinabólstaðr* "*Sveini*'s farm", from an unattested name **Sveini* m. There is hardly any doubt that such a name existed besides the more common *Sveinn*, judging from Norwegian farm names such as **Sveina-*

724. (nMO) *Tòb Stìomrabhaigh* [tʻɔːb̪ ʃtʼĩːmᵇrəvaɣ]. (NB Without genitive inflection.)

725. The map seems to read *Suneboſt Dall* (with *Dail* #166), over two lines; *Dall* itself is marked separately; in addition, the name *Swenigarrth* is given.

#310 *Stìomrabhagh* CDL

(1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲiːmrəˌvaɣ],[724] [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaɣ], (gin.) *Stìomrabhaigh* [ˈʃtʲiːmrəˌvaj], [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaj]; (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲiːməˌraɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌraɣ], (gin.) *Stìomaraigh* [ˈʃtʲiːməˌraj], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌraj]; NB346115. 1821 *Slimervay*; 1843–82 *Stiòmrabhagh, Tòb Stiòmrabhaigh, Lodan Stiomrabhaigh, Amhuinn Stiomrabhaigh*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann locha mara (*Tòb Stìomrabhaigh*) air taobh a tuath *Loch Shealg* (#108), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais. Chaidh muinntir a' bhaile fhuadach a *Leumrabhagh* #235 ann an 1857 (Macdonald 1978, 162).

Gheibhear fuaimneachadh (1) *Stìomrabhagh* [ˈʃtʲiːmrəˌvaɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaɣ] am bitheantas, ach fuaimneachadh (2) *Stìomaragh* [ˈʃtʲiːməˌraɣ], [ˈʃtʲĩəməˌraɣ] gu h-ionadail.

Is dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Stím-árvág* cusp. a tha an t-ainm seo, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm aibhne SL **Stím-á* (le bun-riochd a' ghnìomhair SL *stíma* 'glaodhaich; strì' agus SL *á* b. 'abhainn'), agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#98). Bheireadh SL **Stím-árvág* GT *[ˈʃtʲiːmaːɾˌβaːɣ] sa chiad àite, gu riaghailteach, a bheireadh GA [ˈʃtʲĩːmrəˌvaɣ] (a-rithist [ˈʃtʲĩəmrəˌvaɣ]), is dòcha, le eadar-chàradh §40 (ii) agus teannachadh (coim. GA *imrich* b. < GT *immirc*(*h*)*e*, *immirġe*; GA *magairle* f. < GT *macraille*). Mas ceart seo, is dòcha gur h-i *Abhainn Stìomrabhaigh*, abhainn leathann a ruitheas a-steach a *Lodan Stìomrabhaigh*, no an sruth (1843–82 *Stròm*, coim. *An Sròm* #306) eadar *Lodan Stìomrabhaigh* agus *Tòb Stìomrabhaigh* a tha air cùl an ainme.

A rèir seo, tha an cruth *Stìomaragh* na theannachadh air *Stìomrabhagh*, coim. (am bitheantas) *Leumrabhagh* ~ (gu h-ionadail) *Leumaragh* #235, ainm baile fearainn mu 3.5 clm (mu 2.2 mhìle) chun na h-àirde an ear.

#311 *Suaineabost* NIS

[ˈs̪ũãn̪əˌb̪ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) *Shuaineaboist* [ˈhũãn̪əˌb̪ɔʃtʲ]; NB511624. 1654 *Suneboſt*;[725] 1703 *Shanaboſt* [*sic*]; 1718 *Swaneboast, Swanibost*; 1726 *Swanibose* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776 *Swanibuſt*; 1789 *Swanihust*; 1797 *Swainbost*; 1801 *Swanihust*; 1804, 1807 *Swanibust*; 1821 *Swainbost*; 1822 [?] *Swaiubost*; 1843–82 *Suainabost*; 2007 *Suaineabost*‖*Swainbost*.

> Oftedal 1954, 373: Is coltach gur h-e SL **Sveinabólstaðr* 'an tuathanas aig *Sveini*' a th' ann an **Swanibost** [suɑnʼəbɔst], à **Sveini* f., ainm gun teist. Cha mhòr gu bheil teagamh ann nach robh a leithid de dh'ainm ann a thuilleadh air an ainm as bitheanta *Sveinn*, a rèir ainmean tuathanais Nirribh-

724. (nMO) *Tòb Stìomrabhaigh* [tʻɔːb̪ ʃtʼĩːmᵇrəvaɣ]. (NB Gun mhùthadh ginideach.)

725. Is coltach gur h-e *Suneboſt Dall* (le *Dail* #166) a th' air a' mhapa, thar dhà shreatha; tha *Dall* fhèin air a chomharradh fa leth; a thuilleadh, bheirear an t-ainm *Swenigarrth*.

býr, **Sveinagarðr*, **Sveinahaugr* and **Sveinaruð*, see for example *NG* I, 60, and *NG* IV[1], 59. There is a curious discrepency between the diphthong of [suɑɴ'əbɔst] and that of the family name *MacSuain* [mɑhkˈsuəɴ'] which contains the name *Sveinn* (or perhaps **Sveini*).[fn] The diphthongs [uə] and [uɑ] both correspond to OG *úa*, but the exact historical conditions of the differentiation are not clear: we have [uɑ] for example in ScG *duan* [duɑn] "poem" (MG *duan*), *uan* [uɑn] "lamb" (OG *úan*), *uain* [uɑɴ'] "lambs", *uaine* [uɑɴ'ə] "green" (MG idem), but [uə] in ScG *buain* [buəɴ'] "to reap, to harvest" (MG *buain*) and *Diluain* [dˈəˈluəɴ'] "Monday" (MG *dia lúain*). To MG *cúan* "haven" (Ir. also "sea") corresponds ScG *cuan* [kuɑn] "ocean" in *Beàrnaraigh* #51 but [kuən] in *Lìùrbost* #239. This shows that there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that [uɑ] in [suɑɴ'əbɔst] and [uə] in [mɑhkˈsuəɴ'] are two representatives of one and the same phoneme combination (*-ve-*) in ON, though we cannot at present demonstrate how the differentation took place.

fn: 'The Gaelic spelling of this name is *MacSuain*. It is different from *MacShuibhne* (*MacCuinn*, Eng. *MacQueen*), which contains a Gaelic personal name.'

#311 (i) *Suain*, *MacSuain*

In his note, above, Oftedal expresses the difference between the Gaelic men's names *Suain* and *Suibhne* succinctly. The majority of commentators differentiate accordingly, e.g. Morgan 1989: *Suain* ~ *Suibhne*; Dwelly: ScG *MacSuain* (Eng. *MacSwan*) ~ ScG *MacShuibhne* (Eng. *MacQueen*).[726] On the other hand, Eng. *MacSween* is connected with ScG *Mac Suibhne* [*sic*] by Black (1946), but with ScG *MacSuain* by MacThómais (1989, 38), while Taylor (2011, 163) connects Eng. *Loch Sween* with ScG *Loch Suain* and ON *Sveinn*, although *Caisteal Shuinn* (leg. *Caisteal Shuibhn'*) is the Gaelic name provided by Dwelly for Eng. *Castle Sween*.[727] Apparently, the English reflexes have become interchangeable to some extent; as far as Gaelic is concerned, ScG *Suain*, *MacSuain* < ON *Sveinn* is differentiated from ScG *Suibhne*, *MacShuibhne* or *MacCuinn* < OG *Suiḃne* (cf. OG *Suiḃne Gelt*, ScG *Suibhne Geilt*, the main character in a tale about an Ulster king who loses his

726. Regarding Eng. *MacQueen* ~ ScG *MacCuinn* (Dieckhoff 1932, 177: [maKk(**əi**):ɴ'*j*], [maK**üi**ɴ'*j*]) < *MacShuibhne*, see MacBain 1911, 409.

727. Dwelly, s.v. *Castle Sween*. Watson (1926, 173, fn 4), notes that in the 13th century Dubhghall mac Suibhne (Dufgallus filius Syfyn) was lord of Kintyre, and that his name is preserved in *Caisteal Suibhne* (Eng. *Castle Sween*). Dwelly's form must be a modern version, and the absence of lenition in *Caisteal Suibhne* either because the name is very old (Cox 2002a, 117), or because lenition between homorganic consonants (final *l* and initial *s*) is being prevented (ibid., 53).

each mar a tha **Sveinaḃýr*, **Sveinagarðr*, **Sveinahaugr* agus **Sveinaruð*, faic mar eisimpleir *NG* I, 60, agus *NG* IV[1], 59. Tha diofar annasach eadar an dà-fhoghar ann an [suɑɴ'əbɔst] agus am fear san ainm teaghlaich *Mac·Suain* [mɑhkˈsuəɴ'] anns a bheil an t-ainm *Sveinn* (no is dòcha **Sveini*).[bn] Freagraidh na dà-fhogharan [uə] is [uɑ] le chèile ri SG *úa*, ach chan eil na ceart fheumalachdan eachdraidheil a th' aig an diofar soilleir: tha [uɑ] againn mar eisimpleir ann an GA *duan* [duɑn] (MG *duan*), *uan* [uɑn] (SG *úan*), *uain* [uɑɴ'], *uaine* [uɑɴ'ə] (MG idem), ach [uə] ann an GA *buain* [buəɴ'] (MG idem) agus *Diluain* [dˈəˈluəɴ'] (MG *dia lúain*). Ri MG *cúan* 'port, cala' (GE 'muir' mar an ceudna), freagraidh GA *cuan* [kuɑn] ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51 ach [kuən] ann an *Lìùrbost* #239. Seallaidh sin nach eil adhbhar ann nach fhaod sinn gabhail ris gu bheil [uɑ] ann an [suɑɴ'əbɔst] agus [uə] ann am [mɑhkˈsuəɴ'] nan dà riochdaire den aon cho-mheasgachadh chruitheamach (*-ve-*) anns an Lochlannais, ged nach urrainn dhuinn an-dràsta a shealltainn ciamar a thachair an diofar.

bn: 'S e *MacSuain* litreachadh Gàidhlig an ainme seo. Chan ionann seo agus *MacShuibhne* (*MacCuinn*, Brl. *MacQueen*), anns a bheil ainm pearsanta Gàidhlig.

#311 (i) *Suain*, *MacSuain*

Na bhun-nota, shuas, cuiridh Oftedal an diofar eadar na h-ainmean fireannaich Gàidhlig *Suain* agus *Suibhne* an cèill gu cruinn. Nì a' mhòr-chuid de luchd-aithris an t-aon sgaradh, m.e. (Morgan 1989) *Suain* ~ *Suibhne*, (Dwelly) GA *MacSuain* (Brl. *MacSwan*) ~ GA *MacShuibhne* (Brl. *MacQueen*).[726] Air an làimh eile, thèid Brl. *MacSween* a cheangal ri GA *Mac Suibhne* [*sic*] le Black (1946), ach ri GA *MacSuain* le MacThómais (1989, 38), agus ceanglaidh Taylor (2011, 163) Brl. *Loch Sween* ri GA *Loch Suain* agus SL *Sveinn*, ged as e *Caisteal Shuinn* (leugh *Caist·eal Shuibhn'*) an t-ainm Gàidhlig a th' aig Dwelly air Brl. *Castle Sween*.[727] A rèir choltais, tha na riochdan Beurla air a dhol an lùib a chèile gu ìre; a thaobh na Gàidhlig, nithear sgaradh eadar GA *Suain*, *MacSuain* < SL *Sveinn* agus GA *Suibh·ne*, *MacShuibhne* no *MacCuinn* < SG *Suiḃne* (coim. SG *Suiḃne Gelt*, GA *Suibhne Geilt*, am prìomh charactar ann an sgeul mu rìgh Ultach a chaidh às a chiall an

726. A thaobh Brl. *MacQueen* ~ GA *MacCuinn* (Dieckhoff 1932, 177: [maKk(**əi**):ɴ'*j*], [maK**üi**ɴ'*j*]) < *MacShuibhne*, faic MacBain 1911, 409.

727. Dwelly, s.v. *Castle Sween*. Innsidh Watson (1926, 173 + bn 4), gum b' e Dubhghall mac Suibhne (Dufgallus filius Syfyn) tighearna Chinn Tìre san 13mh linn, is gu bheil a ainm air a ghleidheadh ann an *Caisteal Suibhne* (Brl. *Castle Sween*). Feumaidh gur h-e nuadh-eagran a th' anns a' chruth aig Dwelly, agus an dìth sèimheachaidh ann an *Caisteal Suibhne* aon chuid mar thoradh air fìor sheann aois an ainme (Cox 2002a, 117), air neo a chionn 's gu bheil sèimheachadh eadar connragan co-altaichte (*l* dheiridh agus *s* thoisich) ga bhacadh (ibid., 53).

mind after Cath Maiġe Rátha (the Battle of Mag Rath) in 637[728]).[729]

It is noticable that *Suain* resists lenition in *MacSuain*. Early on within the Old Gaelic period, OG initial *sw* (i.e. [s̪u̯]) became *s*, e.g. OG *süur* (but Sanskrit *svásā*, Gothic *swistar*) 'sister'.[730] When later on ON *svart-bak* acc. m. 'great black-backed gull, *Larus marinus*' was borrowed into Gaelic, the solution to the question of the Old Norse initial *sv* was to discard it, hence ScG *arspag* b.[731] However, ON *Sveinn* was treated differently in Gaelic – perhaps because the original nature of the Norse name was continually being reinforced, causing the initial fricative to be retained and incorporating the semi-vowel within a new diphthong, hence ScG *Suain*, (genitive in) *MacSuain*;[732] contrast ScG *Somhairle*, (genitive in) *MacShomhairle*.[733]

The development of ON *Sveinn* > ScG *Suain* [s̪ũə̯n̪] has its parallel as regards the switch to an opening diphthong in ScG *Loch Uamasbroc* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈũãməˌs̪pɾɔʰk] NB083240, with a loan-name from ON **Hvammsbrokka* '(the) slope of the hollow'[734] and ScG *Cnoc Uamaistean* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] NB262455, with a loan-name from ON **Hvammsstein* acc. '(the) rock of the hollow' (Cox 2002a, 240).

#311 (ii) Suaineabost, Suaineabhal

There is a tendency to look for the Old Norse man's name *Sveinn* or its weak reflex **Sveini* (*GP* 241–43) in other loan-names, as Oftedal does in *Suaineabost* (< ON **Sveinabólstað* acc.) above, and as Henderson (1910, 348) does in *Suaineabhal* (*LASID* IV, 263) [sû.an'evɑlʰ], (Oftedal 1981, 185) [sũãɴ'əvaʟ]

728. MacKillop 1998, 56–57; for a Gaelic translation of this tale, see Gorman, forthcoming.

729. In the Isle of Skye, two families are called *MacQueen* in English, the one deriving its name from ON *Sveinn*, the other deriving its name from ScG (Ir.) *Suibhne* (Bridget Mackenzie (Gordon), personal communication).

730. Lenited initial *sw*, i.e. [hu̯], became [ɸ] > [f], written *f* (or *ph*), e.g. *fùur* (or *phüur*), hence, via back-formation in unlenited positions, **püur* > ScG *piuthar* 'sister', contrast Ir. *siúr* 'sister (in religion)'.

731. Although *Rubha Sharspag* [ˈhɑs̪paɡ̊] 'the promontory of (the) black-backed gulls' NB207352 shows a lenited reflex before that was finalised (Cox 2002a, 358 – though note (nMO) [rɷ ˈɑs̪pɑɟ]). ScG *farspag*, with prefixed *f*, is a secondary development (Calder 1972, 37); cf. §33 (iii).

732. It is not certain whether *Cleite Suain* 'the cliff of *Suain*' (RC) -[suə̯n̪] NB539643 (in Nɪs) contains the masculine personal name (also *Eilean Cleite Suain* 'the island of—', *Caolas Cleite Suain* 'the kyles of—'), but it also lacks lenition.

733. ScG *Somhairle* is a loan-shift from ON *Sumarliði* m., where the Old Norse personal name has been replaced by OG *saṁairle* 'pup' (Cox 2009a, 21; 2007, 71).

734. Oftedal (nMO) recorded [ʟɔx ˈùamasb̯rɔˇhk], the medial [a] causing him to consider ON **Hvamm-ás-brokka* '(the) hollow-ridge-slope'. Cf. *Brocair* #80.

dèidh Chath Maiġe Rátha ann an 637[728]).[729]

Tha e ri mhothachadh nach tèid *Suain* ann am *MacSuain* a shèimheachadh. Tràth ri linn na Sean Ghàidhlig, chaidh SG *sw* (.i. [s̪u̯]) thoisich na *s*, m.e. SG *süur* (ach Sansgrid *svásā*, Gothaig *swistar*) 'piuthar'.[730] Nuair a b' anmoiche a chaidh SL *svart-bak* cusp. f. 'seòrsa eòin, *Larus marinus*' air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig, b' e am fuasgladh do cheist an toisich Lochlannais *sv* cur às dha, às a sin GA *arspag* b.[731] Gidheadh, chaidh dèiligeadh ri SL *Sveinn* air dòigh eadar-dhealaichte sa Ghàidhlig – 's dòcha gun robh nàdar tùsail an ainme Lochlannais ga shìor dhaingneachadh, a dh'adhbharaich gun cùmte an suathach toisich agus gun cuirte an leth-fhuaimreag a bhroinn dà-fhoghair ùir, às a sin GA *Suain*, (ginideach ann am) *MacSuain*;[732] iomsgaraich GA *Somhairle*, (ginideach ann am) *MacShomhairle*.[733]

Gheibh am fàs SL *Sveinn* > GA *Suain* [s̪ũə̯n̪] a sheise a thaobh na h-iomlaide gu dà-fhoghar fosglaidh ann an GA *Loch Uamasbroc* [ˌl̪ɔx ˈũãməˌs̪pɾɔʰk] NB083240, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Hvammsbrokka* 'leathad na laige'[734] agus GA *Cnoc Uamaistean* [ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈũãmɪˌʃtʲən] NB262455, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Hvammsstein* cusp. 'creag na laige' (Cox 2002a, 240).

#311 (ii) *Suaineabost, Suaineabhal*

Is dual a bhith a' sireadh an ainm fireannaich Lochlannais *Sveinn* no a riochd lag **Sveini* (*GP* 241–43) ann an ainmean-iasaid eile, mar a bhios Oftedal ann an *Suaineabost* (< SL **Sveinabólstað* cusp.) shuas, agus mar a bhios Henderson (1910, 348) ann an *Suaineabhal* (*LASID* IV, 263) [sû.an'evɑlʰ], (Oftedal 1981, 185)

728. MacKillop 1998, 56–57; airson tionndadh Gàidhlig den sgeul seo, faic Gorman, ri tighinn.

729. San Eilean Sgitheanach, tha dà theaghlach air a bheil *MacQueen* mar ainm sa Bheurla, an dàrna fear a' toirt a ainm à SL *Sveinn*, am fear eile a' toirt a ainm à GA (GE) *Suibhne* (Bridget Mackenzie (Gordon), conaltradh pearsanta).

730. Chaidh *sw* thoisich shèimhichte, .i. [hu̯], na [ɸ] > [f], air a sgrìobhadh *f* (no *ph*), m.e. *fùur* (no *phüur*), às a sin, tro chùl-chinntinn ann an suidheachaidhean neo-shèimhichte, **püur* > GA *piuthar*, iomsgaraich GE *siúr* 'cailleach-dhubh, boireannach cràbhaidh'.

731. Ged a sheallas *Rubha Sharspag* [ˈhɑs̪paɡ̊] 'rubha (nan) arspag' NB207352 riochd sèimhichte mus tàinig sin gu buil (Cox 2002a, 358 – ach mothaich (nMO) [rɷ ˈɑs̪pɑɟ]). Tha GA *farspag*, le *f* ro-leasaichte, na dhàrnacha leasachadh (Calder 1972, 37); cf. §33 (iii)..

732. Chan eil cinnt an e an t-ainm pearsanta fireannaich a gheibhear ann an *Cleite Suain* 'creagan *Suain*' (RC) -[s̪uə̯n̪] NB539643 (ann an Nɪs) (cuideachd *Eilean Cleite Suain*, *Caolas Cleite Suain*), ach tha sèimheachadh a dhìth air mar an ceudna.

733. Tha GA *Somhairle* na iasad iomlaide à SL *Sumarliði* f., far an deach an t-ainm pearsanta Lochlannais a chur às àite le SG *saṁairle* 'cuilean' (Cox 2009a, 21; 2007, 71).

734. Chlàraich Oftedal (nMO) [ʟɔx ˈùamasb̯rɔˇhk], an [a] mheadhain a' toirt air a bhith a' beachdachadh air SL **Hvamm-ás-brokka* '(an) lag-druim-leathad'. Coim. *Brocair* #80.

NB077309,[735] although Oftedal (ibid.) assumes the specific in *Suaineabhal* to be the genitive plural of the appellative *sveinn* m., i.e. ON **Sveinafjall* 'the mountain of the youths or servants'.[736]

However, it might also be worth considering ON **Svínabólstað* acc. '(the) farm of the pigs' and ON **Svínafjall* '(the) mountain of the pigs' as a solution to these names: both ON *svei* and *sví* are likely to yield a diphthong in Scottish Gaelic.

#311 (iii) *Suaineart*

In Henderson's view (ibid., 35, fn 1, and 156), ON *Sveinn* m. is also behind the sea-loch name ScG *Suaineart*: (Donnchadh MacFhilip, Mull) [ˈs̪ũãnɑɾ̪s̪t̪];[737] (nRW) /ˈsuːnɑʀd/ (Cox 2007b, 87), (HD) [ˈsuaɴarsˈd], (Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill (The Book of Clanranald), 180) (len.) *Shúineord*. In addition to the question of the authenticity of the stressed vowel, there is an issue over the medial nasal. However, one may conjecture that either ON **Svan-fjǫrð* acc. m. '(the) swan-loch' or ON **Svín-fjǫrð* acc. m. '(the) pig-loch' lies behind the name:[738] the former suggestion might denote the s-bend shape of this long loch, the latter the dangerous skerries at its mouth.[739]

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#312 *Suardal* RBH (Eng. *Swordale*)

[ˈs̪uəˌd̪əɬ̪], (gen.) *Shuardail* [ˈhuəˌd̪əl]; NB494309. 1654 *Sowardill*; 1702 *Sovardel*; 1750M, 1776 *Swordil*; 1804 *Swordill*; 1807 *Swordil*; 1821 *Swordle*; 1843–82 *Suordal, Loch Shuordail, Stac Shuordail*; 2007, road sign *Suardail*‖*Swordale*.

735. Note the name of the loch beside this mountain: (1843–82) *Loch Suainabhal*, with the loch named after the mountain, but (nMO) *Loch Suaineabhat* [lɔx ˈsʊ̃ãɴˈəvaht], ?with the end of the name altered to *-bhat* because the name denoted a loch (cf. ScG *Langabhat* < ON **Langavatn* (#63)).

736. Schmidt (2000, 383 ff.) sees the genitive plural of the appellative ON *sveinn* behind the several Norwegian names *Svenby*, *Svenneby* as well; so also Hjalmar Falk regarding *Svenby* in Buskerud, Norway (*NG* V, 237).

737. <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/fullrecord/90518/7> – 21/5/18.

738. (1392) *Swyn*(*a*)*wort*, (1499) *Swynfiurd*; perhaps the same name as ScG *Suaineafort* (Eng. *Suainphort*) NM665613, in Loch Sunart (Cox 2007b, 76, 87); for the ending, cf. **Sìophort* (#113).

739. Because of the rocky reefs found there, Loch Sunart is a Special Area of Conservation. At the mouth of the loch, there are Eng. *Big Stirk*, *Little Stirk*, *Red Rocks* and *New Rocks*. In Norway, the names of animals such as pig, boar, bull and dog are used of islands and skerries that present a danger to navigation (*NSL*, s.v. *Svinøy*). It appears that the Gaelic name for the country *An t-Suain* (Eng. *Sweden*) developed via Scots (1500s *Swane*, *Swaine* (*DSL*)) and contains the diphthong [ũã] or [ũã] according to dialect, e.g. Glengarry (Dieckhoff 1932, 185) and Benbecula (*LASID* IV, 246), respectively. Cf. also ScG *suaile* /suɑlə/ (= /suɑlˊə/) < Eng. *swell* (Oftedal 1956, 119).

[sũãɴˈəvaʟ] NB077309,[735] ged a tha Oftedal (ibid.) an dùil gur h-e an sònraichear ann an *Suaineabhal* tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir bhitheanta *sveinn* f., .i. SL **Sveinafjall* 'beinn nan òganach no searbhantan'.[736]

Gidheadh, is math dh'fhaodte gum b' fhiach beachdachadh cuideachd air SL **Svínabólstað* cusp. 'tuathanas nam muc' agus SL **Svínafjall* 'beinn nam muc' mar fhuasgladh dha na h-ainmean seo: is coltach gun toireadh an dà chuid SL *svei* agus *sví* dà-fhoghar ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann.

#311 (iii) *Suaineart*

Am beachd Henderson (ibid., 35, bn 1, agus 156), tha SL *Sveinn* f. air cùl ainm an locha mara GA *Suaineart* cuideachd: (Donnchadh MacFhilip, Muile) [ˈs̪ũãnɑɾ̪s̪t̪];[737] (nRW) /ˈsuːnɑʀd/ (Cox 2007b, 87), (HS) [ˈsuaɴarsˈd], (Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill, 180) (sèimh.) *Shúineord*. A thuilleadh air a' cheist mu fhìor nàdar na fuaimreig beumte, tha ceist ann mun t-srònaich mheadhain. Gidheadh, faodar a chur air thuairam gu bheil SL **Svan-fjǫrð* cusp. f. '(an t-)ealaloch' no SL **Svín-fjǫrð* cusp. f. '(am) muc-loch' air cùl an ainme:[738] dh'fhaodte a' chiad mholadh a bhith a-mach air cruth s-lùbte an locha fhada seo, an dàrna fear air na sgeirean cunnartach am beul an locha.[739]

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#312 *Suardal* RBH

[ˈs̪uəˌd̪əɬ̪], (gin.) *Shuardail* [ˈhuəˌd̪əl]; NB494309. 1654 *Sowardill*; 1702 *Sovardel*; 1750M, 1776 *Swordil*; 1804 *Swordill*; 1807 *Swordil*; 1821 *Swordle*; 1843–82 *Suordal, Loch Shuordail, Stac Shuordail*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Suardail*‖*Swordale*.

735. Mothaich ainm an locha ri taobh na beinne seo: (1843–82) *Loch Suainabhal*, agus an loch air ainmeachadh air a' bheinn, ach (nMO) *Loch Suaineabhat* [lɔx ˈsʊ̃ãɴˈəvaht], ?agus ceann deiridh an ainme air atharrachadh gu *-bhat* a chionn is gum beanadh an t-ainm ri loch (coim. GA *Langabhat* < SL **Langavatn* (#63)).

736. Is e tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir bhitheanta SL *sveinn* a chì Schmidt (2000, 383 7a) air cùl a' chorra ainm Nirribhis *Svenby*, *Svenneby* mar an ceudna; mar sin cuideachd Hjalmar Falk a thaobh *Svenby* ann am Buskerud, Nirribhidh (*NG* V, 237).

737. <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/fullrecord/90518/7> – 21/5/18.

738. (1392) *Swyn*(*a*)*wort*, (1499) *Swynfiurd*; is dòcha an t-aon ainm ri GA *Suaineafort* (Brl. *Suainphort*) NM665613, ann an Loch Shuaineart (Cox 2007b, 76, 87); airson an dùnaidh, coim. **Sìophort* (#113).

739. Air sàillibh nam bodhachan creagach a gheibhear ann, tha Loch Shuaineart na Ionad Sònraichte Glèidhteachais. Aig beul an locha, lorgar Brl. *Big Stirk*, *Little Stirk*, *Red Rocks* agus *New Rocks*. Ann an Nirribhidh, cleachdar ainmean bheathaichean, a leithid muice, tuirc, tairbh agus coin, gu tric air eileanan agus sgeirean a tha nan cunnart do sheòladh (*NSL*, s. v. *Svinøy*). Is coltach gur h-ann tron Albais (na 1500an *Swane*, *Swaine* (*DSL*)) a thàinig ainm Gàidhlig na dùthcha *An t-Suain* (Brl. *Sweden*) sam faighear an dà-fhoghar [ũã] no [ũə̃] a rèir dualchainnt, m.e. Gleann Garadh (Dieckhoff 1932, 185) agus Beinn na Fadhla (*LASID* IV, 246), fa leth. Coim. cuideachd GA *suaile* /suɑlə/ (= /suɑlˊə/) < Brl. *swell* (Oftedal 1956, 119).

Oftedal 1954, 396–97: '**Swordale** [suəḍəl][740] is ON **Svarð-dalr* "(the) grassy valley, (the) sward-valley", from ON *svǫrðr* m. "sward". ... **Svarð-dalr*, or plural **Svarð-dalir*, was the Old Norse name of one or two farms in Norway (*NG* XII, 159, 205).'

The name of a township in the south of An Rubha; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Svarð-dal* acc. '(the) sward-valley', with the stem form of the noun ON *svǫrðr* m. 'turf; sward, grassy area' and accusative of ON *dalr* m. 'valley' (#166).

Identical to *Suardal* #313, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, and (Macaulay 1972, 332) *Suardail*, in *Beàrnaraigh* #51; cf. ScG *Suardal* at NG241508 in Skye, NH571655 in Ross-shire (Watson 1904, 87), and NH617910 in Sutherland (Watson 1906, 362: *Suardail*; Bangor-Jones 1995, 86).[741]

#313 *Suardal* CDL
[ˈn̪uəˌt̪̊əɬ̪],[742] (gen.) *Shuardail* [ˈhuəˌt̪̊əl]; NB385235. 1654 *Sowardil*; 1821 *Swerdle*; 1843–82 *Achadh Shuardail, Tòb Shuardail, Coille Shuardail, Loch Coille Shuardail, Gòb Shuardail*; 1845 *Swordle*.

The name of a deserted settlement on the south side of *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, where the *Liùrbost* manse was once situated (Lawson 2011, 150); identical to *Suardal* #312.

#314 *Sùlaisgeir* NIS
[ˈn̪uːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ], (gen.) *Shùlaisgeir* [ˈhuːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ]; HW620306. 1549 *Swilskeray*; 1680 *Saliskerr*; 1703 *Soulisker*; 1797 *Sulisker*; 1843–82 *Sùla Sgeir*.

The name of a small island about 9 km (about 12 miles) west of *Rònaigh* #281. Although no one lives there today except on a temporary basis at guga[743]-hunting time, Thomas Muir's account (1885, 98–99) suggests that an anchorite or hermit may have stayed there at one time: '[O]n a small semi-insulated spot, closely surrounded by rocks, marked *Sgeir an Teampuill* in the Ordnance map, there is

740. (nMO) [sɯəɖəɬ], [suˠəˠɖəɻ].

741. Gordon (1963, 108–09) suggests the Lewis and Skye names derive straightforwardly from ON **Suðrdal* acc. '(the) southern valley', but one would expect ScG *[ˈn̪uːˌt̪̊əɬ̪] or perhaps *[ˈn̪u-əˌt̪̊əɬ̪] had an epenthetic vowel developed late on in the Norse form (Cox 2007b, 69).

742. (nMO) [sɯəɖəɬ], [sɯəɖl̪], *Tòb Shuardail* [tɔːb ˈhɯəɖəɬ] 'the inlet of—' [without genitive inflection in the specific].

743. I.e. the young of the gannet. Although the gannet is protected by law in Britain, the people of Nis are permitted to kill up to 2,000 gannets on *Sùlaisgeir* each year (SNH 2004, 4–5).

Oftedal 1954, 396–97: 'S e SL **Svarð-dalr* '(an) gleann feurach, (am) feur-ghleann' a th' ann an **Swordale** [suəḍəɬ],[740] à SL *svǫrðr* f. 'glasach, àite feurach'. ... B' e **Svarð-dalr*, no iolra **Svarð-dalir*, an t-ainm Lochlannais air tuathanas no dhà ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* XII, 159, 205).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an ceann a deas An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Svarð-dal* cusp. '(an) glasach-ghleann', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *svǫrðr* f. 'rùsg, sgrath; glasach (àite feurach)' agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *dalr* f. 'gleann' (#166).

Co-ionann ri *Suardal* #313, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, agus (Macaulay 1972, 332) *Suardail*, ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51; coim. GA *Suardal* aig NG241508 san Eilean Sgitheanach, NH571655 ann an Siorrachd Rois (Watson 1904, 87), agus NH617910 ann an Cataibh (Watson 1906, 362: *Suardail*; Bangor-Jones 1995, 86).[741]

#313 *Suardal* CDL
[ˈn̪uəˌt̪̊əɬ̪],[742] (gin.) *Shuardail* [ˈhuəˌt̪̊əl]; NB385235. 1654 *Sowardil*; 1821 *Swerdle*; 1843–82 *Achadh Shuardail, Tòb Shuardail, Coille Shuardail, Loch Coille Shuardail, Gòb Shuardail*; 1845 *Swordle*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air taobh a deas *Loch Liùrboist* (#239), ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, far an robh mansa *Liùrboist* uair (Lawson 2011, 150); co-ionann ri *Suardal* #312.

#314 *Sùlaisgeir* NIS
[ˈn̪uːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ], (gin.) *Shùlaisgeir* [ˈhuːɬ̪ɪˌʃkʲəɾʲ]; HW620306. 1549 *Swilskeray*; 1680 *Saliskerr*; 1703 *Soulisker*; 1797 *Sulisker*; 1843–82 *Sùla Sgeir*.

An t-ainm air eilean beag mu 9 clm (mu 10 mìle) an iar air *Rònaigh* #281. Ged nach bithear a' fuireach ann a-nise ach gu sealach aig àm iarraidh ghugannan,[743] cuiridh cunntas Thomas Muir (1885, 98–99) air shùilibh gur dòcha gum biodh aonaran no dìthreabhach a' fuireach air uair: Air bad beag leth-iomrallach, air a dhlùth-chuairteachadh le creagan, air a chomharradh *Sgeir an Teampuill* air

740. (nMO) [sɯəɖəɬ], [suˠəˠɖəɻ].

741. Cuiridh Gordon (1963, 108–09) air shùilibh gun tàrmaich an t-ainm seo ann an Leòdhas agus san Eilean Sgitheanach gu furasta à SL **Suðrdal* cusp. '(an) gleann a deas', ach bhite a' sùileachadh GA *[ˈn̪uːˌt̪̊əɬ̪] no is dòcha *[ˈn̪u-əˌt̪̊əɬ̪] nan robh fuaimreag còmhnaidh air fàs gu h-anmoch sa chruth Lochlannais (Cox 2007b, 69).

742. (nMO) [sɯəɖəɬ], [sɯəɖl̪], *Tòb Shuardail* [tɔːb ˈhɯəɖəɬ] [gun mhùthadh ginideach san t-sònraichear].

743. .i. Isean sùlaire. Ged a tha an sùlaire air a dhìon fon lagh ann am Breatainn, tha cead aig muinntir Nis suas ri 2,000 sùlaire a mharbhadh air *Sùlaisgeir* gach bliadhna (SNH 2004, 4–5).

a low rugged building with rounded corners and curved roof, called *Tigh Beannaichte* (Blessed House) ...'[744]

'(The) gannet skerry' is the translation given by MacKenzie (1931, 132), while MacBain (1922, 108) suggests '(the) pillar-skerry'. ON *súla* f. meant (1) 'pillar, column' or (2) 'gannet'. MacBain connects the name *Sùlaisgeir* with *Sùlabheinn*, a mountain name in Assynt on the Scottish mainland.[745] There is little doubt that the name *Sùlabheinn* refers to a 'mountain resembling a pillar'. With morphemic substitution §37 (ii) (d), ON **Súlufjall* '(the) mountain of the pillar', with genitive of ON *súla* and ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain', would yield ScG *Sùlabheinn* regularly.[746] *Sùlaisgeir*, however, is more likely to be from ON **Súlasker* 'the skerry of the gannets',[747] with genitive plural of ON *súla* and ON *sker* nt. §8, as the island is home to a colony of gannets.

According to Henderson (1910, 127), *North Barra* is an alias for *Sùlaisgeir*, but ScG **Barraigh a Tuath* ('north Barra') or similar is apparently unknown in Nis folklore. Henderson may have obtained his information from an article published by John Swinburne in 1885, of which 'the Islands of Sula Sgeir, or

744. '... internally 14 ft long, and 8 ft wide at the middle and 6 ft 4 in at the ends. Within, the walls, rising with a curve towards each other, are roofed with heavy slabs laid horizontally across. Outside, also, the walls and roof are curved and covered over with loose stones and turf. The doorway, a rude flat-headed aperture with inclining jambs, 3 ft 5 in in height 16 in wide at the top and 22 in at bottom, is on the south-west. Eastward of it there is a small square-shaped niche, and near to the north end of the west wall there is another of the same form. The only window is a small one in the east end, under which is the altar stone, 2 ft 8 in in length, raised on a low dais or foot-pace flanked by thin slabs set upon edge.' (Ibid.)

745. MacBain also links *Sùlaisgeir* with the name *Siùiliseadar* #301, but the phonetic shape of the names is dissimilar.

746. Cf. Ice. *Súlnasker* (in Ve) '(the) skerry of the pillars', with genitive plural of *súla*. But note that ON *súla* had another sense, viz 'yoke for pigs', cf. Nn. *sula* 'cleft' (*NSL*, s.v. *sul*), while the sea has fissured the island with caves and clefts; cf. also Ice. *Súlutindar* (in V-Skaft) '(the) teeth of (the mountain called) *Súla* "(the) pillar"'. (ON *súl* f. is found in the sense 'pillar' but, as a poetic form (*NO*, s.v.), is less likely to be relevant here.)

Johnston (1903, s.v. *Suilven*) gives a derivation from ScG *Sùil-bheinn* '(the) mountain like an eye (from the shape)', but the pronunciation of the lateral is [ɫ̪] /ɪ/, not [l] /l'/.

747. ?Cf. Eng. *Sule Skerry* HX62082443, the name of a small island about 64 km (40 miles) west of Orkney and about 56 km (35 miles) north of the Scottish mainland (<https://www.nlb.org.uk/lighthouses/sule-skerry/>).

ScG *sùlaire* m. 'gannet' itself derives from ON *súla* + the Gaelic suffix *-aire* (Lockwood 1963, 56), cf. *breugaire* 'liar' (< *breug* 'lie'), *pìobaire* 'piper' (< *pìob* '(the) pipes') (Cox 2017, 123).

map an Òrdanais, tha togalach corrach ìosal air a bheil oiseanan cruinne agus mullach cam, ris an canar [*An*] *Tigh Beannaichte* ...[744]

'S e '(an t-)sùlaire-sgeir' an tionndadh a bheir MacKenzie (1931, 132), ach '(a') cholbh-sgeir' a th' aig MacBain (1922, 108). B' e (1) 'colbh, carragh' no (2) 'sùlaire' a bu chiall do SL *súla* b. Ceanglaidh MacBain an t-ainm *Sùlaisgeir* ri *Sùlabheinn*, ainm beinne ann an Asainn air tìr-mòr na h-Albann.[745] Chan eil mòran teagaimh nach ann a-mach air 'beinn air a bheil coltas cuilbh' a tha an t-ainm *Sùlabheinn*. Le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37 (ii) (d), bheireadh SL **Súlufjall* 'beinn a' chuilbh', le *súla* san tuiseal ghinideach agus SL *fjall* n. 'beinn', GA *Sùlabheinn* gu riaghailteach.[746] Is coltaiche, ge-tà, gur h-ann à SL **Súlasker* 'sgeir nan sùlairean'[747] a tha *Sùlaisgeir*, le SL *súla* san tuiseal ghinideach iolra agus SL *sker* n. §8, agus an t-eilean na dhachaigh do thuineachadh shùlairean.

A rèir Henderson (1910, 127), tha *North Barra* na ainm a bharrachd air *Sùlaisgeir*, ach chan aithnichear a rèir choltais GA **Barraigh a Tuath* no a leithid ann am beul-aithris Nis. Is dòcha gun d' fhuair Henderson am fiosrachadh aige à alt a dh'fhoillsich John Swinburne ann an 1885, a tha 'the Islands of Sula Sgeir, or

744. ... 14 tr. a dh'fhad na bhroinn, agus 8 tr. a dh'fhad na mheadhan agus 6 tr. 4 òir. aig a dhà cheann. Air an taobh a-staigh, tha leacan troma nan laighe gu còmhnard mar mhullach tarsainn air na ballachan, a bhios ag èirigh ann an lùib a dh'ionnsaigh a chèile. Air an taobh a-muigh, mar an ceudna, tha na ballachan is am mullach cam agus air an còmhdachadh le clachan gun an ceangal agus le sgrath. Tha an doras, fosgladh bunaiteach ceann-rèidh aig a bheil ursainnean fiara, 3 tr. 5 òir. a dh'àirde, 16 òir. a leud aig a' mhullach agus 22 òir. aig a' bhonn, sa cheann an iar-dheas. An ear air an doras, tha sgor beag ceàrnagach agus, faisg air ceann a tuath a' bhalla an iar, tha fear eile air an aon chruth. Tha an aon uinneag na tè bhig sa cheann an ear, fo bheil clach na h-altarach, 2 thr. 8 òir. a dh'fhad, na laighe air dèis no ùrlar ìosal agus leacan tana air an stèidheachadh air an oir air gach taobh dheth. (Ibid.)

745. Ceanglaidh MacBain *Sùlaisgeir* ris an ainm *Siùiliseadar* #301 mar an ceudna, ach chan ionann cruth fuaim-eòlach an dà ainme.

746. Coim. Tìl. *Súlnasker* (ann an Ve) 'sgeir nan colbh', le *súla* san tuiseal ghinideach iolra. Ach mothaich gun robh brìgh eile aig SL *súla*, .i. 'cuing do mhucan', coim. Nn. *sula* 'sgor, sgoltadh' (*NSL*, s.v. *sul*), agus an cuan air an t-eilean a sgoltadh le uamhannan is sgoran; coim. cuideachd Tìl. *Súlutindar* (ann an V-Skaft) 'fiaclan (na beinne air a bheil) *Súla* "(an) colbh"'. (Gheibhte SL *súl* b. san t-seagh 'colbh' mar an ceudna ach, mar chruth bàrdail (*NO*, s.v.), cha choltaiche gum freagair e an seo.)

Bheir Johnston (1903, s.v. *Suilven*) bunachas à GA *Sùil-bheinn* '(a') bheinn air a bheil coltas sùla (bhon chruth)', ach 's i [ɫ̪] /ɪ/, chan i [l] /l'/, fuaimneachadh an taobhaich.

747. ?Coim. Brl. *Sule Skerry* HX62082443, an t-ainm air eilean beag 64 clm (40 mìle) an iar air Arcaibh agus 56 clm (35 mìle) tuath air tìr-mòr na h-Albann (<https://www.nlb.org.uk/lighthouses/sule-skerry/>).

Tàrmaichidh GA *sùlaire* f. fhèin à SL *súla* + an iar-leasachan Ghàidhlig *-aire* (Lockwood 1963, 56), coim. *breugaire* (< *breug*), *pìobaire* (< *pìob*) (Cox 2017, 123).

North Barra and North Rona' is part of the title (p. 51), and Swinburne himself probably obtained it from the detailed account on the geology of the Western Isles published by John MacCulloch in 1819, and which he often mentions.

MacCulloch (1819, 204) states, without further explanation, that 'Sulisker' and 'North Rona' (see *Rònaigh* #281), though 'a considerable distance from each other, are usually associated by the joint appellation of Barra and Rona'. In 1753, *I. Barro* and *I Rona* occur on Bellin's map;[748] in 1750, *Sulisker or Bara* and *Rona* are given by MacKenzie (1750N); in 1745, *Rona Is.* and *Barra I.* by Elphinstone; in 1702, *Isle de Rona ou de Barre*[749] by de l'Isle (in Elphinstone); which was *I. Rona off Barre* in 1712, and *I. Rona of Barro* in 1682 (#281: Map 21), both by van Keulen. It is not clear how this situation arose; there is no trace of a name in **Barra-* or ScG **Bàrr-* 'top, summit' or similar, either on *Sùlaisgeir* or on *Rònaigh*. Perhaps a usage in another context was misunderstood, e.g. in relating how the Western Isles extend from *Ceann Bharraigh* (Eng. *Barra Head*) to *Rònaigh*, but that is only supposition.[750]

Were this *Barra* a real name, say **Barraigh* in Gaelic, one would compare it with ScG *Barraigh* itself (Eng. *Barra*) at the southern tip of the Western Isles. It is a common view that the island name *Barraigh* comes from EG *Barr* (ScG *Bàrr*), a short form of EG *Finnḃarr* m. (ScG *Fionnbharr*, a saint's name), via CSc. **Barrøy* '*Barr*'s island' (e.g. Henderson 1910, 176; MacBain 1922, 74; Taylor 2011, 26); but, unless it were from a diminutive form like EG *Bairre* (Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990, 101),[751] one would expect CSc. **Bar*(*r*)*søy*, with genitive of the personal name.[752]

If the name form **Barraigh* really was once used both of *Sùlaisgeir* and of *Barraigh* itself, perhaps CSc. **Barð-øy*, with the stem form of (ON)

748. This had become *Sulisker ou Baba* [*sic*] and *I. Rona* on Bellin 1757.

749. 'isle of Rona or of Barre'.

750. *Ceann Bharraigh* is the most southerly promontory on *Beàrnaraigh*, the furthest island south of Barra. Cf. Dòmhnallach 1987, 17: The best places to find cod would be off the Butt [of Lewis, i.e. *Rubha Robhanis* #284] and, in the south, off Barra Head; cf. *ged as fhad' a-mach Barraigh, ruigear e* 'though Barra is far off, it can (still) be reached' (cf. Nicolson 1881, 200).

751. A form like *Bairre* might yield a weak noun in Old Norse, which would have a vocalic ending in the genitive.

752. Borgstrøm (≈1936, 287) writes, if the name meant 'the island of St *Barr*', 'we do not understand how the Norse Vikings, who were pagans, could have invented such a name – but they could, of course, have adopted it if they had heard the original inhabitants use the name'. To which Borgstrøm's editor, John Lorne Campbell, adds '[s]till less why the uninhabitable island of *Suliskeir* ... should also bear the name *Barra*' (ibid.).

North Barra and North Rona' na phàirt den tiotal (d. 51), agus is iongantach mana tog Swinburne fhèin e à cunntas mionaideach air clach-eòlas nan Eilean Siar a dh'fhoillsich John MacCulloch ann an 1819, is air am bi e gu tric a' dèanamh iomradh.

Canaidh MacCulloch (1819, 204), gun tuilleadh mìneachaidh, gun tèid na h-eileanan *Sulisker* agus *North Rona* (faic *Rònaigh* #281), ge nach beag an t-astar eatarra, aithneachadh mar as trice leis a' cho-ainm *Barra and Rona*. Ann an 1753, tha *I. Barro* agus *I Rona* air mapa Bhellin;[748] ann an 1750, *Sulisker or Bara* agus *Rona* aig MacKenzie (1750N); ann an 1745, *Rona Is.* agus *Barra I.* aig Elphinstone; ann an 1702, *Isle de Rona ou de Barre*[749] aig de l'Isle (ann an Elphinstone); a bha na *I. Rona off Barre* ann an 1712, agus *I. Rona of Barro* ann an 1682 (#281: Mapa 21), an dà chuid aig van Keulen. Chan eil cinnt ciamar a dh'èirich an suidheachadh seo; chan eil sgeul air ainm ann am **Barra-* no GA **Bàrr-* 'mullach' no a leithid aon chuid air *Sùlaisgeir* no air *Rònaigh*. Is dòcha gun deach cleachdadh ann an co-theags eile a mhì-thuigsinn, m.e. ann a bhith ag aithris mar a shìneas na h-Eileanan Siar bho *Cheann Bharraigh* (Brl. *Barra Head*) gu *Rònaigh*, ach chan eil ann an sin ach tuairmse.[750]

Nam b' e fìor ainm a bh' ann am *Barra* seo, can **Barraigh* sa Ghàidhlig (Brl. *Barra*), bhite a' dèanamh coimeas ri GA *Barraigh* fhèin an ceann a deas nan Eilean Siar. 'S e beachd cumanta a th' ann gur h-ann à GT *Barr* (GA *Bàrr*), geàrr-chruth aig GT *Finnḃarr* f. (GA *Fionnbharr*, ainm naoimh), tro LB **Barrøy* 'eilean *Bhairr*' – a thàinig ainm an eilein *Barraigh* (m.e. Henderson 1910, 176; MacBain 1922, 74; Taylor 2011, 26); ach, mana b' e cruth meanbhach a bh' ann, a leithid GT *Bairre* (Ó Corráin is Maguire 1990, 101),[751] bhite an dùil ri LB **Bar*(*r*)*søy*, le cruth ginideach an ainme phearsanta.[752]

Mas e 's gun robh **Barraigh* ann an da-rìribh ga chleachdadh uair an dà chuid air *Sùlaisgeir* is air *Barraigh* fhèin, 's dòcha gur h-ann à LB **Barð-øy*

748. Bha seo air a dhol na *Sulisker ou Baba* [*sic*] agus *I. Rona* air Bellin 1757.

749. 'eilean Rona no [eilean] Bharre'.

750. Is e *Ceann Bharraigh* an rubha as fhaide a deas ann am *Beàrnaraigh*, an t-eilean as fhaide a deas air Barraigh aig ceann a deas nan Eilean Siar. Coim. Dòmhnallach 1987, 17: ''S ann a-mach bhon a' Bhut [.i. *Rubha Robhanis* #284] agus shìos bho Cheann Bharraigh a b' fheàrr a gheibhte na truisg'; coim. *ged as fhad' a-mach Barraigh, ruigear e* (coim. Nicolson 1881, 200).

751. Dh'fhaodte gun toireadh cruth mar *Bairre* ainmear lag san Lochlannais, aig am biodh dùnadh fuaimreagach san tuiseal ghinideach.

752. Canaidh Borgstrøm (1936, 287), mas e 'eilean an Naoimh *Barr*' a bu chiall dhan ainm, nach tuig e ciamar a chruthaich na h-Ùiginnich Lochlannach, a bha nam pàganaich, a leithid de dh'ainm, ged a dh'aidicheas e gum b' urrainn dhaibh a bhith air an t-ainm uchd-mhacachadh nan robhas air a chluinntinn ga chleachdadh aig muinntir thùsail an eilein. Ris an cuir fear-deasachaidh Bhorgstrøm, Iain Latharna Caimbeul: fiù 's nas lugha carson a bhiodh an t-ainm *Barra* air an eilean do-thuineachaidh *Suliskeir* mar an ceudna (ibid.).

barð nt. ‘edge, rim, the outer edge’, was used in the sense ‘the outermost island’ (*NSL*, s.v. *Bardu*; Rygh 1898, 43). The phonetics would be regular, cf. ScG *Garra·bost* from ON *Garðabólstað* acc. #189.

#315 *Tàbost* NIS (Eng. *Habost*)
[ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) [ˈhaːˌb̥ɔʃtʲ, or *Tàbost Nis* [ˌt̪ʰaˑˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ ˈniʃ][753]; NB519630. 1703 *Haboft*; 1718 *Habust*; 1726 *Habost*; 1750M *Habust*; 1776 *Habuft*; 1797 *Habost*; 1821, 1822 [?] *Habast*; 1843–82 *Tàbost*; 2007 *Tabost*‖*Habost*.

Oftedal 1954, 372–73: ‘**Habost** [tɑːbɔst], (gen.) [hɑːbɔʃtʼ], is ON **Há-bólstaðr* “(the) high farm”.[754] The name is identical with #316. The phonetic development is regular. ON initial *h* is often replaced by [t] where ScG morphophonemics require a non-lenited (radical) initial, while it is retained as [h] where lenition is required. ON *háfr* gives ScG *tàbh* [tɑːv] “hand-net for cuddies”. If the Orcadian *Hobbister* is ON **Há-bólstaðr* (a possibility not mentioned by Marwick; see Marwick 1952, 10, 105, and 112), we are here in the presence of an exact parallel. In Norway, we have *Hobbelstad* and *Hoppestad*, both interpreted in *NG* V, 269, and VII, 107, as ON **Hó-bólstaðr – hór* is synonymous with *hár* “high”.

‘It is not clear why ON *h* has become ScG [t] in some instances, while it is preserved as [h] in others. The present Gaelic name of (Eng.) *St Kilda*, ScG *Hiort* [hiʂ̪t̪], has initial [h] in all positions; the name is no doubt identicial with ON *Hirtir*,[755] mentioned in Prests saga Guð·mundar Arasonar, Chap. 49. ON *haf* “sea, ocean” is preserved in *na h-abh* [nə ˈhɑf] “the Atlantic Ocean” (Borgstrøm 1940, 158).[756] Harris, the southern part of the island of which Lewis constitutes the northern and larger part, is in Gaelic called *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ]. That this name is not originally Gaelic is shown by the fact that the [h] is not pro-thetic, as found in ScG nouns with an initial vowel after the article in the genitive plural, but appears also in the genitive, which is [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ], not *[nə ˈɴʼˈɛɾəɣ].[757] An inhabitant of *Na Hearadh* is a *Hearach*

753. I.e. *Tàbost* in Nis, in contrast to *Tàbost* in Ceann a Deas nan Loch #316.

754. It is worth noting that ON **Há-bólstað* acc. only needs to be high in relation to something else nearby in order to acquire such name.

755. I.e. the nominative plural of ON *hjǫrtr* m. ‘stag’ (Cox 2009a, 23); see #315 (iv).

756. See #281.

757. For the nasal in *[nə ˈɴʼˈɛɾəɣ], see Oftedal 1956, 100–01.

a tha e, le bun-riochd an ainmeir (SL) *barð* n. ‘oir, iomall, an t-iomall as fhaide a-muigh’, san t-seagh ‘an t-eilean as fhaide a-muigh’ (*NSL*, s.v. *Bardu*; Rygh 1898, 43). Bhiodh am fuaim-eòlas riaghailteach, coim. GA *Garrabost* à SL **Garða·bólstað* cusp. #189.

#315 *Tàbost* NIS
[ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) [ˈhaːˌb̥ɔʃtʲ], no *Tàbost Nis* [ˌt̪ʰaˑˌb̥ɔs̪t̪ ˈniʃ][753]; NB519630. 1703 *Haboft*; 1718 *Habust*; 1726 *Habost*; 1750M *Habust*; 1776 *Habuft*; 1797 *Habost*; 1821, 1822 [?] *Habast*; 1843–82 *Tàbost*; 2007 *Tabost*‖*Habost*.

Oftedal 1954, 372–73: ’S e SL **Há-bólstaðr* ‘(an t-)àrd-thuathanas’ a th’ ann an **Habost** [tɑːbɔst], (gin.) [hɑːbɔʃtʼ].[754] Is ionann an t-ainm agus #316. Tha am fàs fuaim-eòlach riaghailteach. Thèid [t] a chur an àite SL *h* thoisich far an iarr cruth-fhuinn-eòlas Gàidhlig toiseach neo-shèimhichte (bunasach), fhad ’s a thèid [h] a ghleidheadh far am bi sèimheachadh a dhìth. Bheir SL *háfr* GA *tàbh* [tɑːv] ‘tàbhan, lìon-làimhe airson chudaigean’. Mas e SL **Há-bólstaðr* a th’ ann an *Hobbister* ann an Arcaibh (cothrom air nach dèan Marwick iomradh; faic Marwick 1952, 10, 105 agus 112), tha sinn am fianais a cheart sheise. Ann an Nirribhidh, tha *Hobbelstad* agus *Hoppestad* againn, a thèid an dà chuid a mhìneachadh ann an *NG* V, 269, agus VII, 107, mar SL **Hó-bólstaðr* – is ionann *hór* agus *hár* ‘àrd’.

Chan eil e soilleir carson a chaidh SL *h* na GA [t] ann an cuid de dh’àitichean, fhad ’s a chaidh a gleidheadh na [h] ann am feadhainn eile. ’S e [h] thoisich a th’ aig *Hiort* [hiʂ̪t̪], an t-ainm Gàidhlig aig Brl. *St Kilda* an-diugh, anns gach suidheachadh; chan eil teagamh nach ionann e agus SL *Hirtir*,[755] air an dèanar iomradh ann am Prests saga Guðmundar Arasonar, Caib. 49. Tha SL *haf* ‘muir, cuan’ air a ghleidheadh anns *na h-abh* [nə ˈhɑf] ‘an Cuan Siar’ (Borgstrøm 1940, 158).[756] Canar *Na Hearadh* [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ] anns a’ Ghàidhlig ri earrainn a deas an eilein as e Leòdhas an earrann a tuath agus as motha dheth. Thèid a shealltainn nach e ainm Gàidhlig a th’ ann bho thùs seach nach e [h] ro-shuidhichte a th’ aige, mar a gheibhear ann an ainm-earan Gàidhlig aig a bheil fuaimreag thoisich an dèidh an uilt bhunasaich iolra, agus gun nochd i san tuiseal ghinideach mar an ceudna, .i. [nə ˈhɛɾəɣ], chan e *[nə ˈɴʼˈɛɾəɣ].[757] Tha duine às *Na Hearadh* na *Hearach* [hɛɾəx]. ’S e

753. .i. *Tàbost* ann an Nis, seach *Tàbost* ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch #316.

754. ’S fhiach a mhothachadh nach fheum SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. ach a bhith àrd an taca ri rudeigin eile mun cuairt air gus a leithid de dh’ainm fhaighinn.

755. .i. An tuiseal ainmneach iolra aig SL *hjǫrtr* f. ‘damh, fiadh fireann’ (Cox 2009a, 23); faic #315 (iv).

756. Faic #281.

757. Airson an t-srònaich ann an *[nə ˈɴʼˈɛɾəɣ], faic Oftedal 1956, 100–01.

[hɛrəx]. The name is ON **Herað* "[the] county or district", or its plural form **Heruð*.[758] This word is very rarely met with as a place-name by itself, but it is not unique.[759] A district in Yell, Shetland, is called *De Herra* (divided into *De Inherra* and *De Utherra*; see Jakobsen 1936, 126). There is also initial radical [h] in some other Lewis names.'

The name of a township in Nɪs; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Há-bólstað* acc. '(the) high farm', with the stem form of the adjective ON *hár* 'high' and accusative of the noun ON *bólstaðr* m. 'farm' (#72). As Marstrander (1915, 102) explains, ON intial *h-* disappears entirely from Early Gaelic.[760] For the most part, this is because *h-* held no independent position, as far back as the old sources, in the Gaelic alphabet: it occurs only in sandhi, dependent upon a preceding word. Consequently, it is placed before a vowel for example after EG *a* (the 3rd singular feminine possessive pronoun), e.g. EG *a hairgead* 'her money'.[761]

It is evident, however, that ON initial *h-* is treated in Scottish Gaelic in a number of ways, according – it is probably reasonable to say – to the level of bilingualism in existence between Norse and Gaels at the time a particular word or name was borrowed.

#315 (i) The most straightforward solution was to drop ON *h-* in Gaelic, as it was unusual for the phoneme /h/ to occur at the beginning of a word in Gaelic (as noted above): > ScG ∅, e.g. (loan-words) ScG *òb* m. (> *òban*, with diminutive suffix (i.e. of place, Cox 2002a, 59), hence *An t-Òban* (Eng. *Oban*) NM859302) < ON *hóp* acc. m. 'bay'; ScG *amar* ?m. < ON *hamar* acc. m. 'crag, rock' (*Amar na h-Èit* NB221375, with an obscure specific, ibid., 169); (place-names) ScG *Amar Sìne* < ON **Hamarinn Sýna* '(the) rock of the prospect' NB224371 (ibid.);[762] ScG *Òpasaigh* < CSc. **Hópsøy* '(the) island of the bay' NF981761, north-east of North Uist.[763]

758. This is the plural form given in Iversen 1973, 47, also.

759. In Norway, cf. *Herad* in Gol, Buskerud, and Farsund, Agder.

760. Apart from in a few examples (ibid.) – except that doubt has been expressed about a connection between the conjunction ScG *far* 'where' and the adverb and conjunction ON *hvar* 'where' (Cox 2007a, 29–32). Marstrander speaks in terms of Irish Gaelic, but the same held true in Scottish Gaelic.

761. For the origin of the mutation aspiration in gemination, see Thurneysen 1975, 150–53.

762. For the syntax generic + specific in Old Norse loan-names, see Cox 2007c.

763. ScG [ɔ:hpəsɛj] (Borgstrøm 1940, 218). ON **Hópsøy* must have yielded ScG **Òpsaigh*, with a consonantal cluster initiating pre-aspiration in the name, before it became ScG *Òpasaigh*, with an epenthetic vowel, cf. *Tòpsann* #335.

SL **Herað* 'siorrachd, sgìre', no a chruth iolra **Heruð*,[758] a th' anns an ainm. Is gann gum faicear am facal seo mar ainm-àite leis fhèin, ach chan ann gun choimeas a tha e.[759] Tha *De Herra* (air a roinn na *De Inherra* is *De Utherra*; faic Jakobsen 1936, 126) mar ainm air sgìre ann an Yell, ann an Sealtainn. Gheibhear [h] thoisich bhunasach ann an ainmean eile ann an Leòdhas cuideachd.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann an Nɪs; ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Há-bólstað* cusp. '(an t-)àrd-thuathanas', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *hár* 'àrd' agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *bólstaðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#72). Mar a mhìnicheas Marstrander (1915, 102), thèid SL *h-* thoisich às a' Ghàidhlig Thràth gu tur.[760] Airson na mòr-chuid, 's e as coireach ri seo nach robh suidheachadh neo-eisimeileach aig *h-*, cho fad air ais ris na seann tobraichean, ann an aibidil na Gàidhlig: cha nochd i ach ann an co-nasgadh, an eisimeil facail air thoiseach air. Mar sin dheth, thèid a cur ri fuaimreig thoisich mar eisimpleir an dèidh GT *a* (an riochd-air seilbheach treas pearsa singilte boireann), m.e. *a hairgead* 'a h-airgead'.[761]

Chithear, ge-tà, gun tèid dèiligeadh ri SL *h-* thoisich ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann air caochladh dhòigh, a rèir – 's iongantach mana h-eil e reusanta a ràdh – na h-ìre de dhà-chànanas a bh' ann eadar Lochlannaich is Gàidheil nuair a chaidh facal no ainm àraidh iasadachadh:

#315 (i) B' e am fuasgladh a bu shìmplidh a bhith a' cur às do SL *h-* sa Ghàidhlig, agus i na fuinneam neo-àbhaisteach aig toiseach facail sa Ghàidhlig, mar a chaidh a ràdh shuas: > GA ∅, m.e. (facail-iasaid) GA *òb* f. (> *òban*, le iar-leasachan meanbhach (.i. àite, Cox 2002a, 59), às a sin *An t-Òban* (Brl. *Oban*) NM859302) < SL *hóp* cusp. f. 'bàgh'; GA *amar* ?f. < SL *hamar* cusp. f. 'creag' (*Amar na h-Èit* NB221375, le sònraichear doilleir, ibid., 169); (ainmean-àite) GA *Amar Sìne* < SL **Hamarinn Sýna* 'creag an fhianais' NB224371 (ibid.);[762] GA *Òpasaigh* < LB **Hópsøy* 'eilean an òib' NF981761, an ear-thuath air Uibhist a Tuath.[763]

758. 'S e seo an cruth iolra a th' aig Iversen 1973, 47, mar an ceudna.

759. Ann an Nirribhidh, coim. *Herad* ann an Gol, Buskerud, agus Farsund, Agder.

760. A bharrachd air corra eisimpleir (ibid.), ach gun deach teagamh a chur ann an ceangal eadar an naisgear GA *far* 'an àite' agus an co-ghnìomhair agus an naisgear SL *hvar* 'càite; far' (Cox 2007a, 29–32). Bruidhnidh Marstrander a thaobh Gàidhlig na h-Èireann, ach bha an t-aon rud fìor a thaobh Gàidhlig na h-Albann.

761. Airson tùs a' mhùthaidh analachadh ann an eamhnadh, faic Thurneysen 1975, 150–53.

762. Airson a' cho-rèir seòrsaichear + sònraichear ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais sa Ghàidhlig, faic Cox 2007c.

763. GA [ɔ:hpəsɛj] (Borgstrøm 1940, 218). Feumaidh e a bhith gun deach SL **Hópsøy* na GA **Òpsaigh*, le còmhlan connragach ag adhbharachadh ro-analachadh sa chiad lide san ainm, mus deach e na GA *Òpasaigh*, le fuaimreig còmhnaidh, coim. *Tòpsann* #335.

#315 (ii) Another solution was to accept the sound *h-* on a morphophonemic level, as though it were aspiration after the plural article: > ScG *na*$^{h-}$ 'the', e.g. (loan-words) ScG *Na h-Abh* 'the Atlantic Ocean' < ON *haf* #281; (place-names) ScG *Na h-Earadh* (i.e. *Na Hearadh* (Eng. *Harris*)) < ON **Herað* nt. '(the) district' (or **Heruð* pl.), ScG *Na h-Amhn* (*Na Hamhn*) NF790121, in Eriskay, and NM333474, in Mull, and, with a Gaelic plural ending, ScG *Na Hamhnan* NM355170, in Mull, < ON **Hǫfn* f. '(the) harbour' (Cox 2008a); or aspiration after the genitive feminine singular article: ScG *Port na h-Abhann* (lit.) 'the harbour of the harbour' NR167521, in Islay[764], with a loan-name from ON **Hǫfn*.[765]

#315 (iii) A further solution was to accept intial *h-* as though it were the lenited form of ScG initial *t*: > ScG [t̪^{h}]^{x}, [tʲ^{h}]′, e.g. (loan-words) ScG *tòb* m. (e.g. *An Tòb* alias *An Tòb Làthaich* NB200424 in *Càrlabhagh* #98) < ON *hóp* acc. m. 'bay, inlet'; ScG *tàbh* m. (> *tàbhan*, with diminutive suffix) < ON *háf* acc. m. 'hand-net'; ScG *tùl* m. < ON **hugl* 'hill' (unknown in Norway except in place-names, e.g. *Huglo* (*NSL*), cf. Germ. *Hügel* m. (Cox 2002a, 247, 387)); ScG *tamn* ?m. (e.g. *An Tamn*, in *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176 and in Flodaigh NB123412, north-west of *Beàrnaraigh* #51 in Lewis) < OWNorn **hamn* f., earlier ON *hǫfn* 'harbour' (#319) (Cox 2008a); while the same process is observed in ScG *Tearach* m. 'someone from Harris' and *Tiortach* m. 'someone from St Kilda', beside *Hearach* m. 'idem' and *Hiortach* m. 'idem'; (place-names) ScG *Tàbost* < ON **Há-bólstað* acc., as here and at #316; ScG *Tàcleit* < ON **Há-klett* acc. '(the) high-hill' #317; ScG *Tamnabhagh* < ON **Hamnarvág* acc. '(the) bay of the harbour' #319; ScG *Tòpsann* < ON **Hóp*(*s*)*sund* acc. '(the) bay of the inlet' #335; ScG *Tolm* < ON **Holm* acc. m. '(the) island' #330.

#315 (iv) And the final solution was the rewriting of Gaelic phonemic rules so that *h* could be used independently at the beginning of words:[766] > ScG [h], e.g. ScG *Hiort* < ON *Hirtir* pl. '(the) stags'; ScG *Thamarsadar* < ON **Hamarssætr* '(the) sheiling of the crag' #325; ScG **Mille Thòla* < ON **Milli Hóla* 'between (the) hills';[767] ScG *Theastabhal* NB216400 < ON **Hestafjall* '(the) mountain of the horses' (Cox 2002a, 380).[768]

764. Gillies 1906, 153; nowadays, usually *Port na h-Abhainn*(*e*) (Cox 2008a, 55).

765. Cf. CSc. *Na h-Orgh* (*Na Horgh*) in Barra < ON **Hǫrg*, accusative singular of *hǫrgr* m. 'cairn, alter, place of worship' (Borgstrøm 1936, 295).

766. For the spelling in Gaelic, see §16.

767. ScG *Loch Mille Thòla* NB181413 (Cox 2002a, 328).

768. Cf. ScG *Theacal* (1843–82 *Hecla*) in South Uist NF825344 ((nMO) [hæxkəl], genitive in *Mullach Theacla* ['mũləx'hæxkəl], ['mũləx'hæxklɑ] 'the summit of *Theacla*', *Beinn Theacla* [ɲɛn' 'hɛ̝æxklɑ] 'the mountain of *Theacla*') and in Mingulay (1843–82) *Hecla* NL558822, equivalent to *Hekla* in Iceland, from ON *hekla* f. 'cloak'; > *Teacal* §81 (i) (a) (γ) (2.). Note that ON *hj* yields different reflexes, e.g. ScG *Ceartaigh* #121 < CSc. **Hjart-øy* '(the) deer-island', and ScG *Sealtainn* < **Sealtann* < MNorn **Hjatland* < ON **Hjaltland* §84 (x) (a) (ɣ) (Oftedal 1956, 138; Jakobsen 1936, 127–28).

#315 (ii) B' e fuasgladh eile a bhith a' gabhail ris an fhuaim *h-* aig ìre chruth-fhuinn-eòlaich, mar gur e analachadh an dèidh an uilt iolra a bh' ann: > GA *na*$^{h-}$, m.e. (facail-iasaid) GA *na h-abh* 'an Cuan Siar' < SL *haf* #281; (ainmean-àite) *Na h-Earadh* (.i. *Na Hearadh* (Brl. *Harris*)) < SL **Herað* n. '(an) sgìre' (no **Heruð* iol.), GA *Na h-Amhn* (*Na Hamhn*) NF790121, ann an Èirisgeigh, agus NM333474, ann am Muile, agus, le dùnadh iolra Gàidhlig, GA *Na Hamhnan* NM355170, ann am Muile, < SL **Hǫfn* b. '(an) cala' (Cox 2008a); no analachadh an dèidh an uilt ghinidich bhoireann shingilte: *Port na h-Abhann* NR167521, ann an Ìle[764], le ainm-iasaid à SL **Hǫfn*.[765]

#315 (iii) B' e fuasgladh eile a bh' ann a bhith a' dèiligeadh ri *h-* thoisich mar gur h-e cruth sèimhichte aig GA *t* thoisich a bh' innte: > GA [t̪^{h}]^{x}, [tʲ^{h}]′, m.e. (facail-iasaid) GA *tòb* f. (m.e. *An Tòb* no *An Tòb Làthaich* NB200424 ann an *Càrlabhagh* #98) < SL *hóp* cusp. f. 'bàgh, tòb'; GA *tàbh* f. (> *tàbhan*, le iar-leasachan meanbhach) < SL *háf* cusp. f. 'lìon-làimhe'; GA *tùl* f. < SL **hugl* 'cnoc' (gun aithneachadh ann an Nirribhidh ach ann an ainmean-àite, m.e. *Huglo* (*NSL*), coim. Gearm. *Hügel* f. (Cox 2002a, 247, 387)); GA *tamn* ?f. (m.e. *An Tamn*, anns *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* #176 agus ann am Flodaigh NB123412, an iar-thuath air *Beàrnaraigh* #51 ann an Leòdhas) < SNòrnI **hamn* b., na bu tràithe SL *hǫfn* 'cala' (#319) (Cox 2008a); agus chithear an t-aon phròsas le GA *Tearach* f. 'cuideigin às na Hearadh' agus *Tiortach* f. 'cuideigin à Hiort' ri taobh *Hearach* f. agus *Hiortach* f.; (ainmean-àite) GA *Tàbost* < SL **Há-bólstað* cusp., an seo agus aig #316; GA *Tàcleit* < SL **Há-klett* cusp. '(an t-)àrd-chnoc' #317; GA *Tamnabhagh* < SL **Hamnarvág* cusp. 'bàgh a' chala' #319; *Tòpsann* < SL **Hóp*(*s*)*sund* cusp. 'bàgh an tàib' #335; *Tolm* < SL **Holm* cusp. f. '(an t-)eilean' #330.

#315 (iv) Agus b' e am fuasgladh mu dheireadh gun deach riaghailtean cruitheamach na Gàidhlig ath-sgrìobhadh san t-seagh 's gun gabhadh am fuaim *h* cleachdadh gu neo-eisimeileach aig toiseach facail:[766] > GA [h], m.e. GA *Hiort* < SL *Hirtir* iol. '(na) daimh'; *Thamarsadar* < SL **Hamarssætr* 'àirigh na creige' #325; GA **Mille Thòla* < SL **Milli Hóla* 'eadar (na) cnuic';[767] GA *Theastabhal* NB216400 < SL **Hestafjall* 'beinn nan each' (Cox 2002a, 380).[768]

764. Gillies 1906, 153; mar as trice *Port na h-Abhainn*(*e*) an-diugh (Cox 2008a, 55).

765. Coim. GA *Na h-Orgh* (*Na Horgh*) ann am Barraigh < SL **Hǫrg*, an cruth cuspaireach singilte aig *hǫrgr* f. 'càrn, altair, àite adhraidh' (Borgstrøm 1936, 295).

766. Airson an litreachaidh sa Ghàidhlig, faic §16.

767. GA *Loch Mille Thòla* NB181413 (Cox 2002a, 328).

768. Coim. GA *Theacal* (1843–82 *Hecla*) ann an Uibhist a Deas NF825344 ((nMO) [hæxkəl], ginideach ann am *Mullach Theacla* ['mũləx'hæxkəl], ['mũləx'hæxklɑ], *Beinn Theacla* [ɲɛn' 'hɛ̝æxklɑ]) is am Miughalaigh (1843–82) *Hecla* NL558822, co-ionann ri *Hekla* an Innis Tìle, à SL *hekla* b. 'clòca'; > *Teacal* §81 (i) (a) (γ) (2.). Mothaich gum faighear atharrachadh riochdan à SL *hj*, m.e. GA *Ceartaigh* #121 < LB **Hjart-øy* '(am) fiadh-eilean', is GA *Sealtainn* < **Sealtann* < MNòrn **Hjatland* < SL **Hjaltland* §84 (x) (a) (ɣ) (Oftedal 1956, 138; Jakobsen 1936, 127–28).

Doublets are sometimes found, e.g. (loan-words) ScG *òb ~ tòb*; (place-names) ScG *Amar Sìne ~ Thamarsadar* #325.

For ON *bólstaðr*, see *Bòstadh* #72.

#316 *Tàbost* CDL (Eng. *Habost*)
[ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gen.) [ˈhaːˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB324196. 1718 *Hawbost*; 1726, 1821 *Habost*; 1843–82 *Tàbost*.

Oftedal 1954, 402: '**Habost** [tɑːbɔst], the same name as #315, above.'

#317 *Tàcleit* BRN (Eng. *Hacklete*)
[ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ], (gen.) *Thàcleit* [ˈhaːˌkleʰtʲ]; NB153346. 1718 *Hackelett* [*sic*]; 1726 *Haclet*; 1750M, 1776, 1804 *Taclet*; 1821, 1822 *Haclet*; 1843–82 =; 1846 *Haclet*; 1934, 37 *Hàklett*; 2007, road sign *Tacleit*‖*Hacklete*.

Oftedal 1954, 382: '**Hacklate** (CB) [tɑːkleht'] is ON **Há-klettr* "(the) high-*klettr*", cf. *Briacleit* #78. For the first element, cf. *Tàbost* #315.'

The name of a township on *Beàrnaraigh* #51; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Há-klett* acc. '(the) high-hill', with the stem form of the adjective ON *hár* 'high' and accusative of the noun ON *klettr* m. 'hill, mountain'. Cf. *Beinn Thàcleit* 'the mountain of **Tàcleit*' NF954714, in North Uist.

In his notes, Oftedal writes, '[tʻaːhkəlɛg̬ʼ] Not necessarily a *-klettr* name'. His informant was from *Mangarstadh* #245, in Ùig, although what was recorded is probably the result of a particular idiolect;[769] for the epenthetic vowel, cf. (1718) *Hackelett*.

#318 *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* ÙIG
[ˌt̪ʰəj nəˌŋkhaɲ̊ɔxənˈd̥u̥-ụ], (gen.) *Thaigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* [ˌhəj nəˌŋkhaɲ̊ɔxənˈd̥u̥-ụ]; NA991240. 1797 *Teagh na n cailichan dou*; 1843–82 *Tigh nan Cailleachan Dúbha* (*Nunnery Site of*).

The name of a site with the semblance of an old blackhouse in *Mialastadh* #252, in Ùig. According to tradition, this was the site of a nunnery. With ScG *taigh* m. (EG *tech*, *teġ*, dat. *tiġ*) and the genitive plural Gaelic article + the genitive plural of the open compound ScG *cailleach-dhubh* f.,[770] the common term for 'nun' in Gaelic.

769. Cf. the same issue under #127; the same sort of alternation is found in ScG *greis ~ dreis* f. 'while, period of time'.

770. An open compound with the noun ScG *cailleach* f. (today) 'old woman' (EG *caillech* 'veiled woman' (< EG *caille* 'veil' (< Lat. *pallium*) + the suffix *-ech* (*-ach*) §36 (i)) + the adjective ScG *dubh* 'black' (#210).

Gheibhear dùblagan air uairean, m.e. (facail-iasaid) GA *òb ~ tòb*; (ainmeanàite) GA *Amar Sìne ~ Thamarsadar* #325.

Airson SL *bólstaðr*, faic *Bòstadh* #72.

#316 *Tàbost* CDL
[ˈt̪ʰaːˌb̥ɔs̪t̪], (gin.) [ˈhaːˌb̥ɔʃtʲ]; NB324196. 1718 *Hawbost*; 1726, 1821 *Habost*; 1843–82 *Tàbost*.

Oftedal 1954, 402: **Habost** [tɑːbɔst], an t-aon ainm ri #315, shuas.

#317 *Tàcleit* BRN
[ˈt̪ʰaːˌkleʰtʲ], (gin.) *Thàcleit* [ˈhaːˌkleʰtʲ]; NB153346. 1718 *Hackelett* [*sic*]; 1726 *Haclet*; 1750M, 1776, 1804 *Taclet*; 1821, 1822 *Haclet*; 1843–82 =; 1846 *Haclet*; 1934, 37 *Hàklett*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Tacleit*‖*Hacklete*.

Oftedal 1954, 382: Is e SL **Há-klettr* '(an t-)àrd-*klettr*' a th' ann an **Hacklate** (CB) [tɑːkleht'], coim. *Briacleit* #78. Airson na ciad eileamaid, coim. *Tàbost* #315.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51; ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Há-klett* cusp. '(an t-)àrd-chnoc', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *hár* agus tuiseal cuspaireach an ainmeir SL *klettr* f. 'cnoc, beinn'. Coim. *Beinn Thàcleit* NF954714, ann an Uibhist a Tuath.

Na notaichean, sgrìobhaidh Oftedal, '[tʻaːhkəlɛg̬ʼ] Not necessarily a *-klettr* name'; ach 's ann à *Mangarstadh* #245, ann an Ùig, a bha am fear-fiosrachaidh aige, ged as math dh'fhaodte gur h-i leth-chainnt àraidh a bu choireach ris na chaidh a chlàradh;[769] airson na fuaimreige còmhnaidh, coim. (1718) *Hackelett*.

#318 *Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* ÙIG
[ˌt̪ʰəj nəˌŋkhaɲ̊ɔxənˈd̥u̥-ụ], (gin.) *Thaigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha* [ˌhəj nəˌŋkhaɲ̊ɔxənˈd̥u̥-ụ]; NA991240. 1797 *Teagh na n cailichan dou*; 1843–82 *Tigh nan Cailleachan Dúbha* (*Nunnery Site of*).

An t-ainm air làraich agus coltas seann taigh-dhuibh oirre ann am *Mialastadh* #252, ann an Ùig. A rèir aithris, bha seo na làraich manachainn do mhnathan-cràbhaidh. Le GA *taigh* f. (GT *tech*, *teġ*, (tabh.) *tiġ*) is an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach iolra + tuiseal ginideach iolra an fhilltich fhosgailte GA *cailleach-dhubh* b.,[770] am briathar bitheanta airson 'bean-chràbhaidh no bana-mhanaich' sa Ghàidhlig.

769. Coim. an aon cheist fo #127; gheibhear an t-aon seòrsa iomlaide ann an GA *greis ~ dreis* b.

770. Ainmear fillte fosgailte leis an ainmear GA *cailleach* b. (an-diugh) 'sean bhoireannach' (GT *caillech* 'boireannach air a bheil sgàil' (< GT *caille* 'sgàil no brat-gnùise' (< Laid. *pallium*) + an iar-leasachan *-ech* (*-ach*) §36 (i)) + a' bhuadhair GA *dubh* (#210).

There is an old church (ScG *Teampall Mhialastaidh*) and graveyard (ScG *Cladh Mhòr an Teampaill*) on the north side of the settlement.[771]

771. In the south-west of the Isle of Lewis about 30 yards from the sea, there is a shepherd's fank, and it is said the walls of the fank were once the walls of a nunnery, Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha. The old people closest to the spot tell the following story.

In former, dark times, people thought there were lots of fairies on earth; and it seems the people there were of the same view.

The woman who owned the house was sitting by herself one day with piles of wool hanging about drying. 'Dear, dear!' said the old woman looking around her at the wool, 'If only you were already thread!' No sooner had she uttered these words, but a woman the old woman had never seen before entered. 'What would you give me if I spun all this wool for you?' said the woman who had come in. 'I don't know what I'd give you if you did that for me,' said the old woman, 'Well,' she said, 'for that I'll only ask you tell me what my name is when I return.' And without another word, she gathered up all the wool and off she went. The old woman had no idea what to do or where to look for the wool.

The old woman had a servant who, in the afternoon, went out as usual to milk the cows. She had not been out long when she heard the sound of work and conversation as though coming from beneath where she stood: 'Go on, ladies, spin! Go on, ladies, card! Little does that rheumy-eyed, black-haired old woman know that my name is Cuiglaisiùra.'

When the girl arrived home, she related what she'd heard while she had been out. As night was falling the same woman came in having spun all the thread to perfection. 'What's my name then?' she asked, staring the old woman in the face. The old woman paused with her head bent as though she were thinking. After a while she raised her head. 'Your name,' she said, 'is Cuiglaisiùra.' 'My blessing on you,' said the other, 'but my curse on the lips which told you'; and with that she gave her the thread. Then such a great crowd came in they filled the place till the old woman couldn't turn around in her own house. She went to see an old man who lived in the village and told him everything. 'Go,' he said, 'as quickly as you can and stand on the top of the house wall and shout, 'Dùn Bhuirgh's on fire! Dùn Bhuirgh's on fire!' The old woman went home and did as the old man requested. As soon as the old woman began to shout, the crowd that had been in came out, everyone saying, 'If that's true, I'm done for.' As soon as the old woman got them all out, she went in and closed the door and put the millstone behind it. The fairies never bothered the old woman again, but they felt such hatred for the girl they killed her with the fairy arrow. (Mac Iomhair 1910).

'Dùn Bhuirg[h]/Bhuilg's on fire' is a motif in fairy stories also located in *Siadar* #296 in Lewis, Uist, Barra and Mull (e.g. Carmichael-Watson CW111/79, CW119/42, 45, 53; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/radionangaidheal/facaloirbh/features/20090210/page_3.shtml>; Thomas 1890, 374; Robson 2004, 18–20; NicAoidh 2015, 36–37). The fairy woman's name *Cuiglaisiùra* may be a corruption of ScG *a' chuigeal as fhìora* 'the truest distaff', i.e. that she could make the best thread.

Tha làrach seann eaglaise (GA *Teampall Mhialastaidh*) agus cladh (GA *Cladh Mhòr an Teampaill*) air taobh tuath an tuineachaidh.[771]

771. 'Ann an ceann an iar-dheas Eilean Leòdhais mu thimcheall deich thar fhichead slat on mhuir, tha ri fhaicinn faing cìobair, agus tha e air a ràdh mu phrìosan na faing seo gum b' e Taigh nan Cailleachan-Dubha. Tha na seann daoine as faisg air an àite seo ag aithris dhuinn an eachdraidh a leanas.

'Anns na linntean dorch a chaidh seachad, bha daoine a' creidsinn gun robh na sìthichean gu lìonmhor air an talamh; agus tha e coltach gun robh na daoine bha siud a' creidsinn an nì ceudna.

'Bha a' chailleach leis an robh an taigh seo, là bha siud, na suidhe a-staigh leatha fèin agus mòran de chlòimh an crochadh mun cuairt ga tiormachadh. "Ochan, ochan!" ars a' chailleach is i sealltainn mun cuairt oirre air a' chlòimh, "Nach tu bha nis na do shnàth!" Anns na focail bha ann, thàinig boireannach eile a-steach nach fhaca a' chailleach riamh roimhe seo. "Dè bheireadh tu dhòmhsa nan snìomhainn dhuit a' chlòimh seo gu lèir?" ars an tè thàinig a-staigh."Chan eil fhios agamsa dè bheirinn dhuit nan dèanadh tu sin dhomh," ars a' chailleach. "Ma-tà," ars ise, "chan iarr mi ort air a shon ach thu dh'innseadh dhomh gu dè an t-ainm tha orm nuair thig mi air ais." Agus gun tuilleadh a ràdh no èisteachd, sgioblaich i clòimh leatha gu lèir agus mach thug i. Cha robh fhios aig a' chaillich gu dè dhèanadh i no càit an rachadh i a shealltainn airson na clòimhe.

'Bha searbhanta aig a' chaillich agus, nuair thàinig am feasgar, chaidh i mach mar bu ghnàth dhi a bhleoghan a' chruidh. Cha robh i fada muigh nuair chual i an obair is an còmhradh mar gum b' ann shìos fon talamh far an robh i: "Siùdaibh, a mhnathan, snìomhaibh! Siùdaibh, a mhnathan, càirdibh! Is beag tha dh'fhios aig a' chaillich mhusgaich dhuibh gur e Cuiglaisiùra an t-ainm a th' ormsa."

'Nuair ràinig an nighean an taigh, dh'innis i na chual i muigh. Nuair bha an oidhche a' tuiteam thàinig am boireanach ceudna steach agus an snàth aice air dhèanamh gu ceart gun easbhaidh sam bith. "Gu dè nis an t-ainm a th' ormsa?" ars ise, is i geur-amharc na caillich san aodann. Stad a' chailleach agus a ceann crom mar gum biodh i smaoineachadh. An ceann tacain thog i ceann. "Tha," ars ise, "Cuiglaisiùra.' "Tha mo bheannachd agad fèin,"'ars an tè eile, "ach tha mo mhallachd aig beul d' aithris"; agus air seo thug i dhi an snàth. Air seo thàinig sluagh mòr a-steach ionnas gun do lìon iad an taigh air chor is nach robh comas tionndaidh aig a' chaillich na taigh fèin. Chaidh i far an robh seann duine bha sa bhaile, agus dh'innis i dha gach nì. "Falbh," ars esan, "cho luath is a rinn thu riamh, agus seas a-muigh air an tobhta agus èigh 'Dùn Bhuirg[h] na theine! Dùn Bhuirg[h] na theine!" Chaidh a' chailleach dhachaigh agus rinn i mar a dh'iarr am bodach. Cho luath is a thòisich a' chailleach air èigheach, thàinig an sluagh bha staigh a-mach, agus gach aon diubh a ràdh, 'Ma tha sin fìor, tha mo chall-sa dèanta.' Cho luath is fhuair a' chailleach a-mach iad uile, chaidh i steach agus dhùin i an doras agus chuir i a' chlach-bhrathainn ri chùl. Cha do chuir na sìthichean dragh riamh tuilleadh air a' chaillich, ach ghabh iad leithid de ghamhlas don nighinn agus gun do mharbh iad i leis an t-saighead shìth.' (≈Mac Iomhair 1910).

Tha *Dùn Bhuirg*[*h*]/*Bhuilg na theine* na ùrlar ann an sgeulachdan san nochd na sìthichean cuideachd stèidhichte ann an *Siadar* #296 ann an Leòdhas, Uibhist, Barraigh is Muile (m.e. Carmichael-Watson CW111/79, CW119/42, 45, 53; <https://www.bbc.co.uk/radionangaidheal/facaloirbh/features/20090210/page_3.shtml>; Thomas 1890, 374; Robson 2004, 18–20; NicAoidh 2015, 36–37). Faodar ainm na mnà-sìthe *Cuiglaisiùra* a bhith na ablach de GA *a' chuigeal as fhìora*, .i. gun dèanadh i an snàithlean a b' fhèarr.

#319 *Tamnabhagh* ÙIG (Eng. *Hamnaway*)
[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌvaɣ], (gen.) *Thamnabhaigh* [ˈhãm͡ãnəˌvaj]; NB040203. 1750M, 1776 *L. Hamnevay*; 1789 *Loch Hamneway*; 1790 *Hamaway*; 1801 *L. Hannevay*; 1804 *Loch Hamneway*; 1807 *L. Hamnevay*; 1822 *Loch Hamnavay*; 1843–82 *Tamanabhadh, Allt Garbh Thamanabhaidh, Mullach Thamanabhaidh, Loch Thamanabhaidh, Amhuinn Thamanabhaidh*; 1860 *Loch Hamʌnavay* [*sic*], *Amhuinn Thamana·bhaidh*; 2007 *Tamnabhagh‖Hamnaway*.

> Oftedal 1954, 389: '**Tamanavay** CB [tɑmùnəvɑɣ][772] is ON **Hafnarvágr* "the bay of the habour", from ON *hǫfn* f. "harbour". *Hamnavo* is a common name in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 63), and in Iceland we find *Hafnarfjǫrðr* (Lnb.). The spelling with medial *fn* is an etymological one; the modern pronunciation shows that the actual cluster in Hebridean Norse was *mn*, as in many Modern Norwegian dialects and the oldest Norwegian written documents (also found occasionally in early Icelandic). *mn* thus appears to be an intermediate stage between *fn* and the present *bn*, prevalent in Icelandic and many dialects of south-western Norway.'

The name of a deserted village and area at the eastern side of *Loch Thamna·bhaigh*, in Ùig.

ON /fn/ had become /mn/ by assimilation in Old Norwegian dialects, especially in Trøndelag – the area around Trondheim – around 1200, perhaps a little earlier (Iversen 1973, 36; Seip 1955, 78). In the Modern Norwegian dialects, four main reflexes of ON *fn* occur: in East Norwegian (including Trøndelag) *mn*, and in West Norwegian *vn* (over the greater part of West Norway), *bn* and *bmn* (in enclaves within the *vn* area) (Chapman 1962, 70–71, 188; Indrebø 1951, 132–33; Cox 2008a, 59–60).

In addition to ScG *Tamnabhagh* on the west of Lewis, there is the name ScG *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾæj][773] NB401235 from CSc. **Hafnarǫy* '(the) island of the harbour' on the east of the island. As Oftedal says (1962c, 49), these two forms represent a dialectal difference in Norway, but, furthermore, the incidence of the two forms *mn* and *fn* in Lewis is important in terms of both chronology and perhaps the provenance of the people who bestowed the Norse names in the first place.

The name OWNorn **Hamnarvág* acc. may have denoted ScG *Loch Cheann*

772. (nMO) [tʻæˇnæ̀ˇməvaɣ] [tʻænæ̀məvaɣ], (genitive in) *Abhainn Thamnabhaigh* [ãviɲ' ˈhænæ̀məvaj] 'the river of—', *Loch Thamnabhaigh* [lɔx ˈhɛ̃nɛ̃məvaj], [lɔx ˈhaˆnæ̀ˇmᵊvæj] 'the loch of—'.

773. (nMO) [tɑɷn̪əræj].

#319 *Tamnabhagh* ÙIG
[ˈt̪ʰãm͡ãnəˌvaɣ], (gin.) *Thamnabhaigh* [ˈhãm͡ãnəˌvaj]; NB040203. 1750M, 1776 *L. Hamnevay*; 1789 *Loch Hamneway*; 1790 *Hamaway*; 1801 *L. Hannevay*; 1804 *Loch Hamneway*; 1807 *L. Hamnevay*; 1822 *Loch Hamnavay*; 1843–82 *Tamanabhadh, Allt Garbh Thamanabhaidh, Mullach Thamanabhaidh, Loch Thamanabhaidh, Amhuinn Thamanabhaidh*; 1860 *Loch Hamʌnavay* [*sic*], *Amhuinn Thamana·bhaidh*; 2007 *Tamnabhagh‖ Hamnaway*.

> Oftedal 1954, 389: 'S e SL **Hafnarvágr* 'bàgh a' chala' a th' ann an **Tamana·vay** CB [tɑmùnəvɑɣ],[772] à SL *hǫfn* b. 'cala'. Tha *Hamnavo* na ainm bitheanta ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 63), agus ann an Innis Tìle gheibhear *Hafnarfjǫrðr* (Lnb.). 'S e litreachadh freumhachd a th' ann an *fn* mheadhain; innsidh fuaimneachadh an latha an-diugh gum b' e *mn* an còmhlan a bh' ann an Lochlannais nan Eilean Siar, mar a tha ann am mòran dhualchainntean Nua-Nirribhis agus anns na sgrìobhainnean Nirribheach as sine (ri lorg cuideachd air uairean anns an Tìlis thràth). Is coltach, a-rèist, gum bi *mn* a' riochdachadh ìre mheadhanach eadar *fn* agus *bn* an latha an-diugh, a tha bitheanta anns an Tìlis agus ann am mòran dhualchainntean ann an ceann an iar-dheas Nirribhidh.

An t-ainm air baile fàs agus sgìre air taobh an ear *Loch Thamnabhaigh*, ann an Ùig.

Bha SL /fn/ air a dhol na /mn/ le co-choslachadh ann an dualchainntean na Seann Nirribhis, gu h-àraidh ann an Trøndelag – an sgìre timcheall air Trondheim – mu 1200, 's dòcha beagan na bu tràithe (Iversen 1973, 36; Seip 1955, 78). Anns na dualchainntean Nua-Nirribhis, gheibhear ceithir prìomh riochdan à SL *fn*: anns an Nirribhis an Ear (a' gabhail a-steach Thrøndelag) *mn*, agus anns an Nirribhis an Iar *vn* (sa mhòr-chuid de Nirribhidh an Iar), *bn* agus *bmn* (ann an iadhtagan am broinn an raoin *vn*) (Chapman 1962, 70–71, 188; Indrebø 1951, 132–33; Cox 2008a, 59–60).

A thuilleadh air GA *Tamnabhagh* air taobh an iar Leòdhais, tha an t-ainm GA *Tamhnaraigh* [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾaj], [ˈt̪ʰãũn̪əˌɾæj][773] NB401235 à LB **Hafnarǫy* 'eilean a' chala' air taobh an ear an eilein. Mar a chanas Oftedal (1962c, 49), riochdaichidh an dà chruth seo eadar-dhealachadh dualchainnteach ann an Nirribhidh ach, a thuilleadh, tha tuiteamas an dà chrutha *mn* agus *fn* ann an Leòdhas cudromach an dà chuid a thaobh ùineadaireachd agus 's dòcha a thaobh tùs nan daoine a bhuilich na h-ainmean Lochlannais sa chiad àite.

Is dòcha gum beanadh an t-ainm SNòrnI **Hamnarvág* cusp. ri GA *Loch Cheann*

772. (nMO) [tʻæˇnæ̀ˇməvaɣ] [tʻænæ̀məvaɣ], (ginideach ann an) *Abhainn Thamnabhaigh* [ãviɲ' ˈhænæ̀məvaj], *Loch Thamnabhaigh* [lɔx ˈhɛ̃nɛ̃məvaj], [lɔx ˈhaˆnæ̀ˇmᵊvæj].

773. (nMO) [tɑɷn̪əræj].

Chùisil (#106), a sheltered loch within *Loch Thamnabhaigh*, with ScG *Tamna·bhagh* used later by Gaelic speakers as the name for the settlement south-east of *Loch Cheann Chùisil*. If so, it places the primary site or area of the name **Hamn·arvágr* at the foot of the southern slope of the mountain called ScG *Tamn·aiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãmə̃nəˌʃɑɬ̪][774] (earlier *Tamnaisbhal*[775]) and at the mouth of the river (*Abhainn Cheann Chùisil*) running through the glen called *Gleann Thamnasdail* [ˈhãmə̃nəˌs̪t̪əl][776] 'the glen of **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãmə̃nəˌs̪t̪əɬ̪]'. It seems most likely that these two names derive from OWNorn **Hamnarvágsfjall* '(the) mountain of **Hamnarvágr*' and OWNorn **Hamnarvágsdal* acc. '(the) glen of **Hamnarvágr*' and that the mountain and glen were named after the harbour **Hamnarvágr* (now called *Loch Cheann Chùisil*), but whose forms were contracted when borrowed by Gaelic speakers (cf. ON **Kolbjarnarbólstað* acc. (#93) and Oftedal 1972).

Note that OWNorn **hamn* 'harbour' was borrowed into Gaelic, e.g. ScG *An Tamna Sear* NB011198 and *An Tamna Siar* NB006200 'the east and west harbour' at the mouth of *Loch Thamnabhaigh*; see also #315 (iii).[777]

#320 *Tangaidh* CLA

[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊i], (gen.) *Thangaidh* [ˈhãŋɡ̊i];[778] NB357520. Cf. 1843–82 *Tigh Thàngaidh*.

The name of a deserted village that was moved eastwards (to *Barbhas Uarach* #47) when the main road was built (Lawson 2008, 83, who writes *Thangaigh*).

The name is recorded in the genitive as a nickname in *Mac An Thangaidh*, i.e. *Mac 'An* [= Iain] *Thangaidh* (Caimbeul 1973, 251); also, as a nickname for Catrìona NicAoidh – *Catrìona Thangaidh* – the poetess whose father was a shepherd on Barvas Church farm (Macleod Hill 2016 and 2019). In the case of the

774. (nMO) '[tʰɛ̃nɛ̃məˀʃɑɻ]: ON [leg. OWNorn, passim] **Hamnarfjall* (if *-rfj-* > [ʃ]); ON ?**Hemnisfjall*, cf. Eng. *East Tamana*; ON **Hamn-às-fjall*.' ON *-rfj-* yielding ScG [ʃ] is not very likely; ON **Hemnisfjall* '(the) mountain of the avenger', with the genitive of OWNorn **hemnir* (ON *hefnir*) m., would yield a palatal initial in Gaelic, i.e. [tʲʰ]; one would expect a medial vowel such as [a] in Gaelic rather than [ə] from ON **Hamn-às-fjall* '(the) harbour-ridge-mountain'.

775. (1843–82) *Tamanaisbhal* *[ˈt̪ʰãmə̃nəʃˌvɑɬ̪]. In the south of Lewis, there a few examples of Norse loan-names in which a Gaelic reflex of ON *f* (from ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain') survives, or survived until recently, following ScG /ʃ/, e.g. ScG *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩə̃ɬ̪əʃˌvɑɬ] NB022270, contracted to *Mialaiseal* [ˈmĩə̃ɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252), (1843–82) *Steinisbhal* (nMO) [ʃtʻeːnʼʃəvɑɻ] NB011215, but (1843–82) *Teinneasbhal* (nMO) [tʻʻeˇɴʼəʃɑɻ] NB041253.

776. (nMO) '[ɡlɑɣˈhɛ̃nɛ̆̀məstəɻ], ?ON [leg. OWNorn] **Hamnarstǫðul*', with accusative of (ON) *stǫðull* f. 'milking pen for cows'.

777. ON *hǫfn* or OWNorn *hamn* is reasonably common throughout the Western Isles (Cox 2008a, 53–55).

778. <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/en/>: search for *Catrìona Thangaidh*; (nMO) [tʻãŋɡ̊i].

Chùisil (#106), loch fasgach taobh a-staigh *Loch Thamnabhaigh*, agus GA *Tamna·bhagh* air a chleachdadh na b' anmoiche le Gàidheil mar ainm air an àite-tuineachaidh an ear-dheas air *Loch Cheann Chùisil*. Mas fìor sin, cuiridh sin prìomh làrach no ceàrnaidh an ainme **Hamnarvágr* aig bonn leathad a deas na beinne air a bheil GA *Tamnaiseal* [ˈt̪ʰãmə̃nəʃɑɬ̪][774] (na bu tràithe *Tamnaisbhal*[775]) mar ainm agus aig bun na h-aibhne (*Abhainn Cheann Chùisil*) a ruitheas tron ghleann ris an canar *Gleann Thamnasdail* [ˈhãmə̃nəˌs̪t̪əl][776] ((bun.) **Tamnasdal* *[ˈt̪ʰãmə̃nəˌs̪t̪əɬ̪]). Tha a h-uile coltas air gur h-ann ann an SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsfjall* 'beinn *Hamnarvágr*' is SNòrnI **Hamnarvágsdal* cusp. 'gleann **Hamnarvágr*' a thàrmaicheas an dà ainm seo is gun deach a' bheinn is an gleann ainmeachadh air a' chala air an robh **Hamnarvágr* (air a bheil *Loch Cheann Chùisil* an-diugh), ach a chaidh an cruthan a theannachadh ann am beul nan Gàidheal (coim. SL **Kolbjarnarbólstað* cusp. (#93) is Oftedal 1972).

Mothaichear gun tugadh SNòrnI **hamn* 'cala' air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig, m.e. GA *An Tamna Sear* NB011198 agus *An Tamna Siar* NB006200 aig beul *Loch Thamna·bhaigh*; faic cuideachd #315 (iii).[777]

#320 *Tangaidh* CLA

[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊i], (gin.) *Thangaidh* [ˈhãŋɡ̊i];[778] NB357520. Coim. 1843–82 *Tigh Thàngaidh*.

An t-ainm air sean bhaile a chaidh fhàsachadh agus a ghluasad chun na h-àirde an ear (gu *Barbhas Uarach* #47) nuair a chaidh an rathad mòr a dhèanamh (Lawson 2008, 83, a sgrìobhas *Thangaigh*).

Chaidh an t-ainm a chlàradh san tuiseal ghinideach mar fhar-ainm ann am *Mac An Thangaidh*, .i. *Mac 'An* [= Iain] *Thangaidh* (Caimbeul 1973, 251); cuideachd, mar fhar-ainm air Catrìona NicAoidh – *Catrìona Thangaidh* – a' bhana-bhàrd a bha a h-athair na chìobair air fearann Eaglais Bharbhais (Macleod Hill 2016 is 2019). San

774. (nMO) '[tʻɛ̆nɛ̆̀məˀʃɑɻ]: SL [leugh SNòrnI, passim] **Hamnarfjall* (ma thèid *-rfj-* na [ʃ]); SL ?**Hemnisfjall*, coim. Brl. *East Tamana*; SL **Hamn-ás-fjall*.' Chan eil SL *-rfj-* > GA [ʃ] glè choltach; bheireadh SNòrnI **Hemnisfjall* 'beinn an neach-dìoghaltais', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SNòrnI **hemnir* (SL *hefnir*) f., toiseach càireanach sa Ghàidhlig, .i. [tʲʰ]; bhite an dùil ri fuaimreig mheadhain a leithid [a] sa Ghàidhlig seach [ə] à SNòrnI **Hamn-ás-fjall* '(a') chala-dhruim-bheinn'.

775. (1843–82) *Tamanaisbhal* *[ˈt̪ʰãmə̃nəʃˌvɑɬ̪]. An ceann a deas Leòdhais, mairidh, no mhair gus a-chianaibh, corra eisimpleir de dh'ainm-iasaid Lochlannais far an deach riochd Gàidhlig aig SL *f* (à SL *fjall* 'beinn') a ghleidheadh an dèidh /ʃ/, coim. GA *Mialaisbhal* [ˈmĩə̃ɬ̪əʃˌvɑɬ] NB022270, air a theannachadh gu *Mialaiseal* [ˈmĩə̃ɬ̪əˌʃɑɬ̪] (#252), (1843–82) *Steinisbhal* (nMO) [ʃtʻeːnʼʃəvɑɻ] NB011215, ach (1843–82) *Teinneasbhal* (nMO) [tʻʻeˇɴʼəʃɑɻ] NB041253.

776. (nMO) '[ɡlɑɣˈhɛ̃nɛ̆̀məstəɻ], ?SL [leugh SNòrnI] **Hamnarstǫðul*', leis an tuiseal chuspaireach aig (SL) *stǫðull* f. 'buaile bleoghain'.

777. Tha SL *hǫfn* no SNòrnI *hamn* reusanta cumanta air feadh nan Eilean Siar (Cox 2008a, 53–55).

778. <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/gd/?>: lorg *Catrìona Thangaidh*; (nMO) [tʻãŋɡ̊i].

name *Catrìona Thangaidh*, *Tangaidh* was probably used of Catrìona after the name of the house where she lived, viz *Taigh Thangaidh* 'the house of *Tangaidh*'.

It is likely that ScG *Tangaidh* is connected with ON *tangi* m. 'tongue of land' > 'spit, promontory', an element found as a loan-name in ScG *Gob Thanga* NB499416, in *Griais* #220 (with ScG **Tanga* from ON **Tanga* obl. '(the) promontory'), and as a masculine loan-word (also from ON *tanga* obl.) in ScG *An Tanga*[779] and *Geodha an Tanga* 'the cove of *An Tanga*' NB506657, in *Eòrrabidh* #182, and in ScG (≈1843–82) *Rubha an Tangadh* 'the promontory (of the promontory)' NB379205, in *Torfhstaidh* #337.

ScG *Tangaidh* might be a genitive form of an *o*-stem noun, i.e. ScG *Tangadh* < ScG *Tanga* (with closing of an otherwise open final syllable, e.g. (gen.) *feòladh* < *feòla* 'meat'),[780] i.e. a loan-name from ON **Tanga* obl., or – more likely – a dative form of ScG **Tangach* 'the place of the promontory' (from EG **tanga* (< ON *tanga* obl.) + the suffix *-ach* §36 (i)), i.e. EG **Tangaigh* -/iɣ'/, which became ScG *Tangaidh* -/i/ regularly, cf. ScG *Lagaidh* 'the place of the hollow'[781] approx. NB275453, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295) (< EG **Locaigh* dat. < EG *loc* f. 'hollow' + *-ach*; Cox 2002a, 60, 116, 307; Watson 1904, xxxiv–xxxvi), before unstressed EG /ɣ'/ [ʝ] became /x'/ [ç] in the 13th century.

ScG *Tangaidh* would originally have denoted an unidentified promontory or elevation.

#321 *Tanganis* BRN

[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌniʃ], (gen.) *Thanganis* [ˈhãŋɡ̊əˌniʃ]; NB145407; 1843–82 *Tanganais*, *Gob Thanganais*, *Traigh Bheag Thanganais*.

The name of a deserted village, once the main settlement on *Beàrnaraigh Bheag*, the island north of *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51, which got its name from the promontory beside it, ScG *Tanganis*, a loan-name from ON **Tanganes* '(the) promontory of the tongue (of land)', with genitive of the noun ON *tangi* m. 'tongue' (#320) and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i). Cf. *Tangenes* in Sogn og Fjordane, Norway (*NG* XII, 218: a promontory that ends in a *tangi*).

#322 *Teallasbhagh* ÙIG

[ˈt̪ʲʰaɫ̪əsˌ̪vaɣ], (gen.) *Theallasbhaigh* [ˈhjaɫ̪əsˌ̪vaj]; NB038183. 1843–82 *Tealasbhadh*, *Mol Thealasbhaidh*, *Loch Thealasbhaidh*; 1860 *Tealasbhadh*, *Loch Healasvay*.

779. (nMO) [nʰaŋg].

780. Although *Rubha an Tangadh* might contain genitive of a dental stem; but ScG (≈1843–82) *Loch Mòr an Tangadh* (nMO) [ɬɔx ə ˈnʰaŋg].

781. Today, the name of a hill.

ainm *Catrìona Thangaidh*, is math dh'fhaodte gun deach *Tangaidh* a chleachdadh air Catrìona air ainm an taighe san robh i a' fuireach, .i. *Taigh Thangaidh*.

Is coltach gur h-ann ceangailte ri SL *tangi* f. 'teanga talmhainn' > 'gob, rubha, sròn' a tha GA *Tangaidh*, eileamaid a gheibhear na ainm-iasaid ann an GA *Gob Thanga* NB499416, ann an *Griais* #220 (le GA **Tanga* à SL **Tanga* cl. '(an) gob'), agus na fhacal-iasaid fireann (à SL *tanga* cl. mar an ceudna) ann an GA *An Tanga*[779] agus *Geodha an Tanga* NB506657, ann an *Eòrrabidh* #182, agus ann an GA (≈1843–82) *Rubha an Tangadh* 'rubha (an rubha)' NB379205, ann an *Torfh·staidh* #337.

Dh'fhaodadh GA *Tangaidh* a bhith na chruth ginideach aig ainmear buin-*o*, .i. GA **Tangadh* < GA **Tanga* (le lide dheiridh fhosgailte air a dùnadh, m.e. (gin.) *feòladh* < *feòla*),[780] .i. ainm-iasaid à SL **Tanga* cl., no – nas coltaiche – na chruth tabhartach aig GT **Tangach* 'àite na sròine' (à GT **tanga* (< SL *tanga* cl.) + an iar-leasachan *-ach* §36 (i)), .i. GT **Tangaigh* -/iɣ'/, a chaidh na GA *Tangaidh* -/i/, coim. GA *Lagaidh* 'àite na laige'[781] mu NB275453, ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295) (< GT **Locaigh* tabh. (< GT *loc* b. 'lag' + *-ach*; Cox 2002a, 60, 116, 307; Watson 1904, xxxiv–xxxvi)), mus deach /ɣ'/ [ʝ] neo-bheumte na /x'/ [ç] san 13s linn.

Bheanadh GA *Tangaidh* bho thùs ri rubha no talamh àrd air choreigin nach deach a shònrachadh.

#321 *Tanganis* BRN

[ˈt̪ʰãŋɡ̊əˌniʃ], (gin.) *Thanganis* [ˈhãŋɡ̊əˌniʃ]; NB145407; 1843–82 *Tanganais*, *Gob Thanganais*, *Traigh Bheag Thanganais*.

An t-ainm air baile fàs, uair na phrìomh thuineachadh air *Beàrnaraigh Bheag*, an t-eilean tuath air *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51, a fhuair a ainm bhon rubha ri thaobh, GA *Tanganis*, ainm-iasaid à SL **Tanganes* 'rubha na teanga (talmhainn)', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *tangi* f. 'teanga' (#320) agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i). Coim. *Tangenes* ann an Sogn og Fjordane, Nirribhidh (*NG* XII, 218: rubha a chrìochnaicheas ann an coltas *tangi*).

#322 *Teallasbhagh* ÙIG

[ˈt̪ʲʰaɫ̪əsˌ̪vaɣ], (gin.) *Theallasbhaigh* [ˈhjaɫ̪əsˌ̪vaj]; NB038183. 1843–82 *Tealasbhadh*, *Mol Thealasbhaidh*, *Loch Thealasbhaidh*; 1860 *Tealasbhadh*, *Loch Healasvay*.

779. (nMO) [nʰaŋg].

780. Ged a dh'fhaodadh cruth ginideach aig bun deudach a bhith ann an *Rubha an Tangadh*; ach GA (≈1843–82) *Loch Mòr an Tangadh* (nMO) [ɬɔx ə ˈnʰaŋg].

781. An-diugh, na ainm air cnoc.

The name of a deserted settlement at the head of *Loch Theallasbhaigh*[782] 'the loch of *Teallasbhagh*', in Ùig; a loan-name from ON **Hjallsvág* acc. '(the) bay of the ledge', with genitive of ON *hjallr* m. 'ledge, terrace' and accusative of ON *vágr* m. 'bay' (#98). ScG *Ceallasaigh* (NB144418, an island north of *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51) appears to be an older loan with CSc. **Hjallsøy* [ç]- '(the) island of the ledge' yielding ScG *Cheallasaigh* > (delenited) *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑl̪ə ˌs̪æj] (#51), via back-formation, while ON **Hjallsvág* [hj]- yields ScG *Theallasbhagh* > (delenited) *Teallasbhagh*, also via back-formation. For the epenthetic vowel in these names, see §42 (i) (b).

#323 *Teampall Chanaiseadair* ÙIG
[ˌtʲʰãũm̥pəl̪ˈxãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾʲ], (gen.) *Theampall Chanaiseadair* [ˌhjãũm̥pəl̪ˈxãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾʲ]; NB053335.

The name, according to report, of an old church in a place called ScG *An Gàrradh Mòr* 'the large garden (or dyke)' in *Eireastadh* #180, in Ùig. It was here, in *Cladh a' Ghàrraidh Mhòir* 'the graveyard of *An Gàrradh Mòr*', that those who were drowned were buried after a vessel was wrecked in 1775 on *Bodha an Iarainn* 'the reef of the iron' NB025331 in *Camas Ùig* 'the bay of *Ùig*', west of *Càrnis* #99.[783] *Teampall Chanaiseadair* is a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *teampall* m. 'church' (#30) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

ScG (rad.) **Canaiseadar* is no doubt from a name in ON *-sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296). The first element might be from ON *konu*, genitive of ON *kona* f. 'woman; wife', cf. *Kvenvær* < ON **Kvennaver* '(the) fishing station of the women', in Møre og Romsdal, Norway, with genitive plural of the specific (*NSL*, s.v.); in Gaelic, cf. *Geodha na Mnà* 'the cove of the woman' NB233469, in *Siabost a Deas* (#295), and *Bealach nam Ban* 'the pass of the women' NB222452, in *Daile Mòr* (#167). For the alternation *o* ~ *a*, see §43 (i).

One might also consider ON **Konungssætr* as a solution, with genitive of the noun ON *konungr* m. 'king', cf. ON *konungssetr* in the sense 'royal residence' (*NO*, s.v. *konungr*), ?cf. *Cunnister* HU526967, Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 94: 1586 *Congnesaatther*). ON **Konungssætr* would probably yield EG *[ˈkɔ̃nəŋn̪ˌʃɛːt̪əɾ] in the first instance and that might develop, after simplification of the medial consonant cluster, into ScG *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾʲ]. If this derivation is correct, there is no evidence to say what sort of place this was, whether it was a farm or resi-

782. (nMO) *Loch Theallasbhaigh* [lɔx ˈhaˑɛɑɪ̯əsaj̯], [lɔx ˈçɑɪ̯əsæj] ([ç] faintly fricative).

783. Locally, the vessel was called *Long an Iarainn* 'the ship of the iron' because of its load of iron – its real name is thought to have been *The Mary* – and *Bodha an Iarainn* and *Sgeir an Iarainn* 'the reef and the skerry of the iron' in the bay were named accordingly (Mackinnon 2020; Macdonald 1967, 121–23).

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs aig ceann *Loch Theallasbhaigh*,[782] ann an Ùig; ainmiasaid à SL **Hjallsvág* cusp. 'bàgh a' phalla', leis an tuiseal ghinideach aig SL *hjallr* f. 'palla, sgeilp ann an cliathaich cnuic' agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *vágr* f. 'bàgh' (#98). Is coltach gur h-e iasad nas tràithe a th' ann an GA *Ceallasaigh* (NB144418, eilean tuath air *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51), agus LB **Hjallsøy* [ç]- 'eilean a' phalla' a' toirt GA *Cheallasaigh* > (dì-shèimhichte) *Ceallasaigh* [ˈkʲʰɑl̪ə ˌs̪æj] (#51), le cùl-chinntinn, fhad 's a bheir SL **Hjallsvág* [hj]- GA *Theallasbhagh* > (neo-shèimhichte) *Teallasbhagh*, le cùl-chinntinn mar an ceudna. Airson na fuaimreige còmhnaidh sna h-ainmean seo, faic §42 (i) (b).

#323 *Teampall Chanaiseadair* ÙIG
[ˌtʲʰãũm̥pəl̪ˈxãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾʲ], (gin.) *Theampall Chanaiseadair* [ˌhjãũm̥pəl̪ˈxãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾʲ]; NB053335.

An t-ainm, a rèir aithris, air seann eaglais a bh' ann an àite air a bheil GA *An Gàrradh Mòr* 'an leas (no balla) mòr' mar ainm ann an *Eireastadh* #180, ann an Ùig. 'S ann an seo, ann an *Cladh a' Ghàrraidh Mhòir*, a chaidh an fheadhainn a chaidh a bhàthadh a thiodhlacadh nuair a bhris soitheach ann an 1775 air *Bodha an Iarainn* NB025331 ann an *Camas Ùig*, an iar air *Càrnis* #99.[783] 'S e ainm Gàidhlig a th' ann an *Teampall Chanaiseadair*, le GA *teampall* f. 'eaglais' (#30) agus ainmiasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Chan eil teagamh nach ann à ainm ann an SL *-sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296) a tha GA (bun.) **Canaiseadar*. Dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL *konu* a tha a' chiad eileamaid, an tuiseal ginideach aig SL *kona* b. 'boireannach; bean', coim. *Kvenvær* < SL **Kvennaver* 'àite-iasgaich nam boireannach', ann am Møre og Romsdal, Nirribhidh, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an t-sònraicheir (*NSL*, s.v.); sa Ghàidhlig, coim. *Geodha na Mnà* NB233469, ann an *Siabost a Deas* (#295), is *Bealach nam Ban* NB222452, ann an *Daile Mòr* (#167). Airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a*, faic §43 (i).

Dh'fhaodte cuideachd beachdachadh air SL **Konungssætr* mar fhuasgladh, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *konungr* f. 'rìgh', coim. SL *konungssetr* sa bhrìgh 'fàrdach rìoghail' (*NO*, s.v. *konungr*), ?coim. *Cunnister* HU526967, Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 94: 1586 *Congnesaatther*). Is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **Konungssætr* GT *[ˈkɔ̃nəŋn̪ˌʃɛːt̪əɾ] sa chiad char agus is dòcha gun deigheadh sin, an dèidh dhan chòmhlan chonnragach mheadhain sìmpleachadh, na GA *[ˈkʰãnɪˌʃad̪̊əɾʲ]. Ma tha am bunachas seo ceart, chan eil lorg air fianais a dh'innseas dè an seòrsa àite a bh' anns an t-*sætr* a bha seo, an e tuath-

782. (nMO) *Loch Theallasbhaigh* [lɔx ˈhaˑɛɑɪ̯əsaj̯], [lɔx ˈçɑɪ̯əsæj] ([ç] faintly fricative).

783. B' e *Long an Iarainn* a bh' air an t-soitheach mar ainm gu h-ionadail, agus luchd iarainn innte – thathas am beachd gur h-e *The Mary* an ceart ainm a bh' oirre – agus chaidh *Bodha an Iarainn* agus *Sgeir an Iarainn* sa chamas ainmeachadh dha rèir (Mackinnon 2020; Macdonald 1967, 121–23).

dence – the sense 'sheiling' would seem unlikely – or even exactly where it was, and there is nothing to indicate the status of the place, i.e. whether it belonged to a king of Norway, a king of the (ON) *Suðreyjar* ('(the) southern isles', i.e. the Hebrides and Man) or to a minor, local king.

With no evidence of an ecclesiastical site,[784] the tradition that a boat crew was buried there may have given rise to the designation *teampall*, as well as to the reports that the bones found there from time to time were human.

#324 *Thàiseadar* CTL
[ˈhaːˌʃaʰd̥ɔɾ], (gen.) *Thàiseadair* [ˈhaːˌʃaʰd̥ɔɾʲ]; NB392250. 1843–82 *Thàshadar Mhor*, *Thàshadar Bhéag*.

The name of a hill, in *Crosabost* #156, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Há-sætr* '(the) high-sheiling', with the stem form of the adjective ON *hár* 'high' + ON *sætr* nt. 'sheiling; farm' (#296).

Cf. *Gil Thàiseadair* #205.

#325 *Thamarsadar* CTL
[ˈhãməˌsaʰd̥ɔɾ],[785] (gen.) *Thamarsadair* [ˈhãməˌsaʰd̥ɔɾʲ]; NB390255. 1843–82 *Thámarshader*, *Loch Thámarshader*;[786] 1974 *Hamarshader*.

The name of a hill and its area in the township *Rathanis* #277, in *Ceann a Tuath nan Loch*; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Hamarssætr* '(the) sheiling of the crag', with genitive of the noun ON *hamarr* m. 'hammer' + ON *sætr* nt. (#296). ON *hamarr* is used in place-names in the sense 'crag, rocky knoll',[787] cf. *Creag Thamar* [ˌkʰɾʲeg̊ ˈhãmɔɾ], ˈhãmər] NB195423, ann an *Cirbhig* #124.[788]

#326 *Thèicleitir* ÙIG
[ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ], (gen.) idem; NB103345. 1843–82 *Tetha Cleiter Mhor*, *Tetha Cleiter Bheag*.

The name of the southern part of the township *An Riobh* #280 (Lawson 2008, 193: *Teyva*), in Ùig, named after the mountain beside it, *Thèicleitir* or *Thèicleitir*

784. Only a head dyke (post-Medieval), lazy-beds (post-Medieval) and a township (from an unassigned period) are recorded for the area at <https://canmore.org.uk/site/132226/lewis-erista>.

785. (nMO; Oftedal 1980, 185) [ˈhɑməʂɑdər].

786. (nMO) [ɬɔx ˈhɑməʂɑdər].

787. As is ScG *òrd* m. 'hammer', e.g. ScG *An t-Òrd* NG616131, in Skye.

788. With a specific from ON **Hamar* acc. MacIver (1934, 66, s.v. *Hami-siader*) seems to have changed the Gaelic name to agree with a derivation with ON *heimr* m. 'home', but the diphthong ON *ei* would yield a long vowel in Gaelic.

anas no fàrdach a bh' ann – cha choltach gum biodh a' bhrìgh 'àirigh' iomchaidh – no fiù 's càit an robh e ann an da-rìribh, agus chan eil càil ann a mhìnicheas inbhe an àite, .i. an do bhuin e do rìgh air Nirribhidh, rìgh air (SL) *Suðreyjar* ('(na h-)eileanan a deas', .i. Innse Gall is Manainn) no do mhion-rìgh ionadail.

Gun fhianais air làraich eaglaiseil,[784] is dòcha gur h-e an seanchas gun deach sgioba bàta a thiodhlacadh an sin a dh'adhbharaich an tuairisgeul *teampall*, cho math ris na h-aithrisean gun robh na cnàmhan a lorgadh ann bho àm gu àm daonna.

#324 *Thàiseadar* CTL
[ˈhaːˌʃaʰd̥ɔɾ], (gin.) *Thàiseadair* [ˈhaːˌʃaʰd̥ɔɾʲ]; NB392250. 1843–82 *Thàshadar Mhor*, *Thàshadar Bhéag*.

An t-ainm air cnoc, ann an *Crosabost* #156, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig air iasad à SL **Há-sætr* '(an) àrd-àirigh', le bun-riochd a' bhuadhair SL *hár* 'àrd' + SL *sætr* n. 'àirigh; tuathanas' (#296).

Coim. *Gil Thàiseadair* #205.

#325 *Thamarsadar* CTL
[ˈhãməˌsaʰd̥ɔɾ],[785] (gin.) *Thamarsadair* [ˈhãməˌsaʰd̥ɔɾʲ]; NB390255. 1843–82 *Thámarshader*, *Loch Thámarshader*;[786] 1974 *Hamarshader*.

An t-ainm air cnoc agus a àrainn sa bhaile fearainn *Rathanis* #277, ann an *Ceann a Tuath nan Loch*; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Hamarssætr* 'àirigh an ùird', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hamarr* f. 'òrd' + SL *sætr* n. (#296). Thèid SL *hamarr* a chleachdadh ann an ainmean-àite san t-seagh 'cnap, meall creagach',[787] coim. GA *Creag Thamar* [ˌkʰɾʲeg̊ ˈhãmɔɾ], ˈhãmər] NB195423, ann an *Cirbhig* #124.[788]

#326 *Thèicleitir* ÙIG
[ˈheːˌkleʰtʲəɾʲ], (gin.) idem; NB103345. 1843–82 *Tetha Cleiter Mhor*, *Tetha Cleiter Bheag*.

An t-ainm air ceann a deas a' bhaile fearainn *An Riobh* #280 (Lawson 2008, 193: *Teyva*), ann an Ùig, air ainmeachadh air a' bheinn ri thaobh, *Thèicleitir* no *Thèi-*

784. Cha deach ach gàrradh dubh (iar-Mheadhan-aoiseach), feannagan (iar-Mheadhan-aoiseach) agus baile fearainn (à linn gun a sònrachadh) a chlàradh airson na ceàrnaidh aig <https://canmore.org.uk/site/132226/lewis-erista>.

785. (nMO; Oftedal 1980, 185) [ˈhɑməʂɑdər].

786. (nMO) [ɬɔx ˈhɑməʂɑdər].

787. Mar a thèid GA *òrd* f. fhèin, m.e. GA *An t-Òrd* NG616131, san Eilean Sgitheanach.

788. Le sònraichear à SL **Hamar* cusp. Is coltach gu bheil MacIver (1934, 66, s.v. *Hami-siader*) air an t-ainm Gàidhlig atharrachadh ach an aontaich e ri bunachas à SL *heimr* f. 'dachaigh', ach bheireadh an dà-fhoghar SL *ei* fuaimreag fhada sa Ghàidhlig.

Mhòr ‘greater *Thèicleitir*’ NB104345.

Thèicleitir is a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Heið-klettar*, with the stem form of the noun ON *heiðr* f. ‘heath, upland, mountain plateau’ (cf. #58) and the plural of the noun ON *klettr* m. ‘hill, mountain’ (#130).

#327 *Theòrsadar* CDL

[ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ər],[789] (gen.) *Theòrsadair* [ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ərʲ]; NB387179. 1843–82 *Eorshadair*, *Airidhean Eorshadair*, *Gleann Eorshadair* ([ˌg̊lãũn̪ ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ərʲ]), *Loch Gleann Eorshadair*. Cf. *Abhainn Theòrsadair* [ˌãviɲ̪ ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ərʲ] ‘the river of *Theòrsadar*’,[790] in the same area.

The name of an area on *Crò Mòr*’s moor #154, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Þjór-sætr* ‘(the) bull-sheiling’, with the stem form of the noun ON *þjórr* m. ‘bull’ and ON *sætr* nt. ‘sheiling; farm’ (#296). Cf. ScG *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147.

MacKenzie (1903) links the etymology of this name with that of ScG *Eòiriseadar* #181, in *Beàrnaraigh* #51. Evemalm (2017, 116) asks whether the woman’s name ON *Jórunn* f. might apply here (see *Eòrrabidh* #182); ON **Jórunnarsætr*, with genitive of the personal name, would probably yield a further syllable, i.e. something like ScG *[ˈjɔːɾaˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ] or *[ˈjɔːɳaˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ], which might reduce to *[ˈjɔːɾəˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ] or *[ˈjɔːɳəˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ].

#328 *Thòmasgro* PRC

[ˈhõːməˌn̪skɾo], (gen.) idem; NB341036. 1843–82 *Thomascro*, *Camus Thomascro*.

The name of a deserted settlement in the south-east of A’ Phàirc; a Gaelic name borrowed from an Old Norse name in ON *-gróf* f. ‘stream’.

ON **Hámundsgróf* ‘*Hámundr*’s stream’, ?with a late secondary genitive[791] of the man’s name ON *Hámundr* m., might yield EG *[ˈhãːməⁿn̪ⁿd̪ˢˌgɾoːβ] in the first instance, yielding ScG [ˈhõːməˌn̪skɾo], with *a* ~ *o* alternation §43 (ii) and simplification of the medial cluster *nd* > *d* (cf. the man’s name ON *Þormund*, accusative of ON *Þormóðr* m., > ScG *Tormod* (#93)), before loss of the plosive *d*, cf. ScG *Àsmaigearraidh* #21.

789. ScG [ˈjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ər] was recorded occasionally. Following this pronunciation, Cox (1990b, 106) suggests the loan-name might be from ON **Eyjarsætr* ‘(the sheiling of the peninsula’, with genitive of the noun ON *ey* f. ‘island, i.e. land surrounded by or (as here) almost surrounded by water’ §16. Although one would expect ON *ey* to yield ScG [eː] in stressed position, one may compare ScG *eòlach* adj. [ˈjɔːl̪ˠəx] ‘knowledgeable’, from EG *éolach* *[ˈeːol̪ˠəx].

790. ?= (nMO) *Allt Theòrsadair* [ɑʊ̯l̪ˠt ˈhjɔːʂɑdər] ‘the stream of—’.

791. As opposed to (gen.) *Hámundar*.

cleitir Mhòr NB104345.

Tha *Thèicleitir* na ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais, is dòcha à SL **Heið-klettar*, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *heiðr* b. ‘mòinteach, bràigh, magh beinne’ (coim. #58) agus cruth iolra an ainmeir SL *klettr* f. ‘cnoc, beinn’ (#130).

#327 *Theòrsadar* CDL

[ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ər],[789] (gin.) *Theòrsadair* [ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ərʲ]; NB387179. 1843–82 *Eorshadair*, *Airidhean Eorshadair*, *Gleann Eorshadair* ([ˌg̊lãũn̪ ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ərʲ]), *Loch Gleann Eorshadair*. Coim. *Abhainn Theòrsadair* [ˌãviɲ̪ ˈhjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ərʲ],[790] san aon àite.

An t-ainm air àite air mòintich *Chrò Mòr* #154, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, is dòcha à SL **Þjór-sætr* ‘(an) tarbh-àirigh’, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *þjórr* f. ‘tarbh’ agus SL *sætr* n. ‘àirigh; tuathanas’ (#296). Coim. GA *Cnoc Theòraiseadair* #147.

Ceanglaidh MacKenzie (1903) freumhachd an ainme seo ris an tè aig GA *Eòiriseadar* #181, ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51. Togaidh Evemalm (2017, 116) a’ cheist a bheil gnothach aig an ainm boireannaich SL *Jórunn* b., mar eisimpleir, ri seo (faic *Eòrrabidh* #182); is iongantach mana toireadh SL **Jórunnarsætr*, le tuiseal gin-ideach an ainme phearsanta, lide a bharrachd, .i. rudeigin mar GA *[ˈjɔːɾaˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ] no *[ˈjɔːɳaˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ], a dh’fhaodadh lùghdachadh, is dòcha, gu *[ˈjɔːɾəˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ] no *[ˈjɔːɳəˌʃaˌd̪ərʲ].

#328 *Thòmasgro* PRC

[ˈhõːməˌn̪skɾo], (gin.) idem; NB341036. 1843–82 *Thomascro*, *Camus Thomascro*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann an ceann an ear-dheas Na Pàirce; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à ainm Lochlannais ann an SL *-gróf* b. ‘allt, feadan’.

Is dòcha gun toireadh SL **Hámundsgróf* ‘(an t-)allt aig *Hámundr*’, ?le dàrnacha ginideach anmoch[791] an ainm fireannaich SL *Hámundr* f., GT *[ˈhãːməⁿn̪ⁿd̪ˢˌgɾoːβ] sa chiad àite, a’ toirt GA [ˈhõːməˌn̪skɾo], leis an iomlaid *a* ~ *o* §43 (ii) agus sìmpleachadh sa chòmhlan mheadhain *nd* > *d* (coim. an t-ainm fireannaich SL *Þormund*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig *Þormóðr* f., > GA *Tormod* (#93)), mus deach an stadach *d* air chall, coim. GA *Àsmaigearraidh* #21.

789. Chaidh GA [ˈjɔːˌʂaˌd̪ər] a chlàradh air uairean. A’ leantainn an fhuaimneachaidh seo, cuiridh Cox (1990b, 106) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-ann à SL **Eyjarsætr* ‘àirigh an leth-eilein’ a tha an t-ainm-iasaid seo, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *ey* b. ‘eilean, .i. talamh air a chuairteachadh no (mar a tha an seo) an ìre mhath air a chuairteachadh le uisge’ §16. Ged a bhite a’ sùileachadh gun toireadh SL *ey* GA [eː] ann an carachadh beumte, faodar coimeas a dhèanamh ri GA *eòlach* buadh. [ˈjɔːl̪ˠəx], à GT *éolach* *[ˈeːol̪ˠəx].

790. ?= (nMO) *Allt Theòrsadair* [ɑʊ̯l̪ˠt ˈhjɔːʂɑdər].

791. Seach (gin.) *Hámundar*.

However, ON **Hvammsgróf* '(the) stream of the valley', with genitive of the noun ON *hvammr* m. 'small, short valley; hollow', would be suitable from a topographical point of view, although it would mean that ON *hvamm-* developed into ScG [ˈhõːm] here but ScG [ũãm] in ScG *Loch Uamasbroc* and *Cnoc Uamaistean* (#311 (i)); cf. the Modern Norwegian form *hom*(*m*) [hoːm], [hɔmː] (< ON *hvammr*; *NSL*, s.v. *kvam*), found between Vest-Telemark and Dalene, Rogaland, in southern Norway.

#329 *Tiodaborgh* BRN
[ˈʧʰiḍ̪ə̥ˌb̥ɔr̃ɣ)],[792] (gen.) *Thiodaborgh* [ˈhiḍ̪ə̥ˌb̥ɔr̃ɣ)]; NB182339. 1821 *Hediburroh*; 1822 *Dun Hediburran*; 1843–82 *Tìdaborragh*, *Sgeirean Thìdaborragh*.

The name of a fort or broch, of which only a few stones remain, in *Circeabost* #125, in Beàrnaraigh #51.[793] Canmore, ID 4114,[794] gives the name *Dun Nicisabhat* (leg. ScG *Dùn Niocsabhat* 'the fort of *Niocsabhat*') for this fort (so also NicAoidh 2015, 39), but ScG *Loch Niocsabhat* 'the loch of *Niocsabhat*' NB169350 is near *Dùn Bharra Glom* 'the fort of *Barra Glom*' (#48).

Tiodaborgh is a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. Appropriately, the generic of the Old Norse name is ON *borg* f. 'fort, fortification' (cf. *Borgh* #68). The first element of the name is difficult to determine. Oral tradition claims *Tiod* was the name of the owner of the fort (see *An Dùn* #170). Apparently, little in Old Norse suits the pronunciation of the Gaelic name: ON **Hitaborg*, with genitive of the noun ON *hiti* m. 'heat, warmth', would yield ScG [ˈʧʰiḍ̪əˌb̥ɔr̃ɣ)] regularly, with delenition of the loan-name in radical position via back-formation; ON *hiti* in the sense 'flame, blaze' is found but only in 'Vǫluspá' (a prophetic poem in the poetic Edda) and, although one might think of a signal fire, there is no evidence to support such a definition.

If the alternative pronunciation [ˈʧʲʰiḍ̪ʲəˌb̥ɔr̃] (fn 792) is authoritative, one might consider a derivation from ON **Hetjuborg*, with genitive of the noun ON *hetja* f. 'hero, giant'.

#330 *Tolm* STN (Eng. *Holm*)
[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃m], (gen.) *Thuilm* [ˈhu̥l̪̃u̥m]; NB457314. 1549 *Ellan Huilmen*; 1654 *Holm Ocrach*, *Holm Ycrach*, *Yl. Huilme*; 1680 *the beasts of Holm*, *Holme*; 1718 *Nether Holm*; 1726 *Nether Holme*; 1750M, 1776, 1807 *Holm*; 1821 *Nether Holm*, *Upper Holm*; 1821W MS *Upper*/*Nether Holme*; 1821W *Upper*/*Nether Holm*; 1822 *Nether Holm*,

792. [ˈʧʲʰiḍ̪ʲəˌb̥ɔr̃] was also recorded.

793. According to Thomas (1890, 393), the broch was about 60 ft (about 10.29 m) in diameter.

794. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/4114/great-bernera-kirkibost-dun-tiddaborra>.

Gidheadh, bhiodh SL **Hvammsgróf* 'allt a' ghlinne', le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hvammr* f. 'gleann beag goirid; lag', freagarrach bho thaobh cruth na tìre, ged a bhiodh e a' ciallachadh gun deach SL *hvamm-* na GA [ˈhõːm] ann an seo ach na GA [ũãm] ann an GA *Loch Uamasbroc* agus *Cnoc Uamaistean* (#311 (i)); coim. an cruth Nua-Nirribhis *hom*(*m*) [hoːm], [hɔmː] (< SL *hvammr*; *NSL*, s.v. *kvam*), a gheibhear eadar Vest-Telemark agus Dalene, Rogaland, ann an ceann a deas Nirribhidh.

#329 *Tiodaborgh* BRN
[ˈʧʰiḍ̪əˌb̥ɔr̃ɣ)],[792] (gin.) *Thiodaborgh* [ˈhiḍ̪əˌb̥ɔr̃ɣ)]; NB182339. 1821 *Hediburroh*; 1822 *Dun Hediburran*; 1843–82 *Tìdaborragh*, *Sgeirean Thìdaborragh*.

An t-ainm air dùn no borgh, air nach eil lorg an-diugh ach corra chlach, ann an *Circeabost* #125, ann am Beàrnaraigh #51.[793] Bheir Canmore, ID 4114,[794] an t-ainm *Dun Nicisabhat* (leugh GA *Dùn Niocsabhat*) air an dùn seo (mar an ceudna NicAoidh 2015, 39), ach 's ann a tha GA *Loch Niocsabhat* NB169350 faisg air *Dùn Bharra Glom* (#48).

Tha *Tiodaborgh* na ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais. Gu h-iomchaidh, 's ann à SL *borg* b. 'dùn, daingneach' a tha seòrsaichear an ainme Lochlannais (coim. *Borgh* #68). Tha ciad eileamaid an ainme doirbh a dhearbhadh. Ann am beul-aithris, thathas a' dèanamh a-mach gum b' e *Tiod* ainm neach-seilbh a' bhuirgh (faic *An Dùn* #170). A rèir choltais, cha fhreagair mòran anns an Lochlannais fuaimneachadh an ainme Ghàidhlig: bheireadh SL **Hitaborg*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hiti* f. 'teas, blàths', GA [ˈʧʰiḍ̪əˌb̥ɔr̃ɣ)] gu riaghailteach, le cùl-chinntinn agus toiseach an ainm-iasaid air a dhì-shèimheachadh ann an suidheachadh bunasach; chan fhaighear SL *hiti* sa bhrìgh 'lasair, teine lasrach' ach ann an 'Vǫluspá' (dàn fàisneachail san Edda bhàrdail) agus, ged a smaoinichte air tùrlach no teine sanais, chan eil fianais ann a chuireas taic ri leithid de bhunachas.

Mas ùghdarrasail am fuaimneachadh eile [ˈʧʲʰiḍ̪ʲəˌb̥ɔr̃] (bn 792), dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air bunachas à SL **Hetjuborg*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hetja* b. 'gaisgeach, famhaire'.

#330 *Tolm* STN
[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̃m], (gin.) *Thuilm* [ˈhu̥l̪̃u̥m]; NB457314. 1549 *Ellan Huilmen*; 1654 *Holm Ocrach*, *Holm Ycrach*, *Yl. Huilme*; 1680 *the beasts of Holm*, *Holme*; 1718 *Nether Holm*; 1726 *Nether Holme*; 1750M, 1776, 1807 *Holm*; 1821 *Nether Holm*, *Upper Holm*; 1821W MS *Upper*/*Nether Holme*; 1821W *Upper*/*Nether Holm*; 1822 *Nether*

792. Chaidh [ˈʧʲʰiḍ̪ʲəˌb̥ɔr̃] a chlàradh mar an ceudna.

793. A rèir Thomas (1890, 393), bha am borgh mu 60 tr. (mu 10.29 m.) thairis air a mheadhan.

794. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/4114/great-bernera-kirkibost-dun-tiddaborra>.

Up^r. Holm; 1843–82 *Holm, Nether Holm, Upper Holm, Holm Bay, Caolas Thuilm, Rudha Thuilm or Holm Point, Tòb Rudha Thuilm, Eilean Thuilm, Biastan Thuilm*[795]; 1845 *Holm, Holm-point*; 1846 *Eilean Holm Iorach*; 1846HO *Holm*; 2007, road sign *Tolm‖Holm*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: '**Holm** (HP) [tɔʟɔ̀m].[796] ON **Holmr* "(the) islet; (the)small hill surrounded by flat land". I have not seen this village, but the map shows it to be situated on a hillock and surrounded by lower country. The name is found elsewhere in the Hebrides as well, e.g. in Taransay, Harris, where it seems to denote a part of the coast. A nearby islet, *Eilean Huilm*, contains the Gaelic genitive of *Tolm*.[797] *Holm* is a parish name in Orkney (Marwick 1952, 89); it is the name of about 30 farms in Norway and is also represented in Iceland (Lnb.).'

The name of a township near *Steòrnabhagh* #309, once situated at the shore opposite ScG *Eilean Thuilm* 'the island of *Tolm*' but which was moved eastwards (NB449309) in 1868 to a location previously called *Silltinis* #300 (Lawson 2011, 73),[798] in order to make more land available to the farm at ScG *Cnoc a' Gheàrr·aidh* #137 (ibid., 70: (Eng.) *Knockgarry*).

Oftedal assumes that the loan-name here originally denoted a hillock within the vicinity of the village. The secondary sense of the strong noun ON *holmr* m. (or the weak noun ON *holmi* m.) was 'hillock'. The primary sense was 'small island, islet' and this is the sense usually found in loan-names, as in ScG *Tolm* in Taransay, above: cf. ScG (1843–82) *Tolm* (nMO) [tʻɑʟàm] NB336508, in *Brù* #82; ScG *Tolm* (nMO) [tʻɔʟɔ̀m] NB034334 and *Caolas Thuilm*, in *Crabhlastadh* #151; ScG (1843–82) *Talm* and *Eilean Thailm* NM476914, in Eigg; and Eng. (1843–82) *Holm* and *Holm Island* NG525514,[799] in Skye; and, in half-stressed position, ScG *Càgam* NB167430, in *Borghaston* #69, from ON **Krák-holm* acc. '(the) crow-island', with the stem form of ON *kráka* f. 'crow' (see also *Eilean Bhiondalam* (#67) and *Grèineam* (#219)). Apparently, the sense 'hillock' does not occur very frequently in Lewis, e.g. ScG *Loch Sgàrdam* NB211362, in *Britheascleit* #79, per

795. It was on the reefs *Biastan Thuilm* 'the beasts of *Tolm*' that HMY *Iolaire* was wrecked on New Year's Day 1919; the *Ivy Rose* SY347 was lost there in 1977.

796. (nMO) [tʻɔʟɔ̀m̩], genitive in *Eilean Thuilm* (nMO) [ˈelaɲ ˈhʊ̀lʊ̀m̩] 'the island of *Tolm*'.

797. Oftedal uses the OS One-Inch Map 1947–48, which gives *Tolm* (the name of an area) and *Eilean Huilm* ('the island of *Tolm*', the name of an island), i.e. ScG *Eilean Thuilm*.

798. Hence the name form Eng. *New Tolm*, e.g. in Lawson ibid.

799. (CMR) *Holm* [*Hal̄(a)m*] (in King 2019, 196), but see fn 800, below.

Holm, Up^r. Holm; 1843–82 *Holm, Nether Holm, Upper Holm, Holm Bay, Caolas Thuilm, Rudha Thuilm or Holm Point, Tòb Rudha Thuilm, Eilean Thuilm, Biastan Thuilm*[795]; 1845 *Holm, Holm-point*; 1846 *Eilean Holm Iorach*; 1846HO *Holm*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Tolm‖Holm*.

> Oftedal 1954, 394: **Holm** (HP) [tɔʟɔ̀m].[796] SL **Holmr* '(an t-)eilean beag; (an) cnoc beag air a chuairteachadh le talamh rèidh'. Chan eil mi air am baile seo fhaicinn, ach seallaidh am mapa gu bheil e air a shuidheachadh air cnocan air a chuairteachadh le talamh ìorach. Lorgar an t-ainm an àitichean eile ann an Innse Gall, m.e. ann an Tarasaigh, sna Hearadh, far an coltach gum bean e ri cuibhreann den oirthir. Faisg air seo, tha an t-eilean *Eilean Thuilm*, sa bheil an cruth ginideach Gàidhlig aig *Tolm*.[797] Tha *Holm* na ainm sgìre ann an Arcaibh (Marwick 1952, 89); tha e na ainm air mu 30 tuathanas ann an Nirribhidh agus air a riochdachadh ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.) mar an ceudna.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn faisg air *Steòrnabhagh* #309, a bha uair ris a' chladach mu choinneimh GA *Eilean Thuilm* NB448304 ach a chaidh a ghluasad chun na h-àirde an ear (NB449309) ann an 1868 a dh'àite air an robh *Silltinis* #300 mar ainm roimhe (Lawson 2011, 73),[798] gus barrachd talmhainn a thoirt dhan tuathanas air GA *Cnoc a' Gheàrraidh* #137 (ibid., 70: (Brl.) *Knockgarry*).

Gabhaidh Oftedal ris gum beanadh an t-ainm-iasaid seo bho thùs ri meall no tom air àrainn a' bhaile. B' e an dàrnacha ciall a bh' ann am 'meall, tom' aig an ainmear làidir SL *holmr* f. (no an ainmear lag SL *holmi* f.). B' i a' phrìomh chiall 'eilean beag, innis' agus 's e sin na 's trice a lorgar ann an ainmean-iasaid, mar a tha ann an GA *Tolm* ann an Tarasaigh, shuas: coim. GA (1843–82) *Tolm* (nMO) [tʻɑʟàm] NB336508, ann am *Brù* #82; GA *Tolm* (nMO) [tʻɔʟɔ̀m] NB034334 agus *Caolas Thuilm*, ann an *Crabhlastadh* #151; GA (1843–82) *Talm* agus *Eilean Thailm* NM476914, ann an Eige; agus Brl. (1843–82) *Holm* agus *Holm Island* NG525514,[799] san Eilean Sgitheanach; agus, ann an suidheachadh leth-bheumte, GA *Càgam* NB167430, ann am *Borghaston* #69, à SL **Krák-holm* cusp. '(an) starrag-eilean', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *kráka* b. 'starrag' (faic cuideachd *Eilean Bhiondalam* (#67) agus *Grèineam* (#219)). A rèir choltais, cha nochd a' bhrìgh 'meall' ro thric, m.e. GA *Loch Sgàrdam* NB211362, ann am *Britheascleit* #79, 's dòcha le ainm-

795. 'S iad *Biastan Thuilm* na bodhachan air na bhris HMY *Iolaire* Latha na Bliadhna Ùire 1919; 's ann an sin a chaidh an *Ivy Rose* SY347 a chall ann an 1977.

796. (nMO) [tʻɔʟɔ̀m̩], san tuiseal ghinideach ann an *Eilean Thuilm* (nMO) [ˈelaɲ ˈhʊ̀lʊ̀m̩].

797. Cleachdaidh Oftedal Mapa Aon-Òirleach na Suirbhidh Òrdanais 1947–48, a bheir *Tolm* (ainm sgìre) agus *Eilean Huilm* (ainm eilein), .i. GA *Eilean Thuilm*.

798. Às a sin, an cruth Brl. *New Tolm*, m.e. ann an Lawson ibid.

799. (CMR) *Holm* [*Hal̄(a)m*] (ann an King 2019, 196), ach faic bn 800, shìos.

haps with a loan-name from ON **Skarð-holm* acc. '(the) pass-hillock', with the stem form of ON *skarð* nt. 'notch; gap, pass'.[800]

According to the evidence, then, it appears that ScG *Tolm* (via EG **Holm*) is from ON **Holm* acc.[801] in the sense '(the) small island' – so MacIver 1934, 77, and Taylor 2011, s.v. (Eng.) *Holm* – and that the name was borrowed as English *Holm* before initial radical ScG [h] /h/ became [t̪ʰ] /t/ via back-formation §33.

#331 *Tolstadh* TSR (Eng. *Tolsta Chaolais*)
[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gen.) *Tholstaidh* [ˈhɔl̪ˌs̪t̪aj], or ***Tolstadh a' Chaolais*** [ˌt̪ʰɔl̪ˌs̪t̪a ˈxɯːɫiʃ], (gen.) *Tholstadh a' Chaolais* [ˌhɔl̪ˌs̪t̪a ˈxɯːɫiʃ]; NB195380. 1654, 1703 *Tollosta*; 1718 *Tolsta*; 1726 *Tolisk* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1794, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Tolsta*; 1821, 1822 *Tolstay Chulish*; 1843–82 *Tolasdadh á Chaolais*; 1846 *Tolstay Culish*; 1864 *Tolastag aChaolais*, *Tolastay B.*; 1869 *Tolstay Chulish*; 1875, 87, 161 *Tolsta*, *Tolsta Chulish*; 1895 *Tolasdadh a Chaolais*; 1903HO *Tolastay a Chaolais*; 1932, 300 *Tolasta*; 1934, 11 *Tolasta a Chaolais*; 1973 *Tolastadh Chaolais*; 1974 *Tolsta Chaolais*; 2007, road sign *Tolastadh a Chaolais*‖*Tolsta Chaolais*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378–79: '**Tolstachoelish** [tɔɪɔ̀stɑɣ], (gen.) [hɔɪɔ̀stɑj].[802] ScG *chaolais* [xʌ́ːɪiʃ], genitive of *caolas* [kʌ́ːɬəs] "sound", is added only to distinguish the locality from *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332). The sound is the eastern arm of ScG *Loch Ròg* (#107). The most satisfactory etymology is ON **Þolfsstaðir* '*Þolfr*'s farm', from a man's name, cf. the Norwegian farm names *Tolvstad* (*NG* III, 28), *Tol*(*v*)*sgarden* (*NG* XII, 54) and *Tolsrud* (*NG* II, 231). A svarabhakti vowel would normally develop between *l* and *f* in Gaelic. The name *Þolfr* m. is generally regarded as a relatively late contraction of ON *Þórolfr* m.; it is not attested in Norway before 1300 and does not occur at all in Iceland. If this derivation is right, it means either that the name was taken over by the Gaels at a very late date, near or even after the end of Norse supremacy, or else that

800. It is not certain what the origin of the specific is in the mountain name *Sgùrr Thuilm* 'the mountain of—' at the head of Glenfinnan NM937879 and, in Skye, on the north-west side of the Cullin NG430243. As regards the former, *Sgòr Choileam* is found at the beginning of the 20th century: (1885–1900) *Sgòr Choileam*, (1899–1902) *Sgùrr Thuilm*, (*The Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal* XIV (1917), 64, 100) *Sgòr Choileam* but (p. 155, with 'May 1906' against a photograph) *Sgùrr Thuilm*. Of the mountain name in Skye, Forbes (1923, 327) says it means '*Tulm*'s peak', after a man's name – so also *Dùn Tuilm* 'the fort of—' NG411742 and *Eilean Thuilm* (Eng. *Holm Island* NG525514, above) in the same island.

801. NB Ice. *hólmr* as opposed to ON *holmr* is sometimes cited (e.g. MacLennan 1925, s.v. *tolm* [recorded as a loan-word]: *hólmr* nom.).

802. (nMO) [tɔˈɬɔstɑɣ], (gen.) [hɔˈɬɔstɑj], (*ann*) *an Tolstadh* [ɑn̪ˌ ˈn̪hɔˈɬɔstɑɣ] [i.e. [ɑn̪ˌ ˈn̪hɔˈɬɔstɑɣ] 'in *Tolstadh*'].

iasaid à SL **Skarð-holm* cusp. '(am) bealach-mheall', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *skarð* n. 'sgor; beàrn, bealach'.[800]

A rèir na fianaise, a-rèist, is coltach gur h-ann à SL **Holm* cusp.[801] san t-seagh '(an t-)eilean beag' a tha GA *Tolm* (< GT **Holm*) – mar sin MacIver 1934, 77, agus Taylor 2011, s.v. (Brl.) *Holm* – agus gun deach an t-ainm air iasad na Brl. *Holm* mus deach GA [h] /h/ thoisich bhunasach na [t̪ʰ] /t/ le cùl-chinntinn §33.

#331 *Tolstadh* TSR
[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪ˌs̪t̪aɣ], (gin.) *Tholstaidh* [ˈhɔl̪ˌs̪t̪aj], no ***Tolstadh a' Chaolais*** [ˌt̪ʰɔl̪ˌs̪t̪a ˈxɯːɫiʃ], (gin.) *Tholstadh a' Chaolais* [ˌhɔl̪ˌs̪t̪a ˈxɯːɫiʃ]; NB195380. 1654, 1703 *Tollosta*; 1718 *Tolsta*; 1726 *Tolisk* [*sic*]; 1750M, 1776, 1789, 1794, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Tolsta*; 1821, 1822 *Tolstay Chulish*; 1843–82 *Tolasdadh á Chaolais*; 1846 *Tolstay Culish*; 1864 *Tolastag aChaolais*, *Tolastay B.*; 1869 *Tolstay Chulish*; 1875, 87, 161 *Tolsta*, *Tolsta Chulish*; 1895 *Tolasdadh a Chaolais*; 1903HO *Tolastay a Chaolais*; 1932, 300 *Tolasta*; 1934, 11 *Tolasta a Chaolais*; 1973 *Tolastadh Chaolais*; 1974 *Tolsta Chaolais*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Tolastadh a Chaolais*‖*Tolsta Chaolais*.

> Oftedal 1954, 378–79: **Tolstachoelish** [tɔɪɔ̀stɑɣ], (gin.) [hɔɪɔ̀stɑj].[802] Cha chuirear GA *chaolais* [xʌ́ːɪiʃ], an tuiseal ginideach aig *caolas* [kʌ́ːɬəs], ris ach gus an t-àite a dhealachadh ri *Tolstadh fo Thuath* (#332). 'S e an caolas am meur an ear aig GA *Loch Ròg* (#107). 'S e SL **Þolfsstaðir* '(an) tuathanas aig *Þolfr*', à ainm fireannaich, an fhreumhachd as fhreagarraiche, coim. na h-ainmean tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh *Tolvstad* (*NG* III, 28), *Tol*(*v*)*sgard·en* (*NG* XII, 54) agus *Tolsrud* (*NG* II, 231). Dh'fhàsadh fuaimreag còmhnaidh mar bu trice eadar *l* agus *f* sa Ghàidhlig. Gabhar ris am bitheantas gur h-e teannachadh coimeasach anmoch air SL *Þórolfr* f. a th' anns an ainm *Þolfr* f.; chan eil teist air ann an Nirribhidh ro 1300 agus cha nochd e idir ann an Innis Tìle. Mas ceart am bunachas seo, tha e a' ciallachadh aon chuid gun deach an t-ainm a thoirt air iasad leis na Gàidheil gu math anmoch, faisg air no fiù 's an dèidh do dh'uachdranachd nan Lochlannach tighinn

800. Chan eil cinnt cò tùs an t-sònraicheir san ainm beinne *Sgùrr Thuilm* ann an ceann Ghleann Fhionnain NM937879 agus air taobh an iar-thuath a' Chuilthinn NG430243, san Eilean Sgitheanach. A thaobh na beinne ann an Gleann Fhionnain, gheibhear *Sgòr Choileam* aig toiseach na 20mh linne: (1885–1900) *Sgòr Choileam*, (1899–1902) *Sgùrr Thuilm*, (*The Scottish Mountaineering Club Journal* XIV (1917), 64, 100) *Sgòr Choileam* ach (d. 155, agus 'May 1906' ri dealbh camara) *Sgùrr Thuilm*. Mu ainm na beinne san Eilean Sgitheanach, canaidh Forbes (1923, 327) gur h-e '*Tulm*'s peak' as ciall dha, air ainm fireannaich – agus *Dùn Tuilm* NG411742 agus *Eilean Thuilm* (Brl. *Holm Island* NG525514, shuas) san aon eilean, mar an ceudna.

801. Mothaichear gun ainmichear Tìl. *hólmr* seach SL *holmr* air uairean (m.e. MacLennan 1925, s.v. *tolm* [air a chlàradh mar fhacal-iasaid]: *hólmr* ainmn.).

802. (nMO) [tɔˈɬɔstɑɣ], (gin.) [hɔˈɬɔstɑj], (*ann*) *an Tolstadh* [ɑn̪ˌ ˈn̪hɔˈɬɔstɑɣ] [.i. [ɑn̪ˌ ˈn̪hɔˈɬɔstɑɣ]].

Þolfr is an older name than hitherto assumed (and possibly not a contraction of *Þórolfr*). There are other possibilities of explaining [tɔʟɔ̀stɑɣ], such as ON **Holmsstaðir*, **Hǫlgastaðir* and **Holfsstaðir*, but the personal names *Holmr* m., *Hǫlgi* m. and *Holfr* m. are all so rare that we do not expect to find one of them twice within a restricted area in identical place-names.

'The name may also be connected with ON **Tǫlgustaðir*, from a river name **Talga* f. "the cutting one", derived from the verb *talga* "to cut". But only one certain instance is known of such a river name, the present *Tolga* in Norway, and the name is not attested in Old Norse. Compare, however, *De Tolgens*, *Tolgegjo* and *Tolgali* in Shetland (Jakobsen 1936, 243).'

The name of a township in An Taobh Siar, opposite *Beàrnaraigh* #51. As Oftedal explains, *an caolas* 'the straits' – with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *caolas* m. (#95) – is used as specific in the genitive in order to distinguish this settlement from *Tolstadh* #332 on the east of Lewis. *Tolstadh* is a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with final ON *-staða*, accusative of ON *staðir*[803] 'residence → farm'.

Watson (1904, 271) suggests ON **Tolastaðir*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Toli* m., but **Tolastaðir* would yield ScG *[ˈt̪ʰɔɬə ˌs̪t̪ɑɣ] rather than [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ɬɔ̃ ˌs̪t̪ɑɣ]. As such a name does not occur in Iceland, Shetland or Orkney, MacBain (1922, 111) prefers a derivation from ON **Holustaðir* '(the) hollow or low farm', with the plural weak form of the adjective ON *holr*, but, although ScG *t* may result from ON *h* via delenition, **Holustaðir* fails for the same reason as **Tolastaðir*.

Although an origin from a river name cannot be entirely rejected here or at *Tolstadh* #332, in Sgìre a' Bhac, ON **Þolfsstaðir*[804] seems the most likely derivation for this name.[805]

803. *NSL*, s.v. *stad*; Rygh 1898, 76–78, s.vv. *staðr*, *staðir*. *Staðir* is the plural of ON *staðr* m. 'place, stead'. Hebridean pronunciation does not in fact prove that (pl.) *staðir* was used in place-names, as Nicolaisen claims (2001, 113). For ON *stað-* > ScG [s̪t̪ɑ:], with compensatory lengthening, > [s̪t̪ɑ], with a long vowel shortening in weakly stressed position, > [s̪t̪ɑɣ], with a velar fricative closing an open syllable, cf. the development of the Old Norse element *bólstaðr* (#72) in Gaelic.

804. With a short stressed vowel – not **Þólfsstaðir* as in Evemalm 2017, 34–36.

805. Marstrander (1915, 129) suggests that the personal name *Þólfr* (leg. *Þolfr*) becomes EG *Tob́* (Cogad Gaedil re Gallaib̀ (c. 11th c.; Todd 1867, 78–79)), i.e. EG **Tolb́*, but with loss of the lateral before [β] due to the influence of western Norwegian dialects. However, Todd (ibid.) reads (Dublin MS) *Tolbarb* (leg. *Tolbarb́*) and (Brussels MS) *Tobair* (leg. *Tob́air*). The forms of this name are quite corrupt but Todd supposes that

gu crìch, air neo tha an t-ainm *Þolfr* nas sine na thathas air a bhith an dùil (agus is dòcha nach eil e na theannachadh air *Þórolfr*). Thèid [tɔʟɔ̀stɑɣ] a mhìneachadh air dòighean eile, a leithid SL **Holmsstaðir*, **Hǫlgastaðir* agus **Holfsstaðir*, ach tha na h-ainmean pearsanta *Holmr* f., *Hǫlgi* f. agus *Holfr* f. cho ainneamh 's nach sùilichear a bhith a' lorg fear dhiubh dà uair ann an ceàrnaidh chuingealaichte ann an ainmean-àite co-ionann.

A thuilleadh, is dòcha gu bheil an t-ainm ceangailte ri SL **Tǫlgustaðir*, às an ainm aibhne **Talga* b. 'an tè a ghearras', air a thàrmachadh sa ghnìomhair *talga* 'geàrr'. Ach chan fhaighear lorg ach air aon eisimpleir chinnteach de leithid de dh'ainm aibhne, *Tolga* an latha an-diugh ann an Nirribhidh, agus chan fhaighear teist air an ainm san Lochlannais. Dèan coimeas, ge-tà, ri *De Tolgens*, *Tolgegjo* agus *Tolgali* ann an Sealtainn (Jakobsen 1936, 243).

An t-ainm air baile fearainn air An Taobh Siar, mu choinneimh *Bheàrnaraigh* #51. Mar a mhìnicheas Oftedal, cleachdar *an caolas* – leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *caolas* f. (#95) – na shònraichear san tuiseal ghinideach gus an tuineachadh seo a dhealachadh ri *Tolstadh* #332 air taobh an ear Leòdhais. Tha *Tolstadh* na ainm Gàidhlig air iasad às an Lochlannais, le SL *-staða* deiridh, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *staðir*[803] 'fàrdach → tuathanas'.

Molaidh Watson (1904, 271) SL **Tolastaðir*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Toli* f., ach bheireadh **Tolastaðir* GA *[ˈt̪ʰɔɬə ˌs̪t̪ɑɣ] seach [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ɬɔ̃ ˌs̪t̪ɑɣ]. Seach nach lorgar a leithid de dh'ainm ann an Innis Tìle, Sealtainn no Arcaibh, 's fheàrr le MacBain (1922, 111) bunachas à SL **Holustaðir* '(an) tuathanas còsach no ìosal', le cruth lag iolra a' bhuadhair SL *holr*, ach, ged a dh'fhaodas GA *t* èirigh à SL *h* le dì-shèimheachadh, fairtlichidh air **Holustaðir* air an aon adhbhar ri **Tolastaðir*.

Ged nach urrainnear bunachas à ainm aibhne a chur gu buileach an dàrna taobh an seo no ann an *Tolstadh* #332, ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, 's e SL **Þolfsstaðir*[804] am bunachas as coltaiche airson an ainme seo.[805]

803. *NSL*, s.v. *stad*; Rygh 1898, 76–78, s.vv. *staðr*, *staðir*. Is e *staðir* an cruth iolra aig SL *staðr* f. 'àite, bad'. Cha dhearbhaich fuaimneachadh Innse Gall gur h-e (iol.) *staðir* a bha ga chleachdadh ann an ainmean-àite idir, mar a chumas Nicolaisen a-mach (2001, 113). Airson SL *stað-* > GA [s̪t̪ɑ:], le fadachadh cuidhteachaidh, > [s̪t̪ɑ], le fuaimreig fhada air a giorrachadh ann an suidheachadh lag-bheumte, > [s̪t̪ɑɣ], le suathach sgannach a' dùnadh lide fhosgailte, coim. fàs na h-eileamaid Lochlannais *bólstaðr* (#72) sa Ghàidhlig.

804. Le fuaimreig bheumte ghoirid – chan e **Þólfsstaðir* mar a tha ann an Evemalm 2017, 34–36.

805. Cuiridh Marstrander (1915, 129) air shùilibh gun nochd an t-ainm pearsanta *Þólfr* (leugh *Þolfr*) ann an GT *Tob́* (Cogad Gaedil re Gallaib̀ (mun 11mh l.; Todd 1867, 78–79)), .i. GT **Tolb́*, ach le call an taobhaich ro [β] a chionn buaidh dualchainntean an iar Nirribhidh. Gidheadh, leughaidh Todd (ibid.) (LS Bhaile Àth Cliath) *Tolbarb* (leugh *Tolbarb́*) agus (LS na Bruiseil) *Tobair* (leugh *Tob́air*). Tha cruthan an ainme seo gu math coirbte ach

It is said locally that the name *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* comes from the Gaelic phrase (*a'*) *dol a-staigh a' chaolais* [d̥ɔɬ̪ ə ˌsta̤ɣ ə ˈxɯːɬ̪iʃ] (with the adverb without motion *a-staigh* 'in' rather than the adverb of motion *a-steach* 'in(to)', and with ungrammatical palatalisation of the final consonant) (Cox 2002a, 48).

#332 *Tolstadh* BAC (Eng. *North Tolsta, South Tolsta*)
[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤ɣ], (gen.) *Tholstaidh* [ˈhɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤j]. 1654, 1701 *Tollofta*; 1750 *Talsto Head*; 1750M, 1776 *Tolsta*; 1789, 1797 *Tolsa*; 1794, 1804, 1807, 1845 *Tolsta*; road sign *Tola·stadh*.

The name of two townships in Sgìre a' Bhac, distinguished from each other (and from *Tolstadh* or *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331) in An Taobh Siar) by the adverbial phrases ScG *fo dheas* and *fo thuath* 'southern; northern' (#166):[806]

Tolstadh fo Dheas [ˌt̪ʰɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤ fɔ ˈjæs̪] (gen.) *Tholstaidh fo Dheas* [ˌhɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤j fɔ ˈjæs̪]. 1718 *South Tolsta*; 1726 *South Folista* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *South Tolstay*; 1843–82 *Tolastadh 'o Dheas*; 1846 *South Tolstay*.

Tolstadh fo Thuath [ˌt̪ʰɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤ fɔ ˈhuə] (gen.) *Tholstaidh fo Thuath* [ˌhɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤j fɔ ˈhuə]; NB535473. 1718 *North Tolsta*; 1726 *North Folista* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822, 1832 *North Tolstay*; 1843–82 *Tolastaidh 'o Thuath*; 2007, road sign *Tolastadh bho Thuath‖North Tolsta*.

Oftedal 1954, 390: '**North Tolsta** [tɔʟɔ̀stɑɣ (fɔ huə)] ...'[807]

The same name as *Tolstadh* #331, in An Taobh Siar.

At the beginning of the 19th century, *Tolstadh fo Thuath* and *Tolstadh fo Dheas* were both tacks (small leased farms) but were broken into crofts in 1829. In 1852, *Tolstadh fo Thuath* became a tack once more and, for some reason or other, *Tol·stadh fo Dheas* came to be called *Tolstadh fo Thuath*, the former name falling out of use. In 1922, the tack was returned to crofts and called *Am Baile Ùr* #44 'the new village' (Eng. *New Tolsta*) (Lawson 2011, 10–13).

Cf. *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212.

#333 *Tom an Fhuadain* CDL
[ˌt̪ʰɔ̃ũm ə ˈɸuə̥ɖaɲ̪], (gen.) *Thom an Fhuadain* [ˌhɔ̃ũm ə ˈɸuə̥ɖaɲ̪]; NB395146. 1821

Torolḋ was probably intended (ibid., 276: '*Tolbart* [*sic*] for which we should probably read *Torolf* ').

806. These are often written *bho dheas, bho thuath*, as though the preposition were ScG *bho*ᴸ, *o*ᴸ 'from'; cf. ScG *bho dheireadh* (leg. *fo dheireadh*) 'at last' (Cox 2017, 341, §359 (ix)).

807. (nMO) [tɔˈɬɔstɑɣ] ([tɔˈɬɔstɑɣ fɔ huə]), (*ann*) *an Tolstadh* [n̥h-] [i.e. [n̥ʰhɔˈɬɔstɑɣ] 'in *Tol·stadh*'], *Àird Tholstaidh* [ɑːɖ hɔˈɬɔstɑj] 'the headland of—'.

Thèid a ràdh gu h-ionadail gur h-ann às an abairt Ghàidhlig (*a'*) *dol a-staigh a' chaolais* [d̥ɔɬ̪ ə ˌsta̤ɣ ə ˈxɯːɬ̪iʃ] a thig an t-ainm *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (leis a' cho-ghnìomhair neo-ghluasaid *a-staigh* seach an co-ghìomhair gluasaid *a-steach*, agus le càireanachadh neo-ghràmarach sa chonnraig dheiridh) (Cox 2002a, 48).

#332 *Tolstadh* BAC
[ˈt̪ʰɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤ɣ], (gin.) *Tholstaidh* [ˈhɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤j]. 1654, 1701 *Tollofta*; 1750 *Talsto Head*; 1750M, 1776 *Tolsta*; 1789, 1797 *Tolsa*; 1794, 1804, 1807, 1845 *Tolsta*; soighne rathaid *Tolastadh*.

An t-ainm air dà bhaile fearainn ann an Sgìre a' Bhac, air an dealachadh ri chèile (agus ri *Tolstadh* no *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* (#331) air An Taobh Siar) leis na h-abairtean co-ghnìomhaireach GA *fo dheas* agus *fo thuath* sa bhrìgh 'san àird a deas; san àird a tuath' (#166):[806]

Tolstadh fo Dheas [ˌt̪ʰɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤ fɔ ˈjæs̪], (gin.) *Tholstaidh fo Dheas* [ˌhɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤j fɔ ˈjæs̪]. 1718 *South Tolsta*; 1726 *South Folista* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822 *South Tolstay*; 1843–82 *Tolastadh 'o Dheas*; 1846 *South Tolstay*.

Tolstadh fo Thuath [ˌt̪ʰɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤ fɔ ˈhuə], (gin.) *Tholstaidh fo Thuath* [ˌhɔl̪̆ ˌsta̤j fɔ ˈhuə]; NB535473. 1718 *North Tolsta*; 1726 *North Folista* [*sic*]; 1821, 1822, 1832 *North Tolstay*; 1843–82 *Tolastaidh 'o Thuath*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Tolastadh bho Thuath‖North Tolsta*.

Oftedal 1954, 390: **North Tolsta** [tɔʟɔ̀stɑɣ (fɔ huə)] ...[807]

An t-aon ainm ri *Tolstadh* #331, air An Taobh Siar.

Aig toiseach na 19mh linne, bha *Tolstadh fo Thuath* is *Tolstadh fo Dheas* nan dà thac ach chaidh am briseadh nan croitean ann an 1829. Ann an 1852, chaidh *Tolstadh fo Thuath* a dhèanamh na thac a-rithist agus, air adhbhar air choreigin, chaidh an t-ainm *Tolstadh fo Thuath* a thoirt air *Tolstadh fo Dheas* agus chaidh an t-ainm mu dheireadh à bith. Ann an 1922, chaidh an tac a bhriseadh na chroitean uair eile agus *Am Baile Ùr* #44 a thoirt air (Brl. *New Tolsta*) (Lawson 2011, 10–13).

Coim. *Gleann Tholstaidh* #212.

#333 *Tom an Fhuadain* CDL
[ˌt̪ʰɔ̃ũm ə ˈɸuə̥ɖaɲ̪], (gin.) *Thom an Fhuadain* [ˌhɔ̃ũm ə ˈɸuə̥ɖaɲ̪]; NB395146. 1821

saoilidh Todd gur h-iongantach mana h-e *Torolḋ* a bha fo rùn (ibid., 276: '*Tolbart* [*sic*] for which we should probably read *Torolf* ').

806. Sgrìobhar *bho dheas, bho thuath* gu tric, mar gur h-e an roimhear GA *bho*ˢ, *o*ˢ a bha an làthair; coim. GA *bho dheireadh* (leugh *fo dheireadh*) 'mu dheireadh' (Cox 2019, 341, §359 (ix)).

807. (nMO) [tɔˈɬɔstɑɣ] ([tɔˈɬɔstɑɣ fɔ huə]), (*ann*) *an Tolstadh* [n̥h-] [.i. [n̥ʰhɔˈɬɔstɑɣ]], *Àird Tholstaidh* [ɑːɖ hɔˈɬɔstɑj].

Tuome a Nudin; 1843–82 *Tom an Fhuadain, Mol Bàn Tom an Fhuadain*.

The name of part of the township *Grabhair* #217, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with ScG *tom* m. 'hillock, mound, hill' (#15) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *fuadan* m. 'wanderer, vagrant'.

South of *Tom an Fhuadain* lies *Bealach an Imrich* 'the pass of the flitting', but such a name usually denotes the move by some of the villagers to the sheilings at the beginning of summer and it is unlikely that this has anything to do with the name *Tom an Fhuadain*.

#334 *Tom Shiadair* CLA

*[ˌt̪ʰɔ̃ũm ˈhiaɖ̪ə̯ɾʲ], (gen.) *Thom Shiadair* *[ˌhɔ̃ũm ˈhiaɖ̪ə̯ɾʲ]; NB332497. 1843–82 *Tom Shiadair*.

The name of a hill in *Brù* #82, in Sgìre a' Chladaich; a Gaelic name, with ScG *tom* m. 'hillock, hill' (#15) and genitive of ScG **Siadar*, a loan-name from ON **Sætr* m. '(the) sheiling'; cf. *Siadar* #296.

#335 *Tòpsann* BRN (Eng. *Tobson*)

[ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪ː], (gen.) *Thòpsann* [ˈhɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪ː]; NB139385. 1726 *Hopsin*; 1821, 1822 *Tobson*; 1843–82 *Tobson or Tobsunn, Sealabhal Thobsunn*[808]; 2007 *Tobson*‖*Tobson*; road sign *Tobson*.

> Oftedal 1954, 380–81: '**Tobson** (CB) [tɔːbsən], (MO) [tɔːhpəsən], [tɔːhpsən]. The discrepancy between Borgstrøm's notation and my own probably reflects a dialectal difference. Borgstrøm took his version down in *Briacleit* #78 or *Circeabost* #125,[809] while my informant was a native of **Tobson**. The varying pronunciation does not influence the historical interpretation of the name; although the phonemic opposition [b] ~ [hp] is of great significance in most other cases, it is here little more than a non-phonemic variation before [s].[810] The first element is certainly ON *hópr* m. "bay, cove", also found as a generic term in Lewis Gaelic in the form *tòb* [tɔːb]. The Old Norse name refers to the present *Tòb Bhalasaigh* (#62). Borgstrøm (1940, 218) gives two Old Norse equivalents: **Hóp-sund* "(the) cove-sound" and

808. The name of the nearest of three hills north of the village: *Sealabhal Thòpsann*, *Sealabhal Mheadhanach* and *Sealabhal Bhiorach* '*Tòpsann*'s, the middle and the pointed *Sealabhal*'.

809. Both in *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51.

810. Forms in [ˌb̪ˠ] may have arisen as a result of analogical levelling with ScG *tòb* [ˌt̪ʰɔːb̪ˠ] 'inlet, bay'.

Tuome a Nudin; 1843–82 *Tom an Fhuadain, Mol Bàn Tom an Fhuadain*.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Grabhair* #217, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *tom* f. 'creagan, meall, cnoc' (#15) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmeir GA *fuadan* f. 'falbhanach, siùbhlach'.

Deas air *Tom an Fhuadain*, tha *Bealach an Imrich*, ach bheanadh a leithid de dh'ainm mar a bu trice ris an imrich a dhèante le cuid de mhuinntir a' bhaile chun na h-àirigh aig toiseach an t-samhraidh agus cha choltach gu bheil gnothach aig a seo ris an ainm *Tom an Fhuadain*.

#334 *Tom Shiadair* CLA

*[ˌt̪ʰɔ̃ũm ˈhiaɖ̪ə̯ɾʲ], (gin.) *Thom Shiadair* *[ˌhɔ̃ũm ˈhiaɖ̪ə̯ɾʲ]; NB332497. 1843–82 *Tom Shiadair*.

An t-ainm air cnoc ann am *Brù* #82, ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *tom* f. 'meall, cnoc' (#15) agus an tuiseal ginideach aig GA **Siadar*, ainm-iasaid à SL **Sætr* f. '(an) àirigh'; coim. *Siadar* #296.

#335 *Tòpsann* BRN

[ˈt̪ʰɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪ː], (gin.) *Thòpsann* [ˈhɔːʰp(ə)ˌs̪ən̪ː]; NB139385. 1726 *Hopsin*; 1821, 1822 *Tobson*; 1843–82 *Tobson or Tobsunn, Sealabhal Thobsunn*[808]; 2007 *Tobson*‖*Tobson*; soighne rathaid *Tobson*.

> Oftedal 1954, 380–81: **Tobson** (CB) [tɔːbsən], (MO) [tɔːhpəsən], [tɔːhpsən]. Is iongantach mana h-e eadar-dhealachadh dualchainnteach as adhbhar dhan diofar eadar tras-sgrìobhadh Bhorgstrøm agus am fear agam fhìn. Chlàraich Borgstrøm an cruth aigesan ann am *Briacleit* #78 no *Circeabost* #125,[809] ach 's ann à **Tobson** a bha an neach-fiosrachaidh agamsa. Chan eil buaidh aig an atharrachadh fuaimneachaidh air mìneachadh eachraidheil an ainme; ged a tha an sgaradh fuinn-eòlach [b] ~ [hp] gu math cudromach anns a' chuid as motha de shuidheachaidhean, chan eil ann an seo ach atharrachadh neo-fhuinn-eòlach air thoiseach air [s].[810] Is cinnteach gur h-e SL *hópr* f. 'bàgh' a th' anns a' chiad eileamaid, a lorgar cuideachd na bhriathar seòrsachaidh ann an Gàidhlig Leòdhais sa chruth *tòb* [tɔːb]. Beanaidh an t-ainm Lochlannais ri *Tòb Bhalasaigh* (#62) an latha an-diugh. Bheir Borgstrøm (1940, 218) dà sheise Lochlannais: **Hóp-sund* '(am) bàgh-chaolas' agus

808. An t-ainm air an fhear as fhaisge de thrì chnuic tuath air a' bhaile: *Sealabhal Thòpsann*, *Sealabhal Mheadhanach* agus *Sealabhal Bhiorach*.

809. An dà chuid ann am *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51.

810. Is dòcha gun èirich cruthan ann am [ˌb̪ˠ] mar thoradh air co-rèiteachadh ri GA *tòb* [ˌt̪ʰɔːb̪ˠ].

**Hóp-sandr* "(the) cove-sand (beach)". I prefer the latter possibility, as the former can hardly be justified topographically. A third, and in my opinion even more probable solution, is ON **Hópsenda* acc. "(the) end or head of the cove" – the village is situated at the head of the long *Tòb Bhalasaigh*. The element *endi* is found in various Old Norse place-names, such as *Hlíðarendi* "(the) end of the slope" in Iceland. In Norway, we have **Vat(n)sendi* "(the) end of the lake" (*NG* VII, 427) and **Kílsendi* "(the) end of the cove" (*NG* VIII, 37).'

The name of a township at the head of a long narrow loch (*Tòb Bhalasaigh* (#62)) on the west side of *Beàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with the stem form (*hóp*) or genitive (*hóps*) of the noun ON *hópr* m. 'bay, inlet' as specific. As regards the generic, ON *sandr* m. 'sand' can be ruled out as there is no sand here worth noting – although there is in the bay on the other side of the ridge of land from *Tòb Bhalasaigh* called ScG *Camus Sanndaig* [ˌkʰãməs̪ ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɡ̊ʲ] 'the bay of *Sanndaig*' NB137383, with a loan-name from ON **Sand-vík* '(the) sand-bay' (cf. #286). ON *endi* m. 'end; head' can also be ruled out, because one would expect palatal [ʃ] before it in Gaelic.

As regards ON *sund* nt., Norn *sund* is recorded in Shetland in the sense 'small narrow bay where boats can put in' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.), which would be particularly suitable in the case in *Beàrnaraigh*. It is probable that the sense of the Old Norse name **Hóp(s)sund* was '(the) narrow inlet (with a landing place at its head) of the bay (i.e. *Tòb Bhalasaigh*)'.[811]

In Gaelic, Macaulay (1972, 335) writes *Tòpasunn*, which would represent [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰpəˌs̪ən̪̊], with an epenthetic vowel – earlier *[ˈt̪ʰɔːʰpˌs̪ən̪̊]; cf. ScG *Òpasaigh* (Borgstrøm 1940, 218) [ɔːhpəsɛj], from CSc. **Hópsøy* '(the) island of the bay'.

For ON *sund*, cf. *Gabhsann* #188.

#336 *Tòranis* BRN

[ˈt̪ʰɔːrəˌniʃ], (gen.) *Thòranis* [ˈhɔːrəˌniʃ]; NB152334. 1821 *Harbour of Tornish*; 1822 *Tornish, Harbour of Tornish*; 1843–82 *Aird Thòranish, Beinn Thòranish, Loch Thòranish, Amhuinn Thòranish*; 1846 *Tornish*.

The name of a deserted settlement on a promontory west of the township *Iarsadar* #225, in Beàrnaraigh (Lawson 2008, 169); a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, perhaps from ON **Þórunes*, with genitive of the woman's name ON *Þóra* f. and ON *nes* nt. 'promontory' §3 (i), or from ON **Þórunnarnes*, with gen-

811. Note also that ON *sund* is used in the sense 'crossing', e.g. in several names by the river Glomma, in Hedmark, Norway, where the name is linked to the landing place as well as the crossing (Tom Schmidt, personal communication).

**Hóp-sandr* '(a') bhàgh-thràigh'. Is fheàrr leam an dàrna fuasgladh, seach nach mòr gun gabh a' chiad fhear fhìreanachadh a thaobh cruth na tìre. 'S e an treas fuasgladh, agus nam bheachd-sa am fear as coltaiche, SL **Hópsenda* cusp. 'ceann a' bhàigh' – tha am baile air a shuidheachadh aig ceann an tàib fhada *Tòb Bhalasaigh*. Gheibhear an eileamaid *endi* ann an caochladh ainmean Lochlannais, mar a tha *Hlíðarendi* 'ceann an leothaid' ann an Innis Tìle. Ann an Nirribhidh, tha **Vat(n)sendi* 'ceann an locha' (*NG* VII, 427) agus **Kílsendi* 'ceann a' bhàigh' (*NG* VIII, 37) againn.

An t-ainm air baile fearainn aig ceann a-staigh locha fhada chaoil (*Tòb Bhalasaigh* (#62)) air taobh an iar *Bheàrnaraigh Mhòr* #51; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, le bun-riochd (*hóp*) no tuiseal ginideach (*hóps*) an ainmeir SL *hópr* f. 'tòb' na shònraichear. A thaobh an t-seòrsaicheir, faodar SL *sandr* f. 'gainmheach' a chur an dàrna taobh seach nach eil gainmheach ann as fhiach aithneachadh – ged a tha gainmheach sa bhàgh air taobh eile an droma talmhainn à *Tòb Bhalasaigh* air a bheil GA *Camus Sanndaig* [ˌkʰãməs̪ ˈs̪ãũn̪̊d̪iɡ̊ʲ] NB137383, le ainm-iasaid à SL **Sand-vík* '(an) gainmheach-bhàgh' (coim. #286). Mar an ceudna, faodar SL *endi* f. 'deireadh, crìoch; ceann' a chur an dàrna taobh, a chionn 's gum bite a' sùileachadh [ʃ] chàireanach air thoiseach air sa Ghàidhlig.

A thaobh SL *sund* n., tha Nòrn *sund* air a chlàradh ann an Sealtainn sa bhrìgh 'bàgh beag cumhang far am faigh eathraichean air tìr' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.), a bhiodh tuilleadh is iomchaidh san t-suidheachadh ann am *Beàrnaraigh*. Is math dh'fhaodte, a-rèist, gur h-e 'bàgh no dol a-steach caol (is laimrig aig a cheann) an tàib (.i. *Tòb Bhalasaigh*)' a bu bhrìgh dhan ainm Lochlannais **Hóp(s)sund*.[811]

Sa Ghàidhlig, sgrìobhaidh Macaulay (1972, 335) *Tòpasunn*, a bhiodh a' riochdachadh [ˈt̪ʰɔːʰpəˌs̪ən̪̊], le fuaimreig còmhnaidh – na bu tràithe *[ˈt̪ʰɔːʰpˌs̪ən̪̊]; coim. GA *Òpasaigh* (Borgstrøm 1940, 218) [ɔːhpəsɛj], à LB **Hópsøy* 'eilean an tàib'.

Airson SL *sund*, coim. *Gabhsann* #188.

#336 *Tòranis* BRN

[ˈt̪ʰɔːrəˌniʃ], (gin.) *Thòranis* [ˈhɔːrəˌniʃ]; NB152334. 1821 *Harbour of Tornish*; 1822 *Tornish, Harbour of Tornish*; 1843–82 *Aird Thòranish, Beinn Thòranish, Loch Thòranish, Amhuinn Thòranish*; 1846 *Tornish*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs air rubha an iar air a' bhaile fearainn *Iarsadar* #225, ann am Beàrnaraigh (Lawson 2008, 169); ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, is dòcha à SL **Þórunes*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm boireannaich SL *Þóra* b. agus SL *nes* n. 'rubha' §3 (i), no à SL **Þórunnarnes*, le tuiseal

811. Mothaich cuideachd gun tèid SL *sund* a chleachdadh sa bhrìgh 'crasg, àite aiseig', m.e. ann an corra ainm ri taobh na h-aibhne Glomma, ann an Hedmark, Nirribhidh, far an ceanglar an t-ainm ris an laimrig cho math ris a' chraisg (Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta).

itive of the woman's name *Þórunn* f.;[812] cf. *Tornes* in Rogaland, Norway (Særheim 2007, 238).

#337 *Torfhstaidh* CDL
[ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ˌs̪taj], (gen.) [ˈhɔɾ̃ˌs̪taj]; NB388200. 1843–82 *Tòrastaidh*, *Loch Thoràstaidh*, (?) *Sgeir Ghlas Thorsdaigh*; 2007 *Torastaigh*‖*Torastay*.

> Oftedal 1954, 403: '**Torastay** [tɑràstɑj] and [tɔrɔ̀stɑj] is ON **Torfastaðir* "*Torfi*'s farm", with ON *Torfi* m., a man's name. *Torfastaðir* is found in Iceland (Lnb.) and **Torfastaðir* in Norway (*NG* X, 407). Two other interpretations are possible but not very probable: (a) ON **Torf-staðr* "(the) peat-place", from ON *torf* nt. "peat" (cf. ScG *tarfhsgeir* [tɑràʃkʹəð] "peat iron" from ON *torf-skeri* m. (#93)); (b) **Hǫrgsstaðr* '(the) site of a [*sic*] cairn or heathen temple', from ON *hǫrgr* m.'

The name of a small settlement and its area on a headland beside an inlet, opposite *Càros* #100, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

In his notes, Oftedal[813] proposes several etymologies: (1) ON **Torfastaðir* '*Torfi*'s farm', with genitive of the man's name ON *Torfi* m. and the plural of ON *staðr* m. 'farm (#331, fn 803); (2) ON **Torf-staðr* '(the) turf-place', with the stem form of the noun ON *torf* nt. 'turf, sod; peat' and ON *staðr* in its common sense 'place'; (3) ON **Þorðarstaðir* (leg. **Þórðarstaðir*) '*Þórðr*'s farm', with genitive of the man's name ON *Þórðr* m.;[814] (4) ON **Hǫrg*(*s*)*staðr* '(the) altar-place (or (the) place of the altar)', with the stem form (or genitive) of the noun ON *hǫrgr* m. 'pagan place of worship; cairn or stone altar' and ON *staðr*.

As regards etymology (2) and ON **Torf-staðr*, the location provides little opportunity for cutting peat; contrast the use of the element ON *torf* in ScG **Tarbh·aigh* (#115), from ON **Torf-á*. Regarding (4), it might be that ON **Hǫrg*(*s*)*staðr* denoted *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, an island in the mouth of *Loch Thorfhstaidh* 'the loch of *Torfhstaidh*' with the ruins of a church dedicated to St Columba, but it would perhaps be an unlikely name for a Christian location. Nn. *horg* (< ON *hǫrgr*) is found in the sense 'cliff, crag', however, and this sense might suit the area. If the solution ON **Hǫrg-staða* acc. pl. '(the) cairn or crag-farm' is correct, ScG [ɣ] (< ON *g* [ɣ]) must have been lost before the name was recorded;

812. But see the question of the development of the woman's name ON *Jórunn* f. (#182, #327).

813. (nMO) [tɑˈrɑstɑj], *Abhainn Thorfhstaidh* [ɑ̃viŋ̩ hɔˈrɔstɑj] 'the river of—'.

814. Oftedal is of the view that this solution is less likely as ON *rð* usually gives ScG /ɾ/ (cf. *Garrabost* #189), but see #182.

ginideach an ainm boireannaich SL *Þórunn* b.;[812] coim. *Tornes* ann an Rogaland, Nirribhidh (Særheim 2007, 238).

#337 *Torfhstaidh* CDL
[ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ˌs̪taj], (gin.) [ˈhɔɾ̃ˌs̪taj]; NB388200. 1843–82 *Tòrastaidh*, *Loch Thoràstaidh*, (?) *Sgeir Ghlas Thorsdaigh*; 2007 *Torastaigh*‖*Torastay*.

> Oftedal 1954, 403: Is e SL **Torfastaðir* 'an tuathanas aig *Torfi*', le SL *Torfi* f., ainm fireannaich, a th' ann an **Torastay** [tɑràstɑj] agus [tɔrɔ̀stɑj]. Lorgar *Torfastaðir* ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.) agus **Torfastaðir* ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* X, 407). Tha dà mhìneachadh eile ann ach chan eil iad ro choltach: (a) SL **Torf-staðr* '(am) mòine-àite', à SL *torf* n. 'mòine' (coim. GA *tarfhsgeir* [tɑràʃkʹəð] 'iarann mònach' à SL *torf-skeri* f. (#93)); (b) **Hǫrgsstaðr* '(an) làrach aig càrn no teampall pàganach [*sic*]', à SL *hǫrgr* f.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag agus a àrainn air àird ri taobh tàib, mu choinneimh *Chàrois* #100, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Na notaichean, molaidh Oftedal[813] corra fhreumhachd: (1) SL **Torfastaðir* 'an tuathanas aig *Torfi*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Torfi* f. agus an cruth iolra aig SL *staðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#331, bn 803); (2) SL **Torf-staðr* '(an) ceap-àite', le bun-riochd an ainme SL *torf* n. 'ceap, fòid, sgrath; mòine' agus SL *staðr* na bhrìgh bhitheanta 'àite'; (3) SL **Þorðarstaðir* (leugh **Þórðarstaðir*) 'an tuathanas aig *Þórðr*', le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Þórðr* f.;[814] (4) SL **Hǫrg*(*s*)·*staðr* '(an t-)altar-àite (no àite na h-altarach)', le bun-riochd (no tuiseal ginideach) an ainmeir SL *hǫrgr* f. 'àite-adhraidh pàganach; càrn no altar cloiche' agus SL *staðr*.

A thaobh freumhachd (2) agus SL **Torf-staðr*, cha sholar an t-àite seo mòran cothruim air mòine a bhuain; iomsgaraich cleachdadh na h-eileamaid SL *torf* ann an GA **Tarbhaigh* (#115), à SL **Torf-á*. A thaobh (4), dh'fhaodte gun robh SL **Hǫrg*(*s*)*staðr* a' beantainn ri *Eilean Chaluim Chille* #173, eilean ann am beul *Loch Thorfhstaidh* le làraich eaglaise air a coisrigeadh ris an Naomh Calum Cille, ach is dòcha gum biodh a leithid de dh'ainm ao-coltach airson àite Chrìosdaidh. Lorgar Nn. *horg* (< SL *hǫrgr*) sa bhrìgh 'bearradh, creag', ge-tà, agus dh'fhaodte gum freagradh a' bhrìgh seo ris an àrainn. Nan robh am fuasgladh SL **Hǫrg-staða* cusp. iol. '(an) càrn no creag-thuathanas' ceart, feumar gun deach GA [ɣ] (< SL *g* [ɣ]) a

812. Ach faic a' cheist a thaobh fàs an ainm boireannaich SL *Jórunn* b. (#182, #327).

813. (nMO) [tɑˈrɑstɑj], *Abhainn Thorfhstaidh* [ɑ̃viŋ̩ hɔˈrɔstɑj].

814. Saoilidh Oftedal gu bheil am fuasgladh seo nas ao-coltaiche seach gun toir SL *rð* GA /ɾ/ mas as trice (coim. *Garrabost* #189), ach faic #182.

contrast ScG *Borghaston* #69 from ON **Borg-stafn* or OWNorn **Borg-stamn*, for which ScG [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃ɣəˌn̪s̪tɔn] was recorded, although [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃-əˌn̪s̪tɔn] is usually heard today.[815] The long vowel in (3) ON **Þórðarstaðir* would not yield ScG [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ˌn̪s̪taj]. (1) ON **Torfastaða* acc. pl. '*Torfi*'s farm' is the most straightforward solution; for the alternation *o* ~ *a*, see §43 (i).

#338 *Torraigh* ÙIG

[ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj], (gen.) *Thorraigh* [ˈhɔɾɛj]; NB072175. 1821 *Torray, a pendicle of Balnicol*; 1822 *Torray*; 1843–82 *Tórraidh*; 1860 *Toryaidh*, *Cleite Thorraidh*; 1846 *Torray*.

The name of a deserted settlement in the south of Ùig, on the north side of *Loch Reusort* 'the loch of **Reusort*' (#112); a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse.

Evemalm (2017, 142) takes this loan-name to be from ON **Þórðarey*, with genitive of the man's name ON *Þórðr* f. and ON *ey* f. 'island', although there is no island in the vicinity it might denote. She sees a parallel in several other names in Lewis and cites ScG *Eilean Thoraidh* 'the island of *Toraidh*' NB421201, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, although the loan-name here is ScG *Tòraigh* *[ˈt̪ʰɔːɾaj] (cf. (nMO) [tɔːɾqj]).[816] It is more likely that ScG *Torraigh* in Ùig is in origin a river name, deriving from a form in ON *á* f. 'river'.

In addition to the Ùig *Torraigh*, ScG *Torraigh* *[ˈt̪ʰɔɾaj] ((MM 64) [ˈtʰɔʀaj]) NB438429 occurs in Sgìre a' Bhac,[817] and *Toraigh* *[ˈt̪ʰɔɾaj], (gen.) *[ˈhɔɾaj] ((nMO) *Abhainn Thoraigh* [ãviɲ̟ˈhɔɾaj̝] 'the river of **Toraigh*' NB375488 in Sgìre a' Chladaich.[818]

It is highly likely that *Torraigh* BAC and *Toraigh* CLA also denoted rivers, whether or not their initial elements have the same origin as *Torraigh* ÙIG. Formally, ScG [ʀ] /ʀ/ is distinguished from [ɾ] /r/ in the dialect, although one might consider that /ʀ/ was weakened to /r/ or that the name *Toraigh* was borrowed at a different period. Cf. ScG *Loch Bharabhat* [ˌɬ̪ɔx ˈvaɾəˌvaʰt̪] 'the loch of **Barabhat*', e.g. at NB098353 in Ùig, with a loan-name probably from ON **Borg-*

815. For ON *hǫrgr* in other loan-names, cf. ScG *Na h-Orgh* (*Na Horgh*) (#315 (ii), fn 765), in Barra; and in Lewis, perhaps *Allt Sròin Thorghal* [ˌɑuɬ̪t̪ s̪tɾɔ̃ːɲ̪ ˈhɔɾ̃ɣɑɬ̪] (as opposed to *-Thorrghal* -[ˈhɔɾ̃ɣɑɬ̪] as recorded in the source) 'the stream of the promontory of **Thorghal*) NB210429, in *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258 (Cox 1987 II, 23), and *Tairtheabhal* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃ahəˌvɑɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃ahəˌvɑɬ̪] NB193405, in *An Dùn* #170 (ibid., 224).

816. (1843–82) *Eilean Thòrraidh*; (2020) *Eilean Thoraidh*.

817.(1843–82) *Thorridh, Airidhean Thorridh, Allt Thorridh*.

818. (1843–82) *Amhuinn Thórraidh*; (1888–1913) *Torray River*; (2020) *Abhainn Thoraigh*; cf. (1843–82) *Torraidh Uachdrach* NB37904902 (where there was a sheiling (Canmore ID131385)) and *Torraidh Iochdrach* NB37374866 (where there was a farm (Canmore ID131386)).

chall mus deach an t-ainm a chlàradh; iomsgaraich GA *Borghaston* #69 à SL **Borg-stafn* no SNòrnI **Borg-stamn*, dhan deach GA [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃ɣəˌn̪s̪tɔn] a chlàradh, ged a chluinnear [ˈb̥ɔɾ̃-əˌn̪s̪tɔn] mar as trice an-diugh.[815] Cha toireadh an fhuaimreag fhada ann an (3) SL **Þórðarstaðir* GA [ˈt̪ʰɔɾ̃ˌn̪s̪taj]. 'S e (1) SL **Torfastaða* cusp. iol. 'an tuathanas aig *Torfi*' am fuasgladh as dìriche; airson na h-iomlaide *o* ~ *a*, faic §43 (i).

#338 *Torraigh* ÙIG

[ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj], (gin.) *Thorraigh* [ˈhɔɾɛj]; NB072175. 1821 *Torray, a pendicle of Balnicol*; 1822 *Torray*; 1843–82 *Tórraidh*; 1860 *Toryaidh*, *Cleite Thorraidh*; 1846 *Torray*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs ann an ceann a deas Ùig, air taobh a tuath *Loch Reusort* (#112); ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais.

Bheir Evemalm (2017, 142) an t-ainm-iasaid seo à SL **Þórðarey*, le tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich SL *Þórðr* f. agus SL *ey* b. 'eilean', ged nach eil eilean faisg air an àite ris am buineadh e. Chì i a sheise ann an corra ainm eile ann an Leòdhas agus ainmichidh i GA *Eilean Thoraidh* NB421201, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, ged as e GA *Tòraigh* *[ˈt̪ʰɔːɾaj] (coim. (nMO) [tɔːɾqj]) an t-ainm-iasaid an seo.[816] Tha e nas coltaiche gur h-e ainm aibhne a th' ann an GA *Torraigh* ann an Ùig bho thùs, a' tàrmachadh ann an cruth ann an SL *á* b. 'abhainn'.

A thuilleadh air *Torraigh* ann an Ùig, tha GA *Torraigh* *[ˈt̪ʰɔɾaj] ((MM 64) [ˈtʰɔʀaj]) NB438429 ann an Sgìre a' Bhac,[817] is *Toraigh* *[ˈt̪ʰɔɾaj], (gin.) *[ˈhɔɾaj] ((nMO) *Abhainn Thoraigh* [ãviɲ̟ˈhɔɾaj̝] NB375488 ann an Sgìre a' Chladaich.[818]

Is ro choltach gum beanadh *Torraigh* BAC agus *Toraigh* CLA ri aibhnichean mar an ceudna, às bith a bheil an t-aon bhunachas aig an eileamaid thoisich aca is a th' aig *Torraigh* ÙIG. Gu foirmeil, dealaichear GA [ʀ] /ʀ/ ri [ɾ] /r/ anns an dualchainnt, ged a dh'fhaodte beachdachadh gun deach /ʀ/ a lagachadh na /r/ air neo gun deach an t-ainm *Toraigh* air iasad aig atharrachadh ama. Coim. GA *Loch Bharabhat* [ˌɬ̪ɔx ˈvaɾəˌvaʰt̪], m.e. aig NB098353 ann an Ùig, le ainm-iasaid is math dh'fhaodte à SL **Borg-vatn* '(an) dùn-

815. Airson SL *hǫrgr* ann an ainmean-iasaid eile, coim. GA *Na h-Orgh* (*Na Horgh*) (#315 (ii), bn 765), ann am Barraigh; agus ann an Leòdhas, is dòcha *Allt Sròin Thorghal* [ˌɑuɬ̪t̪ s̪tɾɔ̃ːɲ̪ ˈhɔɾ̃ɣɑɬ̪] (seach *-Thorrghal* -[ˈhɔɾ̃ɣɑɬ̪] mar a chaidh a chlàradh san tobair) NB210429, ann am *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* #258 (Cox 1987 II, 23), agus *Tairtheabhal* [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃ahəˌvɑɬ̪], [ˈt̪ʰaɾ̃ahəˌvɑɬ̪] NB193405, air *An Dùn* #170 (ibid., 224).

816. (1843–82) *Eilean Thòrraidh*; (2020) *Eilean Thoraidh*.

817. (1843–82) *Thorridh, Airidhean Thorridh, Allt Thorridh*.

818. (1843–82) *Amhuinn Thórraidh*; (1888–1913) *Torray River*; (2020) *Abhainn Thoraigh*; coim. (1843–82) *Torraidh Uachdrach* NB37904902 (far an robh àirigh (Canmore ID131385)) agus *Torraidh Iochdrach* NB37374866 (far an robh tuathanas (Canmore ID131386)).

vatn '(the) fort-loch';[819] contrast ScG *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈg̊l̥̃õũm], from ON **Borgin á Glumm* 'the fort—' #48, and ScG *Borgh* [ˈb̥ɔɔ̃ɣ], from ON **Borg* '(the) fort' #68.

The origin of the first part of the name ScG *Torraigh* is not at all clear, but one might consider the adjective ON *harðr* 'hard, strong, severe'; ON **Harð-á* 'the strong river', with the stem form of the adjective, might yield ScG *[ˈt̪ʰɑɾɛj], cf. ScG *Garrabost* [ˈg̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] from ON **Garðabólstað* acc. #189, giving ScG [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] with *a* ~ *o* alternation §43 (ii); for the delenition, see §33; for the development of the name's ending, cf. ScG *Lacasaigh* from ON **Lax-á* #230. ON *harðr* may occur in Norway in *Halåa* (or *Halaaen*) in Våler, Hedmark, *Harbekken* in Røros, Sør-Trøndelag, and *Harbækken* (probably the same name as *Harrbekken*[820] in Lierne, Sør-Trøndelag), although the derivations are considered very uncertain (*NE* 91).

#339 *Totarol* (TSR)
[ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪], (gen.) *Thotaroil* [ˈhoʰt̪əˌɾɔl], [ˈhoʰt̪əˌɾɑl].

The name of several places in Lewis, e.g. NB181406 in *An Dùn* #170, in An Taobh Siar; NB189342[821] in *Circeabost* #125, in Beàrnaraigh; NB056329 in *Eireastadh* #180, in Ùig; NB316208 in *Bhaltos* #64 and NB255225 in *Baile Ailein* #28, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; and NB324196 in *Tàbost* #316, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

A Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse, with ON *toptar*, genitive of ON *topt*, *tupt* f., as specific. ON *topt* had the senses 'house; house site; or ruins of a house', but it is not known which meaning is relevant here or to whom the house belonged. ON **Toptarhól* very possibly had the same sense as ScG *Cnoc an Taighe* 'the hill of the house' (e.g. NB182398 in *An Dùn* #170), whatever that was.

It is accepted that ScG [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪] and [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] are variants of each other, with *o* ~ *a* alternation §43 (i), and the generic is probably ON *hól*, accusative of ON *hóll* m. 'hill(ock), knoll'. ON **Toptarhól* acc. would yield ScG [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] regularly, and, just as ScG *Dìobadal* #168 gives (gen.) *Dìobadail*, so ScG *Totarol* gives (gen.) *Totaroil*.

However, in another name recorded by Oftedal, the question is not so straightforward: ScG *Abhainn Thotaroil* (nMO) [ãviɲ' ˈhohtərəlʲ], [ãviɲ' ˈhoˇhtərəl] 'the river of *Totaral*' NA999238 (cf. 1843–82 *Totarol* NA995235), in *Mialastadh* #252, Ùig. As regards the generic, Oftedal considers ON *dalr* m. 'valley' and ON *vǫllr* m. 'field'. It would be difficult to accept ON *dalr* here with no trace of the dental

819. Note ScG (1843–82) *Loch Bharabhat*, in *Gabhsann fo Dheas* (#188), spelt *Loch Bhorabhat* in Caimbeul 1973, 37.

820. Tom Schmidt, personal communication.

821. (2007) *Tobhtarol*‖*Totarol*.

loch';[819] iomsgaraich GA *Barra Glom* [ˌb̥ɑɾə ˈg̊l̥̃õũm], à SL **Borgin á Glumm* 'an dùn—' #48, agus GA *Borgh* [ˈb̥ɔɔ̃ɣ], à SL **Borg* '(an) dùn' #68.

Chan eil tùs ciad phairt an ainme GA *Torraigh* soilleir idir, ach dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air a' bhuadhair SL *harðr* 'cruaidh, làidir, teann'; dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **Harð-á* '(an) abhainn làidir', le bun riochd a' bhuadhair , GA *[ˈt̪ʰɑɾɛj], coim. GA *Garrabost* [ˈg̊ɑɾəˌb̥ɔs̪t̪] à SL **Garðabólstað* cusp. #189, a' toirt GA [ˈt̪ʰɔɾɛj] le iomlaid *a* ~ *o* §43 (ii); airson an dì-shèimheachaidh, faic §33; airson fàs dùnadh an ainme, coim. GA *Lacasaigh* à SL **Lax-á* #230. Faodar gum bi SL *harðr* a' nochdadh ann an Nirribhidh ann an *Halåa* (no *Halaaen*) ann an Våler, Hedmark, *Harbekken* ann an Røros, Sør-Trøndelag, agus *Harbækken* (is math dh'fhaodte an t-aon ainm ri *Harrbekken*[820] ann an Lierne, Sør-Trøndelag), ged a dh'aidichear gu bheil na bunachasan gu math mì-chinnteach (*NE* 91).

#339 *Totarol* (TSR)
[ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪], (gin.) *Thotaroil* [ˈhoʰt̪əˌɾɔl], [ˈhoʰt̪əˌɾɑl].

An t-ainm air corra àite ann an Leòdhas, m.e. NB181406 air *An Dùn* #170, air An Taobh Siar; NB189342[821] ann an *Circeabost* #125, ann am Beàrnaraigh; NB056329 ann an *Eireastadh* #180, ann an Ùig; NB316208 ann a' *Bhaltos* #64 agus NB255225 ann am *Baile Ailein* #28, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; agus NB324196 ann an *Tàbost* #316, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch.

Ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad às an Lochlannais, le SL *toptar*, an tuiseal gin-ideach aig SL *topt*, *tupt* b., na shònraichear. B' e 'taigh; àite air an seasadh taigh; no seann taigh briste' a bu bhrìgh do SL *topt*, ach chan aithne dè a' chiall as iomchaidh an seo no cò dha a bhuineadh an taigh. Is iongantach mana h-ionann a' bhrìgh a bh' aig SL **Toptarhól* is a' bhrìgh a bh' aig GA *Cnoc an Taighe* (m.e. NB182398 air *An Dùn* #170), ge be dè bha sin.

Gabhar ris gu bheil GA [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪] agus [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] nan eugsamhailean air a chèile, le iomlaid *o* ~ *a* §43 (i), agus is math dh'fhaodte gur h-ann à SL *hól*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *hóll* f. 'cnoc(an), meall', a tha an seòrsaichear. Bheireadh SL **Toptarhól* cusp. GA [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔl̪], [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑl̪] gu riaghailteach, agus, mar a bheir GA *Dìobadal* #168 (gin.) *Dìobadail*, bheir GA *Totarol* (gin.) *Totaroil*.

Chan eil a' cheist cho sìmplidh ann an ainm eile a chlàraich Oftedal, ge-tà: GA *Abhainn Thotaroil* (nMO) [ãviɲ' ˈhohtərəlʲ], [ãviɲ' ˈhoˇhtərəl] NA999238 (coim. 1843–82 *Totarol* NA995235), ann am *Mialastadh* #252, Ùig. A thaobh an t-seòrsaicheir, beachdaichidh Oftedal air SL *dalr* f. 'gleann' agus SL *vǫllr* f. 'achadh'. Bhiodh e doirbh gabhail ri SL *dalr* an seo gun lorg idir air an deudach sa

819. Mothaich GA (1843–82) *Loch Bharabhat*, ann an *Gabhsann fo Dheas* (#188), air a litreachadh *Loch Bhorabhat* ann an Caimbeul 1973, 37.

820. Tom Schmidt, conaltradh pearsanta.

821. (2007) *Tobhtarol*‖*Totarol*.

in Gaelic, given that the element is so common in Old Norse loan-names in Lewis, as in ScG *Dìobadal* above; neither would ON *vǫllr* suit here as there is apparently no field or meadow in the vicinity. Oftedal rejects ON *fjall* nt. 'mountain' as its Gaelic reflex is seldom slenderised in the genitive[822] – indeed, the same can be said of ON *vǫllr*.

As regards ON *hól* acc., the difficulty is that ON *ó* would yield a long vowel in Gaelic in the first instance, before being shortened regularly to [ɔ] or [ɑ], cf. ScG *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] #307, from ON **Straum-óss* '(the) stream-mouth', i.e. one would expect [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɬ̪] or [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑɬ̪] rather than *[ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾəɬ̪] (following Oftedal's transcription). The only explanation is that the half-stressed vowel [ɔ] (or [ɑ]) has been weakened to [ə], either through reduction of the stress on the syllable itself (giving ScG *[ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ərəɬ̪]) or, perhaps more likely, in imitation of the final of the name of the loch from which *Abhainn Thotaroil* flows, i.e. *Loch Ulladail* [ˌl̪ɔxˈuɬ̪əˌd̪əl] 'the loch of *Ulladal*' NB007239.

As generic, ON *toptir* pl. occurs in *Tom Stèinatotair* (#308), *Cuidhbheatotar* #160 and *Cùileatotar* #163.

ON *topt* was borrowed into Gaelic and ScG *tobhta* f. has the senses 'the site of a house; house ruins; and (as an extension of the latter) the exposed flat top of the stone walls of a blackhouse (i.e. the part not covered by the roof itself)'. In place-names, cf. (1843–82) *Druim Tota Shutharlain* NB517630 in *Tàbost* #315, Nis, and (1843–82) (pl.) *Totannan* NB450412, in *Col* #150, Sgìre a' Bhac; cf. *An Tobhta* (Eng. *Tote*) NG516600 and *Tobhta a' Chòcaire* 'the *tobhta* of the cook' (Eng. *Totachocaire*) NG249498, in Skye, and *An Tobhta Mhòr* 'the large *tobhta*' (Eng. *Totamore*) NM178566, in Coll.

#340 *Tràigh an Teampaill* BRN

[ˌt̪ʰɾaˑj əˈn̪ʲtʲʰãũm̥pi̯ʎ̪],[823] (gen.) *Thràigh an Teampaill* [ˌɹ̥aˑj əˈn̪ʲtʲʰãũm̥pi̯ʎ̪]; NB151407. 1843–82 *Traigh an Teampuill*, *Teampull* (*Bhearnaraidh Bheag*), *Beinn an Teampuill*.

The name of a place at the eastern end of *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, with a graveyard and the site of a church;[824] a Gaelic name, with ScG *tràigh* f. 'beach' and the genitive masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *teampall* m. 'church' (cf. *Baile an Teampaill* #30).

Just to the south of *Tràigh an Teampaill* is the name ScG (1843–82)

822. The present writer has no such examples.

823. (nMO) [trɑj ˈŋ̊hɤ̃ũm̥pɪɻ].

824. Martin (1703, 27–28: *St. Dondan*, *St. Michael*) records the churches of *Donnan* and *Mìcheal* in *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51.

Ghàidhlig agus an eileamaid cho bitheanta ann an ainmean-iasaid Lochlannais ann an Leòdhas, mar a tha ann an GA *Dìobadal* shuas; cha mhotha a fhreagradh SL *vǫllr* an seo gun lorg, a rèir choltais, air achadh no lèana air an àrainn. Cuiridh Oftedal SL *fjall* n. 'beinn' an dàrna taobh seach gur h-ann ainneamh a thèid a riochd Gàidhlig a chaolachadh san tuiseal ghinideach[822] – gu dearbh, faodar an t-aon rud a ràdh a thaobh SL *vǫllr*.

A thaobh SL *hól* cusp., 's e an duilgheadas gun toireadh SL *ó* fuaimreag fhada sa Ghàidhlig an toiseach, mus deigheadh a giorrachadh gu riaghailteach gu [ɔ] no [ɑ], coim. GA *Sròmas* [ˈs̪t̪ɾɔ̃ːˌmas̪] #307, à SL **Straum-óss* '(an) sruth-òs', .i. gum bite a' sùileachadh [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɔɬ̪] no [ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾɑɬ̪] seach *[ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪əˌɾəɬ̪] (a' leantainn tras-sgrìobhadh Oftedal). 'S e an t-aon mhìneachadh gun deach an fhuaimreag leth-bheumte [ɔ] (no [ɑ]) a lagachadh na [ə], aon chuid le lùghdachadh beum na lide fhèin (a' toirt GA *[ˈt̪ʰoʰt̪ərəɬ̪]) no, nas coltaiche is dòcha, air atharrais dùnadh ainm an locha às an tig *Abhainn Thotaroil* fhèin, .i. *Loch Ulladail* [ˌl̪ɔxˈuɬ̪əˌd̪əl] NB007239.

Mar sheòrsaichear, gheibhear SL *toptir* iol. ann an *Tom Stèinatotair* (#308), *Cuidhbheatotar* #160 agus *Cùileatotar* #163.

Chaidh SL *topt* na iasaid dhan Ghàidhlig agus gheibhear GA *tobhta* b. sna brìghean 'àite air an seasadh taigh; seann taigh briste; agus (mar shìneadh air an tè mu dheireadh) bàrr rèidh nam ballachan cloiche a bhiodh ris air taigh-dubh (.i. am pàirt nach biodh còmhdaichte le mullach an taighe fhèin)'. Ann an ainmean-àite, coim. (1843–82) *Druim Tota Shutharlain* NB517630 ann an *Tàbost* #315, Nis, agus (1843–82) (iol.) *Totannan* NB450412, ann an *Col* #150, Sgìre a' Bhac; coim. *An Tobhta* NG516600 agus *Tobhta a' Chòcaire* NG249498, san Eilean Sgitheanach, agus *An Tobhta Mhòr* NM178566, ann an Cola.

#340 *Tràigh an Teampaill* BRN

[ˌt̪ʰɾaˑj əˈn̪ʲtʲʰãũm̥pi̯ʎ̪],[823] (gin.) *Thràigh an Teampaill* [ˌɹ̥aˑj əˈn̪ʲtʲʰãũm̥pi̯ʎ̪]; NB151407. 1843–82 *Traigh an Teampuill*, *Teampull* (*Bhearnaraidh Bheag*), *Beinn an Teampuill*.

An t-ainm air àite ann an ceann an ear *Bheàrnaraigh Bheag* #51, sa bheil cladh agus làrach eaglaise;[824] ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *tràigh* b. 'cladach gainmhich' agus an alt Ghàidhlig ghinideach fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *teampall* f. 'eaglais' (coim. *Baile an Teampaill* #30).

Dìreach air taobh a deas *Thràigh an Teampaill*, tha an t-ainm GA (1843–82)

822. Chan eil eisimpleir dheth sin aig an sgrìobhadair seo idir.

823. (nMO) [trɑj ˈŋ̊hɤ̃ũm̥pɪɻ].

824. Clàraichidh MacGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 27–28: *St. Dondan, St. Michael*) *Teampall Dhonnain* agus *Teampall Mhìcheil* ann am *Beàrnaraigh Bheag* #51.

Buaile Phabanis *[ˌbuələ ˈfabəˌniʃ] ‘the enclosure of *Pabanis’ NB150406,[825] with genitive of the loan-name ScG *Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabəˌniʃ], from ON *Papanes*, with genitive plural of the noun ON *papi* m. ‘hermit, monk’ (#260) and ON *nes* nt. ‘promontory’ §3 (i). The ecclesiatical evidence at the location suggests the name *Pabanis* was linked to an early Christian site.[826]

#341 *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* ÙIG
[ˌtʰrəˑj ˈvɔˌʃadʲəɾʲ], (gen.) *Thràigh Bhoiseadair* [ˌraˑj ˈvɔˌʃadʲəɾʲ]; NB029325. 1843–82 *Traigh Bhoisadair*, *Camus Traigh Bhoisadair*.

The name of a beach on the west side of the promontory on which the old settlement of *Càrnis* #99 was situated; a ruin is marked above the beach on the 1843–82 map. A Gaelic name, possibly borrowed from ON *Bozsætr* ‘(the) sheiling of the bay head’, with genitive of the noun ON *botn* m. (gen. *boz*, *bots*) ‘the head of a sea loch or valley’[827] and ON *sætr* nt. ‘sheiling; farm’ (#296). If this solution is correct, it has to be accepted that the development of the name ON *Bozsætr* (> EG *[ˈbotʲˌʃɛːtər] > ScG *[ˈbɔˌʃadʲəɾʲ]) and the development of the name CSc. *Vazøy* (*Vatsøy*) (> EG *[ˈβatˌsæj] > *[ˈβatəˌsæj] > ScG *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰtəˌsɑj] (#65, fn 137)) into Gaelic were dissimilar, but cf. ScG *Gèiseadar* < ON *Geit-sætr* #203.[828]

#342 *Tuimsgearraidh* ÙIG (Eng. *Timsgarry*)
[ˈtʰʉ̃ɪmʲʃkʲaɾi], (gen.) *Thuimsgearraidh* [ˈhʉ̃ɪmʲʃkʲaɾi];[829] NB053341. 1821, 1822 *Tunsgarry*; 1843–82 idem; 2007, road sign *Timsgearraidh*‖*Timsgarry*.

> Oftedal 1954, 388: ‘**Timsgarry** [?], probably a Norse name in ON *-gerði* nt.’

The name of a small township; a Gaelic name borrowed from Old Norse. As Oftedal notes, the generic is ON *gerði* nt. ‘enclosure, enclosed land’ (#192). As regards the specific, it may be a short form of the man’s name ON

825. Cf. ScG (1843–82) *Traigh Buaile Phabanais* and *Gob Buaile Phabanais* ‘the beach and the point of *Buaile Phabanis*’.

826. <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides10.html>.

827. Cf. ScG *Feadan Bhotagro* [ˌfɛd̪anˈvɔʰt̪əˌɣ̊ɾo] NB267455, in *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), with a specific from ON *Botn-gróf* ‘(the) valley head-stream’ (Cox 2002a, 278). The appellative ON *botn* was borrowed into Gaelic as ScG *bot* m. ‘valley head or basin’, cf. ScG *Botaichean an Aighe Dhuinn* [ˌbɔʰt̪içən (ə)ˌɲə ˈɣ̃əĩn̪] ‘the basins of the brown heifer’ NB1945 and (in diminutive form) ScG *Botan Thòmais* [ˌbɔʰt̪an ˈhõːmaʃ] ‘the basin of *Tòmas* (Eng. *Thomas*)’ NB2044, both in *Na Geàrrannan* #202 (ibid., 187).

828. MacIver (1934, 93: *Traigh-foishader*, 95: *Druim foishader*) gives a solution from ON *fjori* – cf. ON *fjara* f. ‘ebb tide’ – but initial *fj* and medial *r* would rule it out.

829. (nMO) [tʻumʉ̃ʃgʼaʁih], [tʻumʉʃgʼaʁi].

Buaile Phabanis *[ˌbuələ ˈfabəˌniʃ] NB150406,[825] le tuiseal ginideach an ainm-iasaid GA *Pabanis* *[ˈpʰabəˌniʃ], à SL *Papanes*, le tuiseal ginideach iolra an ainmeir SL *papi* f. ‘aonaran, manach’ (#260) agus SL *nes* n. ‘rubha’ §3 (i). Cuiridh an fhianais eaglaiseil san àite air shùilibh gun robh an t-ainm *Pabanis* co-cheangailte ri làraich Chrìosdaidh thràth.[826]

#341 *Tràigh Bhoiseadair* ÙIG
[ˌtʰrəˑj ˈvɔˌʃadʲəɾʲ], (gin.) *Thràigh Bhoiseadair* [ˌraˑj ˈvɔˌʃadʲəɾʲ]; NB029325. 1843–82 *Traigh Bhoisadair*, *Camus Traigh Bhoisadair*.

An t-ainm air tràigh air taobh an iar an rubha air an robh seann tuineachadh *Chàrnis* #99; tha làrach taighe air a comharradh bhos cionn na tràghad air a’ mhapa 1843–82. Ainm Gàidhlig air iasad, is dòcha, à SL *Bozsætr* ‘àirigh ceann a’ bhàigh’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *botn* (gin. *boz, bots*) f. ‘ceann loch mara no glinne’[827] agus SL *sætr* n. ‘àirigh; tuathanas’ (#296). Mas ceart am fuasgladh seo, feumar gabhail ris nach b’ ionann fàs an ainme SL *Bozsætr* (> GT *[ˈbotʲˌʃɛːtər] > GA *[ˈbɔˌʃadʲəɾʲ]) agus fàs an ainme LB *Vazøy* (*Vatsøy*) (> GT *[ˈβatˌsæj] > *[ˈβatəˌsæj] > GA *Bhatasaigh* [ˈvaʰtəˌsɑj] (#65, bn 137)) dhan Ghàidhlig, ach coim. GA *Gèiseadar* < SL *Geit-sætr* #203.[828]

#342 *Tuimsgearraidh* ÙIG
[ˈtʰʉ̃ɪmʲʃkʲaɾi], (gin.) *Thuimsgearraidh* [ˈhʉ̃ɪmʲʃkʲaɾi]; NB053341. 1821, 1822 *Tunsgarry*; 1843–82 idem; 2007, soighne rathaid *Timsgearraidh*‖*Timsgarry*.

> Oftedal 1954, 388: **Timsgarry** [?],[829] is math dh’fhaodte ainm Lochlannais ann an SL *-gerði* n.

Ainm air baile fearainn beag; ainm Gàidhlig a tha air iasad às an Lochlannais. Mar a mhothaicheas Oftedal, ’s e SL *gerði* n. ‘leas, talamh cuairtichte’ (#192) a th’ anns an t-seòrsaichear. A thaobh an t-sònraicheir, ’s dòcha gur h-ann à

825. Coim. GA (1843–82) *Traigh Buaile Phabanais* agus *Gob Buaile Phabanais*.

826. <http://www.paparproject.org.uk/hebrides10.html>.

827. Coim. GA *Feadan Bhotagro* [ˌfɛd̪anˈvɔʰt̪əˌɣ̊ɾo] NB267455, ann an *Siabost a Tuath* (#295), le sònraichear à SL *Botn-gróf* ‘(an) ceann glinne-allt’ (Cox 2002a, 278). Chaidh an t-ainmear SL *botn* air iasad dhan Ghàidhlig na GA *bot* f. ‘ceann glinne no miasaid (àite ìosal)’, coim. GA *Botaichean an Aighe Dhuinn* [ˌbɔʰt̪içən (ə)ˌɲə ˈɣ̃əĩn̪] NB1945 agus (na chruth meanbhach) GA *Botan Thòmais* [ˌbɔʰt̪an ˈhõːmaʃ] NB2044, an dà chuid anns *Na Geàrrannan* #202 (ibid., 187).

828. Bheir MacIver (1934, 93: *Traigh-foishader*, 95: *Druim foishader*) fuasgladh à SL *fjori* – coim. SL *fjara* b. ‘muir-tràigh’ – ach chuireadh *fj* thoisich agus *r* mheadhanach an dàrna taobh e.

829. (nMO) [tʻumʉ̃ʃgʼaʁih], [tʻumʉʃgʼaʁi].

Tomás m. (Eng. *Thomas*); OIce. *Tumi* m., (gen.) *Tuma*, occurs as a short form of *Tomás* (cf. *Tumastaðir* in Rang, Iceland), but it would not yield medial *s* in the Gaelic form; neither would OWNorn **Tumasonargerði* 'the *gerði* of *Tumi*'s son' yield an epenthetic vowel as in ScG [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟̃mʉ̟̃ˌ ʃkʲɑɾi]. There is no evidence for a strong noun **Tumr*, **Tomr* m., (gen.) **Tums*, **Toms*, in Old Icelandic or Old Norse, although *T*(*h*)*om* and the form *T*(*h*)*omson* 'the son of *Thom*' are common in Scots today; nevertheless, an OWNorn **Tumsgerði* would yield ScG [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟̃mʉ̟̃ˌ ʃkʲɑɾi] regularly, while OWNorn **Tumssonargerði* might yield the same after contraction.

#343 *Tunga* BAC (Eng. *Tong*)
[ˈt̪ʰũŋgə], (gen.) *Thunga* [ˈhũŋgə]; NB447362. 1654 *Tonga*; 1718 *Tong*; 1726, 1750M, 1776, 1785, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Tongue*; 1797, 1821, 1822 *Tong*; 1843–82 *Tong*, *Manse of Tong*, *Cnoc Mor Thūnga*, *Teanga Thunga*; 1845, 1846 *Tong*; 2007, road sign *Tunga*‖*Tong*.

> Oftedal 1954, 392: **'Tunga, Tong** [tuŋgə] is ON **Tunga* f. "(the) tongue", referring to the narrow tongue of land that stretches from the village southwards into ScG *An Loch a Tuath* ("the northern loch", Eng. *Broad Bay*[830]). The tongue itself is now called ScG *Teanga Tunga* "the tongue of *Tunga*" [see below].
>
> '*Tunga* is a farm name in Norway (*NG* X, 206) and in Iceland (Lnb.).'

Place-names borrowed from Old Norse are usually more conservative in form than Norse loan-words that form part of the everyday lexicon in Gaelic: **Tunga* preserves the medial consonant cluster [ŋg̊], while ScG *langa* 'ling (the fish)' (< ON *langa* f.) and ScG *rang* 'rib of a boat' (< ON *rǫng* f.) have followed the usual development in the dialect, i.e. [ˈl̪ãɣə], [ɾãɣ], cf. ScG *teanga* f. [ˈtʲʰɛ̃ɣə] 'tongue' (OG *teng*(*a*)*e*) (Cox 2000, 216); hence ScG *Teanga Thunga* [ˌtʲʰɛ̃ɣə ˈhũŋgə] (with lenition, *pace* Oftedal), in which the same feature is recorded in each language.

A pronunciation that seems to be based on the English form is sometimes heard: Eng. *Tong* [tʌŋ] > ScG *Tong* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ũŋg̊].

ScG *Tunga* (Eng. *Tongue*) is also found in the north of Sutherland: NC591568. Cf. *Àird Thunga* #11.

#344 *Tùthair* ÙIG
[ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-əɾʲ], [ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-u̟ɾʲ], (gen.) *Thùthair* *[ˈhu̟ː-əɾʲ], *[ˈhu̟ː-u̟ɾʲ]; NB102353. 1843–82 =; 1895–1896 *Tuair*.

830. See *Brèibhig* #76.

geàrr-chruth den ainm fireannaich SL *Tomás* f. (GA *Tòmas*) a tha e; tha STìl. *Tumi* f., (gin.) *Tuma*, na ghiorrachadh air *Tomás* (coim. *Tumastaðir* ann an Rang, Innis Tìle), ach cha toireadh sin *s* mheadhain sa chruth Ghàidhlig; cha mhotha a bheireadh SNòrnI **Tumasonargerði* 'an *gerði* aig mac *Thumi*' fuaimreag còmhnaidh mar a tha ann an GA [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟̃mʉ̟̃ˌ ʃkʲɑɾi]. Chan eil lorg air an ainmear làidir **Tumr*, **Tomr* f., (gin.) **Tums*, **Toms*, san t-Seann Tìlis no san t-Seann Nirribhis, ged a tha *T*(*h*)*om* agus an cruth *T*(*h*)*omson* 'mac *Thom*' cumanta ann an Albais an-diugh; a dh'aindeoin sin, bheireadh SNòrnI **Tumsgerði* GA [ˈt̪ʰʉ̟̃mʉ̟̃ˌ ʃkʲɑɾi] gu riaghailteach, fhad 's as coltach gun toireadh SNòrnI **Tumssonargerði* an t-aon rud an dèidh teannachaidh.

#343 *Tunga* BAC
[ˈt̪ʰũŋgə], (gin.) *Thunga* [ˈhũŋgə]; NB447362. 1654 *Tonga*; 1718 *Tong*; 1726, 1750M, 1776, 1785, 1789, 1790, 1801, 1804, 1807 *Tongue*; 1797, 1821, 1822 *Tong*; 1843–82 *Tong*, *Manse of Tong*, *Cnoc Mor Thūnga*, *Teanga Thunga*; 1845, 1846 *Tong*; 2007, soighne rathaid *Tunga*‖*Tong*.

> Oftedal 1954, 392: 'S e SL **Tunga* b. '(an) teanga' a th' ann an **Tunga, Tong** [tuŋgə], a nì iomradh air an teanga chaoil talmhainn a shìneas bhon bhaile gu deas dhan *Loch a Tuath* (Brl. *Broad Bay*[830]). 'S e GA *Teanga Tunga* [faic shìos] a chanar ris an teanga fhèin a-nis.
>
> Tha *Tunga* na ainm tuathanais ann an Nirribhidh (*NG* X, 206) agus ann an Innis Tìle (Lnb.).

Mar as trice, tha ainmean-àite a thugadh air iasad às an Lochlannais nas glèidhtiche nan cruthan na facail-iasaid Lochlannais a tha nam pàirt de bhriathradair bitheanta na Gàidhlig: gleidhidh **Tunga* an còmhlan connragach meadhain [ŋg̊], fhad 's a tha GA *langa* (an t-iasg) (< SL *langa* b.) agus *rang* 'asna ann am bàta' (< SL *rǫng* b.) air fàs àbhaisteach na dualchainnt a leantainn, .i. [ˈl̪ãɣə], [ɾãɣ], coim. GA *teanga* [ˈtʲʰɛ̃ɣə] (SG *tengae*) (Cox 2000, 216); às a sin GA *Teanga Thunga* [ˌtʲʰɛ̃ɣə ˈhũŋgə] (le sèimheachadh, *pace* Oftedal), far an tèid an t-aon fheart tìre a chlàradh anns gach cànan.

Air uairean, cluinnear fuaimneachadh a tha stèidhichte, a rèir choltais, air a' Bheurla: Brl. *Tong* [tʌŋ] > GA *Tong* [ˈt̪ʰɔ̃ũŋg̊].

Gheibhear GA *Tunga* (Brl. *Tongue*) ann an ceann a tuath Chataibh mar an ceudna: NC591568. Coim. *Àird Thunga* #11.

#344 *Tùthair* ÙIG
[ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-əɾʲ], [ˈt̪ʰu̟ː-u̟ɾʲ], (gin.) *Thùthair* *[ˈhu̟ː-əɾʲ], *[ˈhu̟ː-u̟ɾʲ]; NB102353. 1843–82 =; 1895–1896 *Tuair*.

830. Faic *Brèibhig* #76.

The name of a hill and deserted settlement south-west of *Tràigh na Beirghe* (#57), in Ùig; a Gaelic name borrowed from ON **Þúfur* (or **Þúfar*), the plural of ON *þúfa* f. (or *þúfr* m.) 'mound, hill, peak' (Rygh 1898, 83); cf. *Tu* and *Tuastad* in Rogaland, Norway (Særheim 2007, 240).

#345 *Na h-Ùigean* ÙIG (Eng. *Uigen*)
[nə ˈhᵘ:g̊ʲən], (gen.) *Nan Ùigean* [nə ˈn̪ᵘ:g̊ʲən]; NB093345. 1843–82 *Uigean*; 2007 *Na h-Uigean*‖*Uigen*; road sign *Uigean*‖*Uigen*.

> Oftedal 1954, 386: '**Uigean** [?] is apparently a Gaelic diminutive of *Ùig* – "little *Ùig*".'

Oftedal managed to obtain the pronunciation of this name later on: (nMO) [nə ˈhᵘ:gˈəɳ], [nə ˈhᵘ:g̊ˈəɳ], adding (≈ibid.) '*Na h-Ùigean* "the *Ùig*s" or a translation of ON **Víkar* "(the) bays"', correcting his initial thought that **Ùigean** might be a diminutive form, i.e. ScG *[ˈᵘ:g̊ʲan], from ScG *ùig* + the masculine diminutive suffix *-an*; cf. ScG *Ùigeag* NB090346, from ScG *ùig* + the feminine diminutive suffix *-ag*.

On the contrary, *Na h-Ùigean* consists of the plural form of ScG *ùig*, following the plural Gaelic article. There is no doubt that ScG *ùig* is from ON *vík* f. 'bay, inlet', however, and that it is a loan-word in Gaelic, although it does not survive independently (see *Àird Ùig* #12). The same name form, *Na h-Ùigean* NR383450, is found in the south of Islay.

#346 *Ungaiseadar* ÙIG (Eng. *Ungeshader*)
[ˈũ̯ŋg̊əˌʃad̪ər], (gen.) [ˈũ̯ŋg̊əˌʃad̪əɾʲ]; NB121294. 1821, 1822 *Ungshader*; 1843–82 *Ungashader*, *Sgeir Ghlas Ungashader*, *Gil Ungashader*; 2007 *Ungisiadar*‖*Ungeshader*; road sign *Ungisiadar*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385: '**Ungshader** (CB) [Uungəʃadəð][831] seems to represent an ON **Ungasetr* or **Ungssetr*. The former would contain ON **Ungi*, an epithet to a man's name, the latter ON **Ungr* used as a man's name. Both are forms of the adjective ON *ungr* "young". Neither is found as a name or epithet in Old Norse literature, but ON *Gamall* "old" has been in use as a regular man's name in certain parts of Norway up to our time and also occurs in a few place-names, as *Gammelså* (*NG* X, 12). It is, then, not unreasonable to assume the existence of a name **Ungr*.'

The name of a small settlement in Ùig.

It is difficult to argue that a diphthong would emerge before stressed *ng* like

831. (nMO) [ɤŋg̊əʃaḍəð̊], [ɤ̈ŋg̊əʃætəð̊].

An t-ainm air cnoc agus tuineachadh fàs an iar-dheas air *Tràigh na Beirghe* (#57), ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a tha na iasad à SL **Þúfur* (no **Þúfar*), an cruth iolra aig SL *þúfa* b. (no *þúfr* f.) 'meall, cnoc, binnean' (Rygh 1898, 83); coim. *Tu* agus *Tuastad* ann an Rogaland, Nirribhidh (Særheim 2007, 240).

#345 *Na h-Ùigean* ÙIG
[nə ˈhᵘ:g̊ʲən], (gin.) *Nan Ùigean* [nə ˈn̪ᵘ:g̊ʲən]; NB093345. 1843–82 *Uigean*; 2007 *Na h-Uigean*‖*Uigen*; soighne rathaid *Uigean*‖*Uigen*.

> Oftedal 1954, 386: Tha **Uigean** [?], a rèir choltais, na chruth meanbhach Gàidhlig aig *Ùig* – '*Ùig* beag'.

Chaidh aig Oftedal air fuaimneachadh an ainme seo fhaighinn na b' anmoiche: (nMO) [nə ˈhᵘ:gˈəɳ], [nə ˈhᵘ:g̊ˈəɳ], a' cur ris (≈ibid.) '*Na h-Ùigean* "the *Ùig*s" or a translation of ON **Víkar* "(the) bays"', a' ceartachadh na ciad smuaine a bh' aige gur dòcha gur h-e cruth meanbhach a bh' ann an **Ùigean**, .i. GA *[ˈᵘ:g̊ʲan], à GA *ùig* + an iar-leasachadh meanbhach fireann *-an*; coim. GA *Ùigeag* NB090346, à GA *ùig* + an iar-leasachan meanbhach boireann *-ag*.

A chaochladh, 's e an t-alt Gàidhlig iolra + an cruth iolra aig GA *ùig* a th' anns *Na h-Ùigean*. Chan eil teagamh nach ann à SL *vík* b. 'bàgh, tòb' a tha GA *ùig*, ge-tà, agus nach eil e na fhacal-iasaid sa Ghàidhlig, ged nach mair e gu neo-eisimeileach (faic *Àird Ùig* #12). Gheibhear an t-aon chruth ainme, *Na h-Ùigean* NR383450, ann an ceann a deas Ìle.

#346 *Ungaiseadar* ÙIG
[ˈũ̯ŋg̊əˌʃad̪ər], (gin.) [ˈũ̯ŋg̊əˌʃad̪əɾʲ]; NB121294. 1821, 1822 *Ungshader*; 1843–82 *Ungashader*, *Sgeir Ghlas Ungashader*, *Gil Ungashader*; 2007 *Ungisiadar*‖*Ungeshader*; soighne rathaid *Ungisiadar*.

> Oftedal 1954, 385: Is coltach gun riochdaich **Ungshader** (CB) [Uungəʃadəð][831] SL **Ungasetr* no **Ungssetr*. Bhiodh a' chiad fhear a' toirt a-steach **Ungi*, far-ainm do dh'ainm fireannaich, an dàrna fear SL **Ungr* ga chleachdadh mar ainm fireannaich. Tha na dhà nan cruth aig a' bhuadhair SL *ungr* 'òg'. Cha lorgar fear seach fear mar ainm no far-ainm san litreachas Lochlannais, ach tha SL *Gamall* 'sean' air a chleachdadh na ainm fireannaich àbhaisteach ann an earrannan àraidh de Nirribhidh suas chun an latha an-diugh agus tha e ri lorg ann an corra ainm-àite cuideachd, mar a tha *Gammelså* (*NG* X, 12). Chan eil e mì-reusanta, a-rèist, a bhith an dùil gun robh an t-ainm **Ungr* ann.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag ann an Ùig.

Tha e duilich a reusanachadh gun èireadh dà-fhoghar air thoiseach air

831. (nMO) [ɤŋg̊əʃaḍəð̊], [ɤ̈ŋg̊əʃætəð̊].

this; cf. ScG *trang* [t̪ʰɾãŋɡ̊] ‘busy’ < Scots *thrang*. ON **Vangssætr* ‘(the) sheiling of the meadow’, with genitive singular of the noun ON *vangr* f. ‘meadow, field, open space’, might well yield a diphthong, however; cf. ScG *Loch Uamaistean* [ˈũãmiˌʃtʲən] NB264455, from ON **Hvammsstein* ‘(the) rock of the valley’, with the genitive of the noun ON *hvammr* m. and accusative of ON *steinn* m. ‘rock’. ON **Vangssætr* suits topographically. ON *vangr* became associated with sheiling sites in Norway and Norw. *vang* has the sense ‘area beside sheiling buildings’ (Haugen 1984, s.v.); cf. a similar sense of ScG *geàrraidh* (#192) (Cox 1990b, 102–03).

ng bheumte mar seo; coim. GA *trang* [t̪ʰɾãŋɡ̊] < Alb. *thrang*. Is math dh’fhaodte gun adhbharaicheadh SL **Vangssætr* ‘àirigh na lèana’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *vangr* f. ‘lèana, achadh, àite fosgailte’, dà-fhoghar, ge-tà; coim. GA *Loch Uamaistein* [ˈũãmiˌʃtʲən] NB264455, à SL **Hvammsstein* ‘creag a’ ghlinne’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *hvammr* f. agus an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *steinn* f. ‘creag’. Freagraidh SL **Vangssætr* a thaobh cruth na tìre. Chaidh SL *vangr* na eileamaid a bha co-cheangailte ri làraichean àirighe ann an Nirribhidh agus tha a’ bhrìgh ‘àite ri taobh thoglaichean àirighe’ aig Nirr. *vang* (Haugen 1984, s.v.); coim. brìgh cheudna aig GA *geàrraidh* (#192) (Cox 1990b, 102–03).

#347 *Àird Sgarfhstaidh*
[ˌɑːɖ ˈs̪kaɾ̂aˌs̪t̪aj], gen. idem; NB193323. 1843–82 *Aird Scárista*, *Allt Scárista*, *Beinn Scárista*, *Eilean Scárista*; 1934, 33 *Eilean Sgarrastaigh*; 2020OS *Aird Sgarastaigh*, *Beinn Sgarastaigh*, *Eilean Sgarastaigh*.

The name of a headland facing the south-east of *Ceartaigh* #121, in Ùig; a Gaelic name with ScG *àird* f. 'headland' (#6) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

Evemalm (2017, 128–29: *Àird Sgarastaigh* [*sic*]) agrees with Watson (1904, 271) and MacBain (1922, 111) with a derivation from ON *skári* m. 'young gull', assuming the stressed syllable of the loan-name contains a long vowel. 2020OS gives a short vowel and the 1843–82 map's acute lengthmark presumably indicates primary stress as opposed to vowel length §15.

Taylor (2011, 139, s.v. *Scarista*) derives the first part of the name ScG *Sgarastadh* in Harris from ON *skor* f. 'notch', but ON **Skor-staða*, with the stem form of the specific and accusative plural of ON *staðr* m. 'farm', would probably yield ScG *[ˈs̪kɔɾə ˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)] or *[ˈs̪kaɾə ˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)], with vowel alternation §43 (i).

For our name, MacIver (1934, 33) suggests a derivation from ON *skarfr* m. 'cormorant' and CSc. **øy* f. 'island' §16. CSc. **Skarfsøy* '(the) island of the cormorant', with genitive of the specific, would yield ScG [ˈs̪kaɾ̂a]- regularly, but not medial *st*. After Watson and MacBain, Evemalm proposes a generic in ON *staðr* m. 'farm' (#331, fn 803), but ON **Skarf(s)staðir* acc. pl. is an unlikely farm name, although ruins are marked on the 1843–82 map at NB195325 and NB197322. Both ON **Skarf-stǫð* '(the) cormorant-landing place' (with the stem form of the specific and ON *stǫð* f. (#90)) and ON **Skarfstá* '(the) promontory of the cormorant' (with genitive of the specific and ON *tá* f. (#281, fn 641)) could be appropriate topographically; both would probably yield ScG (rad.) **Sgarbhstadh* *[ˈs̪kaɾ̂avˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)] in the first instance, then ScG **Sgarfhstadh* *[ˈs̪kaɾ̂aˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)], with loss of the labio-dental fricative (cf. ScG *Cliasgro* from ON **Kleifsgróf* #131), and (like ON *-stað*) both *-stǫð* and *-stá* would probably yield ScG [s̪t̪a(ɣ)] with a closing velar fricative; for -[s̪t̪aɣ] > -[s̪t̪aj], cf. GA *Sgiogarstaidh* #294.

Cf. ScG *Sgairbhisgeir* §8, with a palatalised medial cluster.

#348 *Barraid a' Chamshronaich* CTL (Eng. *Cameron Terrace*)
[ˌb̥ɑɾaɖ̪ʲ ə ˈxãm̂ɾ̂ənɪç], gen. *Bharraid a' Chamshronaich* *[ˌvɑɾaɖ̪ʲ ə ˈxãm̂ɾ̂ənɪç]; NB355273. Road sign *Cameron Terrace*.

The name of a small settlement east of *Cliasgro* #131, in Ceann a Tuath nan

#347 *Àird Sgarfhstaidh*
[ˌɑːɖ ˈs̪kaɾ̂aˌs̪t̪aj], gin. idem; NB193323. 1843–82 *Aird Scárista*, *Allt Scárista*, *Beinn Scárista*, *Eilean Scárista*; 1934, 33 *Eilean Sgarrastaigh*; 2020OS *Aird Sgarastaigh*, *Beinn Sgarastaigh*, *Eilean Sgarastaigh*.

An t-ainm air àird no rubha mu choinneimh ceann an ear-dheas *Cheartaigh* #121, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig le GA *àird* b. 'rubha' (#6) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Thèid Evemalm (2017, 128–29: *Àird Sgarastaigh* [*sic*]) le Watson (1904, 271) agus MacBain (1922, 111) le bunachas à SL *skári* f. 'isean faoileige', an dùil gur h-e fuaimreag fhada a th' ann an lide bheumte an ainm-iasaid. Bheir 2020OS fuaimreag ghoirid agus is iongantach mana bi stràc geur a' mhapa 1843–82 a' comharrachadh prìomh bheum seach faid fuaimreige §15.

Bheir Taylor (2011, 139, s.v. *Scarista*) ciad chuibhreann an ainme GA *Sgarastadh* anns na Hearadh à SL *skor* b. 'sgor', ach is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **Skor-staða*, le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir agus an tuiseal cuspaireach iolra aig SL *staðr* f. 'tuathanas', GA *[ˈs̪kɔɾə ˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)] no *[ˈs̪kaɾə ˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)], le iomlaid fuaimreige §43 (i).

Airson an ainme againne, molaidh MacIver (1934, 33) bunachas à SL *skarfr* f. 'sgarbh' agus LB **øy* b. 'eilean' §16. Gheibhte GA [ˈs̪kaɾ̂a]- gu riaghailteach à LB **Skarfsøy* 'eilean an sgairbh', le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir, ach chan fhaighte *st* mheadhain. An dèidh Watson is MhacBain, thèid Evemalm le seòrsaichear ann an SL *staðr* f. 'tuathanas' (#331, bn 803), ach chan eil SL **Skarf(s)staðir* cusp. iol. ro choltach mar ainm tuathanais, ged a tha làrach taighe air a chomharrachadh air a' mhapa 1843–82 aig NB195325 agus NB197322. B' urrainn dhan dà chuid SL **Skarf-stǫð* '(an) sgarbh-laimrig', (le bun-riochd an t-sònraicheir agus SL *stǫð* b. (#90)) agus SL **Skarfstá* 'rubha an sgairbh' (le tuiseal ginideach an t-sònraicheir agus SL *tá* b. (#281, bn 641)) a bhith iomchaidh bho thaobh cruth na tìre; is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh na dhà GA (bun.) **Sgarbhstadh* *[ˈs̪kaɾ̂avˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)] sa chiad char, an uair sin GA **Sgarfhstadh* *[ˈs̪kaɾ̂aˌs̪t̪a(ɣ)], le call an t-suathaich bhil-dheudaich (coim. GA *Cliasgro* à SL **Kleifsgróf* #131), agus (coltach ri SL *-stað*) is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh an dà chuid *-stǫð* agus *-stá* GA [s̪t̪a(ɣ)] le suathach sgannach dùnaidh; airson -[s̪t̪aɣ] > -[s̪t̪aj], coim. GA *Sgiogarstaidh* #294.

Coim. GA *Sgairbhisgeir* §8, le còmhlan mheadhain càireanaichte.

#348 *Barraid a' Chamshronaich* CTL
[ˌb̥ɑɾaɖ̪ʲ ə ˈxãm̂ɾ̂ənɪç], gin. *Bharraid a' Chamshronaich* *[ˌvɑɾaɖ̪ʲ ə ˈxãm̂ɾ̂ənɪç]; NB355273. Soighne rathaid *Cameron Terrace*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag an ear air *Cliasgro* #131, ann an Ceann a Tuath

Loch, whose site is marked on maps from 1955–61; a Gaelic name, translated from the English *Cameron Terrace*, with ScG *barraid* f. 'terrace' and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the surname ScG *Camshronach* m., a noun based on the surname ScG *Camshron* m. (Cox 2017, 127–28).

#349 *Cnoc Amhlaigh* RBH
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈãũl̪aj], gen. *Chnoc Amhlaigh* [ˌxɾõʰk ˈãũl̪aj]; NB555369.

The name of a settlement in An Rubha; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *cnoc* m. 'hill' (#133) and the man's name ScG *Amhlaigh* (#13) in the genitive as specific.

#350 *Dùn Innes* BRN
NB182343.

The name of a housing estate built in 1983 in *Circeabost* #125, in Beàrnaraigh; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *dùn* m. 'fort; hill' (#170) and the surname Eng. *Innes* as specific. The place was named after Mr Charles Innes, a lawyer from Inverness, who represented those accused of rioting in *Beàrnaraigh* #51 in 1874.[1]

#351 *Garbost* NIS
NB536635.

Lawson (2008, 24) states that (?Eng.) *Garbost* was the name of a group of houses by the cliffs above the beach at *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, in Nis, that became a part of the township *Cealagbhol* #101.[2] The name is found in OPR,[3] but it is apparently now lost – it is not recorded in *ECC* (2020). Cf. ScG *Garrabost* #189, in An Rubha, and *Garrabost* #190, in Ùig.

#352 *Geàrraidh Èiriseadair* CTL
[ˌg̊ʲɑˑɾi ˈeːɾʲiˌʃad̪əɾʲ], gen. *Gheàrraidh Èiriseadair* [ˌɟɑˑɾi ˈeːɾʲiˌʃad̪əɾʲ]; ?NB4129, north of *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh*.

The name of a place on *Àranis* #19 moor; a Gaelic name, with ScG *geàrraidh*

1. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/25100>.

2. The name was used by old people of the area south of the main road, above the beach (Bill Lawson, personal communication).

3. E.g. (OPR Births 086/ 20 37 Barvas) on 1 November 1829, Mary, daughter of John Morrison and Janet Campbell from *Garbost*, was baptised. According to Lawson, they lived at Lot 22, *Cealagbhol* #101, which was part of *Eòrradal* #183 at the time.

nan Loch, a tha a làrach air a comharradh air mapaichean bho 1955–61; ainm Gàidhlig air eadar-theangachadh bhon Bheurla *Cameron Terrace*, le GA *barraid* b. agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainm sloinnidh GA *Camshronach* f., ainmear air a bhonntachadh air an t-sloinneadh GA *Camshron* f. (Cox 2017, 127–28).

#349 *Cnoc Amhlaigh* RBH
[ˌkʰɾõʰk ˈãũl̪aj], gin. *Chnoc Amhlaigh* [ˌxɾõʰk ˈãũl̪aj]; NB555369.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh anns An Rubha; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *cnoc* f. (#133) agus an ainm fireannaich GA *Amhlaigh* (#13) ann an suidheachadh ginideach na shònraichear.

#350 *Dùn Innes* BRN
NB182343.

An t-ainm air ionad thaighean a chaidh a thogail ann an 1983 ann an *Circeabost* #125, ann am Beàrnaraigh; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *dùn* f. (#170) agus an ainm sloinnidh Brl. *Innes* na shònraichear. Chaidh an t-àite ainmeachadh air Mgr Charles Innes, fear-lagha à Inbhir Nis, a riochdaich an fheadhainn a bha fo chasaid airson aimhreit a dhèanamh ann am *Beàrnaraigh* #51 ann an 1874.[1]

#351 *Garbost* NIS
NB536635.

Canaidh Lawson (2008, 24) gur h-e (?Brl.) *Garbost* an t-ainm a bh' air còmhlan de thaighean ris na creagan bhos cionn na tràghad aig *A' Bhuaile a-Muigh* #85, ann an Nis, a chaidh na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Cealagbhol* #101 ri ùine.[2] Tha lorg air an ainm ann an OPR,[3] ach is coltach gu bheil e a-nis air chall – chan eil e air a chlàradh ann an *ECC* (2020). Coim. GA *Garrabost* #189, anns An Rubha, agus *Garrabost* #190, ann an Ùig.

#352 *Geàrraidh Èiriseadair* CTL
[ˌg̊ʲɑˑɾi ˈeːɾʲiˌʃad̪əɾʲ], gin. *Gheàrraidh Èiriseadair* [ˌɟɑˑɾi ˈeːɾʲiˌʃad̪əɾʲ]; ?NB4129, tuath air *Abhainn Lèireabhaigh*.

An t-ainm air àite air mòintich *Àranis* #19; ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *geàrraidh* f. 'leas

1. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/25100>.

2. Chleachdte an t-ainm le seann daoine, a' beantainn ris a' cheàrnaidh deas air an rathad mhòr, bhos cionn na tràghad (Bill Lawson, conaltradh pearsanta).

3. M.e. (OPR Births 086/ 20 37 Barvas) air 1 Samhain 1829, chaidh Mary, an nighean aig John Morrison agus Janet Campbell à *Garbost*, a bhaisteadh. A rèir Lawson, bha iad a' fuireach air Lot 22, *Cealagbhol* #101, a bha na phàirt de dh'*Eòrradal* #183 aig an àm.

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m. ‘enclosure or land around a building’ (#192) and an Old Norse loan-name in the genitive as specific.

ScG **Èiriseadar* might originate in ON **Ærsætr* ‘(the) shieling of the sheep’, with genitive singular of the noun ON *ær* f. and ON *sætr* nt. ‘shieling or farm’ (#296), with an epenthetic vowel; cf. ScG **Èireacleit* (#296), but contrast ScG *Iarsadar* #225, also from ON **Ærsætr*, without an epenthetic vowel, with ON *æ* yielding ScG [eː] yielding [ia], with breaking of long *è* before a non-palatal consonantal cluster, i.e. [ʂ] /ʀs/.

#353 *Gleann Thormoid* CTL
*[ˌg̊lãũn̪ ˈhaɾ̃amɔd̥ʲ], gen. *Ghleann Thormoid* *[ˌɣlãũn̪ ˈhaɾ̃amɔd̥ʲ]; NB3784722795.

The name of a deserted settlement east of *An Glìb* #214, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *gleann* m. (#209) and genitive of the man’s name ScG *Tormod* m., borrowed from ON *Þormund*, accusative of ON *Þormóðr* m. The place is named after Tormod Rothach (Eng. Norman Munro) from *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177; he and his family lived in the valley until 1859, when they moved to *Cabharstaidh* #90, in Ceann a Tuath nan Loch.[4] There are ruins on the 1843–82 map at NB3773522860.

#354 *Grìomanis* ÙIG
[ˈg̊ɾʲĩəməˌniʃ], gen. *Ghrìomanis* [ˈɣɾʲĩəməˌniʃ]; NA995206. 1843–82 *Griamanis*; 1860 *Aird Ghriamanais*.

The name of a deserted settlement south of *Mialastadh* #252, in Ùig; a Gaelic name that might be a loan from ON *Grímunes* ‘(the) promontory of the prow’, with genitive of the noun ON *gríma* f. ‘prow’ and ON *nes* nt. §3 (i).

#355 *Peighinn*— ÙIG

In 1819, the township *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, in Ùig, consisted of 11 houses and 4 bothies, and a house at a place called *Penhelchen* (Lawson 2008, 220–21). *Penhelchen*, whose location is unknown, is apparently from a Gaelic name, with ScG *peighinn* f. ‘penny’ (#269) and an unknown specific.

#356 *Srath Bhàin* CLA
*[ˌs̪t̪ɾa ˈvãːn̪], gen. ?idem; NB41895716.

The name of a place east of *Mealbost* #249, in Sgìre a’ Chladaich; this was an old village (*ECC*, 283: *Strabhàin*).

One cannot be certain without the pronunciation, but this form seems to represent ScG (*An t-*)*Srath Bhàin*, the genitive of ScG *An Srath Bàn* ‘the fair strath’,

4. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/9618>: *Gleann Tharmoid*.

Eàrr. I

no an talamh timcheall air togalach’ (#192) agus ainm-iasaid Lochlannais san tuiseal ghinideach na shònraichear.

Dh’fhaodadh GA **Èiriseadar* tàrmachadh ann an SL **Ærsætr* ‘àirigh na caorach’, le tuiseal ginideach singilte an ainmeir SL *ær* b. agus SL *sætr* n. ‘àirigh no tuathanas’ (#296), le fuaimreig còmhnaidh; coim. GA **Èireacleit* (#296), ach iomsgaraich GA *Iarsadar* #225, à SL **Ærsætr* mar an ceudna, gun fhuaimreag còmhnaidh, le SL *æ* a’ toirt GA [eː] a’ toirt [ia], le *è* fhada air a briseadh ro chòmhlan connragach neo-chàireanach, .i. [ʂ] /ʀs/.

#353 *Gleann Thormoid* CTL
*[ˌg̊lãũn̪ ˈhaɾ̃amɔd̥ʲ], gin. *Ghleann Thormoid* *[ˌɣlãũn̪ ˈhaɾ̃amɔd̥ʲ]; NB3784722795.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs an ear air *A’ Ghlìb* #214, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch; ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *gleann* f. (#209) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainm fireannaich GA *Tormod* f., air iasad à SL *Þormund*, an tuiseal cuspaireach aig SL *Þormóðr* f. Tha an t-àite air ainmeachadh an dèidh Thormoid Rothaich (Brl. Norman Munro) às *Na h-Eileanan Mòra* #177; bha e fhèin is a theaghlach a’ fuireach sa ghleann gu 1859, nuair a rinn iad imrich a *Chabharstaidh* #90, ann an Ceann a Tuath nan Loch.[4] Tha làraichean taighe air a’ mhapa 1843–82 aig NB3773522860.

#354 *Grìomanis* ÙIG
[ˈg̊ɾʲĩəməˌniʃ], gin. *Ghrìomanis* [ˈɣɾʲĩəməˌniʃ]; NA995206. 1843–82 *Griamanis*; 1860 *Aird Ghriamanais*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh fàs deas air *Mialastadh* #252, ann an Ùig; ainm Gàidhlig a dh’fhaodadh a bhith na iasad à SL *Grímunes* ‘rubha sròn bàta’, le tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir SL *gríma* b. ‘sròn bàta’ agus SL *nes* n. §3 (i).

#355 *Peighinn*— ÙIG

Ann an 1819, bha 11 taigh agus 4 bothain, agus taigh ann am bad air an robh *Penhelchen*, sa bhaile fearainn *Peighinn Dhòmhnaill* #269, an Ùig, (Lawson 2008, 220–21). Is coltach gu bheil *Penhelchen*, a tha a àite gun a shònrachadh, à ainm Gàidhlig, le GA *peighinn* b. (#269) agus sònraichear doilleir.

#356 *Srath Bhàin* CLA
*[ˌs̪t̪ɾa ˈvãːn̪], gin. ?idem; NB41895716.

An t-ainm air àite an ear air *Mealbost* #249, ann an Sgìre a’ Chladaich; ’s e sean bhaile a bha seo (*ECC*, 283: *Strabhàin*).

Chan urrainnear a bhith cinnteach gun am fuaimneachadh, ach is coltach gun riochdaich an cruth seo GA (*An t-*)*Srath Bhàin*, an tuiseal ginideach aig GA *An*

4. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/locations/9618>: *Gleann Tharmoid*.

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with the masculine Gaelic article + the noun ScG *srath* m. 'strath, valley' (EG idem) + the adjective ScG *bàn* 'white, fair' (EG *bán*). For use of the genitive in this way, cf. ScG *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195.

#357 *Taobh a' Ghlinne* CDL
*[ˌt̪ʰɯːv ə ˈɣlĩɲ̪ə], gen. *Thaobh a' Ghlinne* *[ˌhɯːv ə ˈɣlĩɲ̪ə]; NB369157. 2020 =.

The name of part of the township *Grabhair* #217, in Ceann a Deas nan Loch, which was built in 1924;[5] a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *taobh* m. 'side' (§3 (viii)) and genitive of the masculine Gaelic article + genitive of the noun ScG *gleann* m. 'valley' (#209); called *Glenside* in English.

#358 *Tobhta Gormaig* NIS
*[ˌt̪ʰoʰt̪ə ˈg̊ɔɾ͡ɔmæg̊ʲ], gen. *Thobhta Gormaig* *[ˌhoʰt̪ə ˈg̊ɔɾ͡ɔmæg̊ʲ]; NB533637. 1843–82 *Tota Gormaig*.

The name of a small settlement that was originally separate from but later a part of the township *Cealagbhol* #101, in Nis (Lawson 2008, 24); a Gaelic name, with the noun ScG *tobhta* 'site of a building' etc. (#339) and genitive of the noun ScG *gormag* f. 'coltsfoot (*Tussilago farfara*)'; cf. ScG *Allt Gormaig* NG896070, in Skye, and (1843–82) *Allt Gormag* 'the stream of—' NN438602, in Perthshire.

5. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/crofts-and-residences/983>.

Eàrr. I

Srath Bàn, leis an alt Ghàidhlig fhireann + an ainmear GA *srath* f. 'gleann' (GT idem) + a' bhuadhair GA *bàn* 'geal, soilleir' (GT *bán*). Airson cleachdadh an tuiseil ghinidich air an dòigh seo, coim. GA *Geàrraidh Ghuirm* #195.

#357 *Taobh a' Ghlinne* CDL
*[ˌt̪ʰɯːv ə ˈɣlĩɲ̪ə], gin. *Thaobh a' Ghlinne* *[ˌhɯːv ə ˈɣlĩɲ̪ə]; NB369157. 2020 =.

An t-ainm air cuibhreann den bhaile fearainn *Grabhair* #217, ann an Ceann a Deas nan Loch, a chaidh a thogail ann an 1924;[5] ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *taobh* f. (§3 (viii)) agus tuiseal ginideach an uilt Ghàidhlig fhireann + tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *gleann* f. (#209); canar *Glenside* ris sa Bheurla.

#358 *Tobhta Gormaig* NIS
*[ˌt̪ʰoʰt̪ə ˈg̊ɔɾ͡ɔmæg̊ʲ], gin. *Thobhta Gormaig* *[ˌhoʰt̪ə ˈg̊ɔɾ͡ɔmæg̊ʲ]; NB533637. 1843–82 *Tota Gormaig*.

An t-ainm air tuineachadh beag a bha bho thùs air leth bho ach a-rithist na phàirt den bhaile fearainn *Cealagbhol* #101, ann an Nis (Lawson 2008, 24); ainm Gàidhlig, leis an ainmear GA *tobhta* 'làrach togalaich' ˥c (#339) agus tuiseal ginideach an ainmeir GA *gormag* b. 'seòrsa luis (*Tussilago farfara*)'; coim. GA *Allt Gormaig* NG896070, san Eilean Sgitheanach, agus (1843–82) *Allt Gormag* NN438602, ann an Siorrachd Pheairt.

5. <https://www.hebrideanconnections.com/crofts-and-residences/983>.

Martin Martin (1703, 1) suggests that ScG *Leòdhas* (Eng. *Lewis*)[1] is from ScG *leog* 'water lying on the surface of the ground', i.e. 'marsh', but there is no *g* [ɡ̊] in the pronunciation and one would not expect such a consonant to disappear were it present in the first instance.

The Norse called the island ON *Ljóðhús*. Watson (1904, 263–64) explains that *Ljóðhús* is translated as 'sound-house' (cf. ON *hljóð* nt. in the sense 'sound') or 'people-house' (cf. ON *ljóðr* m. '(the) people'), but he prefers the derivation ON **Ljóðahús* '(the) house of the songs' (cf. ON *ljóð* nt. 'verse; (pl.) song'; also MacBain 1922, 72–73, and Iain Taylor 2011, s.v. *Lewis*).[2] However, as A. B. Taylor (1959, 209) notes and as the sagas show,[3] the generic ON *hús* nt. 'house' was plural in this name.

The Hebridean *Ljóðhús* has its parallel in Norway (several, e.g. *Løs*, in Vestfold; *NG* VI, 117–18: c.1400 (dat. pl.) *i Liodhusum*) and in Sweden (*Lödöse*, e.g. Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, Chap. 152: *i Lioðhusum* (Jónsson 1916, 548.11)); it is thought that the name is from ON **Ljóð-hús*, with the stem form of the noun ON *ljóðr* and the plural form of ON *hús*, in the sense 'a place where people meet regularly' (*NG* ibid.). As regards the Hebridean example, however, it is likely that ON *Ljóðhús*, via morphemic substitution §37, replaced a native name for the island.

The name of the island occurs in Gaelic contexts in Cogaḋ Gaeḋil re Gallaiḃ (The War of the Gaels with the Foreigners, c.11th c.; Todd 1867, 152) and Caithréim Cellachain Caisil (The Victory of Cellachan of Cashel, c.1130; Bugge 1905, 128, cited in Marstrander 1915, 80): *Leoḋus*; in Leḃor Laiġnech (The Book of Leinster, post 1150): f.171b *i crichaiḃ Leóḋús*, f.172a *i críchaiḃ Leoḋús*; in Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum (in a Latin text, c.1257): f.34r *leoḋus*, f.41v *lodhus*, f.42v *lodhus*, f.44v *loḋws* (Broderick 2004); and in Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill (The Book of Clanranald, c.1710; Cameron 1894): (dat.) *leóghus* (p. 184), (gen.) *Leóghais* (174), *Leóghuis* (186), *Leoghais* (164, 192), *Leoghuis* (184), *Leogh*uis (212).

1. The island is also known by the epithet *Eilean Fraoich* 'heather isle' or *Eilean an Fhraoich* 'the isle of the heather'.

2. Watson also notes that the derivation ON **Ljót-hús*, with the man's name, fails: one would expect ON *Ljóts*, the genitive of ON *Ljótr* m., and the Old Norse dental plosive *t* would have survived as [ḏ] /d/ as it does in the loan-word ScG *Leòd* (the man's name) and in the Gaelic genitive form in *MacLeòid* (Eng. *MacLeod*). A. B. Taylor (1959, 212–23) suggests that ON *Ljóðhús* may originally be based on *Eboudai* (Ptolemy's name for the Hebrides: *Ἔβουδα* (Nobbe 1843–45 I, 66: Book II, Chap. 2, §11)), for which see Clancy 2018 agus Broderick 2019.

3. E.g. Magnús Berføtts saga, Chap. 7: *of Lioðhus* (Jónsson 1916, 118.13); Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, Chap. 169: *til Lioðhusá* (leg. *-húsa*; Jónsson 1916, 558.6); Orkneyinga saga, Chapp. 43: *í Ljóðhúsum*, 83: *til Ljóðhúsa*, 100: *ór Ljóðhúsum* (Vigfusson 1887 I, 69.5, 138.17, 184.2).

Cuiridh Màrtainn MacGilleMhàrtainn (1703, 1) air shùilibh gur h-ann à GA *leog* 'uisge na laighe air uachdar na talmhainn', .i. 'boglach', a tha GA *Leòdhas*,[1] ach chan eil *g* [ɡ̊] ri lorg san fhuaimneachadh agus cha bhite an dùil gun caillte a leithid de chonnraig nan robh e ann sa chiad char.

B' e SL *Ljóðhús* a chanadh na Lochlannaich ris an eilean. Mìnichidh Watson (1904, 263–64) gun tèid *Ljóðhús* eadar-theangachadh na 'fuaim-thaigh' (coim. SL *hljóð* n. sa bhrìgh 'fuaim') no 'sluagh-thaigh' (coim. SL *ljóðr* f. 'an tuath; daoine'), ach 's fheàrr leis am bunachas SL **Ljóðahús* 'taigh nan òran' (coim. SL *ljóð* n. 'rann; (iol.) òran'; mar an ceudna MacBain 1922, 72–73, agus Iain Taylor 2011, s.v. *Lewis*).[2] Gidheadh, mar a mhothaicheas A. B. Taylor (1959, 209) agus mar a sheallas na sàgannan,[3] bha an seòrsaichear SL *hús* n. 'taigh' iolra san ainm seo.

Tha a sheise aig *Ljóðhús* Innse Gall ann an Nirribhidh (corra uair, m.e. *Løs*, ann an Vestfold; *NG* VI, 117–18: c.1400 (tabh. iol.) *i Liodhusum*) agus san t-Suain (*Lödöse*, m.e. Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, Caib. 152: *i Lioðhusum* (Jónsson 1916, 548.11)); saoilear gur h-ann à SL **Ljóð-hús* a tha an t-ainm, le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *ljóðr* agus an cruth iolra aig SL *hús*, sa bhrìgh 'àite far am bi daoine a' coinneachadh gu riaghailteach' (*NG* ibid.). A thaobh na h-eisimpleir ann an Innse Gall, ge-tà, is iongantach mana deach an t-ainm SL *Ljóðhús*, le ionadachadh cruitheamach §37, an àite ainme dhualchasaich air an eilean.

Ann an co-theagsaichean Gàidhlig, nochdaidh ainm an eilein ann an Cogaḋ Gaeḋil re Gallaiḃ (mun 11mh linn; Todd 1867, 152) agus Caithréim Cellachain Caisil (c.1130; Bugge 1905, 128, air a thogail ann am Marstrander 1915, 80): *Leoḋus*; ann an Leḃor Laiġnech (an dèidh 1150): f.171b *i crichaiḃ Leóḋús*, f.172a *i críchaiḃ Leoḋús*; ann an Cronica Regum Mannie & Insularum (ann an teags Laidinn, c.1257): f.34r *leoḋus*, f.41v *lodhus*, f.42v *lodhus*, f.44v *loḋws* (Broderick 2004); agus ann an Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill (c.1710; Cameron 1894): (tabh.) *leóghus* (d. 184), (gin.) *Leóghais* (174), *Leóghuis* (186), *Leoghais* (164, 192), *Leoghuis* (184), *Leogh*uis (212).

1. Cleachdar am far-ainm *Eilean Fraoich* no *Eilean an Fhraoich* air an eilean mar an ceudna.

2. Canaidh Watson mar an ceudna nach motha a dh'obraicheas am bunachas SL **Ljót-hús*, leis an ainm fireannaich: bhite an dùil ri SL *Ljóts*, an tuiseal ginideach aig SL *Ljótr* f., agus bhiodh an stadach deudach Lochlannais *t* air mairsinn sa chruth [ḏ] /d/ mar a bhitheas san fhacal-iasaid GA *Leòd* (an t-ainm fireannaich) agus sa chruth ghinideach Ghàidhlig anns an t-sloinneadh *MacLeòid*). Cuiridh A. B. Taylor (1959, 212–23) air shùilibh gur dòcha gu bheil SL *Ljóðhús* stèidhichte bho thùs air *Eboudai* (an t-ainm a th' aig Ptolemy air Innse Gall: *Ἔβουδα* (Nobbe 1843–45 I, 66: Leabh. II, Caib. 2, §11)); airson *Eboudai*, faic Clancy 2018 agus Broderick 2019.

3. M.e. Magnús Berføtts saga, Caib. 7: *of Lioðhus* (Jónsson 1916, 118.13); Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar, Caib. 169: *til Lioðhusá* (leugh *-húsa*; Jónsson 1916, 558.6); Orkneyinga saga, Caibb. 43: *í Ljóðhúsum*, 83: *til Ljóðhúsa*, 100: *ór Ljóðhúsum* (Vigfusson 1887 I, 69.5, 138.17, 184.2).

App. II

Oftedal (1956, 94) states that ScG (Lewis) /ʟˈɔu-əs/ probably represents ON *Ljóðhús* but that ScG (southern Outer Hebrides) /ʟˈɔ-əs/ certainly does. Phonetically, the modern Lewis pronunciation is [ˈl̪̊øu̯-əs̪̊] but [ˈl̪̊ɔ-əs̪̊] or [ˈl̪̊o(ː)-əs̪̊] in general elsewhere.[4]

The same diphthong [øu̯] is found in ScG *fèileadh* (Lewis) [ˈfjøu̯ləɣ][5] 'kilt', (elsewhere generally) [ˈfeːləɣ].[6] The word *fèileadh* may be based on ON **veifl* sb. or ON **veifla* vb (cf. Norn *vevl*, *vivl* sb. 'tangle' and *vevl*, *vivl* vb 'to entangle, intertwine' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.) and Nn. *veivla* vb 'to entwine; wrap around' (Torp 1919, s.v. *veiv*)).

ON **veifl*(*a*) would probably yield EG **féb́la* *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] in the first instance, which would become *[ˈfjøu̯lə] – and, with a closing fricative, [ˈfjøu̯ləɣ][7] – in Lewis, but *[ˈfeːlə(ɣ)][8] elsewhere;[9] cf. ScG (≈Dwelly) *treobhla* (*treamhla*)

4. (nMO) [l̪̊ʁuəs̪̊]; (Borgstrøm 1940, 42) (*Beàrnaraigh* #51) [ʟˈ[øu̯]ə̯s]; (*LASID* IV, 261, s.v. *Leòdhas*) (Lewis) [ʟˈɛuʷəs] (and p. 275, Question 365) (Sutherland)) [ʟˈoːəs]; (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *Lewis*) (Gairloch) [ʟˈoːˑəs]; (Dieckhoff 1932, 183) (Glengarry) [ʟˈj̊èòːs].

5. (nMO) [l̪̊øuləɣ]; Oftedal 1956, 93: idem.

6. (Shaw 1780) *ebhladh*, (Armstrong 1825) *fèile*, (HSD) 1828 *féileadh*, (MacAlpine 1832) [fāl̓-ă], (MacLeod and Dewar 1839) *éibhleadh*, *féile*(*adh*), (Mac Eachainn 1842) *èileadh*, *fèile*, (MacLennan 1925, s.v. *féileadh*) [fēla] (?leg. [fēlu]), (Dieckhoff 1932, s.v. *feileadh*) [fé:lˈəɢ], (*LASID* IV, 260, after *fulag*) (Lewis) [föilʼəɣ], (Borgstrøm 1940, 42) (*Beàrnaraigh* #51) [l̪̊ø[u̯]lʼəɣ], (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *kilt*) (Gairloch) [feːlʼək]; sometimes written *feabhladh*, e.g. in MacLeòid 1961, 66, 69 (*Port Mholair* #273), cf. *AFB* (s.v. *feabhladh*) /fjauɪəɣ/; or *feobhladh* ?*/fjɔuɪəɣ/ *[ˈfjɔul̪̊əɣ], e.g. in MacGillIosa 2004, 113. MacBain (1911: *féile*, *féileadh* and 'In Islay, Jura etc., it is *an t-sibhleadh* [leg. *an t-eibhleadh* (Robertson 1919, 78)]') derives the word from EG *fíal* (< Lat. *vēlum* 'cover'), but EG *fíal* gives ScG *fial* (e.g. Dwelly). Tentatively, O'Rahilly (1927, 20–21) suggests a derivation from MEng. *veile* 'cover for the head', becoming EG **éiḃle*, via metathesis.

7. EG *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] > *[ˈfʲeːl̪̊ə] > *[ˈfʲeu̯lə] > ScG [ˈfjøu̯ləɣ], or EG *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] > *[ˈfʲeːl̪̊ə] > *[ˈfʲeuɫə] > ScG *[ˈfjɔul̪̊əɣ] ~ *[ˈfjaul̪̊əɣ].

8. EG *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] > *[ˈfʲeːɬə] > ScG [ˈfeːlə] ([ˈeːlə]) > [ˈfeːləɣ] ([ˈeːləɣ]).

9. In the tale 'Fleḋ Bricrenn' (in the manuscript Leḃor na hUiḋre (The Book of the Dun Cow), c.1150), the phrase *Émir* [*sic*] *úanfebli*, *.i. foltchain* occurs (but *Eimer uaneble* in the Egerton 93 manuscript) (<https://celt.ucc.ie//published/G301900/index.html>: l. 8909; Windisch 1880, 289), leg. *Eṁir úanfeḃli, .i. foltchaín* '..., i.e. fair-haired, *Eṁir*', with the woman's name (ScG *Eimhir*). Regarding *úan*(*f́*)*eḃli*, Henderson (1999, 87–88, 175–77) links the first element of the compound to EG *fúan* 'cloak' (*DIL*, s.v.) and the second possibly to *breacan an fhèilidh* etc. 'the kilt', and he supposes that the gloss *foltchaín* was simply the scribe's attempt to make sense of *úan*(*f́*)*eḃli*. Colm Ó Baoill (personal communication) suggests that the second element of the compound may be *eiḃle*, genitive of EG *eibil* 'sail sheet (rope)' (from ON *hefil* acc. m.; Meyer 1910; Marstrander 1915, 62), in the sense 'locks of hair'.

Eàrr. II

Canaidh Oftedal (1956, 94) gur math dh'fhaodte gu bheil SL *Ljóðhús* air a riochdachadh le GA (Leòdhas) /ʟˈɔu-əs/ ach gur cinnteach gu bheil le GA (ceann a deas nan Eilean a-Muigh) /ʟˈɔ-əs/. Gu fuaim-eòlach, 's e [ˈl̪̊øu̯-əs̪̊] an nuadh-fhuaimneachadh ann an Leòdhas ach [ˈl̪̊ɔ-əs̪̊] no [ˈl̪̊o(ː)-əs̪̊] am bitheantas an àitichean eile.[4]

Gheibhear an t-aon dà-fhoghar [øu̯] ann an GA *fèileadh* (Leòdhas) [ˈfjøu̯ləɣ][5], (am bitheantas an àitichean eile) [ˈfeːləɣ].[6] Is dòcha gu bheil am facal *fèileadh* stèidhichte air SL **veifl* ainm. no SL **veifla* gn. (coim. Nòrn *vevl*, *vivl* ainm. 'na tha air a thoinneamh ri chèile' agus *vevl*, *vivl* gn. 'cuir an sàs, toinn ri chèile' (Jakobsen 1928, s.v.) agus Nn. *veivla* gn. 'cuir an sàs ↄc; suain, cuir timcheall' (Torp 1919, s.v. *veiv*)).

Is math dh'fhaodte gun toireadh SL **veifl*(*a*) GT **féb́la* *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] sa chiad char, a dheigheadh na *[ˈfjøu̯lə] – agus, le suathach dùnaidh, [ˈfjøu̯ləɣ][7] – ann an Leòdhas, ach *[ˈfeːlə(ɣ)][8] ann an àitichean eile;[9] coim. GA (≈Dwelly) *treobhla* (*treamhla*)

4. (nMO) [l̪̊ʁuəs̪̊], (Borgstrøm 1940, 42) (*Beàrnaraigh* #51) [ʟˈ[øu̯]ə̯s], (*LASID* IV, 261, s.v. *Leòdhas*) (Leòdhas) [ʟˈɛuʷəs] (agus d. 275, Ceist 365 (Cataibh)) [ʟˈoːəs], (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *Lewis*) (Geàrrloch) [ʟˈoːˑəs], (Dieckhoff 1932, 183) (Gleann Garadh) [ʟˈj̊èòːs].

5. (nMO) [l̪̊øuləɣ]; Oftedal 1956, 93: idem.

6. (Shaw 1780) *ebhladh*, (Armstrong 1825) *fèile*, (HSD) 1828 *féileadh*, (MacAlpine 1832) [fāl̓-ă], (MacLeod is Dewar 1839) *éibhleadh*, *féile*(*adh*), (Mac Eachainn 1842) *èileadh*, *fèile*, (MacLennan 1925, s.v. *féileadh*) [fēla] (?leugh [fēlu]), (Dieckhoff 1932, s.v. *feileadh*) [fé:lˈəɢ], (*LASID* IV, 260, an dèidh *fulag*) (Leòdhas) [föilʼəɣ], (Borgstrøm 1940, 42) (*Beàrnaraigh* #51) [l̪̊ø[u̯]lʼəɣ], (Wentworth 2003, s.v. *kilt*) (Geàrrloch) [feːlʼək]; air uairean air a sgrìobhadh *feabhladh*, m.e. ann am MacLeòid 1961, 66, 69 (*Port Mholair* #273), coim. *AFB* (s.v. *feabhladh*) /fjauɪəɣ/; no *feobhladh* ?*/fjɔuɪəɣ/ *[ˈfjɔul̪̊əɣ], m.e. ann am MacGillIosa 2004, 113. Bheir MacBain (1911: *féile*, *féileadh* agus 'In Islay, Jura etc., it is *an t-sibhleadh* [leugh *an t-eibhleadh* (Robertson 1919, 78)]') am facal à GT *fíal* (< Laid. *vēlum* 'còmhdach'), ach bheir GT *fíal* GA *fial* (m.e. Dwelly). Le amharas, cuiridh O'Rahilly (1927, 20–21) air shùilibh bunachas à MBrl. *veile* 'còmhdach cinn', a' dol na GT **éiḃle*, le eadar-chàradh.

7. GT *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] > *[ˈfʲeːl̪̊ə] > *[ˈfʲeu̯lə] > GA [ˈfjøu̯ləɣ], no GT *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] > *[ˈfʲeːl̪̊ə] > *[ˈfʲeuɫə] > GA *[ˈfjɔul̪̊əɣ] ~ *[ˈfjaul̪̊əɣ].

8. GT *[ˈfʲeːβ̟lə] > *[ˈfʲeːɬə] > GA [ˈfeːlə] ([ˈeːlə]) > [ˈfeːləɣ] ([ˈeːləɣ]).

9. San sgeul 'Fleḋ Bricrenn' (san làmh-sgrìobhainn Leḃor na hUiḋre, c.1150), tha an abairt *Émir* [*sic*] *úanfebli*, *.i. foltchain* (ach *Eimer uaneble* anns an làmh-sgrìobhainn Egerton 93) (<https://celt.ucc.ie//published/G301900/index.html>: s. 8909; Windisch 1880, 289), leugh *Eṁir úanfeḃli, .i. foltchaín* 'Eimhir ..., .i. falt-chaoin (.i. air an robh falt eireachdail)'. Ceanglaidh Henderson (1999, 87–88, 175–77) ciad eileamaid an fhilltich *úan*(*f́*)*eḃli* ri GT *fúan* 'clòca' (*DIL*, s.v.) is an dàrna tè ri *breacan an fhèilidh* ↄc, agus e an dùil nach robh ann am *foltchaín* ach oidhirp air ciall a dhèanamh de dh'*úan*(*f́*)*eḃli*. Cuiridh Colm Ó Baoill (conaltradh pearsanta) air shùilibh gur dòcha gur h-e *eiḃle*, an tuiseal ginideach aig GT *eibil* 'ròpa siùil' (à SL *hefil* cusp. f.; Meyer 1910; Marstrander 1915, 62) dàrna h-eileamaid an fhilltich an seo, sa bhrìgh 'dualan fuilt'.

App. II

[ˈt̪ʰrøu̯l̪ə]/[ˈt̪ʰrɔu̯l̪ə] beside *trèalamh* *[ˈt̪ʰre:l̪əv][10] 'illness, suffering' (cf. EG *treḃlait* (*DIL*, s.v. *treblait*, < Lat. *tribulatio*)).[11]

The Gaelic word *fèileadh* would be based on ON **veifl*(*a*) and the sense '(to) fold, wrap', cf. ScG *plaide* < Scots *plaid*, probably a derivative of the verb Scots *ply* in the sense 'to fold, wrap', and Scots *faik* sb. 'fold', which has the extended sense 'plaid' (*DSL*, s.vv.).[12]

Regarding the origin of the diphthong [øu̯] in the word *fèileadh*, then, we are dealing with a front half-close stressed vowel (lengthened if short) before a lost bilabial fricative followed by a consonant. Given the similar pronunciation of the diphthong in ScG (Lewis) [ˈɟøu̯-əs̪], it may be that a fricative has been lost in this name between the stressed vowel and a following consonant, as would be the case in OG *eḃ* + consonant, and one might consider a derivation from the root IE **leb-* 'to hang down loosely'[13] (which is found in EG *leḃar* adj. 'long, tall, extensive'[14, 15]), followed by a consonant.

Additionally, *ð* in ON *Ljóðhús* and *ḋ* in EG *Leódḋús*[16] suggest that the consonant

10. MacLennan 1925, s.v. *trealamh*: [trēluv].

11. And cf. ScG (Dwelly) *taibhleas* (*taibhleis*, *taibhliosg*, *taimhliosg*, *tàimhleasg*) *[ˈt̪ʰəiləs̪(k)], *[ˈt̪ʰõĩləs̪(k)] beside *tàileasg* [ˈt̪ʰa:ləs̪k] 'chess; backgammon' (EG *táiblis* (*táiplis*, *táibhleis* etc.) (< OFr. *tables*, *DIL*; but cf. ON *tafl* nt. 'board-game')).

12. Cf Eng./Scots *kilt* < EScots *kilt* vb 'to tuck up' (*DSL*).

13. Cf. Pokorny 1959 II, 655–57, s.v. **lĕb* etc.

14. MacBain (1911, s.v. *leabhar* 'long, clumsy', also in the first edition in 1896) gives **leg*, a typesetting error for **leb*.

15. EG *leḃar* adj. > ScG (Dwelly) *leobhar*, *leabhar*, (MacLennan 1925) *leobhar* [lyō′-ur]; (Dwelly, *AFB*) *leamhar* – ?a form arising in order to differentiate the word from ScG *leabhar* f. 'book'. The same suffix *-r* occurs in OG *mór* 'big' (comp. *móu* 'bigger'), OG *reṁor* 'thick' (comp. *reiṁi*) and OG *sír* 'long' (comp. *sía*) (Calder 1972, 190 §134).

16. The significance of the consonant *z* in *Leozus*, Monro's form of 1549, is difficult to gauge; cf. (2nd part of the 14th century) *Insula Lewys* (Fordun I, 44), (1343) [*of the*] *isle of Leges* (*RMS*, p. 569, No. 859), (1382) *baronias sive dominia de Sky et de Lewes* (*RMS*, p. 274, No. 742). MScots *ȝ* (= /j/) and *z* were confused, but it is hard to believe that *z* in *Leozus* meant /j/. It appears that Monro employs both Gaelic and Scots spelling usage, e.g. (Gaelic) 13 *Gi**gh**ay* = ScG *Gio**gh**a* (Holmer 1938, 175) [kjyɣɑ], [kjʎɣɑ] NB644497 (Eng. *Gigha*)) and 175 *Gigay* [*sic*] = ScG *Gio**gh**aigh* NF705048 (Eng. *Ghighay*) (both from CSc. **Gyðj-ey* '(the) goddess- or priestess-island', not from CSc. **Guð-ey* '(the) god-island' (*pace* MacBain (1922, 78) and Henderson (1910, 63, 177), in spite of Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar's *Guðey* (Vigfusson 1887 II, Chapp. 320–22, 326))), and 115 *Ellan na Mona**dh*** = ScG *Eilean na Mòna**dh*** 'the island of the peat' *[ˌelan nə ˈmõ:nəɣ] (?= ScG *Flada* NM298438 (Eng. *Fladda*, west of Mull)); (Scots) 108 *Inisken**z**ie*, where *nz* is [ɲ] or [nj] and later (via a spelling pronunciation) [nz], = ScG *Innis Choi**nn**ich* *[ˌĩɲiʃˈxəɲiç] NM437357 (Eng. *Inchkenneth*), and 60 *Gre**z**ay* = (1776w) *Creag I.*, (1855) *Gre**gg** Eil*^{n}, (1860HO) *Greag Is.*, (1865) *Greag Eil*^{n}, (1952) *Creag I.*, (1843–82) *Creag Island* NM835371, where *Grezay* might be for ScG **Greagha*(*igh*) *[ˈɡɾʲeˌɣa(j)], a loan-

Eàrr. II

[ˈt̪ʰrøu̯l̪ə]/[ˈt̪ʰrɔu̯l̪ə] ri taobh *trèalamh* *[ˈt̪ʰre:l̪əv][10] 'tinneas, fulangas' (coim. GT *treḃlait* (*DIL*, s.v. *treblait*, < Laid. *tribulatio*)).[11]

Bhiodh am facal Gàidhlig *fèileadh* stèidhichte air SL **veifl*(*a*) agus a' bhrìgh 'suain(eadh), fill(eadh)', coim. GA *plaide* < Alb. *plaid*, is math dh'fhaodte na bhunadair às a' ghnìomhair Alb. *ply* sa bhrìgh 'suain, fill', agus Alb. *faik* ainm. 'suaineadh, filleadh', aig a bheil a' bhrìgh shìnte 'plaide' (*DSL*, s.vv.).[12]

A thaobh tùs an dà-fhoghair [øu̯] san fhacal *fèileadh*, a-rèist, dèiligear ri fuaimreig thoisich leth-dhùinte bheumte (air a fadachadh masa goirid i) ro shuathach dà-bhileach caillte air a leantainn le connraig. A' gabhail ri fuaimneachadh ceudna an dà-fhoghair ann an GA (Leòdhas) [ˈɟøu̯-əs̪], faodaidh e a bhith gu bheil suathach air chall san ainm seo eadar an fhuaimreag bheumte agus connrag na dèidh, mar a bhitheadh ann an SG *eḃ* + connraig, agus dh'fhaodte beachdachadh air bunachas às an fhreumh IE **leb-* 'croch sìos gu flagach'[13] (a gheibhear ann an GT *leḃar* buadh. 'fada, àrd, farsaing'[14, 15]), air a leantainn le connraig.

A thuilleadh, cuiridh *ð* ann an SL *Ljóðhús* agus *ḋ* ann an GT *Leódḋús*[16] air shùilibh

10. MacLennan 1925, s.v. *trealamh*: [trēluv].

11. Agus coim. GA (Dwelly) *taibhleas* (*taibhleis*, *taibhliosg*, *taimhliosg*, *tàimhleasg*) *[ˈt̪ʰəiləs̪(k)], *[ˈt̪ʰõĩləs̪(k)] ri taobh *tàileasg* [ˈt̪ʰa:ləs̪k] 'fidhcheall; (Brl.) backgammon' (GT *táiḃlis* (*táiplis*, *táibhleis* ך c) (< SFr. *tables*, *DIL*; ach coim. SL *tafl* n. 'geama-bùird')).

12. Coim. Brl./Alb. *kilt* 'fèileadh' < AlbT *kilt* gn. 'truis (sgioblaich no cuir suas aodach)' (*DSL*).

13. Coim. Pokorny 1959 II, 655–57, s.v. **lĕb* ך c.

14. Bheir MacBain (1911, s.v. *leabhar* 'long, clumsy', mar an ceudna sa chiad eagran ann an 1896) **leg*, mearachd clò-chumaidh air **leb*.

15. GT *leḃar* buadh. > GA (Dwelly) *leobhar*, *leabhar*, (MacLennan 1925) *leobhar* [lyō′-ur]; (Dwelly, *AFB*) *leamhar* – ?cruth air èirigh gus am facal a dhealachadh ri GA *leabhar* f. 'leabhar leughaidh'. Nochdaidh an t-aon iar-leasachan *-r* ann an SG *mór* 'mòr' (cms. *móu* 'motha'), SG *reṁor* 'reamhar' (cms. *reiṁi*) agus SG *sír* 'sìor' (cms. *sía*) (Calder 1972, 190 §134).

16. Tha brìgh na connraige *z* ann an *Leozus*, cruth an Rothaich ann an 1549, duilich a thomhas; coim. (2ra pàirt na 14mh linne) *Insula Lewys* (Fordun I, 44), (1343) [*of the*] *isle of Leges* (*RMS*, 569, Àir. 859), (1382) *baronias sive dominia de Sky et de Lewes* (*RMS*, 274, Àir. 742). Dheigheadh MAlb. *ȝ* (= /j/) agus *z* a chothlamadh, ach tha e duilich a chreidsinn gum faodadh *z* ann an *Leozus* a bhith a' ciallachadh /j/. Is coltach gun cleachdadh an Rothach gnàthasan Albais agus Gàidhlig na chuid litreachaidh, m.e. (Gàidhlig) 13 *Gi**gh**ay* = GA *Gio**gh**a* (Holmer 1938, 175) [kjyɣɑ], [kjʎɣɑ] NB644497 (Brl. *Gigha*)) agus 175 *Gigay* [*sic*] = GA *Gio**gh**aigh* NF705048 (Brl. *Ghighay*) (na dhà à LB **Gyðj-ey* '(am) ban-dia- no ban-sagart-eilean', chan ann à LB **Guð-ey* '(an) dia-eilean' (*pace* MacBain (1922, 78) agus Henderson (1910, 63, 177), a dh'aindeoin *Guðey* aig Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar (Vigfusson 1887 II, Caibb. 320–22, 326))), agus 115 *Ellan na Mona**dh*** = GA *Eilean na Mòna**dh*** *[ˌelan nə ˈmõ:nəɣ] (?= GA *Flada* NM298438 (Brl. *Fladda*, an iar air Muile)); (Albais) 108 *Inisken**z**ie*, far a bheil *nz* na [ɲ] no [nj] agus nas anmoiche (le fuaimneachadh litreachaidh) [nz], = GA *Innis Choi**nn**ich* *[ˌĩɲiʃˈxəɲiç] NM437357 (Brl. *Inchkenneth*), agus 60 *Gre**z**ay* = (1776w) *Creag I.*, (1855) *Gre**gg** Eil*^{n}, (1860HO) *Greag Is.*, (1865) *Greag Eil*^{n}, (1952) *Creag I.*, (1843–82) *Creag Island* NM835371, far am faodadh *Grezay* a bhith airson GA **Greagha*(*igh*) *[ˈɡɾʲeˌɣa(j)],

App. II following the fricative was *ḋ* [ð] /ð/, perhaps from the adjectival suffix *-ḋ(a)e* (Thurneysen 1975, 220–22; Cox 1917, 151–52: 151, fn 3), yielding **leb̓ḋ-* 'long'. As regards the ending of the Gaelic manuscript form *Leódḋús*, the long vowel *ú* may be the result of influence from Old Norse *Ljóðhús* but might yield ScG [ə];[17] on the other hand, the suffix of place EG *-us* (Thurneysen 1975, §259) would yield ScG [əs̪] regularly.[18] Although there is no direct evidence for the derivation, OG **Leb̓ḋus* in the sense 'the long one, i.e. the long island' would yield ScG *Leòdhas* [ˈl̪ɔ̝ʊ̯ɪ-əs̪] regularly, and its semantic parallel is found in the form *An t-Eilean Fada* 'the long island', a Gaelic nickname for the Western Isles,[19] for Lewis and Harris combined[20]

name perhaps from CSc. **Greg-øy* '(the) hull-island', with the stem form of the noun ON *gregr* m. in the sense '(boat) hull; belly, stomach', a suitable description for this rounded island that lies next to ScG *Plada* (east of Lismore; < **Flada* (cf. above), with delenition via back-formation §33(ii), from CSc. **Flat-øy* '(the) flat-island').

It might be, then, that *z* in *Leozus* is intended to represent medial *dh* or *gh* in Gaelic. The velar fricative EG *ḋ* (*dh*) [ð] had fallen together with *ġ* (*gh*) [ɣ] about 1200. There is no evidence, however, to say that [ɣ] was still pronounced in the name *Leòdhas* in the middle of the 16th century; although Niall MacMhuirich (Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill, c.1710) writes *leóghus* etc. (see above), there is nothing to say that *gh* [ɣ] had not already become silent in this name (and that it was now simply a mark of hiatus); for an example from this period where *dh*/*gh* was already silent, cf. GA (1567) *údhdar* and *udaraibh*, for Modern Gaelic *ùghdar* [ˈuːd̥ər] and *ùghdaraibh* 'author(s)' (Thomson 1970, ll. 270, 3493; < EG *auġtar*, *uġtar* < Lat. *auctor* (*DIL*)). MacMhuirich's *gh* is probably in imitation of traditional practice in Gaelic when writing the name *Leòdhas* while [ɣ] was still sounded (cf. 1343 [*of the*] *isle of Leges*, above), and it seems that Monro was simply trying express a written Gaelic form in Scots orthography.

For unknown reasons, then, Monro chose the Scots letter *z* in order to represent Gaelic *gh* in *Leozus* and in *Grezay*; in *Leozus*, [ɣ] may no longer have been sounded in Gaelic and *z* may simply have been a strategy to show the presence of *gh* in current written Gaelic (hence, also, Martin's solution *leog*, above, although *leog* contains *g* [g̊] rather than *gh* [ɣ]); as for *Grezay*, perhaps this Old Norse loan-name was still pronounced with medial [ɣ] in Gaelic, before the name was altered via morphemic substitution to ScG **Creag-Eilean*, which itself subsequently became *Creag Island* in English. On the other hand, as in *Gighay* and *Ellan na monadh* above, Monro employed Gaelic usage in other Gaelic names in order to represent *gh* or *dh*.

17. Cf. ON *Magnús* > ScG *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] #244, fn 563.

18. Cf. ScG *caol* 'thin, narrow' > *caolas* m. 'narrows, straits', *cam* 'crooked, bent' > *camas* m. 'bay' (Cox 2002a, 60).

19. The records of *Sgìre Steòrnabhaigh* were lost in 1740; '[f]ormerly, the presbyteries of Lewis and Uist were united and called the presbytery of the Long Island' (*NSA* 1845, 127).

20. 'Bha an t-Eilean Fada air bhoil bho Rubha Robhanis gu Rubha Rèinis' (≈Domhnallach 1973, 27) (*An t-Eilean Fada* was in a frenzy from *Rubha Robhanis* [in the north of Lewis #284] to *Rubha Rèinis* [in the south of Harris]).

gur h-e *ḋ* [ð] /ð/ a bh' anns a' chonnraig an dèidh an t-suathaich, is dòcha às an iar- Eàrr. II
leasachan bhuadhaireach *-ḋ(a)e* (Thurneysen 1975, 220–22; Cox 1917, 151–52: 151, bn 3), a' toirt **leb̓ḋ-* 'fada'. A thaobh an dùnaidh ann an *Leódḋús* nan làmh-sgrìobh-ainnean Gàidhlig, 's dòcha gun èirich an fhuaimreag fhada *ú* mar thoradh air buaidh na Lochlannais *Ljóðhús* ach dh'fhaodadh e a bhith a' toirt [ə];[17] air an làimh eile, bheireadh an t-iar-leasachan ionaid GT *-us* (Thurneysen 1975, §259) GA [əs̪] cuideachd.[18] Ged nach eil fianais dhìreach ann airson a' bhunachais, bheireadh SG **Leb̓ḋus* san t-seagh 'am fear fada, .i. an t-eilean fada' GA *Leòdhas* [ˈl̪ɔ̝ʊ̯ɪ-əs̪] gu riaghailteach, agus gheibhear a sheise ciallachais anns a' chruth *An t-Eilean Fada*, far-ainm Gàidhlig air na h-Eileanan Siar,[19] air Leòdhas is na Hearadh mar-aon[20]

ainm-iasaid is dòcha à LB **Greg-øy* '(an) slige-eilean', le bun-riochd an ainmeir SL *gregr* f. san t-seagh 'slige bàta; mionach, stamag', tuairisgeul freagarrach air an eilean chruinn seo a laigheas ri taobh an eilein GA *Plada* (an ear-dheas air Lios Mòr; < **Flada* (coim. shuas), le dì-shèimheachadh le cùl-chinntinn §33(ii), à LB **Flat-øy* '(an) rèidh-eilean').

Dh'fhaodte, a-rèist, gu bheil *z* ann an *Leozus* ag amas air a bhith a' riochdachadh *dh* no *gh* mheadhain sa Ghàidhlig. Bha an suathach sgannach GT *ḋ* (*dh*) [ð] air a dhol còmhla ri *ġ* (*gh*) [ɣ] mu 1200. Chan eil fianais ann, ge-tà, gun robhas fhathast a' cantainn [ɣ] san ainm *Leòdhas* am meadhan na 16mh linne; ged a sgrìobhas Niall MacMhuirich (Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill, c.1710) *leóghus* ꝛc (shuas), chan eil dad a dh'innseas nach robh *gh* [ɣ] air a dhol balbh mar-thà san ainm seo (agus nach robh ann dheth a-nis ach comharra air beàrnas); airson eisimpleir às an aon àm far an robh *dh*/*gh* balbh mar-thà, coim. GA (1567) *údhdar* agus *udaraibh*, airson na Nua-Ghàidhlig *ùghdar* [ˈuːd̥ər] agus *ùghdaraibh* 'ùghdar(an)' (Thomson 1970, ss. 270, 3493; < GT *auġtar*, *uġtar* < Laid. *auctor* (*DIL*)). Is math dh'fhaodte gun robh an *gh* aig MacMhuirich mar thoradh air cleachdadh nòsail sa Ghàidhlig ann a bhith a' sgrìobhadh an ainme *Leòdhas* fhad 's a bha [ɣ] fhathast ga ràdh (coim. 1343 [*of the*] *isle of Leges*, shuas), agus is coltach nach robh an Rothach ach a' feuchainn ri cruth Gàidhlig sgrìobhte an ainme a chur an cèill ann an modh-litreachaidh Albais.

Air adhbharan neo-aithnichte, a-rèist, thagh an Rothach an litir Albais *z* gus a' Ghàidhlig *gh* a riochdachadh ann an *Leozus* agus ann an *Grezay*; ann an *Leozus*, is dòcha nach robh [ɣ] ga ràdh tuilleadh sa Ghàidhlig agus nach robh san *z* ach cleas gus a bhith a' sealltainn mar a dheigheadh *gh* a chleachdadh ann an litreachadh Gàidhlig an latha (às a sin, mar an ceudna, fuasgladh MhicGilleMhàrtainn *leog*, shuas, ged as e *g* [g̊] seach *gh* [ɣ] a th' ann an *leog*); ann an *Grezay*, is dòcha gun robh an t-ainm-iasaid Lochlannais seo fhathast ga fhuaimneachadh le [ɣ] mheadhain sa Ghàidhlig, mus deach an t-ainm a thionndadh sa Ghàidhlig le ionadachadh cruitheamach na GA **Creag-Eilean*, a chaidh e fhèin an dèidh sin na *Creag Island* sa Bheurla. Air an làimh eile, mar ann an *Gighay* agus *Ellan na monadh* shuas, chleachd an Rothach gnàthasan Gàidhlig ann an ainmean Gàidhlig eile gus *gh* no *dh* a thaisbeanadh.

17. Coim. SL *Magnús* > GA *Mànas* [ˈmãːnəs̪] #244, bn 563.

18. Coim. GA *caol* > *caolas* f., *cam* > *camas* f. (Cox 2002a, 60).

19. M.e. Chailleadh clàraidhean *Sgìre Steòrnabhaigh* an 1740; '[f]ormerly, the presbyteries of Lewis and Uist were united and called the presbytery of the Long Island' (*NSA* 1845, 127).

20. 'Bha an t-Eilean Fada air bhoil bho Rubha Robhanis [an ceann a tuath Leòdhais #284] gu Rubha Rèinis [an ceann a deas na Hearadh]' (≈Domhnallach 1973, 27).

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and even for Lewis alone.[21]

In Captain Thomas's view (1890, 365 + fn 1), however, the nickname occurs in an older form in Giraldus Cambrensis's *Topographia Hibernica* (1187),[22] in the Latin phrase *Orcades et Incades*, i.e. ScG *Arcaibh* (Eng. *Orkney*) and **Innis Fhada* '(the) long island',[23] with *Incades* representing EG (sg.) **Inis Ḟota*, with the noun EG *inis* f. 'island' + the lenited form of the adjective EG *fota*, *fata* 'long' (cf. EG (pl.) *Insi Gall* (ScG *Innse Gall*) 'the islands of (the) foreigners'). However, the context of Giraldus's phrase gives Anderson (1922 II, 316, 754: *Insi-Cat*) to believe that Giraldus meant EG *Insi Catt* 'the islands of (the) Cats', i.e. Shetland.[24] Nevertheless, Blaeu's account (1654, 151[25]) associates the name *Inchades* (Giraldus's *Incades*[26]) with the Western Isles: 'Extra sinum confertissimæ jacent insulæ, quas ipsi Scoti qui incolunt, *Inch-Gall*, id est, Insulæ Gallecorum fortasse; Angli & cæteri Scoti *The Westerne Iles*, id est, Occiduæ Insulæ; superioris ævi scriptores *Hebrides*; sed Ethicus antiquus *Beteoricas*; & Giraldus alibi *Inchades* & *Leucades*; Plinius, Solinus, & Ptolemæus *Ebvdas*, *Hebudas*, & *E"βυδας* appellant' (Outside the gulf, islands lie packed together. The Scots who live in them call them *Inch-Gall*, that is, *Islands of the Gaels* perhaps; the English and other Scots, *The Western Isles*; writers of former times, *Hebrides*; but the ancient Moraliser, *Beteoricae*; and Giraldus elsewhere, *Inchades* and *Leucades*; Pliny, Solinus and Ptolemy, *Ebudae*, *Hebudae* and *Ἔβυδαι*[27]).

Blaeu's assertion that Giraldus cites both *Inchades* and *Leucades* is taken

21. Martin 1703, 1: 'by the Ilanders it [i.e. Lewis] is commonly call'd *The Long Ifland*'.

22. Chap. XI (in Dimock 1867, 94).

23. The plural ending *-ades* was used (with the word *island* understood) as a group suffix in Latin texts, e.g. Lat. *Orcades* 'the islands of the *Orcs*' is formed from Pict. **Orcoi* pl. '(the) boars' (a tribal name, cf. OG *orc*, ScG *uircean* 'piglet') (Watson 1926, 28–30).

24. Giraldus (ibid.): In boreali oceano trans Ultoniam et Galwediam sunt insulæ variæ, scilicet *Orcades*, et *Incades*, et aliæ multæ' (In the northern ocean, beyond Ulster and Galloway, are various islands – namely the *Orcades*, and the *Incades*, and many others (Anderson ibid., 316)).

25. <https://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/browse/page/148>.

26. The British Library MS (Royal MS 13 B VIII, f.16v) reads *orcades & incades* (<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_13_b_viii_f001r>).

27. English translation by Ian C. Cunningham (ibid.).

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agus fiù 's air Leòdhas leis fhèin.[21]

Ann am beachd a' Chaiptein Thomas (1890, 365 + bn 1), ge-tà, nochdaidh cruth nas sine den fhar-ainm seo ann an *Topographia Hibernica* Ghiraldus Cambrensis (1187),[22] san abairt Laidinn *Orcades et Incades*, .i. GA *Arcaibh* agus **Innis Fhada* '(an t-)eilean fada',[23] le *Incades* a' riochdachadh GT (sg.) **Inis Ḟota*, leis an ainmear GT *inis* b. 'eilean, innis, innse' + cruth sèimhichte a' bhuadhair GT *fota*, *fata* 'fada' (coim. GT (iol.) *Insi Gall* (GA *Innse Gall*) 'eileanan (nan) coigreach'). Gidheadh, bheir co-theags abairt Ghiralduis air Anderson (1922 II, 316, 754: *Insi-Cat*) a chreidsinn gur h-e GT *Insi Catt* 'eileanan (nan) Cat', .i. Sealtainn, a bha fo rùn do Ghiraldus.[24] An dèidh sin, ceanglaidh cunntas Bhlaeu (≈1654, 151[25]) an t-ainm *Inchades* (*Incades* Ghiraldus[26]) ris na h-Eileanan Siar: 'Extra sinum confertissimæ jacent insulæ, quas ipsi Scoti qui incolunt, *Inch-Gall*, id est, Insulæ Gallecorum fortasse; Angli & cæteri Scoti *The Westerne Iles*, id est, Occiduæ Insulæ; superioris ævi scriptores *Hebrides*; sed Ethicus antiquus *Beteoricas*; & Giraldus alibi *Inchades* & *Leucades*; Plinius, Solinus, & Ptolemæus *Ebvdas*, *Hebudas*, & *E"βυδας* appellant' (Taobh a-muigh a' chamais, tha eileanan air am pasgadh ri chèile. Canaidh na h-Albannaich a bhios a' fuireach annta *Inch-Gall* riutha, .i. eileanan nan Gall is dòcha; na Sasannaich agus na h-Albannaich eile, *The Western Isles*; sgrìobhaichean bho shean, *Hebrides*; ach an sean mhoraltaiche, *Beteoricae*; agus Giraldus an àiteigin eile, *Inchades* agus *Leucades*; Pliny, Solinus agus Ptolemy, *Ebudae*, *Hebudae* agus *Ἔβυδαι*[27]).

Tha tagradh Bhlaeu gun ainmich Giraldus an dà chuid *Inchades* agus *Leucades*

21. MacGilleMhàrtainn 1703, 1: 'by the Ilanders it [.i. Leòdhas] is commonly call'd *The Long Ifland*'.

22. Caib. XI (ann an Dimock 1867, 94).

23. Chleachdte an dùnadh iolra *-ades* (leis an fhacal *eilean* ri thuigsinn) mar iar-leasachan buidhne ann an teagsaichean Laidinn, m.e. gheibhear Laid. *Orcades* 'eileanan nan *Orc*' à Cr. **Orcoi* iol. '(na) tuirc' (ainm treubha, coim. SG *orc*, GA *uircean* 'isean muice') (Watson 1926, 28–30).

24. Giraldus (ibid.): In boreali oceano trans Ultoniam et Galwediam sunt insulæ variæ, scilicet *Orcades*, et *Incades*, et aliæ multæ' (Anns an fhairge a tuath, seachad air Ulaidh agus Gall-Ghallaibh, tha corra eilean, .i. *Orcades* [.i. Arcaibh], agus *Incades*, agus mòran eile (an dèidh Anderson ibid., 316)).

25. <https://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/browse/page/148>.

26. Leughaidh LS Leabharlann Bhreatainn (Royal MS 13 B VIII, f.16v) *orcades & incades* (<http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=royal_ms_13_b_viii_f001r>).

27. Tha eadar-theangachadh Beurla le Ian C. Cunningham san aon àite.

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from William Camden's *Britannia* (e.g. 1607, 847[28]).[29] Camden's own source has not been established,[30] but it is possible that Giraldus's *Orcades et Incades* is the result of miscopying of an earlier source and should merely read **Orcades insulas*, cf. Bede's (acc.) *Orcadas etiam insulas* 'and the Orkney islands' (Book I, Chap. III) and *et Orcadas quoque insulas* 'and also the Orkney islands'[31] (Book V, Chap. XXIV).[32] In his first edition of *Britannia* (1586[33]), Camden may have added *Leucades* in an attempt to interpret Giraldus's ghost name *Incades*, inadvertently creating another ghost name in the process, although *Leucades* is perhaps suggestive of Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill's *leóghus* and Martin's *leog*.[34] Camden clarifies the issue in his 1602 source book, although not in later editions of *Britannia*, by suggesting *Leucades* is read for Giraldus's *Incades*.[35]

28. Camden 1607, 847: 'Extra sinum confertissimae iacent insulae quas ipsi Scoti qui incolunt *Inch Gall*, id est Insulae Gallecorum fortasse, Angli et caeteri Scoti *The Westerne Iles*, id est Occoduae Insulae, superioris aevi scriptores *Hebrides*, sed Ethicus antiquus *Beteoricas*, et Giraldus alibi *Inchades* et *Leucades*, Plinius, Solinus, et Ptolmaeus *Ebudas*, *Hebudas* et *Ἔβυδας* appellant' (Without this bay or Frith lie a number of Ilands very thicke together, which the Scots themselves that inhabite them call *Inch-Gall*, that is, happly, *The Isles of the Gallicians*, the English and the rest of the Scots, *The Westerne Isles*, the writers of the former age, *Hebrides*, but the ancient Ethnickes, *Bettoricae*, and Giraldus otherwhere *Inachades* [*sic*] and *Leucades*; Plinie, Solinus and Ptolemee name them *Ebudas*, *Hebudas*, and *Ἔβυδας* [Philemon Holland's 1610 translation]).

29. Blaeu uses sections from Camden in his accounts of the regions (Cunningham, *Sources*).

30. *Leucades* is cited in conjunction with *Inchades* by later writers, e.g. in Ortelius's *Thesaurus Geographicus* (1587, with a reference to Camden, but not in Ortelius's *Synonymia Geographica* (1578)), in Mercator's atlas (1595) and the Mercator-Hondius edition (1606).

31. Modified as *Orcadas quoque insulas Pictorum* 'and the Orkneys, the islands of the Picts' in a later MS, the 9th-c. Bern Codex 178 (http://www.vortigernstudies.org.uk/artsou/chronbrit.htm; Dumville 1973).

32. Plummer 1896 I, 15, 352.

33. Camden 1586, 543: 'Extra sinum confertissimae iacent Insulae, XLIIII vulgus numerat, quas Scoti *Western Iles*, id est, Occiduæ Insulę, superioris scriptores *Hebrides*, sed Ethicus antiquus *Beteoricas*, & Giraldus alibi *Inchades* & *Leucades*, Plinius, Solinus, et Ptolemæus *Ebudas*, & *Ἔβυδας*, appellant.'

34. George Buchanan uses Lat. *Leogus* for *Leòdhas* in his history (1582).

35. Camden 1602, 720, quoting Giraldus: 'In Boreali Oceano trans Ultoniam & Galwediam sunt insulæ variæ, scilicet *Orchades*, & **Inchades*, & aliæ multæ', and, in the left margin: '**Leucades*'. Cf. John Seldon's interpretation (1635 II, Chap. XXXI, 294): 'Et de his Giraldus Cambrensis, *In Boreali Oceano*, ait, *trans Ultoniam & Galwediam sunt insulæ variæ, scilicet*

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à *Britannia* (m.e. 1607, 847[28]) aig William Camden.[29] Cha deach tobar Chamden a shònrachadh,[30] ach faodar gu bheil an abairt *Orcades et Incades* aig Giraldus mar thoradh air droch lethbhreacadh de thobair nas tràithe agus nach bu chòir ach **Orcades insulas* a leughadh, coim. (cusp.) *Orcadas etiam insulas* 'agus eileanan Arcaibh' (Leabh. I, Caib. III) agus *et Orcadas quoque insulas* 'agus cuideachd eileanan Arcaibh'[31] (Leabh. V, Caib. XXIV) aig Bede.[32] Na chiad deasachadh de *Bhritannia* (1586[33]), is dòcha gun do chuir Camden *Leucades* ann gus an t-ainm fuadain Ghiraldus *Incades* a mhìneachadh, aig an aon àm a' cruthachadh gun fhiosta ainm fuadain eile, ged a chuirear air shùilibh leis a' chruth *Leucades* *leóghus* Leabhar Chlann Raghnaill agus *leog* MhicGilleMhàrtainn.[34] Soilleirichidh Camden an gnothach na leabhar thobraichean ann an 1602, ged nach soilleirich ann an eagrain nas anmoiche de *Bhritannia*, le bhith a' moladh gun leughar *Leucades* an àite *Incades* Ghiraldus.[35]

28. E.g. Camden 1607, 847: 'Extra sinum confertissimae iacent insulae quas ipsi Scoti qui incolunt *Inch Gall*, id est Insulae Gallecorum fortasse, Angli et caeteri Scoti *The Westerne Iles*, id est Occoduae Insulae, superioris aevi scriptores *Hebrides*, sed Ethicus antiquus *Beteoricas*, et Giraldus alibi *Inchades* et *Leucades*, Plinius, Solinus, et Ptolmaeus *Ebudas*, *Hebudas* et *Ἔβυδας* appellant' (Without this bay or Frith lie a number of Ilands very thicke together, which the Scots themselves that inhabite them call *Inch-Gall*, that is, happly, *The Isles of the Gallicians*, the English and the rest of the Scots, *The Westerne Isles*, the writers of the former age, *Hebrides*, but the ancient Ethnickes, *Bettoricae*, and Giraldus otherwhere *Inachades* [*sic*] and *Leucades*; Plinie, Solinus and Ptolemee name them *Ebudas*, *Hebudas*, and *Ἔβυδας* [eadar-theangachadh Philemon Holland 1610]).

29. Cleachdaidh Blaeu earrannan à Camden na chunntasan air na roinnean (Cunningham, *Sources*).

30. Thèid *Leucades* ainmeachadh an co-bhuinn ri *Inchades* le sgrìobhaichean nas anmoiche, m.e. ann an *Thesaurus Geographicus* Ortelius (1587, le iomradh air Camden, ach chan ann an *Synonymia Geographica* Ortelius (1578)), ann an atlas Mhercator (1595) agus san eagran Mercator-Hondius (1606).

31. Air atharrachadh na *Orcadas quoque insulas Pictorum* 'agus Arcaibh, eileanan nan Cruithneach' ann an làmh-sgrìobhainn na b' anmoiche, Bern Codex 178 na 9mh linne (http://www.vortigernstudies.org.uk/artsou/chronbrit.htm; Dumville 1973).

32. Plummer 1896 I, 15, 352.

33. Camden 1586, 543: 'Extra sinum confertissimae iacent Insulae, XLIIII vulgus numerat, quas Scoti *Western Iles*, id est, Occiduæ Insulę, superioris scriptores *Hebrides*, sed Ethicus antiquus *Beteoricas*, & Giraldus alibi *Inchades* & *Leucades*, Plinius, Solinus, et Ptolemæus *Ebudas*, & *Ἔβυδας*, appellant.'

34. 'S e Laid. *Leogus* a chleachdas Seòras Bochanan airson *Leòdhas* na eachdraidh (Buchanan 1582).

35. Camden 1602, 720, le briathran Ghiraldus: 'In Boreali Oceano trans Ultoniam & Galwediam sunt insulæ variæ, scilicet *Orchades*, & **Inchades*, & aliæ multæ', agus, san oir chlì: '**Leucades*'. Coim. mìneachadh John Seldon (1635 II, Caib. XXXI, 294): 'Et de his Giraldus Cambrensis, *In Boreali Oceano*, ait, *trans Ultoniam & Galwediam*

App. II

Watson (ibid. 90–91) suggests that, in his *Vita Sancti Columbae*, Adamnan uses the form Lat. *Longa* in the sense '(the) long island', although it is not certain whether it denotes the Western Isles or something else.[36]

In conclusion, in spite of remaining doubt over the origin and meaning of some of the forms cited above, it may be that the name *Leòdhas* derives from OG **Leḃḋus* '(the) long one, i.e. (the) long island', alluding to the shape of the Western Isles, as does the nickname ScG *An t-Eilean Fada*, and that **Leḃḋus* gave rise perhaps to Lat. *Longa* via translation and, later, to ON *Ljóðhús* via morphemic substitution.[37]

Orcades & Inchades (seu Leucades, quas Hebrides esse volunt aliqui) *et aliæ multæ*' (translated in Seldon 1652 II, Chap. XXXI, 445: 'And Giraldus Cambrensis, writing of these things saith, that in the Northern Sea, beyond Ulster and Galloway, there are several Islands, to wit, the *Orcades* and *Inchades* (or *Leucades*, which som would have to bee the Hebrides) and many other, over most of which the Norwegians had Dominion and held them in subjection').

36. In his footnote on the text (Book II, Chap. 24), Reeves (1857, p. 136, fn g) agrees, but in an additional note at the end of his book (p. 460: 137, l. 1), he prefers to associate *Longa* with Lismore. Cf. Anderson ibid. I, 65, fn 4: 'the Long Island [Outer Hebrides] or Luing'; 69, fn 4: 'the Long Island'.

37. For the earlier name OG **Doṁon* '(the) deep island, i.e. the far-off island', which occurs for example in Ptolemy (c. 150 CE; Nobbe 1843–45 I, 74: Book II, Chap. 3, §31) as *Δοῦμνα νῆσος* (*Doumna nēsos*), denoting either Lewis and Harris together or the Western Isles, see Watson 1926, 40–41, and Broderick 2013, 5–6.

Eàrr. II

Cuiridh Watson (ibid. 90–91) air shùilibh gun cleachd Àdhamhnan, na *Vita Sancti Columbae*, an cruth Laid. *Longa* sa bhrìgh '(an t-)eilean fada', ged nach eil e cinnteach an e na h-Eileanan Siar ris am bean e no eile.[36]

San dealachadh, a dh'aindeoin teagaimh a mhaireas mu thùs is ciall cuid de na cruthan a thèid ainmeachadh shuas, faodar gun tàrmaich an t-ainm *Leòdhas* ann an SG **Leḃḋus* '(am) fear fada, .i. (an t-)eilean fada', a' tarraing air cumadh nan Eilean Siar, mar a bhios am far-ainm GA *An t-Eilean Fada*, agus gun do ghin **Leḃḋus* is dòcha Laid. *Longa* le eadar-theangachadh agus, na b' anmoiche, SL *Ljóðhús* le ionadachadh cruitheamach.[37]

sunt insulæ variæ, scilicet Orcades & Inchades (seu Leucades, quas Hebrides esse volunt aliqui) *et aliæ multæ*' (air eadar-theangachadh dhan Bheurla ann an Seldon 1652 II, Caib. XXXI, 445: 'And Giraldus Cambrensis, writing of these things saith, that in the Northern Sea, beyond Ulster and Galloway, there are several Islands, to wit, the *Orcades* and *Inchades* (or *Leucades*, which som would have to bee the Hebrides) and many other, over most of which the Norwegians had Dominion and held them in subjection').

36. Na bhun-nota air an teags (Leabh. II, Caib. 24), aontaichidh Reeves (1857, d. 136, bn g), ach ann an nota a bharrachd aig cùl an leabhair aige (d. 460: 137, s. 1), b' fheàrr leis *Longa* a cheangal ri Lios Mòr. Coim. Anderson ibid. I, 65, bn 4: 'the Long Island [Na h-Eileanan a-Muigh] or Luing [Luinn]'; 69, bn 4: 'the Long Island'.

37. Airson an ainme as tràithe SG **Doṁon* '(an t-)eilean domhainn, .i. an t-eilean fad às', a nochdas mar eisimpleir ann an Ptolemy (c. 150 LC; Nobbe 1843–45 I, 74: Leabh. II, Caib. 3, §31) na *Δοῦμνα νῆσος* (*Doumna nēsos*), a' beantainn aon chuid ri Leòdhas agus na Hearadh mar-aon no ris na h-Eileanan Siar, faic Watson 1926, 40–41, agus Broderick 2013, 5–6.

The following tables show the main developments in sound changes from Old Norse to Scottish Gaelic detailed in Chapter 7.

Norse-Gaelic correspondences: Vowels — Fig. 14

	ON	ScG		
		Stressed	Weakly stressed	Stress-less
§45	*a*	[a][ɑ]; ~ [ɔ]; /_*C*, [ɾ(C)]: [aː]; ~ [ɔː]; /_ *l, n, m, f*+C: [ai]′, [au]ˣ; /*v*_: D	/_*kk, ll, tn, nd*: [a][ɑ]; /_*C*: V̄ > [a]; /-_[n]: [ɔ]; /_*l, rð*, and in a reflex of **sátr*: [ə]	[ə]; inflectional endings: /-_: [ə], ∅; /-_ *r*: [ə]±; /-_ (*r*)-: [ə]±, [i]′, ◡̂
§46	*á*	[aː][ɑː]; /_hiatus: [a][ɑ]	[a]; ~ [ɔ]; /-_: [a] > [aɣ] > (gen.) [aj]	
§47	*e*	[e]′, [ɛ]ˣ; ~ [i]; /_[ɬ̪], [ɾ]: [ɑ]	[ə]; /_*tt*: [e]; *-nes*: [i]; *-gerði*: [ɑ]	
§48	*é*	/_nasal: [ĩə̃]		
§49	*i*	[i]; /_*f*: [ɯ]˚, *v*_: [u̟]′; *-gi*: [j]; /_*C*: [iː]; /_*ld, nd*: [ei]	[i]	[ə]; /-_ *ng*: [i]′; /*-rð*_: [i]; /-_: ∅; in the article: [ə], ∅
§50	*í*	[iː]; /_nasal: [ĩə̃]; /*v*_: [j, C′]	[i]	[ə]ˣ
§51	[ĩː]	[ĩə̃]		

Bheir na clàran a leanas na prìomh leasachaidhean ann an atharrachaidhean fuaime bhon Lochlannais gu Gàidhlig na h-Albann air am faighear cunntas ann an Caibideil 7.

Co-fhreagraidhean Lochlannais-Gàidhlig: Fuaimreagan — Fig. 14

	SL	GA		
		Beumte	Lag-bheumte	Gun bheum
§45	*a*	[a][ɑ]; ~ [ɔ]; /_*C*, [ɾ(C)]: [aː]; ~ [ɔː]; /_ *l, n, m, f*+C: [ai]′, [au]ˣ; /*v*_: D	/_*kk, ll, tn, nd*: [a][ɑ]; /_*C*: F̄ > [a]; /-_[n]: [ɔ]; /_*l, rð*, agus ann an riochd aig **sátr*: [ə]	[ə]; dùnaidhean mùthaidh: /-_: [ə], ∅; /-_ *r*: [ə]±; /-_ (*r*)-: [ə]±, [i]′, ◡̂
§46	*á*	[aː][ɑː]; /_beàrnas: [a][ɑ]	[a]; ~ [ɔ]; /-_: [a] > [aɣ] > (gin.) [aj]	
§47	*e*	[e]′, [ɛ]ˣ; ~ [i]; /_[ɬ̪], [ɾ]: [ɑ]	[ə]; /_*tt*: [e]; *-nes*: [i]; *-gerði*: [ɑ]	
§48	*é*	/_srònach: [ĩə̃]		
§49	*i*	[i]; /_*f*: [ɯ]˚, *v*_: [u̟]′; *-gi*: [j]; /_*C*: [iː]; /_*ld, nd*: [ei]	[i]	[ə]; /-_ *ng*: [i]′; /*-rð*_: [i]; /-_: ∅; san alt: [ə], ∅
§50	*í*	[iː]; /_srònach: [ĩə̃]; /*v*_: [j, C′]	[i]	[ə]ˣ
§51	[ĩː]	[ĩə̃]		

App. III

§52	*o*	[ɔ]; /*b_*, *_f*, *pt*: [o]; [u̟]´; ~ [a][ɑ]; /*_ll*: [ɔu]ˣ; /*_Ɛ*: ([oː] >) [ua]	[ə] /*_kk*, *rg*: [ɔ]; /*_pt*: [o]; ~ [a][ɑ]; /*_Ɛ*: (V̄ >) ~ [a];	
§53	*ó*	[ɔː]; /_hiatus: [ɔ] [o]; ~ [ɑː]; ~ [uː]	[ɔː]; /*_f*: [o]; ~ [ɑ]	
§54	*u*	[u]; [u̟]´; ~ [o]; /*_m*, *nd*: [ɔu]ˣ; /*_Ɛ*: [uː]	[ə]	[ə]; [i][ɪ]´
§55	*ú*	[uː]ˣ; [u̟ː]´°; ~ [ɔː]	[ə]	[ə]
§56	*y*	[i]; ~ [e]; /*_Ɛ*: [iə]; [u̟]; /_-: [u̟]´; /_-: [(j)u]ˣ		
§57	*ý*	/_Cˣ°: [iː]; /C´_: [u̟ː]	[i]	
§58	*æ*	[eː]´; [ia]ˣ°; /_hiatus: [æ]±	[a][ɑ]ˣ°	

Eàrr. III

§52	*o*	[ɔ]; /*b_*, *_f*, *pt*: [o]; [u̟]´; ~ [a][ɑ]; /*_ll*: [ɔu]ˣ; /*_Ɛ*: ([oː] >) [ua]	[ə] /*_kk*, *rg*: [ɔ]; /*_pt*: [o]; ~ [a][ɑ]; /*_Ɛ*: (F̄ >) ~ [a];	
§53	*ó*	[ɔː]; /_beàrnas: [ɔ] [o]; ~ [ɑː]; ~ [uː]	[ɔː]; /*_f*: [o]; ~ [ɑ]	
§54	*u*	[u]; [u̟]´; ~ [o]; /*_m*, *nd*: [ɔu]ˣ; /*_Ɛ*: [uː]	[ə]	[ə]; [i][ɪ]´
§55	*ú*	[uː]ˣ; [u̟ː]´°; ~ [ɔː]	[ə]	[ə]
§56	*y*	[i]; ~ [e]; /*_Ɛ*: [iə]; [u̟]; /_-: [u̟]´; /_-: [(j)u]ˣ		
§57	*ý*	/_Cˣ°: [iː]; /C´_: [u̟ː]	[i]	
§58	*æ*	[eː]´; [ia]ˣ°; /_beàrnas: [æ]±	[a][ɑ]ˣ°	

§59	*ǿ*	[eː]; /_hiatus: [e]; ([eː] >) [ia]ˣ°		
§60	*ǫ*	[ɔ]; /_*r*C: [ɔː]; [o]; ~ [u][ʊ]; ~ [a][ɑ]; /_*fn*: [au]; /_*Ø*: [əː]	/_[d̥]: [ɔ]; /_*Ø*: (V̄ >) [a]	
§61	*ǫ́*	/_hiatus: [o]		
§62	*ai*	**aið*: [ui][əi]	[a]	
§63	*au*	[ɔː]; /_hiatus: [ɔ]; /_*-f, -g*: [oː]	/_*f*: [o]	[ɔ] *-auga*: [aǧ] §37 (ii) (f)
§64	*ay*	[u̥ː]′		
§65	*ei*	[eː]; ~ [iː]; [ia]ˣ°; /*v*_: [uə][ua]		[i]′
§66	*ey*	[eː]	[e(ʔ·)]; (/-_: C′[æj])	([ə])
§67	*ęi*			(/_*n*: [a])
§68	*iu*	C′[u̥ː]Cˣ°		
§69	*øy*	/-_: Cˣ°[aj, æj, ɛj], ([a])		

§59	*ǿ*	[eː]; /_beàrnas: [e]; ([eː] >) [ia]ˣ°		
§60	*ǫ*	[ɔ]; /_*r*C: [ɔː]; [o]; ~ [u][ʊ]; ~ [a][ɑ]; /_*fn*: [au]; /_*Ø*: [əː]	/_[d̥]: [ɔ]; /_*Ø*: (F̄ >) [a]	
§61	*ǫ́*	/_beàrnas: [o]		
§62	*ai*	**aið*: [ui][əi]	[a]	
§63	*au*	[ɔː]; /_beàrnas: [ɔ]; /_*-f, -g*: [oː]	/_*f*: [o]	[ɔ] *-auga*: [aǧ] §37 (ii) (f)
§64	*ay*	[u̥ː]′		
§65	*ei*	[eː]; ~ [iː]; [ia]ˣ°; /*v*_: [uə][ua]		[i]′
§66	*ey*	[eː]	[e(ʔ·)]; (/-_: C′[æj])	([ə])
§67	*ęi*			(/_*n*: [a])
§68	*iu*	C′[u̥ː]Cˣ°		
§69	*øy*	/-_: Cˣ°[aj, æj, ɛj], ([a])		

Norse-Gaelic correspondences: Consonants Fig. 15

		Initial position		Post-stress		Stress-less
		Stressed	Weakly stressed	Stressed	Weakly stressed	
§70	*p-*	[pʰ]	[b̥]			
	-p			[b̥]		
	-pp-			[ʰp]		
	-p			/_gen. *s*: [ʰp]		
	-pt			[ʰt̪]ˣ; [ʰtʲ]′	[ʰt̪]ˣ	
§71	*b-*	[b̥]	[b̥]; /[s̪, ʂ]_: [p]			
	br-	[b̥ɾ]ˣ; [b̥ɾʲ]′	[b̥ɾ]ˣ			
§72	*t-*	[t̪ʰ]ˣ; [tʲʰ](′)	[t̪]			
	-t			[d̥]ˣ; [d̥ʲ]′		art.: ∅
	-tt(-)			[ʰt̪]ˣ; [ʰtʲ]′	[ʰtʲ]′	
	-tn			[ʰt̪]ˣ	[ʰt̪]ˣ	
	-ts (*z*)			[ʰt̪s̪]ˣ > [ʰt̪Fs̪]; /_*s′*: ∅		
	-tr			[d̥ər]ˣ	[d̥ər]ˣ	
§73	*d-*	[d̥]ˣ; [d̥ʲ]′	[d̥]ˣ			
	-dd-			[d̥]ˣ		
	dr-	[d̥ɾ]				
§74	*k-*	[kʰ]ˣ; [kʲʰ]′	[kʲ]′			
	-k			[g̊]ˣ; [g̊ʲ]′	[g̊]ˣ; [g̊ʲ]′	/_*s*: ∅
	-kk(-)			[ʰk]ˣ	[ʰk]ˣ	

Co-fhreagraidhean Lochlannais-Gàidhlig: Connragan Fig. 15

		Suidheachadh toisich		Iar-bheumach		Gun bheum
		Beumte	Lag-bheumte	Beumte	Lag-bheumte	
§70	*p-*	[pʰ]	[b̥]			
	-p			[b̥]		
	-pp-			[ʰp]		
	-p			/_*s*-ghin.:[ʰp]		
	-pt			[ʰt̪]ˣ; [ʰtʲ]′	[ʰt̪]ˣ	
§71	*b-*	[b̥]	[b̥]; /[s̪, ʂ]_: [p]			
	br-	[b̥ɾ]ˣ; [b̥ɾʲ]′	[b̥ɾ]ˣ			
§72	*t-*	[t̪ʰ]ˣ; [tʲʰ](′)	[t̪]			
	-t			[d̥]ˣ; [d̥ʲ]′		alt: ∅
	-tt(-)			[ʰt̪]ˣ; [ʰtʲ]′	[ʰtʲ]′	
	-tn			[ʰt̪]ˣ	[ʰt̪]ˣ	
	-ts (*z*)			[ʰt̪s̪]ˣ > [ʰt̪Fs̪]; /_*s′*: ∅		
	-tr			[d̥ər]ˣ	[d̥ər]ˣ	
§73	*d-*	[d̥]ˣ; [d̥ʲ]′	[d̥]ˣ			
	-dd-			[d̥]ˣ		
	dr-	[d̥ɾ]				
§74	*k-*	[kʰ]ˣ; [kʲʰ]′	[kʲ]′			
	-k			[g̊]ˣ; [g̊ʲ]′	[g̊]ˣ; [g̊ʲ]′	/_*s*: ∅
	-kk(-)			[ʰk]ˣ	[ʰk]ˣ	

	kj-	/_V$^{\times}$: [kʲʰ]				
	kl-	[kʰl̥̈]$^{\times}$; [kʰl]′	[kl]′	[ʰkl̥̈]$^{\times}$		
	kr-	[kʰɾ]		?[kʰɾ]$^{\times}$; ?[kʰɾʲ]′		
	-ks (*x*)	[ʰks̈]				
	kv-	[kʰui (> kʰəi), kʰu̥ː, kʰuj]		[g̊v (kv)]		
§75	*g-*	[g̊]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲ]′	[g̊]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲ]′; /[ʃ]_:[kʲ]; /[ʂ]_:[k]			
	-g(-)			/V̆_: [ɣ]; /V_V: hiatus; /_C: ∅; /V̄_: (finally) [ɣ], (otherwise) ∅	/V̄_: (finally) [ɣ]	
	-gð-			hiatus		
	-gs			[ʰks̈]		
	-gg-			[g̊]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲ]′		
	gl-	[g̊l̥̈]$^{\times}$				
	-gn			C[n]		
	gr-	[g̊ɾ]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲɾʲ]′	[g̊ɾ]$^{\times}$			
§76	*þ-*	[h]; [ẗ̪ʰ]$^{\times}$; [tʲʰ]′				
	þj-	[hj]				

	kj-	/_F$^{\times}$: [kʲʰ]				
	kl-	[kʰl̥̈]$^{\times}$; [kʰl]′	[kl]′	[ʰkl̥̈]$^{\times}$		
	kr-	[kʰɾ]		?[kʰɾ]$^{\times}$; ?[kʰɾʲ]′		
	-ks (*x*)	[ʰks̈]				
	kv-	[kʰui (> kʰəi), kʰu̥ː, kʰuj]		[g̊v (kv)]		
§75	*g-*	[g̊]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲ]′	[g̊]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲ]′; /[ʃ]_:[kʲ]; /[ʂ]_:[k]			
	-g(-)			/F̆_: [ɣ]; /F_F: beàrnas; /_C: ∅; /F̄_: (aig an deireadh) [ɣ], (eile) ∅	/F̄_: (aig an deireadh) [ɣ]	
	-gð-			beàrnas		
	-gs			[ʰks̈]		
	-gg-			[g̊]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲ]′		
	gl-	[g̊l̥̈]$^{\times}$				
	-gn			C[n]		
	gr-	[g̊ɾ]$^{\times}$; [g̊ʲɾʲ]′	[g̊ɾ]$^{\times}$			
§76	*þ-*	[h]; [ẗ̪ʰ]$^{\times}$; [tʲʰ]′				
	þj-	[hj]				

	þr-	[t̪ʰɾ]				
§77	*f-*	[f]; [v]				
	-f			[v]; [f] /V̄_: ∅		
	-f-			/V_V: [v], [f], hiatus; /_*s*: ∅		
	-fð			hiatus		
	ff-		[v] /*s*_: ∅ *ff*(*ǫrð*): /V_: [f], [h], hiatus; /C_: ∅			
	fl-	[f̪]ˣ; [pʰɬ̪]ˣ				
	-fn			Ṽ[n̪] (Ṽ[n])	[n]	
§78	*v-*	[u-]ˣ; [u̯][u̯ı]′; [v]+rounded V; [v]; [f]; [b̥]	[v]; ∅			
	-v			[v]		
§79	*-ð*			/-V̆_: ∅; /_*C*: ∅; /V̆_V: hiatus; *aið*: [ui][əi]; /V̄_C: ∅; /V̄_*s*′: [ʰt̪ʲ], ∅; /V̄_V: hiatus, but **Viðǫy*: [j]	/V̆_V: V̄	[ɣ]/∅

	þr-	[t̪ʰɾ]				
§77	*f-*	[f]; [v]				
	-f			[v]; [f] /F̄_: ∅		
	-f-			/F_F: [v], [f], beàrnas; /_*s*: ∅		
	-fð			beàrnas		
	ff-		[v] /*s*_: ∅ *ff*(*ǫrð*): /F_: [f], [h], beàrnas; /C_: ∅			
	fl-	[f̪]ˣ; [pʰɬ̪]ˣ				
	-fn			F̃[n̪] (F̃[n])	[n]	
§78	*v-*	[u-]ˣ; [u̯][u̯ı]′; [v]+F chruinn; [v]; [f]; [b̥]	[v]; ∅			
	-v			[v]		
§79	*-ð*			/-F̆_: ∅; /_*C*: ∅; /F̆_F: beàrnas; *aið*: [ui][əi]; /F̄_C: ∅; /F̄_*s*′: [ʰt̪ʲ], ∅; /F̄_F: beàrnas ach **Viðǫy*: [j]	/F̆_F: F̄	[ɣ]/∅

§80	*s-*	[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′	[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′; /*r*_: [s̪]			
	-s			[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′	[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′	[s̪]ˣ
	genitive *s*		[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′; /_*fj*: [ʃv] (> [ʃ]); /_*fjǫrð*: [s̪ɔd̥]; /_*v*: [s̪(V)v]ˣ, [ʃVv]′; /_*r*(*ð*)*sv*: [s̪]			
	sj-	[ʃ]				
	sk-	[s̪k]ˣ; [s̪kʲ]′	[s̪k]; [ʃkʲ]′			
	sl-	[s̪ɬ]ˣ				
	sm-	[s̪m]				
	st-	[s̪t]ˣ; [ʃtʲ]′	[s̪t]ˣ; [ʃtʲ]′; /_*r*: [s̪t]			
	stj-	[ʃtʲ]				
	str-	[s̪tɾ]				
	sv-	∅ (#311 (i)); [s̪] + D				
§81	*h-*	∅; A after the art.; [t̪ʰ]ˣ; [tʲʰ]′; [h]	∅; /*rð*_: [d̥]			
	hj-	[kʲʰ]; [tʲʰ]; [ʃ]				

§80	*s-*	[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′	[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′; /*r*_: [s̪]			
	-s			[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′	[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′	[s̪]ˣ
	-s ghinideach		[s̪]ˣ; [ʃ]′; /_*fj*: [ʃv] (> [ʃ]); /_*fjǫrð*: [s̪ɔd̥] /_*v*: [s̪(F)v]ˣ, [ʃFv]′; /_*r*(*ð*)*sv*: [s̪]			
	sj-	[ʃ]				
	sk-	[s̪k]ˣ; [s̪kʲ]′	[s̪k]; [ʃkʲ]′			
	sl-	[s̪ɬ]ˣ				
	sm-	[s̪m]				
	st-	[s̪t]ˣ; [ʃtʲ]′	[s̪t]ˣ; [ʃtʲ]′; /_*r*: [s̪t]			
	stj-	[ʃtʲ]				
	str-	[s̪tɾ]				
	sv-	∅ (#311 (i)); [s̪] + D				
§81	*h-*	∅; A an dèidh uilt; [t̪ʰ]ˣ; [tʲʰ]′; [h]	∅; /*rð*_: [d̥]			
	hj-	[kʲʰ]; [tʲʰ]; [ʃ]				

App. III

	hl-	[ʎ̪]′	[l]′			
	hr-	[kʰɾ]ˣ; [ɽ]				
	hv-	[kʰ]ˣ; [f]; [pʰ]; /_*amm*: [hũãm > hõːm]; [v]; [b̥]; /_*amm*: [ũãm]	∅; [g̊v]			
§82	*n-*	[n̪]ˣ; [ɲ̪]′	[n]′			
	-n			*[n̪]ˣ > [n]; *[ɲ]′: /V′_ > [n], ∅; /Vˣ_ > [ɲ̪]	*[ɲ]′ > [n]	**Ofan-* ?> [ãva]-
	-nn(-)			[n̪]ˣ	[ɲ]′	
	-n(*n*)					art.: ∅, [n]
	-nd			/Vˣ_: [n̪d̥]; /V′_: [n̪d̥], [V̄ɲ̪d̥ʲ], [ɲ̪]	[n̪]ˣ ([ɲ̪]′), [n]ˣ, [d̥]ˣ	
	-ng			[ŋg̊]ˣ; [ŋg̊]ˣ > [ɣ]		/-_: [ɲ̪]′; /-_-: ∅
§83	*m-*	[m]	[m]			
	-m			[m]	[m]	
	-mm			[m]		
	-mb			[m]		
	-mn			[m͡n]		
	-ms			[m͡ʃ]′		

Eàrr. III

	hl-	[ʎ̪]′	[l]′			
	hr-	[kʰɾ]ˣ; [ɽ]				
	hv-	[kʰ]ˣ; [f]; [pʰ]; /_*amm*: [hũãm > hõːm]; [v]; [b̥]; /_*amm*: [ũãm]	∅; [g̊v]			
§82	*n-*	[n̪]ˣ; [ɲ̪]′	[n]′			
	-n			*[n̪]ˣ > [n]; *[ɲ]′: /F′_ > [n], ∅; /Fˣ_ > [ɲ̪]	*[ɲ]′ > [n]	**Ofan-* ?> [ãva]-
	-nn(-)			[n̪]ˣ	[ɲ]′	
	-n(*n*)					alt: ∅, [n]
	-nd			/Fˣ_: [n̪d̥]; /F′_: [n̪d̥], [F̄ɲ̪d̥ʲ], [ɲ̪]	[n̪]ˣ ([ɲ̪]′), [n]ˣ, [d̥]ˣ	
	-ng			[ŋg̊]ˣ; [ŋg̊]ˣ > [ɣ]		/-_: [ɲ̪]′; /-_-: ∅
§83	*m-*	[m]	[m]			
	-m			[m]	[m]	
	-mm			[m]		
	-mb			[m]		
	-mn			[m͡n]		
	-ms			[m͡ʃ]′		

§84	*l-*	[l̪]ˣ; [ʎ̪]′	/*t*(*n*)_: [l̪̥t̪]ˣ, [ʎ̪̥tʲ]′			
	-l			[l̪]ˣ; /_*s*t̪ˣ: ∅; [l]′	[l̪]ˣ; /_*s*t̪ˣ: ∅; [l]′	[l̪]ˣ; [l]′; /_*s*′: ∅
	-ll(-)			/-_: [l̪]ˣ;	/-_: [l̪]ˣ; /-_-: [ʎ̪]′	
	-ld			[l̪̥t̪]ˣ; [ʎ̪̥tʲ]′		[l̪]ˣ
	-lf			[l̪͡f]		
	-lk			[l̪̥k]ˣ		
	-lm			[l̪͡m]	[Øm] > [V̆m]	[Vm]; /'V_: [l̪]
	-lpt			[ʎ̪̥tʲ]′;		
	-lt			[l̪̥t̪]ˣ; /*a*_*s*ˣ: [auˢ̪]		
§85	*r-*	[ɾ]	[ɾ]			
	-r			[ɾ]ˣ; [ɾʲ]′	[ɾʲ]′	[ɾ(ʲ)]; /-_˳-: [ɾ]/∅
	-rr			[ɾ]		
	-rð			[ɾ] /_*d*: [d̪̥]; /_*s*: [s̪]; /_*h*: [d̪̥]; [ɾɣ][ɾɣ]; *byrðing*: -[l̪̊]-	-[ɾ]-; -[ɾʲ] *fjǫrð*: -[d̪̥]	
	-rf			/-_: [ɾ͡v]; /_C: [ɾ͡∅]; /_V: [ɾ͡-V] > [ɾə]		

§84	*l-*	[l̪]ˣ; [ʎ̪]′	/*t*(*n*)_: [l̪̥t̪]ˣ, [ʎ̪̥tʲ]′			
	-l			[l̪]ˣ; /_*s*t̪ˣ: ∅; [l]′	[l̪]ˣ; /_*s*t̪ˣ: ∅; [l]′	[l̪]ˣ; [l]′; /_*s*′: ∅
	-ll(-)			/-_: [l̪]ˣ;	/-_: [l̪]ˣ; /-_-: [ʎ̪]′	
	-ld			[l̪̥t̪]ˣ; [ʎ̪̥tʲ]′		[l̪]ˣ
	-lf			[l̪͡f]		
	-lk			[l̪̥k]ˣ		
	-lm			[l̪͡m]	[Øm] > [V̆m]	[Fm]; /'F_: [l̪]
	-lpt			[ʎ̪̥tʲ]′;		
	-lt			[l̪̥t̪]ˣ; /*a*_*s*ˣ: [auˢ̪]		
§85	*r-*	[ɾ]	[ɾ]			
	-r			[ɾ]ˣ; [ɾʲ]′	[ɾʲ]′	[ɾ(ʲ)]; /-_˳-: [ɾ]/∅
	-rr			[ɾ]		
	-rð			[ɾ] /_*d*: [d̪̥]; /_*s*: [s̪]; /_*h*: [d̪̥]; [ɾɣ][ɾɣ]; *byrðing*: -[l̪̊]-	-[ɾ]-; -[ɾʲ] *fjǫrð*: -[d̪̥]	
	-rf			/-_: [ɾ͡v]; /_C: [ɾ͡∅]; /_F: [ɾ͡-F] > [ɾə]		

	-rg			[ɾ]ˣ; -[ɾ͡ɣ]; /_V: [ɾ͡ɣ/ɾ͡-]ˣ; /_C: [ɾ͡ʲ]′; /_V: [ɾ͡ʲ-]′; *-rgi*: [ɾ͡ʲj]′	-[ɾ͡]; *-rgi*: [ɾ͡ʲj]′, > [ɾʲi]	
	-rk			[ɻk]ˣ; [ɻʲkʲ]′		
	-rl			[l̠]		
	-rm			[ɾ̠m]		
	-rn			[ɳ]		
	r + *s*			[ʂ]; *rðs*: [ʂ]; *rsg*, *rsk*: [ʂk]; *rst*: [ʂt̠]		
	-rt			[ʂt̠]; *rtb*: [ʂp]		

	-rg			[ɾ]ˣ; -[ɾ͡ɣ]; /_V: [ɾ͡ɣ/ɾ͡-]ˣ; /_C: [ɾ͡ʲ]′; /_V: [ɾ͡ʲ-]′; *-rgi*: [ɾ͡ʲj]′	-[ɾ͡]; *-rgi*: [ɾ͡ʲj]′, > [ɾʲi]	
	-rk			[ɻk]ˣ; [ɻʲkʲ]′		
	-rl			[l̠]		
	-rm			[ɾ̠m]		
	-rn			[ɳ]		
	r + *s*			[ʂ]; *rðs*: [ʂ]; *rsg*, *rsk*: [ʂk]; *rst*: [ʂt̠]		
	-rt			[ʂt̠]; *rtb*: [ʂp]		