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Place-names of the Carloway Registry, Isle of Lewis

Richard Anthony Victor Cox

Volume One

Presented to the Faculty of Arts

University of Glasgow

in fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

- March 1987 -

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ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	accusative	HGD	see bibliography
ACH	tnshp of <i>An t-Acha' Mòr</i>	HSS	see bibliography
adj.	adjective	Ice.	Icelandic
AN	Anglo-Norman	impv.	imperative
arch.	archaic	incl.	inclusive
art.	article	Ir.	Irish
AS	Anglo-Saxon	KAS	see bibliography
assim.	assimilation	L	par. of <i>Na Lochan</i>
B	par. of <i>Barbhas</i>	Lat.	Latin
BERN	tnshp of <i>Beàrmaraidh</i>	len.	lenition, lenited
BM	Bokmål	lit.	literally
BOR	tnshp of <i>Borghaston</i>	ln.	loan-name
BRA	tnshp of <i>Bràgair</i>	Lnb.	see bibliography
BRI	tnshp of <i>Britheascleit</i>	LOCH	tnshp of <i>Loch Gainmhich</i>
c	contrastive modifier	lw.	loan-word
CAL	tnshp of <i>Callanais</i>	m	modifier
cat.	category	m., masc.	masculine
CG	see bibliography	ME	Middle English
CIR	tnshp of <i>Cirbhig</i>	mod.	modern
cogn.	cognate	Mx.	Manx
coll.	collective	NE	see bibliography
comp.	comparative	NG	see bibliography
contr.	contrast with	NN	Nynorsk
cpd.	compound	nom.	nominative
CR	Carloway Registry	non-len.	non-lenition, non-lenited
DAIL	tnshp of <i>Na Dailean</i>	nt., neut.	neuter
DB	<i>Daile Beag</i> , in DAIL	num.	numeric
dat.	dative	obj.	object
delen.	delenition, delenited	obl.	oblique
denom.	denominative	occ.	occasionally
DF	see bibliography	OE	Old English
dial.	dialectal	OFr.	Old French
dimin.	diminutive	OIr.	Old Irish
disyll.	disyllabic	ON	Old Norse
DM	<i>Daile Mòr</i> , in DAIL	orig.	originally
doc.	documentation	OW	Old Welsh
Don.	Donegal	pal.	palatalised
Du.	Dutch	par.	parish
DUN	tnshp of <i>An Dùn</i>	para.	paragraph
Eng.	English	part.	past participle
EIr.	Early Irish	persn.	personal-name
esp.	especially	pl.	plural
etym.	etymology	pn.	place-name
exx.	examples	pres.	present
f., fem.	feminine	prob.	probably
Far.	Faroese	pron.	pronoun
f.etym.	folk etymology	Proto-Scand.	Proto-Scandinavian
fr.	from	rad.	radical
Fr.	French	rel.	relative
g; G	generic; generic group	resp.	respectively
G.	Gaelic	RIA	see bibliography
GA	tnshp of <i>Geàrr' na h-Aibhne</i>	RSGS	see bibliography
Gaz.	Gazetteer	s; S	specific; specific group
GEARR	tnshp of <i>Na Geàrrannan</i>	S	par. of <i>Steòrnabhagh</i>
gen.	genitive	SD	tnshp of <i>Siabost a Deas</i>
GP	see bibliography	sg.	singular

SND see bibliography
ST tnshp of *Siabost a Tuath*
subst. substantive
suff. suffix
Sw. Swedish
TOL tnshp of *Tolstadh a' Chaolais*
tnshp township
trad. tradition
TS *An Taobh Siar*
U par. of *Uig*
var. variant
vb. verb
vn. verbal-noun
voc. vocative
W. Welsh
wk. weak

SUMMARY

This work is an analysis of the Gaelic place-nomenclature of the Carloway Registry, an area of about 150 square kilometers on the west coast of the Island of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides. Intensive research in the field has produced nearly 3000 names, and these are dealt with individually in a gazetteer of the place-names (Volume 2) covering pronunciation, documentation and location, as well as questions of meaning and derivation. A description of various aspects of the Carloway Registry (topographic, economic, linguistic etc.) is given in the Introduction (Volume 1, section 1) defining the nature of the area from which the names are drawn.

The remaining sections of Volume 1 form an analysis of the nomenclature as a whole, in terms of structure, form, lexis and chronology. Sections 2-5 deal primarily with name-structure (prefaced by a discussion on questions of the origin and function of place-names); here the important distinctions between syntactical, onomastic and semantic treatments are observed. Consequent upon this detailed examination of name-structure, a clear picture of the development of the nomenclature is achieved.

Sections 6-9 contribute to a description of the forms of names, studying patterns of stress, aspects of morphology, the use of prepositions with names, and certain phonetic phenomena characteristic of the nomenclature. Section 10 deals with the Old Norse reconstructed names in terms of structure and the phonological development from Old Norse to Gaelic.

Section 11 analyses the Gaelic onomasticon, classifying elements identified in the nomenclature. Here, from sub-sections on natural features, flora and fauna, anthroponymy, settlement, cultivation, trades,

law, custom etc., a profile is built up of the physical characteristics of the area and of the nature and activities of the community there.

Section 12 looks at the non-Gaelic element in the nomenclature, assessing Pictish, English and Norse influence through classification of loan-words and loan-names.

Finally, section 13 deals with the question of chronology. The difficulties inherent in dating place-names mean that few names are treated individually here, but by drawing both upon the results of foregoing analysis and upon some external sources a broad chronology is developed both for Gaelic name-structures and for Norse settlement in the area.

§1 Introduction

§1.1 Aim and scope.

The aim of this research has been to record the place-nomenclature of one particular area and to study it with regard to origin, form, structure and chronology, and to draw out any points of cultural, political or socio-economic significance from the names. There is an emphasis, however, on onomastic and linguistic aspects of the nomenclature.

Although previous place-name surveys in Scotland have frequently been concerned with some given area, e.g. Forbes' 'Place-names of Skye' (1923) and MacBain's 'Inverness Names' (1895), I am aware of no study that has attempted to record ALL the names of the area¹. When deciding on the scope of this work, this itself seemed a worthwhile task to undertake. There was also the intriguing question of how many Norse loan-names there were in Lewis, compared with the number of Gaelic ones. MacBain (1922: 70, 167) gives a figure from maps and directories of 4 Norse : 1 Gaelic. My experience of Lewis suggested the ratio would be found to be totally inaccurate were detailed coverage of the area made.

The area for this research is delimited fortuitously by the Carloway Registry (§1.3) for I had originally thought to cover a much larger portion of Lewis. The volume of names I was receiving however, soon forced me to reduce the area to be covered. The intensive coverage achieved has been exceptionally rewarding: many important names have come to light that more selective investigation would have failed to find. Of course, many names that present no problem in themselves have also been

recorded in the process, but as a result we have a full and unbiased account of the nomenclature.

By positive discrimination, however, in favour of the traditional local nomenclature, I have excluded some categories of names. I have ignored house and most road-names which as a rule are only used by the postal services. Crofts which are numbered Lot 1, 2 etc. (although they are often referred to with use of the occupant's name or nickname, e.g. *Lot Iain Ruaidh*, *Lot an t-Siorraidh* 'Red-haired Iain's and the Sheriff's lot' respectively - see Gaz.) have also been excluded except for a few examples.

A further but more important limitation in scope is that only Gaelic names have been included. By GAELIC NAMES I mean both those created by Gaelic speakers and those which, while having been created by speakers of another language, have been adapted to the phonological system of the Gaelic dialect of the area. This matter, with an account of those names which in consequence are excluded, is more fully discussed in §1.6.

There is one other point concerning terminology here: the term OLD NORSE is used instead of Old West Scandinavian. For a name which now forms the whole or part of a (Gaelic) name which is derived from Old Norse, I use the term NORSE LOAN-NAME. It is preferable to the albeit conventional term NORSE NAME, suggesting as it does that the element in question is of (in this case) a Gaelic nomenclature, that it was borrowed, and that the donor language was Old Norse. The term Norse loan-name is simply on a par with the term Norse loan-word. Similarly, I use the terms English loan-name or loan-word etc. where appropriate.

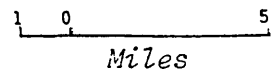
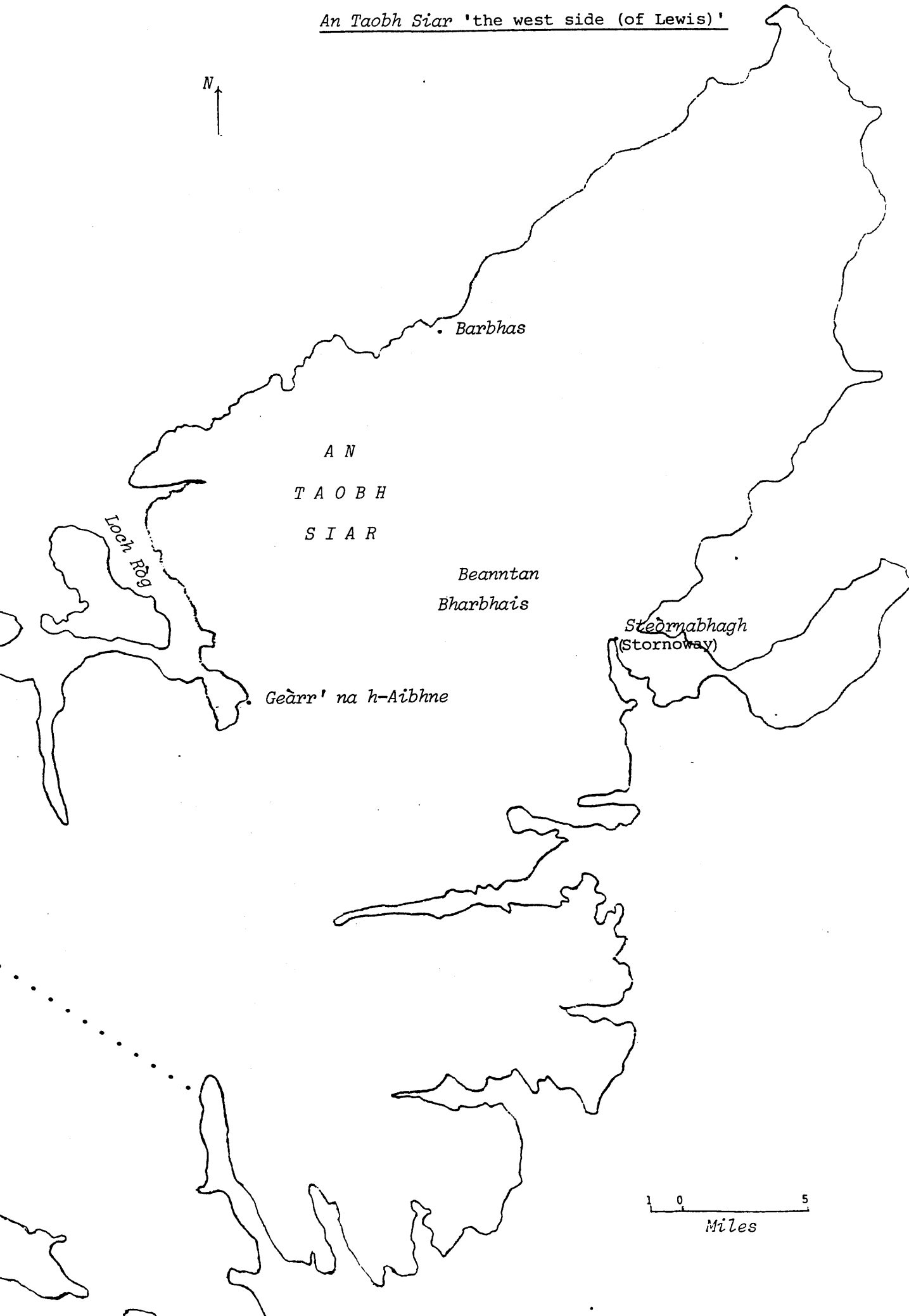
§1.2 Location and topography.

The Western Isles or Outer Hebrides lie off the west coast of the Scottish mainland. Apart from *Rònaidh* and *Sùlaisgeir*, (the Isle of) Lewis is the most northerly of this archipelago. The geographical area of this study forms the southern part of *An Taobh Siar* 'the west side (of Lewis)'.

An Taobh Siar (TS) extends along the coast from *Barbhas* to *Geàrr' na h-Aìbhne* and inland to a line just west of *Beanntan Bharbhais* (Map 1). The southern half of the coastline lies within the deeply penetrating fiord *Loch Ròg*. The northern half faces north-west and the Atlantic Ocean. There are many bays, coves, creeks and ravines, and one deep fiord at the mouth of *Loch Ròg*. The coastal belt is craggy and mountainous, though less so at the northern and southern extremities. Inland there are numerous lakes and watercourses in open moorland, where it is generally flatter, with undulating hills. TS lies midway between the mountains to the south and the relatively level terrain to the north, and shows the characteristics of both.

For historical reasons, for communications and food resources, almost all villages are located round the coast. The acidic soil conditions of the interior will have also debarred agriculturally based communities from developing inland. It is generally assumed at a popular level that the island was deforested due to a scorched earth policy on the part of Norse raiders². At the beginning of the Atlantic period (5300 to 3200 BC) the islands off the west coast of Scotland were as wooded as the rest of Britain at the time. We do not have to doubt that burning houses, crops and other resources was a strategic element of attack - but the formation of peat, man's action on forestation for

An Taobh Siar 'the west side (of Lewis)'



building materials and food, and the deteriorating climatic conditions of the sub-Atlantic period during the later Bronze and Iron Ages³, make it unlikely that the area was much more wooded than it is today at the time of the earliest Norse settlement.

§1.3 A geo-cultural and political outline.

Lewis is divided into four administrative districts or parishes (Map 2). These are *Barbhas* (B) Barvas, *Uig* (U) Uig, *Na Lochan* (L) Lochs and *Stedrnabhagh* (S) Stornoway. They are part of the larger administrative region or island authority, the Western Isles. The Carloway Registry (for births, deaths and marriages) lies partly within B and partly within U. The Carloway Registry (CR) was established in 1859, at a time when the southern part of our area lay within U and the northern part constituted a detached section of L. After 1891, B was extended from the north and U from the south, so doing away with the detached portion of L.

CR is not a separate entity within TS. It is only because time and resources have not allowed otherwise that the nomenclature of CR rather than TS forms the raw material for this study, and not because there are any particular criteria which distinguishes CR within TS. Indeed, there is no name for CR in the nomenclature (as defined in §1.6). However, the term conveniently allows us to call our area something distinguishable from TS.

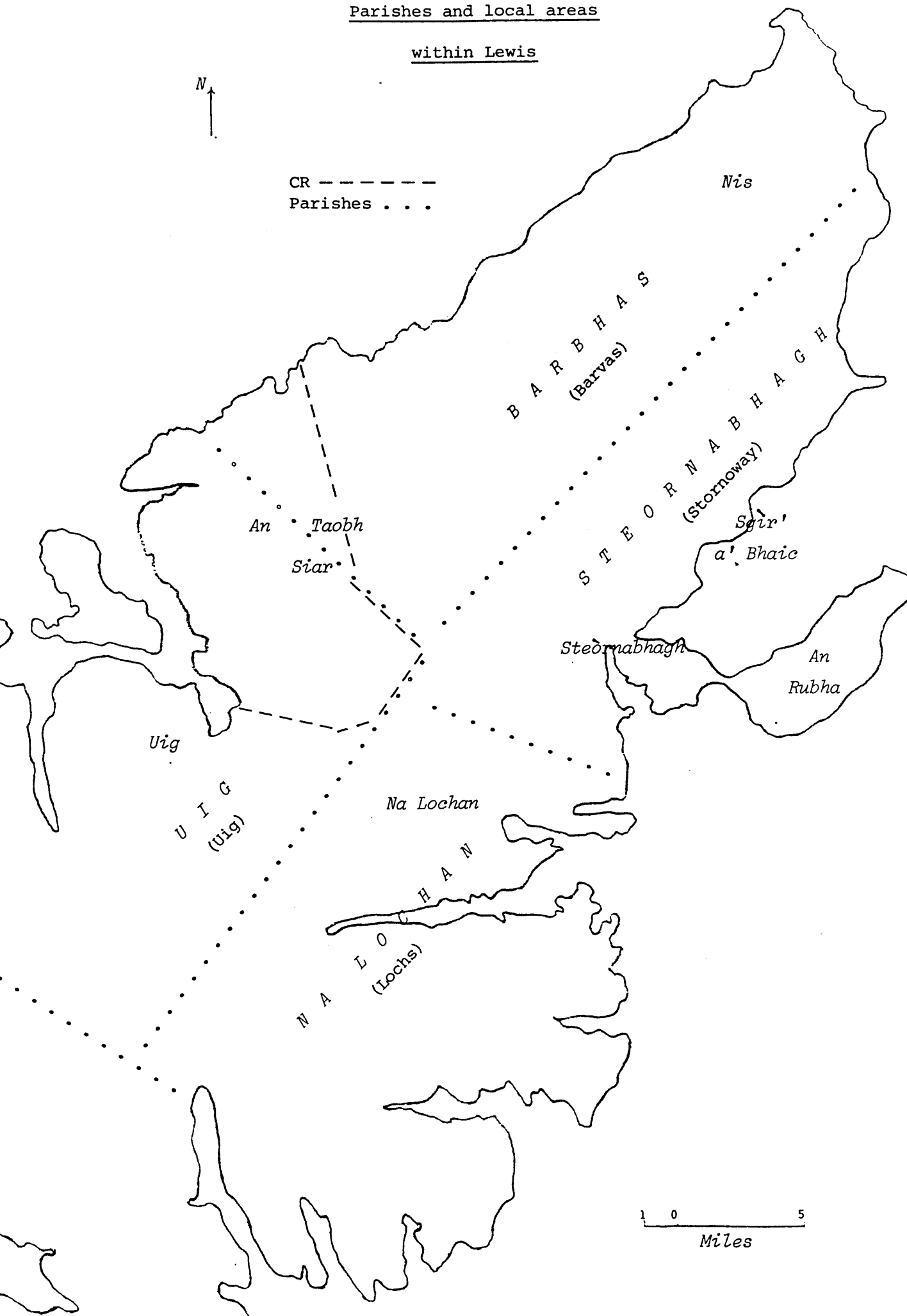
TS is one of several local areas in Lewis. Equivalent

Parishes and local areas

within Lewis



CR - - - - -
Parishes



1 0 5
Miles

to the north and south are *Nis* and *Uig*⁴ (Map 2) respectively. These areas are chiefly defined geographically, but to some extent historically by clan and ancient ecclesiastical divisions. Lewis is culturally homogenous, but minor characteristic differences do occur between some of these areas, for example in language, implements or methods of husbandry and, rarely, in looks.

§1.4 The townships. (Map 3)

The township is an autonomous agriculturally based community, consisting of a village (with the exception of *Na Dailean*, for which see below), its pasture and moorland. The term VILLAGE here implies a settlement alongwith its crofting lands. In theory the village contains a number of crofts or parcels of land with dwelling-house, byre etc., and ground for hay and tillage. In practice, it also contains houses on small stances of land⁵ whose occupants (at least for this reason) are not crofters.

There are 13 townships in CR (Fig.1) varying considerably in size, from below one to around five thousand acres. The number of crofts and the size of settlement in each is correspondingly varied. Since the townships in every case but one bear the names of their villages, confusion will be avoided by representing townships by abbreviated forms and villages by the full forms of their names. The exception is the township *Na Dailean* whose two settlements are separated by a mountain-range. As it would stretch the sense of the word too far, we cannot realistically say that these form a village, therefore

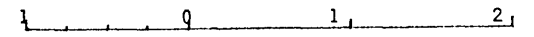
The Townships of CR

-50 Grid Letters NB 20

25

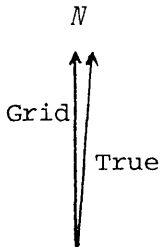
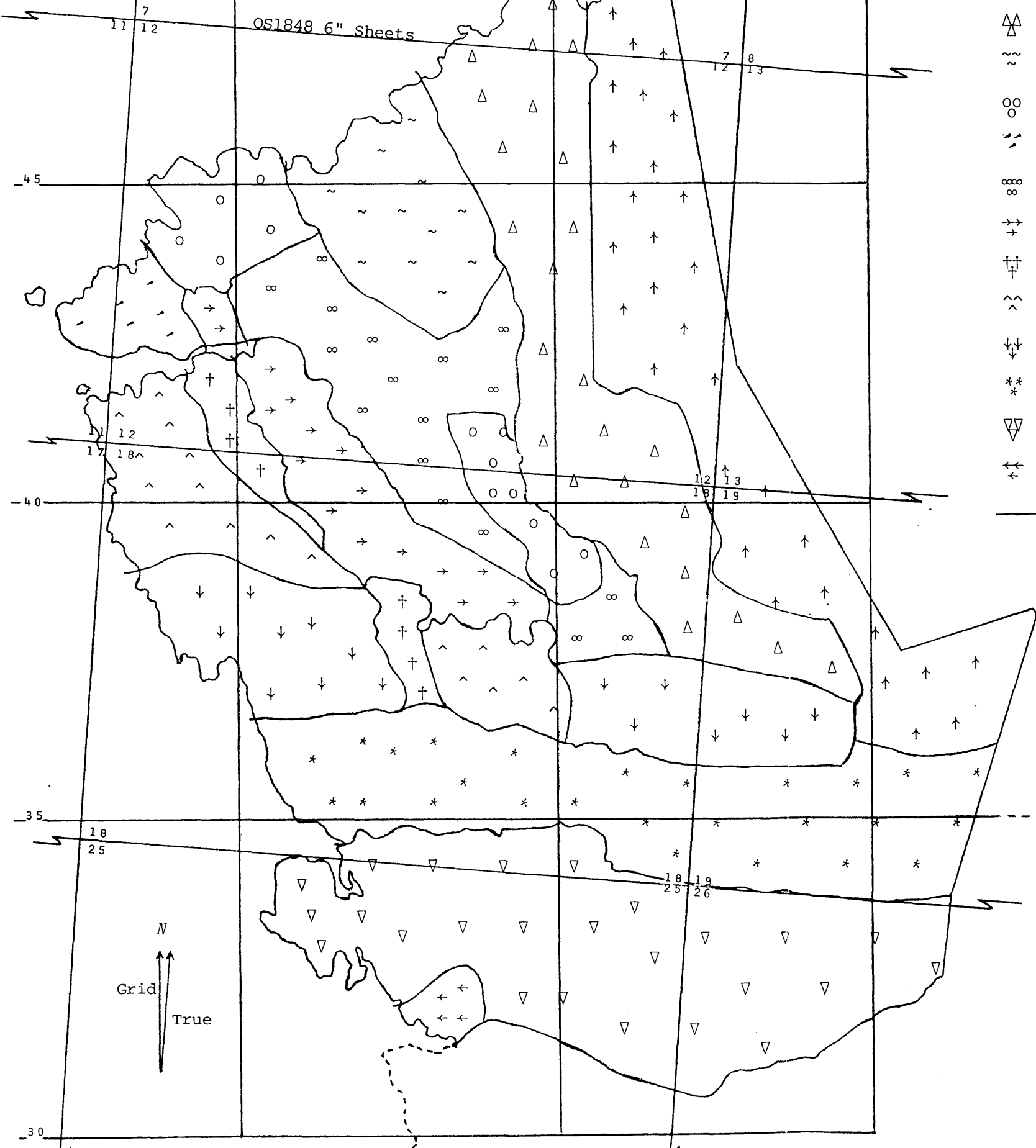
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Scale in miles



OS1848 6" Sheets

- ↑↑ *Siabost a Tuath* (ST)
- △△ *Siabost a Deas* (SD)
- ≈≈ *Na Dailean* (DAIL)
- *Na Geàrrannan* (GEARR)
- ∞∞ *Borghaston* (BOR)
- ∞∞ *Càrlabhagh* (CARL)
- *An Cnoc* (CN)
- †† *Cirbhig* (CIR)
- ^^ *An Dùn* (DUN)
- ↓↓ *Tolstadh* (TOL)
- ** *Britheascleit* (BRI)
- ▽▽ *Callanais* (CAL)
- ←← *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* (GA)



The Townships of CR.

Fig. 1

Township	Abbr.	Acreage [*]	Crofts	Population [†]	Parish
<i>Siabost a Tuath</i>	ST	4593	91	247	B
<i>Siabost a Deas</i>	SD	4776	45	211	B
<i>Na Dailean</i>	DAIL	2125	16		B
<i>Càrlabhagh</i>	CARL		56	178	U
<i>Na Geàrrannan</i>	GEARR	1573	27		U
<i>Borghaston</i>	BOR		16		U
<i>An Cnoc</i>	CN		30	138	U
<i>Cirbhig</i>	CIR	790	13		U
<i>An Dùn</i>	DUN	3293	23		U
<i>Tolstadh</i>	TOL		29		U
<i>Britheascleit</i>	BRI		44	234	U
<i>Callanais</i>	CAL		52	124	U
<i>Geàrr' na h-Aibhne</i>	GA		12		U

* These figures are given after the accounts of the marches of the townships concerned; for the other townships, either no figures or no accounts were available from the factors.

† Figures from The Index of Scottish Place-names from the 1971 Census (HMSO). Where no figure is given, the population is below 100. Equivalent figures are not available from the 1981 Census.

Na Dailean is also an exception with regard to the definition of township above. Strictly speaking, the villages of the remaining townships are conglomerations of two or more early settlement areas with or without later extensions.

Beyond the village, inland, is the pasture and moorland. These were separated at one time by turf dykes but now by fencing. In many parts the pasture is no different from the moor, affording only poor grazing. Nearer the village, though, the pasture has generally been improved by reseeded. Sections of the village share grazing

rights in fenced 'reseedings' or 'surface-seedings' as they are called. These have very occasionally been created in the moor. Otherwise the village shares the pasture and moorland collectively, although flocks and, where they exist, herds have habitual grazing areas.

Townships are owned by absentee landlords, in this case corporations, estates to whom crofters and non-crofting feu-holders pay rent. In both DAIL and CAL there is a small leased farm in addition to the crofting communities, but separate from them.

§1.5 The economy.

The Napier Commission, set up in 1883, defined the term CROFTER as 'a small tenant of land with or without a lease, who finds in the cultivation of his holding a material portion of his occupation, earnings, and sustenance, and who pays rent directly to the proprietor'⁶. This is not to say that at times in the past communities have not had to depend entirely on the land, according to the availability of other work. It is not unfair to say that today the majority of crofts are poorly utilised, and this is mainly due to the incompatibility of crofting with other types of work available.

Weaving and fishing have traditionally been the supporting occupations within the communities. However, while there are a total of 454 crofts in CR, there are at present only 216 weavers⁷. ST and GEARR host mills which employ 61 and 6 respectively. Disregarding small craft, there are only two CR-owned fishing-boats, one of which frequently operates from

Stornoway on the east of the island. A fish-factory venture has recently failed in BRI, but the facilities are still there for the right scheme.

There is one hotel, in DUN, offering some seasonal as well as permanent employment (these are the only licensed premises in TS). Several individuals are, like the weavers, self-employed: in trades, craft industries or fish farming. Otherwise employment is realistically only available in Stornoway, the commercial and industrial centre of the Western Isles.

§1.6 Language situation and nomenclature.

The 1981 Census shows that 79% of the population of the Western Isles speak, read or write the Gaelic language. This is slightly less than the 81.6% who did in 1971. Figures are not given for individual townships, but they do exist for ST and SD combined⁸, and these give an adequate guide to the situation in CR as a whole. Out of a population of 564, 521 speak, read or write Gaelic; this is about 92.4%.

The context of course is a bilingual one - there are no monoglot Gaelic speakers - and English is spoken more than these figures suggest. The presence of a small number of non-Gaelic speakers is to some extent a deleterious factor, but is, potentially at least, a temporary one; a more imposing determinant regarding the frequency with which English is spoken is that it is the language of status. Historically the bulk of education and the media has been in English, and the establishment's attitude to Gaelic has generally not been supportive. Such changes as

there have been recently in these respects have not yet had much effect.

Strictly speaking there is only one nomenclature or set of names in CR. That is to say there is not one for use in Gaelic and another for use in English speech. There is no question of English names being created for features already attributed with Gaelic ones. In the bilingual context one might also look for a rendering of the nomenclature in both Gaelic and English, but the situation is not so clear cut.

On the one hand there exists a corpus of Gaelic names, i.e. of names which are phonologically and morphologically of or adapted to the Gaelic dialect. It is traditional since it has been passed from one generation to the next and created over a period of several centuries. English influence is minimal and discernible for the most part in loan-words from an imported terminology for new technology. There are only a handful of English loan-names. Earlier Norse influence is much more apparent in the corpus, with a greater number of loan-words and loan-names.

On the other hand there is a small body of English names. This includes English creations that have not been borrowed into the Gaelic corpus, such as the names for new housing-estates and their roads, and several house-names. Some of the English names that have been gaelicised survive in the English corpus. Here belong also the anglicised forms of Gaelic names, consisting mostly of village-names.

This summary account has obvious omissions which raise the following questions: What names are used where the Gaelic corpus is concerned for the new housing-estates etc. which have English names that have not been borrowed by the Gaelic corpus?

Secondly, what do English monoglots do in the case of those features whose traditional Gaelic names have not been anglicised? In the first instance the English names are used without any adaptation; in the second, there has been no requirement for these features to have had any names under these circumstances. It should be noted with respect to this second point that on maps the majority of names that show anglicisation have not in fact been anglicised in CR; they have merely been treated by the map-makers from the point of view of their orthography according to an *ad hoc* system which serves no interest particularly well.

There is therefore both a Gaelic and an English corpus of names, the former traditional, the latter more recent; but they cannot be said to constitute separate nomenclatures.

This study is restricted to the Gaelic corpus of names, although the term NOMENCLATURE will be used synonymously with it. For categories excluded from the survey, see p.2.

§1.7 Sources: documentation.

There is a complete lack of early source-material for our area, and our starting-point is as late as the 16th century.

i) Maps.

Ortelius' of 1573 is the earliest, although Blaeu's, possibly surveyed as early as 1583, is the most important of the early-modern period - despite its gross cartographic inaccuracies. Mention may be made here of a name-element occurring in Blaeu which is no longer found in the nomenclature and which is otherwise

unattested in Scotland. This is illé, in name-final position: Knockillé (see *An Cnoc*), Dallenillé (see *Daile Beag*). In all the element occurs seven times in Lewis. Cf. Ir. *i leith* 'on or to one side, hither' (the acute accent in Blaeu's form will indicate stress and not vowel-length). There are no equivalents surviving in the nomenclature, but see §11.2iii.

It is not until Thomson's map of 1832 that we find more than the usual selection of village-names. However, it is the first 6" map of 1848 by the Ordnance Survey (OS) which is the best in modern times. Although there are many irregularities, compounded by type-setting errors, there has been an attempt to record names according to a systematic Gaelic orthography. Later large-scale maps (the 1898 6" and the 1974 1:10,000) supercede it only cartographically, and of course they revise the topographic detail. Although not without imperfections, then, the OS1848 map represents an optimum both in the recording of names and in the number of names for our area found in any one source (the later large-scale maps have slightly fewer names). Subsequently, map-makers have tended to anglicise names without any regard to their pronunciation (p.13). Plagiarism is rife also, and errors are frequently perpetuated.

ii) Other sources.

Between Dean Munro's description of 1549 (our earliest source) and Martin Martin's of c.1695 there are only half a dozen documents which contain any names, and very few at that, which are relevant to our area. The Seaforth Rentals of 1718 and 1726 give us a full list of village-names, but little else. Most of the accounts of tours conducted through the highlands and islands are of no value to us as Lewis, let alone CR, was seldom on the

itinerary. Otherwise for this period there are the Statistical Accounts of 1791 and 1845, and other sources of a topographical nature.

The forms gleaned from the sources generally add little to our understanding of the names, and where the sources make any comment regarding them they are usually misleading. Because of the paucity of documentary evidence I have also noted the forms given in some relatively recent lists, e.g. W.C.MacKenzie's 'The Western Isles' (1932) and D.MacIver's 'Place-names of Lewis and Harris' (1934). The aim of such lists has been primarily to find derivations for Norse loan-names. The aim is alluring and to achieve it a scientific approach is frequently abandoned. MacIver is the worst offender. As an extreme example of what may result we find Feadan-mhic-ille-chèir described as 'well-distorted into G{aelic} form' (MacIver op.cit., 11). The name is then derived with incredible manipulations from forms purported to be Old Norse⁹, whereas in fact it certainly contains elements of Gaelic origin (see Gaz., *Feadan Mhic Gille Chèir*). This leads us to a further caveat regarding commentators on the Norse element in place-names, that in the past at least, Icelandic or doubtful Old Norse forms have often been used.

§1.8 Sources: in the field.

Place-names are essentially part of the language of their users, and to record their pronunciation is of the utmost importance, where this is of course possible. In carrying out field-work, by comparison with the written sources, one also establishes which names are now lost. The other aspect of field-

work is contact with the places themselves.

Within a period of two years I spent a total of eight months in CR. My close association with the area over several years prior to this was invaluable to me in the initial stages of field-work, with regard to the dialect and because I knew of potential informants among those with whom I was already acquainted. On the other hand, even though I had lived in or near the area before, it seemed of little advantage to me when I first took off to view the places themselves. My informant might point out a feature whose name I had already been given, or which had suddenly come to mind, and I would be unable to isolate it unless it was something as conspicuous as a lake or lone hill. I had to learn to perceive ranges of colour, shape and size to which I had not been accustomed previously.

Although I have not visited every single location, I know most of them well. It is tempting to feel that there is no need to visit a place called *An Cnoc Mòr* 'the large hill' or *An Aird Mhòr* 'the large headland' and so on, since they are easily given their lexical meaning (§5.1). However, one also needs to know to what features G. *cnoc* and *àird* may be applied, with regard to relative size and relative location (the names may not be found on any contoured map). Furthermore, the name may have been transferred (§5.3).

My informants, due to their age, were not always able to accompany me in reconnoitring the area. I have, however, been able to revisit both informants and locations. As an aside, it is worth bearing in mind, with a view to carrying out this side of field-work, that plenty of time is essential and that leisurely studying a feature is just not possible while working sheep, which

(apart from the annual work on peat and occasional fishing-trips) is the sole object for most in going into the moor. For field-work generally, one also has to remember that one is working at the caprice of the weather and/or at the convenience of one's informants.

The informants named in List B of the sources number 67. These were my main informants, with whom I conducted interviews, whether they gave me a great or small number of names; but others have also contributed in the passing. Establishing who might be a good informant was a random affair. At first I made use of the advice of acquaintances and later others, as a starting-point. More or less random visits to households and questioning anyone I happened to meet in the passing were equally rewarding ways of finding out who might best be able to help me. One should not only go by the advice of others though; frequently, suggested informants did not prove to have a real familiarity with the names, although they may have had an interest in them. Such an interest does not imply a faculty for remembering place-names. Besides, the person in question may have never really been in a position to use the names he heard in the past because of his occupation; or he may have lived in a different area previously. It is as well to say that neither does a faculty for remembering place-names automatically imply a particular interest in deciphering them, which might lead to a distortion in pronunciation. Only in rare cases was an informant keen in this respect, but I am sure that this has not prevented acquiring an authoritative pronunciation where at all ascertainable.

Nearly all my informants still live in the township in which they were reared. Occasionally though, as in the case of

GA, where the tack was only broken up as recently as 1935, there was no way of ensuring this. The average age of my informants is a fraction under 70. This is because for the most part it is only the older generations who have a recollection of and familiarity with names. A large majority of the inhabitants of CR would not be able to cite many names at all (§2.4), although they will have heard considerably more. A consequence of all this was that the best informants for names were not always the best from the point of view of having clear articulation, or even their own teeth. Comparing notes from interviews with different people alleviated much of this problem however.

Finally, I have been careful to avoid the influence of literary Gaelic.

§1.9 Methodology.

i) Registration.

From the OS1974 (1:10,000) map I compiled a basic Gazetteer to start my archive. Each name was entered on a separate index card alongwith the source, national grid reference and notes of any salient topographical information to be got from the map.

ii) Documentation.

All forms from other sources were initially entered on separate cards, with a reference to the source of the form and any relevant points contained in the source. The suspected identity of difficult forms was noted down at this stage, using the

registration name-form where available, and later confirmed or rejected. Because there are so few early sources this did not present too much of a problem.

iii) Field-work.

Interviews were conducted in Gaelic at the informant's home. Usually there was no difficulty in conveying to a would-be informant what I required. Where there was any, in order to start things off, I might ask for the names of features visible from the window, or use the OS1848 map for names which might prod the informant's memory, but such soliciting of information was minimal. On the whole, the informant would follow in his mind's eye the routes he customarily took, according to his routines, and give me the names. In some cases smaller features would be left out and these were filled in later where possible. Many informants were astonishingly thorough in their surveys. On one occasion an informant gave me over a hundred names at the first interview, and a further hundred at a second sitting.

Questions about the significance informants gave to certain name-elements, personal-names or aspects of features I sometimes left until follow-up interviews. In the first instance I would concentrate on the names themselves, transcribing them phonetically. In main interviews I also used a tape-recorder. This not only allowed me to listen to the interview, checking my notes at leisure, but also avoided having to take down all the information, relevant or extraneous, which an informant gave during a sitting.

The places would then be visited, and using photo-copies of the OS1848 map, names were located by a number on the copies.

A description of the feature and sometimes its surroundings was noted, and occasionally I took photographs or drew sketches.

At a later stage, confirmation of any point, especially of any names received during visits to locations, was made on return visits to informants and/or locations.

iv) Identification.

Name-forms excerpted from documentary sources and recorded in the field were identified, that is filed with appropriate registration-forms. However, as so many names collected in the field were not to be found on the OS1974 map, I decided to present each name by a form using current Gaelic orthographic standards (§1.10), with cross references to registration-forms where they were different.

v) Interpretation.

Notes were supplied at various stages, but frequently final interpretation was left until other evidence could be collated. There is of course more to the study of names than finding out where they come from and what they mean, but it is of paramount importance to pay due heed to the sound laws and development of the languages involved when doing so.

vi) Presentation.

A final word may be said about the way the information was presented, which was as follows:

NAME

CASE (in which the name was quoted)

PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTION (and variants)

ALIAS (alternative names where any occurred)

GRID REFERENCE & LOCATION NO.

DESCRIPTION

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

IDENTITY (registration-form)

INTERPRETATION

SOURCES (documentation etc.)

For the purposes of the Gazetteer (Vol.2) information has been paired down and rearranged; see Explanatory Note, Vol.2.

§1.10 Orthography and transcription.

Place-names from the nomenclature as defined in §1.6 are spelt according to current Gaelic orthographic standards. The forms of words used are not always literary ones however. While adherence to literary forms might make some names easier to interpret, we should remember that place-names have virtually no semantic significance (in lexical terms) except to outside observers (§5). Names are the property of the dialect of a particular locality and should be allowed to reflect this within the orthographic system used.

For the phonetic transcription, given in braces ({}), I have for the most part used symbols according to the International Phonetic Alphabet (see Explanatory Note, Vol.2).

NOTES to §1

1. I am aware that for his work on Bernera place-names D.MacAulay made a detailed study of his area; his article however (1972) gives only examples of names, not the whole corpus.
2. The assumption, in the past often propagated by historians, is due partly to the reference in *Heimskringla* of Magnus Barefoot's expedition to the Hebrides in 1098 when he burnt and plundered his way through the islands - Lewis, amongst others, is mentioned (see, for example, Unger 1868: 646); and partly to the accounts of annalists.
3. Megaw and Simpson 1981 ch.1; Darling 1947: 48-49.
4. The areas *Uig*, *Na Lochan* and *Stedòmabhaigh* coincide with parish-names; the names of the local areas are left unabbreviated.
5. These are feus, in size usually a fraction of an acre, although some have extensions.
6. Napier Report 1884: 3.
7. As at April 1985; I am grateful to D.Murray (ST) of Kenneth MacLeod (Shawbost) Ltd. for these figures. The total number of weavers in the Harris Tweed industry is 703.
8. They are presented for the locality which includes (OS1974) North Shawbost and New Shawbost (both in ST) and South Shawbost (SD).
9. As follows: 'Feadan from fit, a green stretch along a river; bak, behind, becomes mac, gen. mhic; ille, hliðhe; chèir, huere. Feadan coire lighe chùil, behind the slope.' This is not just difficult to follow, his derivations (assuming he gave correct ON forms) are wholly untenable.

§2 THE PLACE-NAME

§2.1 Origin and function.

In origin the place-name stems from the appellative. The process whereby the latter is raised to the status of the former is effected when an appellative ceases to be merely descriptive, but by frequent citation with reference to a particular feature, and with unconscious agreement on the part of the community, comes to refer to both feature AND location. Thereupon it acquires the quality and function of a place-name.

This is most easily illustrated by examples of names of simple form. As an example of an appellative we may take *lèig* f. This lexical item is descriptive of a wet, flat, low-lying area or marsh¹. In SD, south of the main-road, and lying between two hillocks, is just such an area. Initially, *lèig* will have been used indefinitely, merely as a descriptive term. In due course, upon using or hearing the word, it would have been understood to have meant that wet, flat, low-lying area between *Cnoc Airigh Mhic Risnidh* and *Grinneabhat Bheag* (the two hillocks referred to above). At the same time it would have been used definitely, or rather in a definite sense - for the use of the article is not obligatory.

At this stage the semantic significance of *(An) Lèig* would have only been recalled (and in this case still can be) if and when required. Other examples are *(An) Cnoc* ← *cnoc* m. 'hill, hillock', *(An) Abhainn* ← *abhainn* f. 'river', and *(An) Lag* ← *lag* f. 'hollow'.

A place-name then is used by the community, or a section of it, always with reference to a certain place, and the function of the name is to indicate that place: that is, the feature and its location. Naturally this is made possible by the association of the name with its feature and of the feature with its surroundings.

§2.2 Structure.

Names with simple forms such as *An Lèig*, whose development has been followed above, have the obvious disadvantage that, where there were not a sufficiently large selection of descriptive appellatives available, there would frequently be no distinction between the names of similar features. With a nomenclature of such names only, theoretically at least, there might always be the problem that whenever a descriptive appellative was used in speech, the fact that it also functioned as a place-name would lead to considerable confusion. However,

a variety of name-types have developed in the nomenclature which prevent such problems from occurring or at least from becoming critical. Such names as *Beinn Chrìonaig* lit. 'the mountain of the withering one', *Poll a' Mhèirlich* 'the pool of the thief', and *Allt Ceann Aird Lacsabhat* lit. 'the stream of the head of the headland of *Lacsabhat* (an ON loan-name)' give an idea of the range in this variety.

We can analyse these more complicated names syntactically, onomastically and semantically; in other words with regard to their structure. Structure, of course, is not a function of the place-name; rather, the name, or its form, is the result of a certain structure. Studying the forms of names, however, will lead to an understanding of their development and HOW they function as names.

For syntax §3, onomastic structure §4, and semantic structure §5.

§2.3 Traditions.

Traditions concerning place-names include historical, etymological and mythological material. Whereas not so long ago these must have been thick on the ground, unfortunately we now have very few. The *cèilidh*,

the gathering or visiting where such traditions were spread and developed, has changed beyond all recognition during the lifetime of my informants.

Against each name in the Gaz. I have noted any tradition given by an informant. Usually these traditions shed little light upon the names, either from an historical, etymological or chronological point of view. Their study requires a separate treatment not within the scope of this research. As to their truth or validity, I reserve judgement, although regarding folk etymology see §5.5.

§2.4 Future survival.

The place-names of CR have been created over the centuries by communities of fishermen-cum-farmers. With an economy where reliance upon the land and sea was almost total, virtually every nook and cranny once had a name - at least those that were frequented. As theoretically each flock grazes a different area of moorland, shepherds are often exceptionally well-acquainted with the area their sheep graze, but less well-informed about the toponymy of the surrounding district - though the names of larger features would generally be known. There is a tendency,

then, once tradition ceases to be passed on within a family, for 'blank' areas to appear where the names of smaller features are easily lost. As the community becomes less interdependent and families become smaller, more shepherds work alone, and the rate at which minor place-names are lost increases, since a specifically local knowledge can no longer be used effectively. Coastal-names suffer the same fate for the above reasons, and because fishing (from boat or rock) has become an occasional pastime rather than a necessary exploitation of a food resource.

Much of the nomenclature is in a state of, or almost in a state of, disuse and many names are remembered by only one or two people. It is difficult to judge, but probably a majority of the names in the nomenclature will have been forgotten or fallen into a state of disuse within another decade or so. The average age of my informants (§1.8) suggests such a conclusion at least. The work of collecting place-names therefore, with intensive coverage over the whole area of the Western Isles where similar developments imply the same resulting loss of names, is, besides being necessary, a very urgent one. It is worth considering that it is not only difficult and obscure names that face disuse and ultimate extinction. The reflection came to me when Annie Macleod (*Anna Spuchain*) said of *An Tom Dubh*, a knoll not far from her house, "*Sann thall an sin a chleachd e bhith!*" 'It used to be over there!' (the

name itself presents no special problems of interpretation).

NOTES to §2

1. *lèig* f. is a loan from ON *lǫk* acc. m. 'a deep, slow-running stream', and there are instances of names which still signify such a feature.

§3 SYNTAX

§3.1 Introductory.

The fullest and most detailed account of name structures in the Hebrides is Oftedal's (1980:177ff). Here he gives over twenty categories of (Gaelic) name-types. The classification, below the broad distinction of semantically obscure and transparent names, is based on syntax, although elements are also treated partly on the merits of their onomastic function. An indication is also given of the frequency with which these categories occur. As an example, *Aird na Mònach* 'the headland of the peat' is the largest of all categories of semantically transparent names and consists of TdQ = TOPÓS (which represents the word denoting the topographical feature), DETERMINER (the article) and QUALIFIER (which here is G, the genitive of a noun); the also large class of which *A' Bheinn Leathann* 'the broad mountain' is a member consists of dTQ = DETERMINER, TOPÓS and QUALIFIER (which here is A, an attributive adjective). Sub-classes are also devised for names which contain elements which are ON loan-words. Classes of names which are either partly or wholly obscure consist of or contain ON loan-names.

Throughout I shall be maintaining a distinction between on the one hand a syntactical interpretation, and

on the other a purely onomastic one. With the former we discern the function of elements according to grammatical categories of words, such as noun, adjective etc., and their grammatical relationship with each other. With the latter, though, how a particular form functions as a name, and the contribution to this of the various elements or groups of elements within a name. This section deals only with syntax; onomastic structure is discussed under §4.

MacAulay (1972:318) gives only a few examples of structures for Bernera names, pointing to the commonest ones. However, a comparison of material from different areas of Lewis would most probably be unlikely to reveal much dissimilarity. The material from CR gives a greater number of structures than presented by Oftedal (op.cit.) but this is probably due to a disparity in the range and number of names drawn upon. On the other hand, he cites two (albeit rare) types that I have not recorded in CR. The overall variety and number of name-types is considerable, but the reason for this state of affairs is only to be found in the nature of the onomastic structure of names. There are a few types which in fact are syntactically irregular (§3.6) and this again is due to onomastic structure.

For names from the county of Ross and Cromarty, which formerly included Lewis, Watson (1976: xxxiii-xl) gives four main classes: 1) simple or uncompounded words

without extensions (i.e. suffices such as *-an* §7.6)

2) simple words with extensions 3) compounds including combinations of noun + noun, adj. + noun, and prep. + noun, and 4) phrases, a class including all other name-types.

This classification, however, is inadequate for the material from CR. A noun with or without a suffix (Watson's EXTENSION) is syntactically a single element within a name, and I do not type them separately below. Names with compound combinations of noun + noun, and adj. + noun are typed separately, but only within a broader classification. Names with prepositions are conveniently classed on their own.

So far I have used the terms CLASS, SUB-CLASS etc. rather loosely. The following will explain the use to which I shall be putting these terms and outline the structure of my classification: I have chosen four broad classes: the simple-name §3.2, the complex-name §3.3, complex-names which include personal-names §3.4, and names with prepositions or prepositional-names §3.5. The first three have sub-classes S1, S2 etc., C1, C2 etc., and Cp1, Cp2 etc., respectively; and there is further division into types.

§3.2 The simple-name.

The simple-name consists of a simple noun-phrase or SIMPLEX (a term not to be confused with simple-name). There are a variety of composites, e.g. art.+ noun, art.+ noun + adj., art.+ noun + adj.+ adj. We can express the range of composites linearly as follows:

(art.+) (a*+) (n†) (+a) (+a)

* rarely n

† rarely N

(where art.= article, a = adjective, n = noun, and N = ON loan-name)
This should be treated with caution however, as there are limitations to the number of permutations that occur.

The use of the article is not obligatory when quoting a name in its radical form (nom./acc.), e.g. *Aird Mhòr* (n + a) or *An Aird Mhòr* (art.+ n + a) 'the large headland' may occur. In oblique cases the article is normally used, thus dat. (*ann*)s *an Aird Mhòir* (with the preposition 'in'). In consequence I treat names with and names without their article, but whose structure is otherwise identical, only as variants of the one type. There is however some tendency for names to be fossilised without their article as names such as *Feadan Cnoca Mòra* testify; the underlined form corresponds to the name *Cnoca Mòra* (n + a), see §3.3 type Clxi. For examples of names which possibly never take the article although they could be expected to, see under type Slai below.

A limited number of different adjectives are found before their nouns; these are:

fàs (with the sense) 'withering' e.g. *Am Fàs Allt*¹

meanbh 'small' *Na Meanbh Chnocan*

fiar 'winding' *Am Fiar Allt*

<i>cam</i>	'crooked'	e.g. <i>An Cam Allt</i>
<i>sean</i>	'old'	<i>An Sean Ghàrradh</i>
<i>glas</i>	'green'	<i>An Glas Allt</i>
<i>dubh</i>	'dark'	<i>An Dubh Sgeir</i>
<i>garbh</i>	'violent'	<i>An Garbh Allt</i>

The adj. *breun* 'putrid, rotten' → 'boggy, swampy' is also found preceding its noun, but only in complex-names §3.3. *Cam*, *glas* and *dubh* are also found after their nouns. Further, the numeric adjectives *aon*, *dà*, *trì* and *ceithir* '1,2,3 and 4' resp. precede the noun, although only an example of *ceithir* occurs in this class (type S4c).

The adverbial forms *a deas*, *a tuath* 'southern, northern' and *a-staigh*, *a-muigh* 'inner, outer' are used adjectivally and are treated as single elements. So too is the superlative form *as ìoraich* 'lowermost'. The comparative form *as fhaid* lit. 'longer' is found only in conjunction with *a-staigh* and *a-muigh*: *as fhaid' a-staigh*, *as fhaid' a-muigh* 'inner, outer', or more literally 'further in, further out'. These also are treated as single elements.

The only distinction that is made in the case of nouns is between ON loan-names and the remainder. ON loan-names such as *Steinn Langa*, although written as two words, are treated as single elements.

Personal-names occur only in complex-names, although the name *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* contains an adjectival form of the EIr. personal-name *Flann* or *Flannán*.

Fig.2 shows the full range of name-types and gives the percentage each forms of the total nomenclature. Below are given examples of each type:

Slai: *Beannachadh* 'blessing' a track; *Cnap* 'knob' of a protruding crag; *Craobhag* 'copse' of a cliff; *Slugaid* 'gully'; *Gleadhairean* 'slopes' of an area; *Maidhm* 'steep slope' of a mountain.

The following possibly never take the article:

Iolairean 'ledges (place of)'; *Beannan* 'horn-shaped mountain'; *Leumadair* 'porpoise' of a skerry and reef; *Maoilean* 'exposed place' a plateau; *Ruighleag* 'sloping ground' of a plain; *Goban* '(small) point'; *Lagaigh* 'hollow' of a hill.

Slaii: *Ainnsgeir* of a skerry; *Beirghe Làgha* of the low neck of a coastal headland; *Cuidhbhig* of a bay, also of a stretch of coast; *Lidhir* of a slope, hillside; *Neadasgeir* of a skerry; *Steinn Langa* of a marine stack; *Tealabhal* of a mountain.

Slb: *An Aird* 'the headland'; *An Drèana* 'the drain' of a stream; *An Iodhlainn* 'the stackyard' of a hill; *An Lèig* 'the marsh'; *Na Lodain* 'the pools'; *Am Mol* 'the (shingle) beach'; *An Tom* 'the hillock'.

S2ai: *Allt Gorm* 'dark stream'; *Aird Mheadhanach* 'middle headland'; *Cnoca Mòra* 'large hills'; *Geodha Dhubh* 'black ravine'; *Rubha Caol* 'narrow point'; *Sgeir Dhearg* 'red skerry'.

S2aii: *A' Mhuilinn Ur* 'the new mill'; *An Drèana Tharsainn* 'the cross-set drain'; *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* 'the islands associated with St. Flann or Flannán'; *An Ceann A-staigh* 'the inner end (of a village)'.

Types of Simple-name.

Fig. 2

			%
Slai		n	0.82†
Slaii	art.+	n	5.14
Slb		N	<u>4.26</u>
			10.22
S2ai		n + adj.	5.35
S2aii	art.+	n + adj.	9.23
S2b		N + adj.	<u>1.33</u>
			15.91
S3i		n + adj.+ adj.	0.55
S3ii	art.+	n + adj.+ adj.	<u>0.20</u>
			0.75
S4ai		adj.+ n	0.07
S4aii	art.+	adj.+ n	0.58
S4b	art.+	n + n	0.10
S4c	art.+	adj.+ N	<u>0.03</u>
			0.78
S5a	art.+	adj.+ n + adj.	0.24
S5b	art.+	n + n + adj.	<u>0.07</u>
			0.31
			Totals 27.97%

† Approx. percentage of total names.

S2b: *Crodhair Mhòr* 'greater C.'; *Tataral Bheag* 'lesser T.'; *Lacsabhat Ard* 'upper L.'; *Siabost a Deas* 'south S.'. These are a cove, mountain, lake and village respectively.

S3i: *Creag Iosal Mhòr* 'lower large crag'; *Geodha Chaol Ghlas* 'narrow grey ravine'; §4.3iv.

S3ii: *A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr* 'the greater broad mountain'; *An Cnoc Mòr Leathainn* 'the greater broad hill'; §§3.6iii, 4.3iv.

S4ai: *Glas Allt* 'green stream'; *Dubh Sgeir* 'black skerry'.

S4aii: *Am Fàs Allt* 'the withering stream'; for further examples see pp.33 & 34 above.

S4b: *An Cùl Phort* 'the rear harbour'; *An Fheur Loch* 'the grass-lake'; *Na Leth Ledidean* 'the steep (lit. half) hillsides'.

S4c: *Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal* 'the four Cs'.

S5a: *An Cam Allt Mòr* 'the greater crooked stream'; *An Glas Allt Beag* 'the lesser green stream'; *Am Fionn Allt Mòr* 'the greater white stream'.

S5b: *An Fheur Loch Bheag* 'the lesser grass-lake'.

Sub-classes S1 and S2 are by far the most common; and S2ai and ii far more frequent than S1ai and ii. The latter fact may be expected since n alone has more restricted distinctive quality. N (S1b), however, is inevitably more distinctive; but the comparatively smaller figure for type S2b is explained because the type is a result of the process both of transference (§5.3) and modification (§4.3iv), and so it is neither well-compared with its counterpart S2a, nor well-contrasted with N.

We can perceive the various sub-classes as representing different chronological stages: namely, in the progressions S1 S2 S3, and S4 S5. This of course does not automatically hold true for individual names, and we cannot say that names under S2 for example are inevitably younger than those under S1. Rather, this is a generalisation concerning only the interrelationship of the structures themselves.

S4 (also S5, although here there has been a further development, §4.3iv) represents an archaic structure (Watson 1913: 241-242) which was obviously still productive in the aftermath of the Norse settlement as is shown by the name *Dubh Sgeir* 'black skerry' with its loan-word from ON *sker* nt. Very few adjectives will now precede their nouns in normal language use.

The types S3i, S3ii and S5a each have two adjectives; these in fact have different onomastic functions, but this is not under consideration here. With regard to the chronological interrelation of the structures however, we may say that these three types are 'augmentations' of the types S2ai, S2aii and S4aii respectively; but it is worth noting that while in S5a it is always the second adjective (in name-final position) which augments

an earlier structure (S4aii), in S3 the augmenting adjective has no fixed position (§4.3iv).

Only S1b can be said with certainty to be no longer productive. All other types remain at least potentially productive, although of S4 only S4a is likely to have a continuing (albeit infrequent) use.

§3.3 The complex-name.

Complex-names consist of two or more simplices (p.33), each in genitival relationship to the one preceding it. Normally, only a simplex in final position will show genitive inflexion. This is regular for Gaelic syntax, e.g. *ceann earball a' choin* 'the end of the tail of the dog', where only the underlined form is inflected. However, *earball* is implicitly in genitive position after *ceann*.

Instances where this rule of inflexion is broken are discussed under §3.6 (see also § 3.4 where personal-names are concerned). Also discussed there are exceptions to a rule governing the syntax of the article. This is that the article only occurs before the last noun in a nominal phrase of the type exemplified by *ceann earball a' choin* 'THE end of THE tail of the dog', while both *ceann* and *earball* are nevertheless definite.

The natural limit to the number of simplices in

any one name appears to be four. We may refer to names of two, three and four simplices as PRIMARY, SECONDARY and TERTIARY complex-names (corresponding to the sub-classes C1, C2 and C3) respectively; see Fig. 3. Types are grouped according to their final simplex, and the relevant category of simple-name is given in brackets for reference. Below I give examples of each type:

Cli: *Creagan Ghreòid* 'the knoll of coarse earth'; *Cùl Bheannain* 'the rear of the horn-shaped mountain'; *Eilean Còinneach* 'the mossy isle'.

Clii: *An Talamh Tholl* 'the ground of holes'; *An Tòb Làthaich* 'the bay of sediment'; *An Airigh Choirhead* 'the look-out shieling' (lit. of looking).

Cliii: *Cnoc Mòr Atha* 'the large hill of the ford'; *Sròin Dubh Ghleadhaircean* 'the dark point of the slopes'.

Cliiv: *Ceadraiseal a' Chàrnain* 'C. of the rocky knoll'; *Seiligeadh an t-Sreap* 'S. of the climb'; *Tealabhal na Dùine* 'T. of the fort'.

Cliy: *Blàr a' Chlachain* 'the plain of the stepping-stones'; *Geodh' a' Ghàrraidh* 'the ravine of the dyke'; *Sruthan na Mìst* 'the streamlet of the basin'.

Types of Complex-name

Fig.3

C1i	(1ai)	$n \times n$	3.75 †
ii		$\text{art.} + n \times n$	0.75
iii		$n + a \times n$	0.24
iv	(1aii)	$N \times \text{art.} + n$	0.31
v		$n \times \text{art.} + n$	27.09
vi		$n + a \times \text{art.} + n$	2.42
vii		$a + n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.03
viii	(1b)	$N \times N$	0.03
ix		$n \times N$	11.58
x		$n + a \times N$	1.56
xi	(2ai)	$n \times n + a$	1.12
xii		$n + a \times n + a$	0.10
xiii		$\text{art.} + n \times n + a$	0.07
xiv	(2aii)	$n \times \text{art.} + n + a$	3.71
xv		$n + a \times \text{art.} + n + a$	0.37
xvi	(2b)	$n \times N + a$	0.72
xvii		$n + a \times N + a$	0.03
xviii	(4aii)	$n \times \text{art.} + a + n$	0.78
xix	(4b)	$n \times \text{art.} + n + n$	0.03
xx	(5a)	$n \times \text{art.} + a + n + a$	0.03
			54.72
C2i	(1ai)	$n \times n \times n$	0.89
ii		$n + a \times n \times n$	0.24
iii		$n \times \text{art.} + n \times n$	0.48
iv	(1aii)	$n \times n \times \text{art.} + n$	3.17
v		$n + a \times n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.61
vi		$n + a + a \times n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.10
vii		$n \times \text{art.} + n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.07
viii		$a + n \times n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.10
ix		$n \times n + a \times \text{art.} + n$	0.07
x	(1b)	$n \times n \times N$	1.84
xi		$n + a \times n \times N$	0.37
xii		$n + a + a \times n \times N$	0.07
xiii		$n \times \text{art.} + n \times N$	0.10
xiv	(2ai)	$n \times n \times n + a$	0.14
xv	(2aii)	$n \times n \times \text{art.} + n + a$	0.07
xvi		$n + a \times n \times \text{art.} + n + a^*$	-
xvii	(2b)	$n \times n \times N + a$	0.03
xviii	(4aii)	$n \times n \times \text{art.} + a + n$	0.03
			8.38
C3i	(1ai)	$n \times n \times n \times n$	0.03
ii		$n \times \text{art.} + n \times \text{art.} + n \times n$	0.03
iii	(1aii)	$n \times n \times n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.14
iv		$n + a \times n \times n \times \text{art.} + n$	0.03
v		$n \times \text{art.} + n \times n \times \text{art.} + n^*$	-
vi	(1b)	$n \times n \times n \times N$	0.14
vii		$n \times \text{art.} + n \times n \times N$	0.07
			0.44
Total			63.54%

† Approx. percentage of total names.

* Oftedal 1980.

Clvi: *Cnoc Fad' an Eich* 'the long hill of the horse';
Loch Beag an Fhedir 'the little lake of the grass'; *Loch*
Mòr a' Chòcair 'the greater lake of the cook' §3.6iiic.

Clvii: *Breun Loch na Beinne* 'the boggy lake of the mountain'.

Clviii: *Tealabhal Tholstaidh* 'T. of TOL'.

Clix: *Feadan Bhotagro* 'the stream of *B.'; *Fuaran Gharsan*
'the spring of G.'; *Port Bhlianais* 'the harbour of B.'.

Clx: *Tom Beag Bhineasgro* 'the little knoll of *Bh.'; *Aird*
Mhòr Bhràgair 'the large promontory of B.'; *Cnoc Fada*
Chuidhbhig 'the long hillock of C.' §3.6iiic.

Clxi: *Cnoc Chlacha Mòra* 'the hill of the large rocks';
Loch Thoma Dubha 'the lake of the dark hills'; *Lianag*
Lochan Tioram 'the little meadow of the dry lake' §3.6iiib.

Clxii: *Cnoc Biorach Lochan Tioram* 'the pointed hillock of
the dry lake'; *Loch Beag Thoma Dubha* 'the lesser lake of
the dark hills'; *Geodha Mhòr Aird Mheadhanach* 'the large
ravine of the middle headland' §7.3ii.

Clxiii: *A' Bhuail' Fhalach Ard/Iosal* 'the upper/lower
hidden enclosure' (lit. of hiding).

Clxiv: *Botaichean an Aigh Dhuirn* 'the upper reaches of the brown heifer'; *Leathad na Cloiche Gile* the hillside of the white rock'; *Gilean a' Chlachain Ioraich* 'the ravines of the lower stepping-stones'.

Clxv: *Bealach Caol a' Bhalla Ghuirm* 'the narrow pass of the dark precipice'; *Cnoc Leathainn na Liana Bàine* 'the broad hill of the fair meadow'; *Creagan Biorach na Cailliche Mòire* 'the pointed hillock of the large old woman (or hag)'.

Clxvi: *Loch Bhuailleabhal Bheag* 'the lake of lesser *B.'; *Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag/Mhòr* 'the lesser/greater hill of *Bh'.

§3.6iiiib.

Clxvii: *Loch Ruadh Eitseal Bheag* 'the red lake of lesser E.'.

Clxviii: *Sithean an Fhàs Uillt* 'the knoll of the withering stream'; *Leabaidh na h-Aon Ighne* 'the bed of the solitary girl'; *Creag an t-Sean Bhealaich* 'the crag of the old pass'.

Clxix: *Allt an Fheur Loch* 'the stream of the grass lake'.

Clxx: *Airigh an Fhionn Allt Bhig* 'the shieling of the lesser fair stream'.

C2i: *Cnoc Chala Muc* 'the hill of the bay of the whales';
Cnoc Buaile Fhliodha 'the hill of the enclosure of chick-
weed'; *Airigh Loch Gainmhich* 'the shieling of the lake
of sand'.

C2ii: *Loch Glutach Dùn Atha* 'the miry lake of the mound
of the isthmus'; *Loch Beag Gil Speireig* 'the lesser lake
of the ravine of the hawk'; *Cnoc Biorach Buaile Feannaig*
'the pointed hillock of the enclosure of the lazy-bed'.

C2iii: *Rubha na Geodh' Uisge* 'the point of the ravine of
water'; *Tom na Cruachan Mònadh* 'the knoll of the stacks
of peat'; *Airighean a' Bhoth Chlach* 'the shielings of the
bothy of stones'.

C2iv: *Airigh Beinneachan nan Sgalag* 'the shieling of the
mountains of the servants'; *Allt Cleit a' Mhagha* 'the
stream of the hill of the plain'; *Loch Leum an Aighe* 'the
lake of the jump of the heifer'.

C2v: *Buaile Bheag Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* 'the little enclosure
of the enclosure of the river'; *Cnoc Mòr Rubh' an Dùnain*
'the large hill of the point of the little mound';
Geodhachan Bàn Bun a' Ghàrraidh 'the fair ravines of the end
of the dyke'.

C2vi: *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr/Bheag Amar na h-Eit* 'the greater/

lesser broad mountain of the crag of the cattle'; *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann na Cliaraich* 'the lesser black lake of the end of the slope' §3.6iiia.

C2vii: *Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine* 'the lake of the village of the fort'; *Loch a' Chuilein na Dùine* 'the lake of the whelp of the fort' §3.6i.

C2viii: *Dubh Sgeir Aird a' Ghobhann* 'the black skerry of the headland of the smith'; *Breun Loch Airichean a' Mhullaich* 'the marshy lake of the shielings of the summit'.

C2ix: *Allt Loch Dubh a' Chleit* 'the stream of the black lake of the hill'; *Allt Loch Dubh na Glaic* 'the stream of the black lake of the hollow'.

C2x: *Feadan Loch Bacabhat* 'the stream of the lake of *B'; *Allt Loch Chalmaistean* 'the stream of the lake of *C.'; *Cùl Chùl Chràgam* '(the skerry at) the rear of (the islet at) the rear of C'.

C2xi: *Clach Mhòr Airigh Mhùsclait* 'the large stone of the shieling of *M.'; *Slag Glas Leathad Tòlabaidh* 'the green hollow of the slope of *Th!'; *Cnoc Mòr Liana Bhanndalum* 'the large hill of the meadow of *B.'.

C2xii: *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann Thallabhat* 'the lesser black

lake of the head of *Th.' §3.6iia.

C2xiii: *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh* 'the lake of the village of TOL'; *Loch an Tairbeirt Challanais* 'the lake of the isthmus of CAL'; *Cnoc an Ois Chrògabhat* 'the hill of the outlet of C.' §3.6i.

C2xiv: *Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga* 'the stream of the lake of the little valleys'; *Rathad Liana Lochan Tioram* 'the road of the meadow of the dry lake'.

C2xv: *Allt Os na Creige Ruaidhe* 'the stream of the outlet of the red rock'.

C2xvi: (Oftedal 1980: 178, *Loch Ard Airigh a' Ghille Ruaidh* 'the upper lake of the shieling of the red-haired youth')

C2xvii: *Tursachan Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag* 'the standing-stones of the lesser hill of *Bh.'.

C2xviii: *Cnoc Buail' an Dà Rùisg* 'the hill of the enclosure of the two (peat-) cuttings'.

C3i: *Fuaran Airigh Chuil Làimhe* 'the spring of the shieling of the outrun/moorland' (lit. back of the hand).

C3ii: *Loch nam Breac a' Bhoth Chlach* 'the lake of the trout

of the bothy of stones'. §3.6i.

C3iii: *Allt Gleann Bot an Aighe* 'the stream of the valley of the lake-head of the heifer'; *Airigh Ceann Loch an Tairbeirt* 'the shieling of the head of the lake of the isthmus'.

C3iv: *Loch Dubh Druim Airigh nan Sìthean* 'the black lake of the ridge of the shieling of the knolls'.

C3v: *Allt Ceann Aird Lacsabhat* 'the stream of the head of the headland of L.'; *Creagannan Buaille Bhoth Tastabhat* 'the rocks of the enclosure of the bothy of *T.'.

C3vi: *Cnoc an Ois Loch Fàsgrò/Bhorghastar* 'the hill of the outlet of the lake of *F/B.' §3.6i.

C3vii: (Oftedal 1980: 181, *Loch nan Eilean Geàrraidh a' Bhàird* 'the lake of the islands of the enclosure of the poet' §3.6i.

Type Clv (n x art.+ n) is the commonest among primary complex-names, as well as the commonest of all name-types, forming as it does about 27% of the total nomenclature. Primary complex-names themselves account for over half the nomenclature (nearly 55%). Secondary complex-names are fewer even than simple-names and form only just over 8% of the total.

There is no doubt a correlation between the structures of simple and complex-names. However it would be wrong to lay too much emphasis on the significance of the figures as regards the structural development of names. Even so, it is evident that the commoner types of complex-name have as their final simplices those

which form the commoner types of simple-name. On the other hand, S2aii is less well represented than Slaii:

Clv(n x art.+ n) 27.09% : Slaii (art.+ n) 5.14%

Clxiv (n x art.+ n + a) 3.71% : S2aii (art.+ n + a) 9.23%

(while the relatively high figure for Clv suggests that the type is not merely the result of a direct development from Slaii).

Within the complex class, certain structural patterns emerge, as for example where the simplex is preceded by n(x) in primary, n x n(x) in secondary and n x n x n(x) in tertiary complex-names. The decrease in the showing for types in C2 as compared with those in C1, and for those in C3 as compared with those in C2, is also of significance. To understand these patterns - indeed, the whole range of types - we need to look at the onomastic structure of names (§4).

§3.4 Complex-names which include personal-names.

I have made a separate class for names which include personal-names partly because the syntax of personal-names can be complicated enough itself to warrant special treatment, and partly because including in the previous sub-section a place-name such as *Creagan Nic Dhòmhnail 'ic Fhearchair* (a name in which all the elements but the first, *creagan* 'hillock', constitute an

individual's patronymic: 'the hillock of the daughter of *Dòmhnall*, the son of *Fearchar*') would in my view have had a distorting effect on the picture. On the other hand, this sub-section obviously gives some recognition to the onomastic function of elements or groups of elements, but I shall not pursue the matter further than is inevitable under the method of classification used.

With personal-names of more than one nominal element, e.g. the patronymic *Calum Aonghais Chaluum Chaluum Phàdraig*, we find an exception to the rule whereby only a noun in final position in a nominal group of two or more nouns is inflected (p.39). Further, the noun *mac* m. 'son' gen. *mic* always stands in apposition to a personal-name preceding it, thus rad. *Iain Mac Aoidh* 'Iain the son of Aodh (MacKay)', but gen. in *Airigh Iain Mhic Aoidh* 'the shieling of Iain, the son of Aodh'.

I am using the term PERSONAL-NAME out of convenience here to include a variety of categories, namely:

ai: where there is a single element which is either a forename or other noun, e.g. *Ciaran*, *Leòd*, *Màiri*; *Seòbhdaidh*.

aii: where the noun (ai) is preceded by the article, e.g. *An Siorraidh* 'the sheriff'.

bi: where two elements (as defined in ai) occur, e.g. *Iain*

Choinnich, Niall Bonaidh.

bii: where the second element is preceded by the article, e.g. *Tormod an t-Saighdeir* 'Tormod, (the son) of the soldier'.

c: where three elements (as defined in ai) occur, e.g. *Calum Dhòmhnail Dhonnchaidh.*

d: where a is followed by an adjectival epithet, e.g. *Tormod Mòr.*

e: where b is followed by an adjectival epithet (and referring to the second element of b), e.g. *Dòmhnall Iain Bhàin*, though see p. 196.

Prenominal generic elements such as *mac* 'son' are frequently found in personal-names. I make no distinction here between whether the generic element plus what follows it constitutes a patronymic or a surname; often it is impossible to say one way or another, although the last is comparatively recent and less common. Among these elements are included the following: *mac* 'son', *nighean* 'daughter', *nic*² 'daughter, granddaughter', *gille* 'follower, servant', *clann* 'children, descendants', and *ò (ogha)* 'grandson, descendent'. These prenominal generic

elements (g) occur with the forms described above in a, b and d: *gai*, *gaii* etc. (examples are given below in the context of place-names). *Gille* is also found preceding the adjective *ciar* 'dark, swarthy', and here *gille* is classed as a, see under Cplgd below.

The personal-name (P) is found in the following structures:

Cpl	n x P
2	n x P + a
3	n x n x P
4	n x n x P + a
5	n x n x n x P
6	n + a x P
7	n + a x n x P

These sub-classes are broken down into types according to the structure of P (Fig. 4). Below I give examples of each type:

Cpl ai: *Airigh Saidhbh* 'Sadhbh's shieling'; *Cleite Allghair* 'Allghar's hill'; *Buailè Ledid* 'Leòd's enclosure'.

Cpl gai: *Cnoc O Dòmòd* 'O Dòmòd's knoll'; *Creagan Clann Choinnich* 'Clann Choinnich's hillock'; *Cnoc Mhic Thòmàis* 'Mac Thòmàis's knoll'.

Cpl ggai: *Allt Mhic Gill* 'Leadhrain' 'Mac Gill' Leadhrain's stream'.

Cpl aii: *Lot an Drumair* 'An Drumair's lot (i.e. croft)';

Types of complex-name (with personal-names).

Fig. 4

%	ai	gai	ggai	aii	gail	bi	gbi	big	gbig	bli	c	d	gd	e	TtIs
Cp1	2.90†	0.99	0.03	0.27	0.10	0.61	0.03	0.27	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.65	0.10		6.08
Cp2	0.20				0.03										0.23
Cp3	1.04	0.24			0.03			0.03				0.07	0.03		1.44
Cp4	0.03														0.03
Cp5	0.07														0.07
Cp6	0.03	0.07												0.03	0.20
Cp7	0.10														0.10
Totals	4.37	1.30	0.03	0.27	0.23	0.61	0.03	0.30	0.03	0.07	0.03	0.72	0.13	0.03	8.15%

Fig. 4

† Approx. percentage of total names.

Airigh an Sgiobair 'An Sgiobair's shieling'; *Airigh an t-Saoir* 'An Saor's shieling'.

Cpl gaii: *Eilean Clann an t-Saoir* 'Clann an t-Saoir's island'; *Sgeir Mhic an Tàilleir* 'Mac an Tàilleir's skerry'; *Cnoc Mhic an Lighich* 'Mac an Lighich's hillock'.

Cpl bi: *Creagan Thormoid Dhòmhnail* 'Tormod Dhòmhnail's hillock'; *Airigh Iain Alasdair* 'Iain Alasdair's shieling'; *Buaile Nèill Bonaidh* 'Niall Bonaidh's enclosure'.

Cpl gbi: *Cnoc Gille Dhòmhnail Bheachd* 'Gille Dhòmhnail Bheachd's hillock'.

Cpl big: *Cotan Iain Mhic Coinnich* 'Iain Mac Coinnich's fold'; *Creagan Dhòmhnail Mhic Iain* 'Dòmhnall Mac Iain's hillock'; *Leòb Dhòmhnail 'ic Iomhair* 'Dòmhnall Mac Iomhair's plot'.

Cpl gbig: *Cnoc Nic Dhòmhnail 'ic Fhearchair* 'Nic Dhòmhnail 'ic Fhearchair's hillock'.

Cpl bii: *Leathad Thormoid an t-Saighdeir* 'Tormod an t-Saighdeir's slope'; *Loch Dhonnchaidh an Droma* 'Donnchadh an Droma's lake'.

Cpl c: *Bealach Chalum Dhòmhnail Dhonnchaidh* 'Calum Dhòmhnail Dhonnchaidh's pass'.

Cp1 d: *Creagan Thormoid Shrànaich* 'Tormod Srònach's hillock'; *Liana Dhòmhnaiill Bhàin* 'Dòmhnall Bàn's meadow'; *Gil Dhòmhnaiill Ruaidh* 'Dòmhnall Ruadh's ravine'.

Cp1 gd: *Cnoc Mhic Iain Bhàin* 'Mac Iain Bhàin's hillock'; *Cnoc Mhic Iain Deirg* 'Mac Iain Deirg's hillock'; *Feadan Mhic Gille Chèir* 'Mac Gille Chèir's brook'.

Cp2 ai: *Both Uilleim Beag/Meadhanach/Mòr* 'the lesser/mid/greater bothy of Uilleam'. (§4.3iv)

Cp2 gai: *Cnoc Mhic an Lighich Bheag* 'the lesser hillock of Mac an Lighich'. (§4.3iv)

Cp3 ai: *Buaim Beinn Choinnich* 'the slope of the mountain of Coinneach'; *Bealaich Beinn Iomhair* 'the passes of the mountain of Iomhar'; *Druim Loch Mhurchaidh* 'the ridge of the lake of Murchadh'.

Cp3 gai: *Creagan Buaille Mhic Dhonnchaidh* 'the hillock of the enclosure of Mac Dhonnchaidh'; *Allt Creag Gille Bhrìghde* 'the stream of the crag of Gille Brìghde'; *Cnoc Airigh Mhic Risnidh* 'the hill of the shieling of Mac Risnidh'.

Cp3 gaii: *Cnoc Airigh 'ic a' Phearsain* 'the hill of the shieling of Mac a' Phearsain'.

Cp3 big: *Cnoc Airigh Aonghais 'ic Fhionnlaidh* 'the hill of the shieling of *Aonghas Mac Fhionnlaidh*'.

Cp3 d: *Loch Airigh Iain Bhàin* 'the lake of the shieling of *Iain Bàn*'; *Feadan Liana Dhòmhnail Bhàin* 'the brook of the meadow of *Dòmhnall Bàn*'.

Cp3 gd: *Loch Airigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh* 'the lake of the shieling of *Mac Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh*'.

Cp4 ai: *Cnoc Airigh Nèill Bhiorach* 'the pointed hillock of the shieling of *Niall*'. (§4.3iv)

Cp5 ai: *Creag Airigh Steirn Bheirn* 'the rock of the shieling of the ?crag of ?B(h)eirn'.

Cp6 ai: *Creag Dhubh Mhurchaidh* 'the black rock of *Murchadh*'.

Cp6 gai: *Geodhachan Beaga Nic Fhionnlaidh* 'the little ravines of *Nic Fhionnlaidh*'.

Cp6 gaii: *Cnoc Mòr/Beag Gille (nan) Naomh* 'the greater/lesser hillock of *Gille nan Naomh*'.

Cp6 e: *Creag Mhòr Dhòmhnail Iain Bhàin* 'the large knoll of *Dòmhnall Iain Bhàin*'.

Cp7 ai: *Cnoc Dubh Airigh Fhionnlaidh* 'the dark hill of the shieling of *Fionnladh*'; *Druim Mòr Airigh Saidhbh* 'the large ridge of the shieling of *Saidhbh*'.

§3.5 Prepositional-names.

Names which contain prepositions are rare, numbering only ten in all. In Scotland as a whole they are rare, and generally point to an archaic stratum of names - the example with *air* below being an obvious exception. The structure of names with prepositions in CR is mostly n (or n x n) followed by preposition + n. There are also three one-off structures (under *air* and *eadar* below). I list the names according to the preposition used:

air 'on': *Liana air na Shuidh an Duine* 'the meadow on which the man sat' contains the only example of the use of a relative clause in the nomenclature. This is the 'polite' alternative for *Liana na Sgàird* 'the meadow of the diarrhoea'.

eadar 'between': *Eadar Dhà Loch* 'between two lakes' of a stretch of land; *Na Sgeirean Eatorra* 'the skerries between them' with the third pl. pronominal form of the preposition

(referring to two other skerries).

gun 'without': *Sgeir Gun Tacar* 'the barren skerry' lit. 'without produce, provision'; *Geodha Gun Fheum* 'the useless ravine' lit. 'without use'.

ma, variant of *mu* 'by, nearby': *Cnocan Ma Lèig* 'the hillock by the brook'; *Lochan Ma Lèig* 'the little lake by the brook'; *Clach Ma Ràin* 'the stone by the cairn'; *Car Ma Thom* lit. 'a turn about (the) hill' of a knoll, a phrase with the sense of 'dodging'; *Allt Cnocan Ma Lèig* 'the stream of the hillock by the brook'.

§3.6 Irregularities.

i) Concerning the use of the article.

In a nominal phrase of two or more definite nouns (see p.39) the article regularly only occurs before the final one. There are, however, examples in the nomenclature where a) a noun occurs with its article despite a following definite noun, and b) two articles occur in the same name:

a) *Cnoc an Ois Chrògabhat, Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh, Loch an Tairbeirt Challanais* (C2xiii); *Cnoc an Ois Loch Fàsgrò, Cnoc an Ois Loch Bhorghastar* (C3vi).

b) *Loch a' Chuilein na Dùine, Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine* (C2vii); *Loch nam Breac a' Bhoth Chlach* (C3ii); see also C3vii, unattested in CR.

These irregularities are due to the onomastic structure of the names: generic groups (e.g. *Cnoc an Ois-*, *Loch a' Bhaile-* (§4.3iii)) are modified by onomastic-units (§4.3v) which are grammatically definite (e.g. *-Chrògabhat -na Dùine*).

ii) Concerning inflexion of nouns in non-final position.

a) Nouns in non-final position are found inflected in the same contexts as irregular uses of the article (see (i) above).

b) For the position regarding personal-names, see p.49.

iii) Concerning the use of adjectives.

a) Where two adjectives are juxtaposed, one or other qualifies the remaining words (noun + adj., i.e. generic group) which are regarded as a unit (underlined in the examples below). Under α the second adjective qualifies this unit; under β the first:

α) *A' Bheinn Mhaoil Mhòr, An Cnoc Glas Mòr* (S3ii); *Cnoc Buidhe Beag, Carra Liath Beag* (S3i); *Beinn Leathainn Bheag*

Amar na h-Eit (C2vi).

β) Cnoc Mòr Leathainn, Geodha Chaol Ghlas (S3i); Loch Beag Dubh Cearn Thallabhat (C2xii).

b) In structures of $n \times n + a$ (Clxi), $n \times N + a$ (Clxvi) and $n \times \text{art.} + n + a$ (Clxiv) the adjective qualifies either α all of what precedes it, or β merely the immediately preceding noun (n or N). The word or words qualified are underlined in the examples below:

α) Creag Speireig Mhòr, Loch Griùl Beag, Loch Ròg an Iar; Tom Bhrataigea Mhòr, Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag, Loch a' Bhuilg Ard, Càrn an Fhithich A-staigh.

β) Sìthean Lèig Gorm, Loch Thoma Dubha, Gleann Dhaile Mòire; Loch Bhuailleabhal Bheag, Leac Crodhair Mhòr, Cùl Teannraigir Mhòr; Creag na Bà Glaise, Feadan an Fhraoich Ghairbh.

and

γ) (where *beag* qualifies two of the preceding words)
Tursachan Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag (C2xvi).

c) In the structures $n + a \times N$ (Clx) and $n + a \times \text{art.} + n$ (Clvi) the adjective either qualifies α the remainder of the name (being treated as one unit), or β the noun preceding it. The word or words qualified by the adjective are underlined in the following examples:

α) Rubha Beag Nèidealt, Cnoc Mòr Bhineabhair, Loch Mòr a' Chòcair, Bealach A-muigh na Mònach.

β) Taobh Tuath Challanais, Tom Beag Bhineasgro; Loch Beag an Fhedir, Cnoc Fad' an Eich.

In a) α and β, b) α as well as γ and c) α, a generic group is qualified by a modifying adjective (§4.3iii & iv).

In b) β, the adjective is part of a specific unit (§4.3ii).

In c) β, the adjective is part of a generic group (§4.3iii).

NOTES to §3

1. These are compounds and have full-stress on the initial adjectival element. The first element of a compound may also be a noun, e.g. types S4b & c.

2. *nic*, a contraction of *nighean (mh)ic*.

§4 ONOMASTIC STRUCTURE

§4.1 Introductory.

By onomastic structure I mean the structure of names according to the different functions of the various elements or groups of elements in a name, or simply the structure of names according to how they function as names. The structure, for example, of the names *Loch Bhuailiabhal Bheag* and *Tom Bhrataigea Bheag* is different although they are identical from the point of view of word-order; the former may be rendered 'the lake of *Buailiabhal Bheag*', and the latter 'the lesser *Tom Bhrataigea*'.

In Scotland generally there has been little in-depth analysis of the onomastic structure of Gaelic names. The reason seems to be that the focus in onomastics, or the study of names, has usually been on the derivation of names and their elements. Oftedal (1980) recognises onomastic function to some extent in his analysis of Hebridean names, but see p. 30.

Most commentators distinguish, implicitly or explicitly, between generic and specific elements. MacAulay (1972: 318ff.) goes a long way in classifying the latter, and Fraser (1978/1978a) gives an account of coastal generics in the Western Isles.

Some other aspects of structure have also been touched upon. For example, the syntactical problem in the name *Loch nan Eilean Geàrrraidh a' Bhàird* (§3.6i) arising from the use of an earlier name, i.e. (*)*Geàrrraidh a' Bhàird*, as an unchanged unit in the creation of the former and more recent name (Oftedal op.cit.: 175); see §4.3v.

Often, however, onomastic structure has been completely ignored. The main reason for this, in the context of Lewis, has been that the approach taken by earlier commentators¹ has been dictated by their aim of finding suitable Norse derivations for ON loan-names in the material before them. Names like *Loch Lacsabhat* and *Geodha Thòlaigea*, with loans in final position, would be considered from this restricted point of view; and, coupled with a charge of tautology (*loch* ~ ON *uatn* 'lake'; *geodha* ~ ON *giǫ* 'ravine' §5.2), such names would be treated, by default if not explicitly, as Norse. While we will wish to study ON loan-names, we should not simply ignore Gaelic name structure. Were we to treat the name *Creagannan Buaille Bhoth Tastabhat* (with an ON loan-name in position-final) in this way, the injustice would be no greater, simply more obvious.

I have devised three classes of name: (§4.2) Unqualified, (§4.3) Qualified, and (§4.4) Phrasal. For the distinction between INDEPENDENT and DEPENDENT names, see §4.3vi.

§4.2 Unqualified names.

Unqualified names, as the term suggests, consist of a single element and have no additions in the form of qualifying elements. Unqualified names, by definition, are also independent (§4.3vi).

There are various sub-classes:

a) ON loan-names: *Tinndir*, *Tòlair*, *Laimiseadar*, *Siabost* etc.; the last two examples are both found to contain two elements when we reconstruct their ON forms, but synchronically, in the nomenclature of CR, they are single elements.

b) English loan-names: *Am Peantlan*, *Am Briost*; other examples are not so certain: *An Clobhsa*, *An Cidhe* (twice), *A' Phàirc* (twice), *Am Pasaid*, *An Dump*, *Am Punnd*, and possibly *An Drèana* (twice).

c) Non-generic names (created by Gaels, as were the remaining sub-classes), consisting of noun or adjective plus a suffix denoting 'place of': with *-an* *Maoilean* 'exposed place', *An Gasan* 'place of the thicket'; with *-ag* *A' Chraobhag* 'the place of trees', *An Urrdhag* 'the place of boulders', *Ruighleag* 'the sloping ground'; with *-ach* *An Fhideach* 'the place of

the river-lea'; with *-id Slugaid* 'the place of the gorge', *A' Mhiasaid* 'the place of the basin'. For further examples, see §7.6.

d) Generic names, consisting of a generic term (§4.3i): *An Aird* 'the headland', *An Dùnan* 'the fortlet', *A' Pheithir* 'the rift', *An Tom* 'the hill' etc.

e) Associative names: *Leumadair* '? porpoise' of a reef and a skerry, *A' Chùbainn* 'the pulpit' of a rock formation, *An Sīlich* 'the sluggish fellow' of a marine stack², *Na Rògairean* 'the tall or lanky fellows', of two stacks, *An Glomair* 'the vice' of a gully, and *Na Coilich* 'the wave-crests' of two skerries (if the name did not mean 'the eddies').

f) Names derived from qualified names: *Beannachadh* ← *Càrn a' Bheannachaidh* 'the cairn of the blessing' with the derived name referring to a track; *Am Boc* ← *Sgeir a' Bhuic* 'the skerry of the he-goat'.

Unqualified names are used in the formation of dependent names (§4.3vi). Indeed, many once unqualified names, particularly of the sub-classes a and c, are now only found as parts of dependent names: (a) **Liamastean* → *Bealach Liamastean*, **Thòlabaidh* → *Leathad Tòlabaidh*; (b) **Crìonag* → *Beinn Chrìonaig*.

§4.3 Qualified names.

Qualified names consist of a generic element and one or more qualifying elements.

i) The generic element.

The generic or generic element (g) is always a noun. It gives a basic description of the feature to which a place-name is, or was first applied, according to the type or class of feature. This may be a man-made structure, e.g. *buaille* f. 'enclosure' as in ^g*Buaille na Creige* 'the e. of the crag', ^g*Buaille na Mìst* 'the e. of the basin'; or *bothan* m. 'bothy, hut' as in ^g*Bòthan Ciaran* '*Ciaran*'s bothy'. Usually, however, the generic refers to a natural feature, e.g. *geodha* f. 'ravine, cove' as in ^g*Geodha na Mnà* 'the r. of the woman', ^g*Geodha Sheileasdair* 'the c. of yellow-flag'; or *creagan* m. 'hillock' as in ^g*Creagan Ghreòid* 'the h. of coarse earth', ^g*Creagan Còinneach* 'the mossy hillock'.

The generic normally occurs in name-initial position. Where it does not, grammatically it forms a compound with a preceding noun or adjective, e.g. *An Glas* ^g*Allt* 'the green stream', *An Cùl* ^g*Phort* 'the rear harbour'. Note that the compound itself does not constitute the generic; this is clear from such pairs as *An Cam* ^g*Allt* 'the crooked stream' and *An Glas* ^g*Allt* as above.

The article has no onomastic function. Names, by

definition, are definite. Where it occurs, the article may be considered a part of the generic, but is omitted from an onomastic description.

The feature to which a generic refers need no longer exist, e.g. *Loch Mille Thòla* 'the lake of *Mille Thòla*' refers to a meadow in a valley since the lake was drained within the last 100 years or so. Names in *àirigh*- 'shieling' are all of this sort as they are no longer inhabitable, although even the ruins are no longer visible at many locations. Another reason for there being no feature at a location applicable to the generic is that while the feature survives elsewhere, the name has been transferred (§5.3).

A generic may be coterminous with its name, e.g. *An Aird* 'the headland' §4.2.

ON loan-names are also found as generic elements e.g. *Druidigeadh Mhòr/Chaol* 'broad/narrow *Druidigeadh*'; in such names, synchronically, it seems best to view them this way §4.3ivb.

Among the commonest generic elements are *cnoc* m. 'hill', *creag* f. 'rock', *loch* m. 'lake' and *allt* 'stream'. For the range and classification of generic elements, see §11.

ii) The specific element.

The specific (s) or specific element is a primary qualifier. It may be a single element, e.g. ^g*An t-Allt* ^s*Glas* 'the green stream', ^g*Creagan* ^s*Ghreòid* 'the hillock of coarse

earth'; or a group of elements acting as a single SPECIFIC UNIT, e.g. ^g*Airigh* ^s*na h-Aon Oidhche* 'the shieling of the single night ('s stay)', ^g*Creagan* ^s*na Bà Glais* 'the hillock of the grey cow'. The specific, then, may consist of an adjective or any one of the range of composites that form a simplex.

Specific units always follow the generic; a specific element, however, may precede, e.g. (Am) ^s*Fiar* ^g*Allt* 'the winding stream', (An) ^s*Fheur* ^g*Loch* 'the grassy lake'.

In qualifying its generic, the specific may distinguish it, or rather the feature to which it applies, from similar features with the same generic. This function is mainly achieved because names with generics thus specified sound different, e.g. ^g*Leathad* ^s*an Droma* {,Lí-atn'Nrõmð} 'the gradient of the ridge' ~ ^g*Leathad* ^s*namMarbh* {,Lí-atnð'maràv} 'the g. of the dead'. As in these examples, lexical meaning can often be easily discerned, but, as a function of the specific, lexical meaning can only have a secondary and non-essential value. It is only when names are being created that such meaning is of primary significance (§§2.1, 5).

A specific may have the function of denoting location, but usually there is no interference from its lexical meaning. A few specifics denote relative location, e.g. *àrd*, *ìosal* 'upper, lower'; absolute location is denoted by an onomastic unit (§4.3v).

As regards lexical meaning, specifics may be descriptive of the topography or form of a feature, of permanent or temporary natural phenomena or events associated with it; of the use to which the location was/is put, or the activity or an event which took place there; or of the person or persons who utilised or frequented the location. For the full range and classification of specific elements, however, see §11.

iii) The modifier.

More than one qualifier may occur in a name, e.g. *Creag Dhubh Mhurchaidh* 'the black rock of *Murchadh*'. The generic *creag* along with its specific *dubh* form a unit (G = GENERIC GROUP) which is qualified by the personal-name *Murchadh*. The latter qualifier I shall call the MODIFIER or modifying specific (m); m always follows G. The modifier is identical to the specific in terms of the range of its lexical meaning. A specific element or unit, along with the modifier form a SPECIFIC GROUP (S):

$\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \hline \text{G} \end{array}$	$\left \begin{array}{c} \text{g} \\ \hline \text{Creag} \end{array} \right \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \hline \text{Mhòr} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{m} \\ \hline \text{Mhuca} \end{array} \text{ Fàileag}$	'the large crag of (the) rose-
		hips'
$\begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \hline \text{G} \end{array}$	$\left \begin{array}{c} \text{g} \\ \hline \text{Creagan} \end{array} \right \begin{array}{c} \text{S} \\ \hline \text{Biorach} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{m} \\ \hline \text{na Cailliche Mòire} \end{array}$	'the pointed knoll of
		the large old woman'

Secondary qualifiers normally have a contrastive function, see iv) below.

iv) The contrastive modifier.

a) Pairs of similar neighbouring features are often found with the same name but for additional contrastive modifiers (c). While a specific may be inherently (or incidentally) contrastive, e.g. *An Càrman Mòr* 'the large rocky hill' ~ *An Càrman Beag* 'the small rocky hill', I make no distinction between specifics of the contrastive and non-contrastive sort. It is only with elements which modify SPECIFIED names in this way that I am dealing here; but see b. Contrastive modifiers are usually adjectives from a small and limited range normally denoting relative size or relative location:

|^gA' Bheinn ^sMhaoil ^cBheag/Mhòr 'the lesser/greater (bald
G mountain)'

|^gCreag ^sSpeireig ^cMhòr/Bheag 'the greater/lesser (hill of
G the hawk)'

|^gCreag ^sa' Chait ^cA-staigh/_A-muigh 'the inner/outer (knoll of
G the cat)'

|^gA' Bhuail' ^sFhalach ^cIosal/Ard 'the lower/upper (hidden
G enclosure)'

In these examples the contrastive modifiers are pairs of opposites³. Occasionally we find only one adjective used,

or we could say the pair consists of adjective + zero:

^gCnoc ^sAirigh Nèill ^c(= ϕ) 'the hill of the shieling of
Niall'

|^gCnoc ^sAirigh Nèill ^cBhiorach 'the pointed hill of..'etc.
G

In the examples looked at so far, the contrastive modifier is in name-final position. Often, however, in what seems to be a late development, it is placed directly after the generic. The reason for this seems to be to give prominence to the contrastive modifier while preserving the specific in name-final full-stress position. However, it still qualifies the separated parts of its name as a single unit:

|^gLoch ^cMòr/Beag ^sa' Chòcair 'the greater/lesser (lake of the
G.....G cook)'

|^gGeodha ^cMhòr/Chao1 ^sGh1as 'the broad/narrow (grey ravine)'
G.....G

Contrastive modifiers are also found in a few examples of names already qualified by modifying specifics. In these instances the contrastive modifier either follows upon the generic group or comes directly after the generic:

S.....S

|^gBeinn ^sLeathairn ^cMhòr/Bheag ^mAmar na h-Eit

G

'the greater/lesser (broad mountain of the crag of the
cattle)'⁴

S

|^gLoch ^cBeag/Mòr ^sDubh ^mCeann Thallabhat

G.....G

'the lesser/greater (black lake of the head of *Th.)'

In the above examples, m is an onomastic unit; see v) below.

b) ON loan-names are found with the function of a generic (p.67) but with no more than one qualifier. This qualifier, whether an adjective or a nominal element, always has a contrastive function:

^gCeadraiseal ^ca' Chàrnain/na h-Airigh 'C. of the cairn/shieling'

^gBuaileabhal ^cMhòr/Bheag 'greater/lesser B.'

v) The onomastic unit.

In the name *Allt an Loch Shalaich*, the generic *allt* 'stream' is followed by the specific unit *-an Loch Shalaich*. The specific corresponds to the name *An Loch Salach* 'the dirty (i.e. peaty) lake'. What is the

relationship between the part of the stream-name *-an Loch Shalaich* and the lake-name, *An Loch Salach*? It is tempting to say that although *-an Loch Shalaich* is in the genitive case it is simply the name *An Loch Salach*. However, this is a grammatical interpretation which does not account for the fact that *-an Loch Shalaich* has the function of a specific. Clearly, it is not a name; it is PART of the name *Allt an Loch Shalaich*.

In this name, the specific unit *-an Loch Shalaich* has the function of denoting the location of the feature (generic) it qualifies by referring to the feature known as *An Loch Salach* - but it does not qualify with regard to any aspect of its lexical meaning. To translate the stream-name as 'the stream of the dirty lake' would be metaphrastic, but to its users it represents 'the stream from (grammatically OF) *An Loch Salach*'. The relationship, then, between the latter and *-an Loch Shalaich* can be understood in this way: in denoting location, the function of the specific is similar to the function of the place-name. While *-an Loch Shalaich* is not a name, it shares with *An Loch Salach* the quality of one - it has name or onomastic quality. For an element or group of elements which have this quality, I shall use the term ONOMASTIC UNIT.

ON loan-names obviously possess onomastic quality, as do the specifics or specific units (Gaelic creations) which have corresponding names, as in the example used above. Onomastic quality is also found in elements or groups of elements that are not qualifiers, namely generic groups, as in *Cnoc Glas Beag* 'the lesser grey crag', and ON loan-names which have a generic

function in name-initial position, as in Buaileabhal Bheag 'lesser B.'

As a term to specifically describe a qualifying element or groups of elements which have onomastic quality the term *EX NOMINE* (ONOMASTIC) UNIT shall be used.

Ex nomine units occur as both primary and secondary qualifiers; in the examples below, the extent of the units is shown by brackets:

- ^gMullach ^s(Chàrlabhaigh) 'the summit-' ~ Càrlabhagh
- ^gAbhainn ^s(Shiaboist) 'the river-' ~ Siabost
- ^gAirigh ^s(na Beinne Bige) 'the shieling-' ~ A' Bheinn Bheag
- ^gAllt ^s(a' Gheàrraidh) 'the stream-' ~ An Geàrraidh
- ^gCreag ^s(an Tùil Mhòir) 'the crag-' ~ An Tùil Mòr
- ^gLoch ^s(Lacsabhat) ^cArd 'the upper lake of L.'
- S.....S
- ^sDubh ^gSgeir ^m(Aird a' Ghobhann) 'the black skerry of the headland of the smith'
- S.....S
- ^gLoch ^sa' Chuilein ^c(na Dùine/Tholstaidh) 'the lake of the whelp of the fort/T.'
- S.....S
- ^gBeinn ^sLeathainn ^cMhòr/Bheag ^m(Amar na h-Eit) 'the greater/ lesser broad mountain of the crag of the cattle'

We also find onomastic units which have no correspondences in the form of surviving names:

- ^gAllt ^s(Bhineasgro) 'the stream-' ~ *Bhineasgro
- ^gLoch ^s(Calmaistean) 'the lake-' ~ *Calmaistean
- ^gBeinn ^s(Gharbhaig) 'the mountain-' ~ *Garbhag
- ^gCàrman ^s(Dùn) 'the rocky mound-' ~ *Dùn
- ^gDùn ^s(Atha) 'the rocky mound-' ~ *Ath

Diachronically, we may wish to view *ex nomine* units as names, which of course they were at some time or another. Their value for establishing a profile of earlier name structure is self-evident. In some names, indeed, we have two or even three generations, so to speak, of names in the form of onomastic units. This is possible because of the common practice of using existing names as specifics of new creations. Thus a name α is used as the specific in a name β ; β in a name γ ; and γ in δ (the names γ and δ in the examples below are current):

α	<i>*An Gàrradh</i>		'the dyke'
β	<i>*Ceann (a' Ghàrraidh)</i>	O ¹	'the end-'
γ	<i>Cnoc (Ceann a' Ghàrraidh)</i>	O ²	'the hill-'
δ	<i>Tursachan (Cnoc Ceann a' Ghàrraidh)</i>	O ³	'the standing-stones-'

O¹, O² etc. present the units chronologically.

Further examples:

^g*Allt* ^s (*Loch (Eileastar)*) lit. 'the stream of the lake of E.'
 O² O¹

^g*Feadan* ^s (*Loch (Ceann (Thallabhat))*) lit. 'the burn of the lake
 O³ O² O¹ of the head of *Th.'

Since so many elements in Lewis place-names are semantically transparent and yet may also once have constituted names, one is never far from wondering whether a certain name contains an appellative or an onomastic unit as its specific. For example, in the name *Feadan na Gile* 'the brook of the ravine', what is the origin of *-na gile*? I have not recorded a name **A' Ghil*; however, as names will certainly have been lost over the centuries, there is really no proof that **A' Ghil* did not once exist. Since in many cases there will be doubt about the origins of specifics, for the purposes of classification no distinction is made between those which are *ex nomine* and those whose origin is unclear.

vi) Independent ~ Dependent names.

Dependent names are dependent upon *ex nomine* onomastic units for their formation, and by definition are qualified names. Independent names are not so formed, and may be qualified or unqualified.

§4.4 Phrasal names.

Rather than add further qualifications to the above classes, I have resorted to devising a third class, phrasal names, albeit that they number only two.

Eadar Dhà Loch 'between two lakes' - of a low-lying tongue of land. There is no generic element: from adverbial use, the prepositional phrase has come to be used nominally.

Car Ma Thom - a phrase with the sense of 'dodging' (cf. *car mu chnoc* with the same sense); an enclosure. Whether the phrase arose due to problems incurred when herding animals or from children playing, or for some other reason, by association of some such activity with the place in question the phrase came to be applied to the enclosure itself.

§4.5 The classifications.

i) Unqualified names.

Fig. 5 below shows the frequency of unqualified names according to the sub-classes detailed on pp. 64 & 65.

Sub-classes of unqualified names and their frequency

Fig. 5

	%	
a. ON Inn.	4.24†	Syntactical category Slb
b. Eng. Inn.	0.37	Synt. cat. Slai and ii
c. Non-generic names	1.29	"
d. Generic names	4.04	"
e. Associative names	0.24	"
f. Derived names	<u>0.10</u>	"
	Total 10.28%	

† Approx. percentage of total names.

Sub-classes of qualified names and their frequency

Fig. 6

%	CONTRASTED				TOTALS		
SPECIFIED	gs	41.62†	gsc	1.12	gcs	1.02	44.06
			gs(c)	0.30			
	g(s)	38.09	g(s)c	0.44	gc(s)	0.51	39.21
			g(s)(c)	0.17			
	sg	0.75	sgc	0.30			1.05
(s)g	0.07					0.07	
MODIFIED	gsm	0.51	gsc(m)	0.07	gcs(m)	0.10	0.68
	gs(m)	4.54					4.54
	sg(m)	0.03					0.03
TOTALS	85.61		2.40		1.63		89.64%

† Approx. percentage of total names.

ii) Qualified names.

Fig. 6 above gives the frequency of the various sub-classes of qualified names. The figures reveal the tendency there has been to use names as specifics of new creations, even if we allow that a proportion of the sub-class g(s) really contains g(s = appellative); gs(m) shows the same tendency.

Below I give examples of each sub-class, showing each syntactical category represented:

gs: S2ai *Leaca Buidhe* 'the yellow flag-stones', S2aii *An Cnoc Leathainn* 'the broad hill', S2b *Beirghsgeadh Chaol* 'narrow B.', Cli *Cnoc Raineach* 'the ferny hillock', Clii *An Tòb Làthaich* 'the muddy bay', Clv *Tom an Eòin* 'the hillock of the bird', Clxiv *Feadan an Fhraoich Ghairbh* 'the burn of the coarse heather', Clxviii *Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche* 'the shieling of the single night ('s stay)', C2i *Creagan Leathach Slighe* 'the half-way hillock', C2iii *Tom na Cruachan Mònadh* 'the knoll of the peat-stacks', Cpl *Creagan Màiri* 'M.'s hillock', prepositional names *Geodha Gun Fheum* 'the useless ravine'.

gsc: S3i *Carra Liath Beag* 'the lesser C. (grey rock)', S3ii *An Cnoc Glas Mòr* 'the greater C. (green hill)', Clxiii *A' Bhuail' Fhalach Ard* 'the upper B. (hidden enclosure)', Clxiv *Creag a' Chait A-staigh* 'the inner C. (crag of the cat)', Cp2 *Both Uilleim Beag* 'the lesser B. (U.'s bothy)'.

gs(c): Clxi *Loch Griùl Beag* 'the lesser L. (gravelly lake)',
C2vii *Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine* 'D.'s (the fort's) lake of the
village'.

gcs: S3i *Geodha Chaol Ghlas* 'the narrow G. (grey ravine)',
Clvi *Bealach A-muigh na Mònach* 'the outer B. (pass of the peat)',
C2ii *Loch Mòr Gil Speireig* 'the greater L. (lake of G. (the
ravine of the hawk))', Cp6 *Cnoc Beag Gille Naomh* 'the lesser
C. (G.'s hill)'.

g(s): Cli *Geàrrraidh Mhaoilein* 'the enclosure of M. (the exposed
place)', Cliv *Tealabhal na Dùine* 'T. of D. (the fort)', Clv
Bàrr na Craobhaig 'the summit of C. (the place of trees)',
Clviii *Tealabhal Tholstaidh* 'T. of T.', Clix *Loch Langabhat*
'the lake of L.', Clxi *Aird Dhaile Beaga* 'the headland of D.
(the small valleys)', Clxiv *Gilean a' Chlachain Ioraich* 'the
ravines of C. (the lower stepping-stones)', Clxvi *Leac*
Crodhair Mhòr 'the flagstone of C. (large C.)', Clxviii *Sìthean*
an Fhàs Uillt 'the knoll of F. (the withering stream)', Clxix
Allt an Fheur Loch 'the stream of F. (the grassy lake)', Clxx
Airigh an Fhionn Allt Bhig 'the shieling of F. (the lesser F.
(fair stream))',
C2i *Geodha Dail Geannain* 'the cove of D. (the wedge-shaped
valley)', C2iii *Sgeir na Tobhta Càile* 'the skerry of T. (the
cabbage enclosure)', C2iv *Gàrradh Druim an Ois* 'the dyke of D.
(the ridge of O. (the outlet))', C2ix *Allt Loch Dubh na Glaic*
'the stream of L. (the black lake of G. (the hollow))', C2x

Creagan Beinn Bhorghaston 'the crags of B. (the mountain of B.)', C2xiv *Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga* 'the stream of L. (the lake of D. (the small valleys))', C2xv *Allt Os na Creige Ruaidhe* 'the stream of O. (the outlet of C. (the red rock))', C2xvii *Tursachan Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag* 'the standing-stones of C. (the lesser C. (the hill of B.))', C2xviii *Cnoc Buail' an Dà Rùisg* 'the hill of B. (the enclosure of the two cuttings (of peat))', C3i *Fuaran Airigh Chùil Làimhe* 'the spring of A. (the shieling of C. (the moorland pasture))', C3iii *Airigh Ceann Loch an Tairbeirt* 'the shieling of C. (the head of L. (the lake of T. (the isthmus)))', C3v *Creagannan Buaille Bhoth Tastabhat* 'the rocks of B. (the enclosure of B. (the bothy of T.))', Cp3 *Bealaich Beinn Iomhair* 'the passes of B. (I.'s mountain)', Cp5 *Creag Airigh Steinm Bheinn* 'the crag of A. (the shieling of S. (the crag of ? B(h)einn))', and prepositional names *Cnocan Ma Lèig* 'the knoll by L. (the brook)'.

g(s)c: Clxvi *Tom Bhrataigea Mhòr* 'the greater T. (knoll of B.)', Cp4 *Cnoc Airigh Nèill Bhiorach* 'the pointed C. (hill of A. (Niall's shieling))'.

g(s)(c): C2xiii *Cnoc an Ois Chrògabhat* 'C.'s hill of O. (the outlet)', C3vi *Cnoc an Ois Loch Fàsgrò* 'L.'s (the lake of F.) hill of O. (the outlet)'.

gc(s): Clvi *Loch Beag a' Ghrianain* 'the lesser L. (lake of G. (the sunny place))', Clx *Rubha Beag Nèidealt* 'the lesser R. (point of N.)'.

sg: S4ai *Dubh Sgeir* 'the black skerry', S4aii *An Garbh Allt* 'the violent stream', S4b *An Fheur Loch* 'the grassy lake', S4d *Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal* 'the four Cs'.

sgc: S5a *An Dubh Sgeir Bheag* 'the lesser D. (black skerry)', S5b *An Fheur Loch Mhòr* 'the large F. (grassy lake)'.

(s)g: S4b *An Cùl Phort* 'the harbour of C. (the rear)'.

gsm: Clvi *Cnoc Fad' an Eich* 'the long hill of the horse', Clxv *Creagan Biorach na Cailliche Mòire* 'the pointed hillock of the large old woman', C2ii *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag* 'the large crag of rose-hips', Cp6 *Creag Dhubh Mhurchaidh* 'the black rock of *Murchadh*'.

gsc(m): C2vi *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr Amar na h-Eit* 'the large B. (broad mountain of A. (the crag of the cattle))'.

gcs(m): C2vi *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann na Cliaraich* 'the lesser L. (black lake of C. (the head of C. (the place of the slope)))'; C2xii *Loch Mòr Dubh Ceann Thallabhat* 'the greater L. (black lake of C. (the head of Th.))'.

gs(m): Cliii *Beinn Leathainn Bheannain* 'the broad mountain of B. (horn-shaped mountain)', Clvi *Creagan Biorach a' Ghàrraidh* 'the pointed hillock of G. (the dyke)', Clx *Beinn Mhòr Shiaboist* 'the large mountain of S.', Clxii *Loch Beag Thoma Dubha* 'the little lake of T. (dark hills)', Clxv *Cnoc Dubh na Creige Bàine* 'the dark hill of C. (the fair rock)', Clxvii *Loch Ruadh Eitseal Bheag* 'the red lake of E. (little E.)', C2ii *Lochan Dubh Càrnan Dùn* 'the black lake of C. (the rocky mound of D. (the rocky mound))', C2v *Geodha Bhàn Bun a' Ghàrraidh* 'the fair ravine of B. (the end of G. (the dyke))', C2xi *Clach Mhòr Airigh Mhùsclait* 'the large stone of A. (the shieling of M.)', C3ii *Loch nan Breac a' Bhoth Chlach* 'the lake of the trout of B. (the bothy of stones)', C3iv *Loch Dubh Druim Airigh nan Sìthean* 'the black lake of D. (the ridge of A. (the shieling of S. (the knolls)))', Cp7 *Cnoc Dubh Airigh Fhionnlaidh* 'the dark hill of A. (the shieling of *Fionnladh*)'.

sg(m): C2viii *Dubh Sgeir Aird a' Ghobhann* 'the black skerry of A. (the headland of the smith)'.

§4.6 The distribution and function of Old Norse loan-names.

Only half of the ON loan-names surviving in the nomenclature still occur as independent names, e.g. *Làbost* (fr. ON *Lamb-bólstað* 'lamb-farm'). While they have no semantic

significance from a lexical point of view, occasionally folk etymologies occur (§5.5), but this is another matter entirely. Most loan-names have been transferred (§5.3), i.e. they no longer apply to the features for which they were originally created by Norsemen. For example, *Balabhair* (fr. ON *Balauqrðu* 'the cairn of the grassy bank') now applies to a pass between two hills. These facts are worth bearing in mind when we consider the various structures of dependent name in which ON loan-names occur.

Initially there are three ways in which the loan-name is treated. The commonest is whereby the Norse onomastic unit is used as the specific of a Gaelic generic:

^g*Loch* ^s (*Lacsabhat*)

^g*Gàrradh* ^s (*Mheireabhal*)

As stated, this is the commonest method of employing loan-names, and it is also the easiest to follow. Often these names are tautological (§5.2).

Secondly, loans are used as modifying specifics, in some instances with a contrastive function:

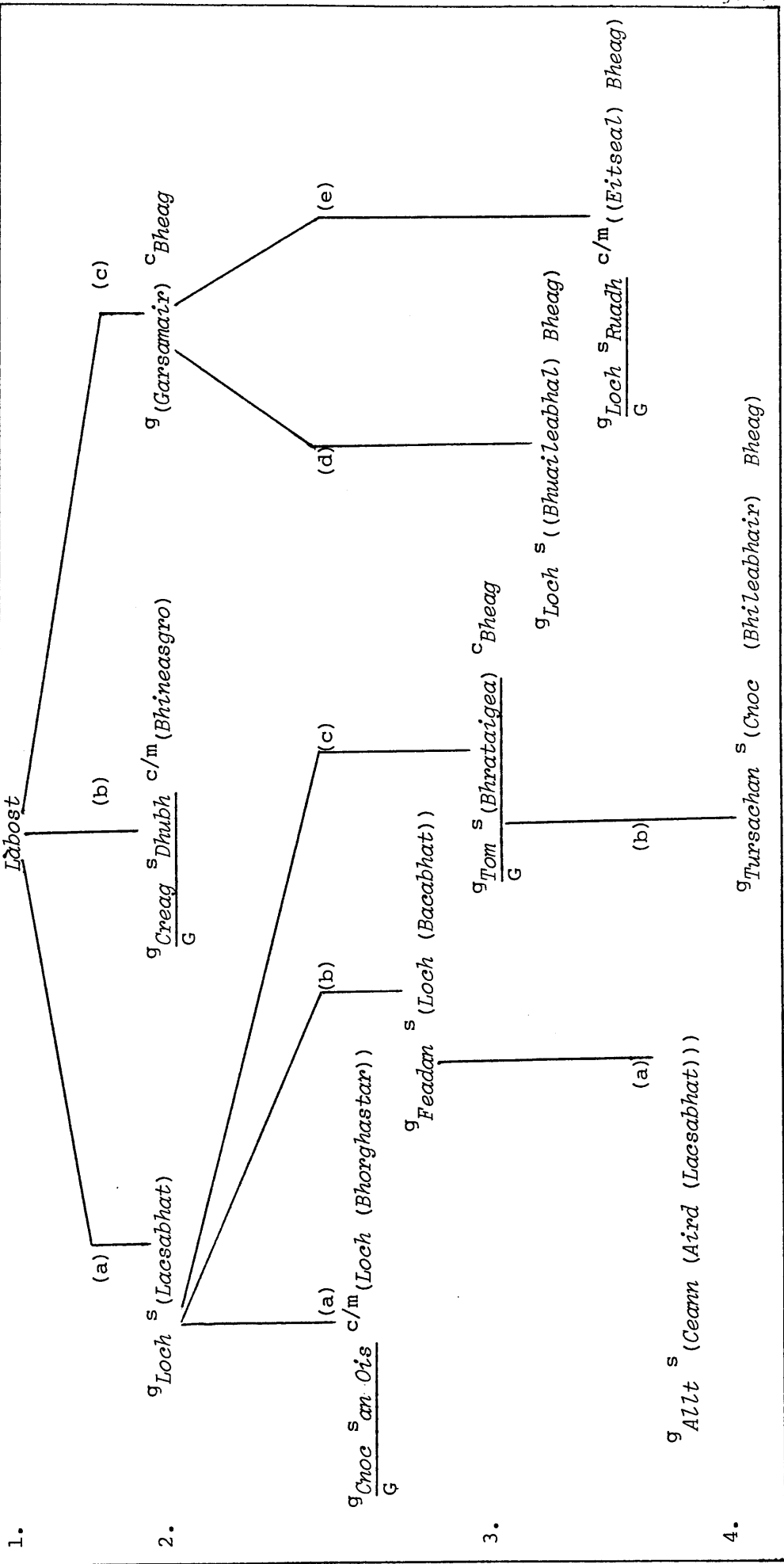
$\frac{|^g \text{Creag} \text{ } ^s \text{Dhubh} \text{ } ^m}{G}$ (*Bhineasgro*)

$\frac{|^g \text{Loch} \text{ } ^s \text{a' Bhaile} \text{ } ^c}{G}$ (*Tholstaidh*)

Thirdly, the ON loan is qualified by a contrastive

1. The Onomastic Distribution and Function of ON Loan-names.

Fig. 7



modifier - here the loan-name has a generic function:

g (*Garsamair*) c *Bheag/Mhòr*

g (*Druidigeadh*) c *Chao1/Mhòr*

Fig. 7 above shows the range of name structures in which ON loan-names occur. Tier 1 consists of independent names; tiers 2, 3 and 4 of dependent names.

Tier 2 contains the three structures outlined above: $g (N)^S$; $g s (N)^{m/c}$; $(N)^g c$. In tiers 3 and 4, these structures are employed as either specific, modifier or generic group in the formation of more complex names. For example, the structure $g (N)^S$ is used as a modifier in 3a: $g s^m (g^S (N))$; but as a specific in 3b: $g^S (g^S (N))$; while 3b itself is used as a specific in 4a: $g^S (g^S (g^S (N)))$.

The structures 3c and 3d should be noted: here, while names will appear to be identical, their onomastic structure is in fact entirely different.

NOTES to §4

1. Including Mackenzie 1903, MacBain 1922, Mackenzie 1932, MacIver 1934 and Watson 1976.
2. Since *Stac an t-Sìlich* also occurs, this may belong with sub-class f.
3. Cf. Beinn-Dearg-Beag/Mòr, Allt Garbh Mòr/Beag and 'Ghearra Bheinn Iosal/Ard in Skye (Forbes 1923).
4. *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr/Bheag Amar na h-Eit* (alias *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr/Bheag*): without the adj. *mòr beag*, *-Amar na h-Eit* would have the value of c; cf. *Beinn Leathainn Sgianailt* and *Beinn Leathainn Bheannain* also in the vicinity.

§5.1 General.

By lexical meaning is meant the dictionary meaning of words. The lexical meaning of *A' Gheodha Ruadh* is 'the red ravine or cove', of *An Cnoc Dubh* 'the black hill', and of *Na h-Urrdhannan* 'the boulders'. The first two examples above contain items still current in the lexicon of CR. The third contains a plural form of an unattested **urrdh* (prob. fem.), a loan-word from ON *urð* f. 'a pile of stones', and is semantically opaque from a contemporary point of view. Of course, neither semantic transparency nor opaqueness is, to use Nicolaisen's expression (1977: 145), a *conditio sine qua non* of onomastic purity.

We can still refer to a name's lexical meaning regardless of whether this is understood today or not. Since, however, names can be semantically opaque, we cannot view lexical meaning as of primary significance in a name (pp 24 & 68). Establishing the lexical meaning of names and their elements, though, allows us an insight into the society which created these names. In obtaining this, however, we should remember that we are creating a field of meaning that does not otherwise operate, although it could potentially be drawn upon in many instances.

The names *A' Gheodha Ruadh*, *An Cnoc Dubh* and *Na h-Urrdhanman* denote features which we can abstract as α , β and γ respectively. On an onomastic level, our three names mean α , β and γ respectively. Onomastic meaning is distinct from lexical meaning. It is irrelevant that α is a ravine with red in it, that β is a relatively dark-coloured hill and that γ is a place full of large boulders - facts comparable with the lexical meanings of the three names. In each case, it is simply that lexical items have been used in naming features which today still have characteristics that answer to the lexical descriptions. This distinction is more dramatically shown by the following example: *Am Both* lexically means 'the hut or bothy', whereas onomastically it means a hill, or more accurately 'the hill between this and that location' (see §5.3).

It is the distinction between onomastic and lexical meaning that explains the retention of semantically opaque names in the nomenclature, for they survive the lexicon or even the language in which they were created, not because of their lexical meaning (long since defunct) but because of their onomastic meaning.

Nicolaisen (op.cit.: 155ff) points to an intermediate stage in a development from lexical to onomastic meaning, which he calls ASSOCIATIVE. A lexical item is chosen for use in the nomenclature for its meaning in association with other items. For example, with adjectives of colour, this results in certain applications, so that *dubh* 'black' may

refer to heather-covered ground (as opposed to *glas* 'green' - of grass), and *ruadh* 'red, russet' refers to iron-stained ground, rocks or water. We see, then, that *An Cnoc Dubh* has the associative meaning 'the heather-covered hill', and *A' Gheodha Ruadh* 'the iron-stained ravine'. So the names not only denote, as a result of their onomastic meaning, features α and β ; they connote characteristics of their features due to their associative meaning, beyond the field of lexical meaning. A further example is *An Glas Allt*: lexically 'the green stream', it connotes a stream with grass as opposed to heather along its banks. While all names are inherently denotative, these are also connotative. Within the nomenclature, however, associative meaning has a restricted role due to the factor of semantic opacity.

When translating names, we have to be careful not to use metaphrasis simply because it conveniently reveals the lexical meaning of the constituents of names. *Ex nomine* units are a case in point. For example, we should translate *Uagha na Geodha Ruaidhe* as 'the cave of *A' Gheodha Ruadh*' and NOT 'the cave of the red ravine', since *-na Geodha Ruaidhe* functions as a specific denoting location and operates only on the level of onomastic meaning.

About two thirds of the names in the nomenclature are semantically transparent, although a number of elements contained in them are no longer functional in the dialect and are now only familiar to older members of the community.

These are often words for implements now out of use. Of the remaining third, the vast majority are only partially opaque. Most opaque elements in the nomenclature are ON loan-names, occurring as they do in nearly 680 names.

While semantic opaqueness may be useful as a gauge for antiquity, semantic transparency of itself is not a gauge for a late dating.

§5.2 Tautology.

There are a number of names which include two elements whose primary lexical meaning is the same: these are tautologous names. Commonly this arises where names have ON loan-names as specifics, e.g. *Loch Bacabhat* 'the lake of B.' and *Beinn Theastabhal* 'the mountain of Th.', where the ON reconstructions have the final elements *-uatn* 'lake' and *-fiall* 'mountain' resp.¹. A consequence of this phenomenon in the past has been that such names are treated as 'Norse', that is the ON loan-names are etymologized and the structure of the (Gaelic) names ignored.

There are fewer examples of tautology in names without ON loan-names as specifics; examples are *Rubha na Beirghe* lit. 'the point of the point', *Càrman Dùn* lit. 'the rocky mound of the rocky mound', *Cnoc Mòr Dùn Atha* lit. 'the large hillock of the hillock of the isthmus'.

It might be argued that the creation of tautologous

names is only possible because the second of a tautologous pair of elements has become semantically opaque. How should we then approach the name *Allt a' Ghlas Allt* lit. 'the stream of the green stream'? The fact is these are dependent names with *ex nomine* units; it is therefore irrelevant whether or not the creators of the names understood the latter's lexical meaning. Tautology is a consequence of onomastic structure and has no functional value.

The important question regarding these tautologous names is how they came to be created at all; for instance, using the example *Allt a' Ghlas Allt*, how did a river-name like **An Glas Allt* come to be used as an onomastic unit in a new name for the same river, i.e. *Allt a' Ghlas Allt*? (§5.3)

§5.3 Transference.

By transference I mean the phenomenon whereby a place-name's application is transferred from one feature to another. Examples of transferred names are:

α	<i>An Airigh Ard</i>	'the high shieling'	→	a hill
α	<i>Am Both</i>	'the bothy'	→	a hill
α	<i>Sgaid</i>	'the tressle'	→	area above coast
β	<i>An Daireag</i>	'the place of trees'	→	stretch of hillside
β	<i>Balabhair</i>	'the cairn of the grassy bank'	→	a pass
β	<i>Càrlabhagh</i>	'Karli's bay'	→	village & township

γ	<i>Caolas an Eilein</i>	'the straits of the island'	→	ground opposite
γ	<i>Am Màs Ard</i>	'the tall back-end'	→	a hill
γ	<i>An Dùn</i>	'the fort'	→	village and township

Under α are names the features of which (those corresponding to the lexical meanings) no longer exist. The names are still semantically transparent though. Under β , the features corresponding to the lexical meanings are still in existence, but the names have become semantically opaque. Under γ , the original features exist and the names are also semantically transparent. What is the process whereby these names have been transferred?

It is obvious that transference does not operate on the level of lexical meaning, as the names under α and γ above show. What has taken place is that the onomastic meaning of the names has changed. At any one time we may consider a feature to be a fixed point within its location. Transference involves the feature as a notion with temporarily free distribution within its area. Onomastic meaning may then be redefined as including more or less than it originally did, or something different from this. A common result is that the meaning coincides vaguely with an area coterminous with the location.

This process implies a temporary loss of onomastic meaning, although this probably does not occur as an absolute state. Original meaning loses its value, and since this concerns function we should find the answer to why transference takes place by inquiring into the practices, or changes in them, of the

users of the nomenclature. Names may become redundant as in the examples under α above, and so become available for redeployment. Changes in the patterns of activity of the community (e.g. extension of cultivated areas, redivision of arable lands, change of pasturage) will also render some names vague and inadequate. Broadly speaking, we may say that changes in land-use bring about the right climate in which transference may take place.

Transference explains the creation of tautologous names (§5.2). Since so many names consisting of $n \times N$ are tautologous, it might be assumed that the ON loan-names were somehow onomastically meaningless to Gaels, and that these names were the result of a confused meeting of nomenclatures (Norse and Gaelic). On the contrary, ON loan-names by definition must have been onomastically meaningful when borrowed by Gaels, and so we must assume that transference had taken place before a tautologous name like *Loch Bacabhat* was created. In the names *Loch Ceann Thallabhat* and *Loch Ceann Thùlabhaig*, however, it is possible that transference of the ON loan-names did not take place before the chronologically secondary onomastic units *-Ceann Thallabhat* and *-Ceann Thùlabhaig* were created.

§5.4 Aliases.

A number of features have alternative names. Of the relationship between a feature's two (on occasion three) names several categories are apparent:

i) corrupt forms, very rarely an alias arises through the corruption of a 'primary' name-form, e.g. *Allt Sròin an Torrrghain* ← *Allt Sròin Thorrrghal*; *Càrman an Dùn* ← *Càrman Dùn*.

ii) grammatical variants, e.g. where an element is sing. in one form, plural in the other, as *Airigh a' Mhullaich* ~ *Airichean a' Mhullaich*; *Airigh Leòid* ~ *Aireachan Leòid*.

iii) lexical variants, where an element is replaced by one giving similar sense, e.g. *Allt Ceann Loch Thallabhat* ~ *Feadan Ceann Loch Thallabhat*; *Cnocan Ball Dubh* ~ *Creagan Ball Dubh*; *Bealach an t-Sèididh* ~ *Bealach Gaoith*.

iv) shortened forms, these are rare, e.g. *An t-Ach'* ← *An t-Acha'* *Mòr*; probably *An t-Allt* ← *An t-Allt Salach*.

v) modified forms, these are fairly common, e.g. *Beàrmaraidh Mhòr* ← *Beàrmaraidh*; *Abhainn Shiaboist* ← *An Abhainn*; *Abhainn Dubh Ghrèineabhal* ← *An Abhainn Dubh*; *Bealach na Feans' an Ear* ← *Bealach na Feansa*. The modifier often, but not always, has a contrastive function.

vi) dependent forms, where the *ex nomine* unit of a name with a basic structure g(s) survives as the alias of such a name, e.g.

Buaileabhair ~ Druim Bhuaileabhair; An Glas Allt ~ Allt a' Ghlas Allt; Allt nam Brisgean ~ Sruthan Allt nam Brisgean.

vii) forms with specifics of dissimilar origin, these are not uncommon, e.g. *Airigh an Fhionn Allt Bhig ~ Airigh Theàrlaich; Bealach an t-Sèididh ~ Bealach nam Ban; Allt Druim Thorraig ~ Allt na Buaile Mòire.*

Some pairs of aliases may be seen as forming either a separate category or a combination of two of the above, e.g.

(iii) & (vii) *Allt Cleit a' Mhagha ~ An t-Alltan Dubh; Allt Chrìsgein ~ Sruthan Phluic.*

The existence of aliases reminds us that the nomenclature is in a state of flux - which it must always be. Forms under categories i-iv have arisen by analogy with other name-forms or popular misconceptions (folk etymologies), or because of idiosyncratic preferences in articulation or lexicon. Modified forms (cat.v) have arisen either where the location of a feature has been unclear or in doubt, or where more precise reference is needed in order to avoid confusion. The process involved that gives rise to forms under vi & vii must be that while a name may become defunct or may be transferred in the minds of one part of the community, for the rest of that community it retains its original onomastic meaning. There are examples, though, of forms that have obviously arisen independently of each other, i.e the naming processes have been totally separate. This usually involves more than one township, e.g. *Allt na Muilne* in BRI, but *Allt*

Bhritheascleit or *Allt na Críoch* in TOL.

The distribution of a name-form that has an alias may be township wide or limited to a small group of people in a part of a village. In some instances the occurrence of a name-form may be quite infrequent and/or erratic. It is evident that to some extent the sets of aliases recorded are only a sample, although a good one, of what may occur in the way of alternative name-forms.

§5.5 Folk etymologies.

(Here I shall be referring strictly to the etymologisation of semantically opaque names or elements)

Folk or popular etymologies are an attempt at establishing the lexical meaning of names or their elements. They are arrived at by resemblances between the name or element in question and some familiar word (or words) whose meaning is known - occasionally this familiar item is a place-name. These resemblances are weak however, and both morphological and phonological distinctions are ignored. For example, *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* {,t^hɔLðsta'xw:Lɪf} 'T. of the straits' has the folk etymology *a' dol a-staigh a' chaolas* {,dɔLðstɔjð'xw:Lɪf} (note the palatalisation of the final consonant) 'going into the straits'; *Raoinigeadh* (an ON loan-name) {'Rðĩnɪ,ɡ'ay} has the

folk etymology *Rinn na Geodha* {,RĕĩNnə'g'ɔ:} 'the point of the ravine'. Virtually by definition, then, folk etymologies are incorrect. Those I have recorded, however, are included in the Gaz.

NOTES to §5

1. The concept of tautology, it will be seen, relies solely upon the lexical meaning of names. To this end ON loan-names are 'stripped down' for THEIR elements and these are treated as of equal significance with other elements present in a name.

§6 STRESS

(For the significance of stress in the dialect, see Borgström 1940 §3, Oftedal 1956: 32-36)

Stress occurs on element-initial syllables, except in a few instances: *a-staigh* {(ə)'stɔj} 'inner', *a-muigh* {(ə)'mūj} 'outer', *as ōraich* {əs'iəriç} 'lowermost', *a deas* {(ə)'dʲes}'dʲes} 'southern' etc. In the following I ignore the stress placed on svarabhakti vowels (which reflect the degree of stress of the preceding syllable), although in phonetic transcriptions this is shown by a grave accent where it occurs, e.g. *An Urrdhag* {ə'NURÛyak}.

All elements bear stress. Patterns of stress or sequences of stresses are therefore determined in part by the number of elements present. The degree of stress (full or weak¹) depends on the function of elements and their environment.

Unqualified names have one full stress, e.g. *An Abhainn* {ə'NāvɪN'}; *An Tom* {ə'N^hɔ̃ũm}. For ON loan-names, see §10.1.

Normally only one element bears full stress in qualified names, the others weak stress. Full stress is borne by s, m or c; and where these are groups, by THEIR qualifying constituent². In the absence of c, full stress² is borne by m, and in the absence of both of these, by s. Fully stressed elements are underlined in the examples below:

An ^gAird ^sMhòr

An ^sGlas ^gAllt
^gAirigh ^sna Circe Fraoich
^gLoch ^sa' Bhuilg ^cArd
^gClach ^sMa Ràin
^gTom ^sBeag ^mBhineasgro

Where an *ex nomine* unit consists of more than one element, a name's stress pattern is determined by the unit's own stress pattern:

^gAirigh ^s(an Fhionn Allt Bhig) An ^sFhionn ^gAllt ^cBheag
^gPort ^s(Aird na Mònadh) ^gAird ^sna Mònadh
^gAirigh ^s(a' Ghlas Allt) An ^sGlas ^gAllt

In names where c follows upon the generic or generic group, two full stresses may occur:

^gCnoc ^cMòr ^sLeathainn
^gLoch ^cMòr ^sa' Chòcair
^gBeinn ^sLeathainn ^cMhòr ^m(Amar na h-Eit)

Two full stresses also occur in names structured with initial n + a (x)-, and where this is NOT followed by a fully stressed element:

^gBealach ^sCaol ^m(a' Bhalla Ghuirm)
^gLoch ^sBeag ^m(Thoma Dubha)

With regard to qualified names, the following general rules can be formulated: 1. Full stress falls on the final

qualifier, and if this is a group, on its final constituent; EXCEPT where a name or qualifying group constitutes a grammatical compound, in which the first element of the compound bears full stress³. 2. Two full stresses may occur in a) names where c follows upon the generic or generic group - here full stress falls upon both c and a subsequent qualifier (as under 1. above); and b) names structured with initial n + a (x)-, and where this is not followed by a fully stressed element - here full stress falls upon the specific and a subsequent qualifier (as under 1. above).

Exceptional cases are: *Cnocan Ball Dubh* and its alias *Creagan Ball Dubh*, where the onomastic unit has a structure gs but a stress pattern as if its structure were in fact sg. *Ball *Dubh* has conformed (and there was probably at one time a tendency for such names to do so) to the archaic compound structure sg.

NOTES to §6

1. Depending on the context in which a place-name is used, varying degrees of stress can be discerned, e.g. in emphatic statements. Distinguishing between only two degrees of stress, however, is representative of general usage.
2. For the sake of simplicity and brevity, a noun governed directly by a preposition may be included here under 'qualifying constituent'.
3. Regarding simplices that contain numeric adjectives: *adjj.* are weakly stressed and followed by a fully stressed nominal element; except where *aon* 'one' occurs, in which case the stress pattern is reversed.

§7 NOTES ON MORPHOLOGY

§7.1 Lenition.

Lenition of certain initial consonants (Borgstrøm 1940 §§80, 84; Oftedal 1956: 164-9) occurs under a number of circumstances.

i) Nouns.

1. Rad.sg.fem. nouns after their art., e.g. *A' Chachaileith*, *A' Bheinn Mhaoil*, *A' Pheithir*.

2. Gen.sg.masc. nouns after their art., e.g. *Abhainn a' Bhogha Mhòir*, *Loch an Fhraoich*, *Druim a' Chrotail Bheag*.

3. Dat.sg.m.& f. nouns after their art., e.g. *A' Bhàir*, *A' Bhuail' Ioraich* (§7.3i).

4. Nouns constituting the second element of a grammatical compound, e.g. *An Cùl Phort*, *Na Meanbh Chnocan*, *An Sean Bhaile*. Nouns after the numerals *aon* 'one' and *ceithir* 'four' (Oftedal op.cit., 229) also, e.g. *Druim na h-Aon Chloich*, *Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal*.

Cliasam Creag may be an exception; on the other hand it is possible that the appellative *creag* was borrowed by the Norse, and that the whole name is an ON loan.

5. Nouns after the prepositions *gun* 'without' and *ma* (*mu*) 'by', e.g. *Geodha Gun Fheum*, *Car Ma Thom*. Also after *eadar* 'between': *Eadar Dhà Loch*.

6. ON loan-names in genitive position, e.g. *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh*, *Beinn Shiaboist*. For the question of radical and lenited initials from ON originals, see §9.lx.

There are, however, a small number of loans which remain unlenited in this position, e.g. *Loch Bacabhat*, *Loch Lidh Langa* ({L'})

as opposed to {l}), *Tom Gallabhat*, *Loch Mille Thòla*, *Loch Fionnacleit*. The absence of lenition in *Tom Gallabhat* may be explained due to analogy with *Loch Gallabhat* (see iii, below). For the others we may assume an early date for their creation, before lenition here became generalised.

7. *Ex nomine* units (other than under 6) are also found lenited, e.g. *Caolas Chùl Chràgam*, *Feadan C(h)noca Mòra*, *Allt Loch B(h)einneachan nan Sgalag*, *Breun Loch C(h)leite na h-Eanaich*, *Eaglais Dhaile Mòire*, *Lèig Mhùthair*, *Aird Mhiasaid*. The phenomenon is found elsewhere: *Allt Chreag Uisdean*, Skye (Forbes 1923: 35); *Lochan Chreag nan Con*, Ardnamurchan (Henderson 1915: 165).

8. Gen.pl. nouns (without art.), e.g. *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag*, *Talamh Tholl*, *Talamh Chàl*. In *Am Both Clach* and *Cnoc Chala Muc* the absence of lenition must be due to the creation of the names (in the latter case, **Cala Muc* at least) before lenition here became the rule (this phenomenon is absent from Irish and Manx).

9. Gen.sg. nouns (without art.) with an adjectival function after fem. nouns, e.g. *An Aird Fhraoich*, *Airigh Choimhead*, *Geodha Sheileasdair*. Occasionally lenition occurs after masc. nouns, where the names are dative forms (§7.3i), e.g. *Loch Fhalasgair*, *Loch Chonnaidh*, *Tom Ghrèis*, *Druim Phluic*. Also after gen.masc. nouns, e.g. *Airigh an Rubha Chòinnich*.

10. Gen.masc. personal-names (and, by analogy, *mac* 'son') e.g. *Muilinn Iain Choinnich*, *Càrnan Dhòmhnail Oig*, *Aird Mhic Phàil*, *Airigh Mhic Aonghais*.

Bothan Ciaran and *Fuaran Ciaran* must be older than the development of this phenomenon. In *Buaile Dhòmhnail Miteil*,

however, perhaps as a recent English loan the radical initial has been retained; note also, *Sìthean Aonghais Mhartainn/ Martainn.*

Female personal-names remain unlenited in gen. position. Note however, the gen. of the old personal-name *Gille Brìghde*:
Allt Creag Gille Bhrìghde.

ii) Adjectives.

11. Adjj. of rad.sg.fem. nouns, e.g. *Aird Mheadhanach, An Abhainn Bheag. A' Gheodha Domhainn* is exceptional: a reasonable explanation is that *geodha*, fr. ON *giô* f., was originally masc. here (for other possible examples, see Gaz. No.374), and hence the absence of lenition in the adjective; but that, by analogy with the many other names where *geodha* is fem., a fem. leniting article came to be used. No name occurs in the nomenclature with an onomastic-unit *-na Geodha Domhainn* as specific, which might have conceivably influenced our name. In *Tom na Liana Mhòr* the *ex nomine* unit has only initially been affected by its genitive position (§7.3ii).

12. Adjj. of gen.sg.masc. nouns, e.g. *Abhainn a' Bhogha Mhòir, Feadan an Fhraoich Ghairbh, Allt Loch Dhubh.* In *Druim a' Ghlinne Domhainn*, the name *An Gleann Domhainn* has, as an onomastic-unit, only been partially affected by its genitive position (§7.3ii).

13. Adjj. of dat.sg. nouns, e.g. *Staca Bheàrnach, Mùthair Bheag.*

14. Adjj. of rad.pl. nouns with palatalised final consonants, e.g. *Na Cnuic Dhubha.*

15. Modifying adjj.: where these follow upon the generic the above paragraphs apply, e.g. *An Cam Allt Mòr* (rad.sg.masc.),
A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr (rad.sg.fem.).

In complex-names, lenition of an adj. in name-final

position is frequently determined by the gender of a preceding noun, e.g. *Cnoc Mhic an Lighich Bheag* (gen.sg.masc.), *Cnoc na Glai^{ce} Mòire* (gen.sg.fem.). However, there are instances where lenition is determined by the gender of the generic, e.g. *Both Uilleim Beag* (masc.), *Creag Speireig Bheag* (fem.). After ON loan-names, whether these are in radical or genitive position, adjj. are always lenited (except in the late forms *Garsan Mòr* and *Loch Shiadair Beag*) e.g. *Buailleabhal Bheag*, *Tom Bhrataigea Bheag* (§7.3i).

Occasionally, as in *Cnoc na Ceil Bheag*, lenition seems to be due to analogy with other names. There are also instances where there is variation, e.g. *Carra Liath Bheag/Beag*: the first and more authentic form is originally a dative form; the second shows the reapplication of the modifying adjective in a radical form.

iii) Non-lenition.

Non-lenition refers to the prevention of lenition by the juxtaposition of two homorganic consonants, i.e. the final of the leniting word and the initial of the lenitable one have similar articulation, e.g.

<u>Dentals</u>	{N}	+	{d}	<i>An <u>Dubh</u> Sgeir <u>Bheag</u></i>
	{N'}	+	{d}	<i>Sròin <u>Dubh</u> Chonadail</i>
	{N'}	+	{d'}	<i>An <u>Abhainn</u> <u>Dearg</u></i>
	{d}	+	{d}	<i>Aird <u>Duibhein</u></i>
<u>Gutturals</u>	{g}	+	{g}	<i>Slag <u>Glas</u> Leathad Tòlabaidh</i>
	{g}	+	{k ^h }	<i>Creag <u>Calmaistean</u></i>
	{ ^h k}	+	{g}	<i>Leac <u>Gorm</u></i>

{x} + {k^h} *Druim Loch Ciamh*

{x} + {g} *Loch Gallabhat*

Labio-dentals

{v} + {f} *Talamh Flod*

Nasals

{m} + {m} *Druim Mioraig*

Laterals + dentals

{l} + {d} *Sùil Dubh Chuidhbhig*

{L} + {d} *Sèabhal Dubh*

{L} + {t^h} *Cùl Teànnraigir Mhòr*

Sibilants + dentals

{s} + {t^h} *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir*

On occasion however, lenition does occur in such phonetic environments, e.g. *Aird Dhaile Beaga, Loch Chalmaistean, Creag Gheal.*

iv) Delenition.

Where ON loan-names have original initials which correspond to lenited consonants in Gaelic, they may be delenited, i.e. 'restored' to appropriate radical forms, in the same environments described above, e.g. {t} + *{h} → {t} + {t^h} in *Slag Glas Leathad Tòlabaidh*, where **Tòlabaidh* represents an ON form in *hóla-*; see also §9.1x. Similarly, internally in **Sgàrdam* -/rd/- -{d}- ON *Skarð-holm* (Gaz. No. 2279).

§7.2 The article.

i) Forms of the article.

There is only the definite article in Gaelic. The various

forms, according to gender, number and case are for the most part those current in the dialect outwith the nomenclature (see Borgstrøm 1940: 93-5). The exception is the archaic neuter article, but which is only distinctive in the gen.sg. (and only with nouns which are unlikely to have ever been feminine, since it is identical in form with the gen.sg.fem. {nð}), e.g. *Beinn na Dùine*, *Cladach na Dùine* where *dùin* is a neuter s-stem. By implication we may take the name *An Dùin* (which constitutes the onomastic unit in the above two names) to contain the nom. or acc. sg.neut. article - although the masc. form would here be the same. Further, see *Slag na Galltanaich*, *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich* and *Allt na Beinne Cloich*.

ii) Radical forms before oblique cases.

On rare occasions a rad. article has been imposed upon a dat. or gen. name-form, e.g. *An Earra Dheas* ← (dat.) **A' Gheàrrraidh Dheas* or (gen.) *Pàircean a' Gheàrrraidh Dheas*; masc.sg. *Am Blàr Dhubh* ← (dat.) **A' Bhlàr Dhubh*. *Tom na Cruachan Mònadh* and *Feadan na Trì Meàir* contain the rad.pl. article in place of the traditional gen. pl. form *nan*.

iii) The article arising through misinterpretation.

Presumably as a result of projection (§9.1v) the masc. dimin. suffix *-an* {an} has been interpreted as the article, e.g. *Cnoc an Tìongalairidh* ← **Cnocan Tìongalairidh*. In the following example the development has resulted in the anomaly of a gen.sg.masc. form before an otherwise fem. noun: *Cnoc an Urrdhaig* ← **Cnocan Urrdhaig*.

Further, *Allt Sròin Thorrghal* has been interpreted as *Allt Sròin an Torrhain* (and probably due to a folk etymology).

However, there are other examples of names where the article is intrusive, e.g. *Mol an Obain* besides *Mol Obain*, and where this seems to be the result merely of a relatively late preference for use of the article.

iv) A plural form due to ON initial h-.

The plural name-form *Na h-Oirtheannan* is ultimately from ON *herað* nt. 'district' (see Gaz.). Outwith CR, the same phenomenon is found in the name *Na h-Earadh* (Harris), fr. ON *Herað* (or pl. *Heruð*, Oftedal 1956: 118), and in *Horgh*, *Na Horgh* (MacDonald 1972: 149) most probably from ON *Horg* acc.masc. 'cairn, heap of stones'. However, both *Na h-Oirtheannan* and *Na h-Earadh* retain these forms in the genitive (for the latter, see Oftedal 1962: 46), and the same may be true of *Na Horgh*.

§ 7.3 Case.

i) Names preserved in oblique case-forms.

ON loan-names and loan-words were frequently borrowed in an oblique case. Similarly, we might expect to find evidence of names which are Gaelic creations having been transmitted in this way. Indeed, as a result of common usage, a considerable number may have been treated so. Most names, though, do not have distinct dative forms, and so surviving evidence of this phenomenon is likely to be patchy.

The following Gaelic creations, cited as radical forms by informants, are examples of names which show evidence of the dative

case either by lenition, inflexion and/or the form of the article:

<i>Staca Bheàrnach</i>	←	* <i>Staca Beàrnach</i>
<i>An t-Sean Bhaile</i>		<i>An Sean Bhaile</i>
<i>An t-Sean Bhealach</i>		* <i>An Sean Bhealach</i>
<i>Staca Bheag</i>		<i>Staca Beag</i>
<i>Staca Mhòr</i>		<i>Staca Mòr</i>
<i>A' Bhuail' Ioraich</i>		* <i>A' Bhuail' Iorach</i>
<i>An Fhiar Allt</i>		<i>Am Fiar Allt</i>
<i>An Fheur Loch</i>		* <i>Am Feur Loch</i>
<i>Sgeir Ghlais</i>		* <i>Sgeir Ghlas</i>
<i>An Lòbraich</i>		* <i>An Lòbrach</i>
<i>An Loibhteig</i>		<i>An Loibhteag</i>
<i>Lagaigh</i>		* <i>Lagach</i>

In the form *An Fhàs Uillt* (for *Am Fàs Allt*) we have an example of a name derived from its genitive form, cf. *Sìthean an Fhàs Uillt*.

The lenition of adjj. after ON loan-names in name-final position, e.g. *Buaileabhal Bheag*, *Totaraì Mhòr* may also be due to dative usage (§7.1ii, 15). An alternative explanation would be to consider that all ON loan-names were in fact feminine, as Henderson (1915: 160) does *Ormsaig-Mhór* and *Ormsaig-Bheag* in *Ardnamurchan*. We should then have to consider all ON loan-names contained as *ex nomine* units in dependent names as surviving in dative or radical case forms (see ii, below).

The question of gender regarding ON loan-names is rather problematical. In natural conversation, usage here is really dependent on the feature to which a name applies and the grammatical gender of the appellative which most accurately defines that feature, rather than on a grammatical gender accorded to the name itself.

Considering the virtual across-the-board lenition of (contrastive) modifiers after ON loan-names, whether these have a generic function or not, it seems reasonable to assume there to have been a preponderance of originally masc. and neut. forms. However, the lenition of adjj. modifying onomastic units containing ON loan-names as qualifiers can satisfactorily be explained as being due to analogy with the lenition of the loan-names themselves. Left with independent forms, it seems likely that here dative usage lies behind the lenition of modifying adjj.

ii) *Ex nomine* units in original case-forms.

In light of the foregoing we might also expect to find *ex nomine* units retaining their original case-forms: the commonly used form of a name retained in a new syntactical environment normally requiring the genitive case. Here, distinguishable 'original' forms are in the radical case, while the article, where it occurs, accords with the new grammatical position, e.g.

<i>Tom na Liana Mhòr</i>	←	<i>An Liana Mhòr</i>
<i>Cnoc Buaille Fhliodha</i>		* <i>Buaille Fhliodha</i>
<i>Allt a' Ghlas Allt</i>		<i>An Glas Allt</i>
<i>Cnoc Bòl Glas</i>		* <i>Bòl Glas</i>

§7.4 Inflexion.

As is to be expected of a large body of names created over many centuries, archaisms, variations and irregularities occur in inflexional forms.

Examples of archaic forms are: gen. *coimhead* 'looking' EIr. *coimétu* u-stem; gen. *dùine* 'fort' a neut. s-stem, but gen. *dùn* a masc. or neut. u-stem (in the modern language *dùn*, gen. *dùin* is masc. and declined like an o-stem). The archaic oblique case-form of nouns in *-ach* survives in {i} (< /ɪγ' /), e.g. *Lagaigh*, *Ceann Loch Shlodhaigh*. Of plural forms, those in *-{ð}* are particularly notable, e.g. *Toma Dubha* §7.5iv.

Several elements have variant oblique forms: e.g. *làire* f., gen. *làireadh làiridh* 'mare'; *gobha* m., gen. *gobhann gobha* 'smith'; *uagh* f., gen. *uaghainn uaghach uagha* 'cave'; *arbhar* m., gen. *arbh arbhair* 'corn'; *prionnsa* m., gen. *prìnnse prionnse* 'prince, chieftain'; *mòine* f., gen. *mònadh mònach* 'peat'; *beannachadh* m., gen. *beannachaidh beannaich* 'blessing'. For the variation *clìd clèid* obl. case 'slope', cf. the dative name *A' Mhìst* (and the Uist gen. *mìse*, MacDonald 1972: 178) and gen. *mèise*, all from *mias* f. 'basin, vessel'.

Inflexion occurs in several names, at first sight as if irregularly, but they are in fact 'fossilised' dative forms, §7.3i, e.g. *Sgeir Ghlais* (as opposed to *Sgeir Ghlas*). In most cases under a general heading 'irregularities' inflexion is in fact absent. Some names contain *ex nomine* units which have retained their radical forms, §7.3ii. Nouns in *-ach* frequently resist genitive inflexion (>*-aich*) where they follow upon the generic with the function of and in the position of an adjective, e.g. *Càrn Raineach* 'the fern-covered knoll', *A' Bhuail' Fhàlach* 'the hidden enclosure', *Tom Luarach* 'the rush-covered hillock'. (*Allt an Fheur Loch*, on the other hand, has an interesting variant form in final *-{iç}*; here, without full stress upon the final element, the specific unit has come to be seen as a single noun with regular inflexion: rad. *-{ox}*, gen. *-{iç}* (see also *Loch an Dùbh-Laich*.)

Other examples of names where inflexion is absent or partially absent are: *Creag na Caora Dhubh*, *Bealach a' Ghuib* -{γAb}, *Bealach Gaoith* -{gʷ:}, *Feadan an Fhraoich Ghairbh* -{yaràv}. Note that adjectives which have a contrastive function are usually uninflected, e.g. *Cnoc a' Chàrmain Mhòr*, *Tom Bhrataigea Bheag*, *Loch a' Bhuilg Iosal*.

Among ON loan-names only the village-names *Tolstadh*, *Barbhas*, *Càrlabhagh* and *Siabost* have regular genitive inflexion. One or two others may have distinct genitive forms although I have not recorded them, e.g. *Làbost*. Those in final *-r* have erratic alternation between {r} and {δ}, §9.lvii. Generally, however, ON loan-names lack distinct genitive forms.

§7.5 Plural terminations.

(Borgstrøm 1940 §§100-113, Oftedal 1956 §§239-240)

i) -an: The currently most productive plural termination in the dialect, as in Gaelic as a whole, is -{ðn}; thus *àirigh* 'shieling' pl. *àirighean*, *creag* 'rock' etc. pl. *creagan*. Most instances of plural nouns in the nomenclature are in genitive position, as specifics. Of those in rad.pl. -{ðn}, nearly all monosyllabic nouns and those with dimin. suffices *-ag* and *-an* (-{an}) have genitives after their radical SINGULAR forms: thus, *creag*, rad.pl. *creagan*, gen.pl. *creag*. Most other disyllabic nouns with rad.pl. in -{ðn} have identical gen.pl. forms: thus, *eilid* 'hind', rad. and gen.pl. *eilidean*; but not always, as *peithir* 'rift', gen.pl. *peithir peithirean*.

ii) -tean: The rad. form *buailtean* (sg. *buaille* 'enclosure') has *-t* ultimately derived from the influence of dental-stem nouns¹;

similarly *cròitean* (sg. *crò* 'pen').

iii) -s: English *-s* occurs twice: *Buaile nan Cobhanantars* and *Càrnan nan Sapars*.

iv) -a: There are several names which contain an archaic plural ending $-\{\partial\}$ (cf. Ir. *-a -e*) derived from OIr. vocalic endings, e.g. *Daile Mòr*, *Daile Beag*, *Na Creaga Beaga*, *Creaga Gorma*, *Croite Bàna*, *Airde Beaga*, *Toma Dubha*, *Creaga Geala*, *Leaca Rèidh*. It may be that in some cases the ending has derived from $-\{\partial n\}$, with loss of the nasal before certain consonants (§9.lix). Certainly, although the vocalism is different, there are no examples of the final of the dimin. suffix $-\{an\}$ being lost in this way (for a different development regarding this suffix, see §7.2iii). The termination $-\{\partial\}^2$ may represent a variety of OIr. vocalisms, although this cannot be demonstrated from the examples at hand; for instance, *creaga* OIr. *creca*, *cnoca* OIr. *cnoccu*.

(With the following, endings are usually found in both rad. and gen. forms; otherwise the gen. is the same as the rad.sg. form.)

v) -acha -achan -(a)ichean: The predecessor of the termination $-\{\text{ɔx}\partial n\}$ may occur in *Bodhacha Ruadha*; $-\{\text{ɔx}\partial(n)\}$ derived from guttural-stems. The ending $-\{\text{ɔx}\partial n\}$ and its variant $-\{\text{ɪ}\text{ɔ}\partial n\}$ are not uncommon in the dialect, although only the latter seems to be productive now (Borgstrøm, op.cit.: 93, records as much for BERN); where either form occurs with a particular noun, it is usually older people who use the former. By analogy, *geàrraidh* has the plural forms *geàrracha* and *geàrrachan* as well as *geàrraidhean*, and *àirigh* the forms *àireachan*

<u>Rad. sg.</u>	<u>-{ðNðn}</u>	<u>-{ɔxð (n)}</u>	<u>-{ɪçðn}</u>	<u>-{ðn}</u>
<i>*urrđh</i>	<i>urrđhannan</i>			
(ON <i>herað</i>)	<i>oirtheannan</i>			
<i>staca</i>	<i>stacannan</i>			<i>stacan</i>
<i>taca</i>	<i>tacannan</i>			
<i>geàrraidh</i>	<i>geàrrannan</i>	<i>geàrracha(n)</i>		<i>geàrraidhean</i>
<i>seiche</i>	<i>seicheannan</i>			
<i>creag</i>	<i>creagannan</i>			
<i>druim</i>	<i>dromannan</i>			
<i>geodha</i>		<i>geodhacha(n)</i>	<i>geodhaichean</i>	
<i>bodha</i>		<i>bodhacha(n)</i>		
<i>beinn</i>		<i>beinneachan</i>		
<i>àirigh</i>		<i>àireachan</i>	<i>àirichean</i>	<i>àirighean</i>
<i>tursa</i>		<i>tursachan</i>		
<i>glupa</i>			<i>glupaichean</i>	
<i>*sgabhla</i>			<i>sgabhlaichean</i>	
<i>càrn</i>			<i>càrnaichean</i>	
<i>bot</i>			<i>botaichean</i>	
<i>bata</i>			<i>bataichean</i>	
<i>coire</i>		<i>coireachan</i>		
<i>cleite</i>		<i>cleiteachan</i>	<i>cleitichean</i>	
<i>eathar</i>			<i>eathraichean</i>	
<i>feith</i>			<i>feithichean</i>	
<i>bràigh</i>		<i>bràigheachan</i>		
<i>gobha</i>			<i>gobhaichean</i>	
<i>rubha</i>			<i>rubhaichean</i>	

and *àirichean* as well as *àirighean*. For further examples, see Fig. 8.

vi) -annan: Finally, the ending $\{-\{əNə\}$ occurs. This is a reduplicated form from $\{-*\{əNə\}$ (cf. Ir. *-anna*) derived from n-stems. By analogy the final *-n* has spread to other terminations, hence $\{-\{əN\}$ and $\{-\{əxəN\}$. This rendered particularly the monosyllabic vocalic endings more distinctive³.

§7.6 Suffices.

i) -an: m. $\{an\}$ from OIr. *-án*, is used to denote smallness, e.g. *sruth* m. 'stream' *sruthan* 'streamlet', also in hypocoristic forms of personal-names, e.g. *Ciaran* ← *ciar* adj. 'dark'.

The suffix often denotes 'place of', the property of the place being indicated by the preceding noun or adjective (see Watson 1976: xxxvii); a result can be the creation of a new distinctive appellative:

<i>grianan</i>	'sunny place'	<i>grian</i> f. 'sun'
<i>beannan</i>	'horn-shaped place'	<i>beinn</i> f., orig. 'horn'
<i>maoilean</i>	'exposed place'	<i>maoil</i> adj. 'bare, bald'
<i>cèdsan</i>	'place of the hollow'	* <i>cèds</i> 'hollow'
<i>gasan</i>	'place of the thicket'	<i>gas</i> f. 'branch'
<i>ladhran</i>	'place of the hoof'	<i>ladhar</i> m. 'hoof'
<i>feadan</i>	'brook, burn'	<i>fead</i> f. 'pipe'
<i>sìthean</i>	'knoll'	<i>sìth</i> m. 'supernatural being'
<i>clachan</i>	'stepping-stones'	<i>clach</i> f. 'stone'
<i>creagan</i>	'hillock'	<i>creag</i> f. 'rock'

ii) -ag: f. {ak} from OIr. *-óe*, is used as a diminutive, e.g. *uagh* f. 'cave' *uaghag* 'cavelet'.

Denoting 'place of': *urrdhag* 'place of boulders' fr. **urrdh* < ON *urð* 'pile of stones, boulders'; *craobhag* 'place of trees' fr. *craobh* f. 'tree'; similarly *daireag* fr. *daire doire* f. (& m.) 'grove'; *loibhteag* 'sodden place' fr. *loibhte* adj. 'rotten, putrid'.

The suffix is also found in old river-names: *críonag* 'the withering one' fr. *críon* adj. 'withered'; *garbhag* 'the violent one' fr. *garbh* adj. 'rough, violent'; *brocag* 'the dark one' fr. *broc* (arch.) 'dark'.

It may also be mentioned that a good number of bird-names contain this suffix, e.g. *feadag* 'plover' fr. *fead* f. 'pipe, whistle'; *currcag* 'lapwing' fr. *currac* m. 'cap'. Some loans have this suffix fortuitously, e.g. *speireag* 'hawk', *arspag* 'great northern diver', *seabhag* m. 'hawk'.

iii) -ach: is a common and currently productive suffix in the formation of adjectives, e.g. *beàrnach* 'gaped, notched, fissured' fr. *beàrn* f. 'gap, fissure'; *sgeireach* 'rocky (of water)' fr. *sgeir* f. < ON *sker* 'skerry'.

As a suffix denoting 'place of': *lagaigh* dat. of *lagach* 'place of the hollow'; *slodhaigh* gen. of *slodhach* 'sandy place' (see Gaz., under *Ceann Loch Shlodhaigh*); *fideach* 'place of the river-lea' fr. **fid* < ON *fit* 'river-lea'. The appellatives *bealach* m. 'pass', *cladach* m. 'shore', *ceàrdach* f. 'smithy' etc. may also be cited. Outwith CR, see Watson 1976: xxxiv for example.

iv) -id: f. $-\{1\dot{d}'\}$ (-nt- suffix, see *drochaid*, Pedersen 1913 §394, 3), as a suffix 'place of': *miasaid* 'place of the basin or hollow' fr. *mias* f. 'basin, vessel'; *slugaid* 'place of the gorge' fr. *slug* 'gulp, swallow'; ? *clèid clìd* (obl. case) 'slope' fr. *cliath* 'hurdle' etc.; *lomaid* 'barren place' fr. *lom* adj. 'bare'. Outwith CR, see Watson 1976: xxxviii.

v) -as: m. $-\{\partial s\}$ (OIr. *-us*, Thurneysen op.cit. §259), occurs in the elements *caolas* m. 'straits' fr. *caol* adj. 'narrow' and as subst.m. 'straits'; *camas* m. 'bay, indentation of shoreline' fr. *cam* 'bent, curved'; ? *gnīs* (gen.) < EIr. **gnīmseo* gen. of **gnīmus* 'place of the land-division' (see Gaz. No. 324).

vi) -ar: $-\{\partial r\} \partial\delta\}^h$ (OIr. *-er -ar*, Thurneysen op.cit. §265a), in the plural forms *gortairean* 'enclosures' fr. *gort* m. 'field, enclosure'; *gleadhairéan* 'slopes' fr. *gleadh* m. 'onset, attack' (cf. *buaim, maidhm*); *iolairéan* 'ledges' fr. *iola* f. fr. ON **hylla*. Also *glasar* 'green place' fr. *glas* adj. 'green'; *mùthar* 'place of the heap (of stones)' fr. ON *múga* obl. case m. 'heap, pile; haystack'.

In combination with *-ach*: *lòbrach* 'miry place' fr. *lòb làb* 'mud, mire'; *cliarach* 'slope' fr. *cliath* 'hurdle' etc. Outwith CR, see Watson op.cit. *ibid.*

vii) -l + ag: in *ruighleag* 'place of the slope' fr. *ruigh* m. 'arm of mountain, slope'; cf. *Reidhlean* 'little plain' (Watson op.cit. *ibid.*). ?Origin in *-lach* < OIr. *slúag slóg* (Pedersen op.cit. §397, 5).

NOTES to §7.

1. For this and other declensions, see Thurneysen 1975, §§277ff.
2. The only instance of this ending outwith the nomenclature that I have recorded in CR is in *creaga*, which has a collective sense 'group of houses'; *creaga*, originally a plural form of *creag* f. 'stone, rock', is however grammatically singular with a plural form *creagannan*.
3. There is a parallel for this reduplication in the prep. *ann an* 'in' < *an*. For $-\{ox\partial(n)\}$, cf. Mod.Ir. *-acha*. O'Rahilly, (1976: 129) pairs $-\{\partial n\}$ with Mod.Ir. *-anna*; but this ignores the ending $-\{\partial N\partial n\}$. Howells (1971: 97) tentatively suggests $-\{\partial n\}$ (and final *-n* elsewhere) is a borrowing from English; but this assumes a morphological influence without equal and with regard to a morpheme that barely survived in English itself.
4. Also $-\{ar\} a\delta\}$ from confusion with the agent suffix with similar vocalism.

§8 Prepositions.

Examples of prepositions within names are few (see §3.5). Their function of denoting spacial relationships between features cited within the same name is now entirely carried out by use of the genitive case, e.g. *Bealach Caol a' Bhalla Ghuirm* 'the narrow pass ABOVE the dark precipice', *Cnoc na Crìch* 'the hill BESIDE the boundary', *Slag glas Leathad Tòlabaidh* 'the green hollow BELOW the slope of T.', *Allt Loch Raoineabhat* 'the stream FROM the lake of R.'¹.

Used WITH names, three sets of prepositions occur, denoting location 'on, in or at', direction 'from or out of' and direction 'to'; these are shown in Fig. 9 below.

Prepositions used with names.

Fig. 9

	location	direction from	direction to
A	<i>air</i> 'on'	<i>bho</i> 'from'	
B	<i>ann an/</i> <i>an</i> 'in'	<i>à</i> 'out of'	<i>gu</i> <i>do/ a</i>
C	<i>aig</i> 'at'	<i>bho</i> 'from'	

Below are described the main distributional features of the sets given in Fig. 9. It will be seen that these are dependent on the lexical meanings of names, and that transference has no effect - i.e. older usage survives the transference of a name.

A. *air* ~ *bho*: are used consistently it seems for names

whose features permit the notion of being 'on' them (though for higher mountains, see also under B.), e.g. *air a' Chàrman* 'on the hillock', *air Leathad an Droma* 'on the slope of the ridge', *air an Liana Mhòir* 'on the large meadow'; *bhon Chàrman* 'from the hillock' etc. The village-names *An t-Ach'*, *An Cnoc* and *An Dùn* are also included here - this usage arises from the original application of these names (see Gaz.). Further, names with generics denoting temporary dwellings (*àirigh*, *both* etc.) are governed by this set, for the reason that the dry, firm base for such residences was normally only available on the tops of knolls or hillocks.

B. *ann an/ an ~ à:* are used for names whose features permit the notion of being 'in' them, e.g. valleys, hollows, enclosures etc., and also names descriptive of general areas and most village and township-names (for exceptions, see under A.). Further, large mountains and promontories are frequently governed by this set. Examples: *anns an t-Slugaid* 'in the gorge', *anns a' Bheinn Mhòir* 'in the large mountain', *anns a' Bhealach Chumhang* 'in the narrow pass', *anns a' Bheirghe* 'in the peninsula', *anns an Aird Mhòir* 'in the large headland', *ann an Geodha Gharsan* 'in the ravine of G.', *ann an Siabost* 'in S.'; *às an t-Slugaid* 'out of the gorge' etc.

C. *aig ~ bho:* are used for names whose features require the notion of being 'at' them, e.g. *aig Ceann Loch Thallabhat* 'at the head of the lake of *Th.', *aig a' Chachaileith Mhòir* 'at the large gate', *aig Loch na Muilne* 'at the lake of the mill', *aig Drochaid Abhainn Ghrìoda* 'at the bridge of the river of *G.'; *bho Cheann Loch Thallabhat* 'from the head of the lake of *Th.' etc.

Unqualified names consisting of ON loans are governed by one or other of the above sets according to the feature to which the names apply (for villages, see under B.). For example, *ann an Cuidhbhig* (a cove-name), *air Amhastar* (a hill-name).

There is sometimes confusion between the prepositions *gu* and *do*. Generally, however, *gu* denotes direction 'to', while *do* denotes direction 'into'. With names for general areas, villages and townships, one or other are used therefore according to sense.

NOTES to §8

1. Non-spatial relationships are of course also implied by use of the genitive: *Tom nan Caolan* 'the knoll- where animals were slaughtered and their entrails buried (lit. of the entrails)'; *Tom na Bith* 'the knoll- where sheep were shorn and/or tarred against lice (lit. of the tar)'.
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§9 NOTES ON PHONETIC PHENOMENA

This section draws from the nomenclature main phonetic features which are of interest and serves to corroborate assumptions at times made in the interpretation of names that some phonetic change characteristic of the dialect has taken place.

§9.1 Consonants.

i) Interchange.

{t ^h } → {k ^h }	<i>Tinndir, Teannraigir</i>
{t ^h } → {ʃ}	<i>Tiompan</i>
{d} → {g}	<i>Loch Gallabhat: ON Dalauatn</i>
{d'} → {g'}	<i>Spid an Amadain</i>
{g'} → {d'}	<i>sīg</i>
{k ^h } → {t ^h }	<i>Airigh Tuartain</i>
{k ^h } → {t ^h }	<i>Na Ceallan, cf. map-form Teallan.</i>
{L} → {n}	<i>Allt Sròin Thorrghal</i>
{N'} → {L'}	<i>Clach Ma Ràin</i>
{N'} → {L}	<i>Tom Rostainn, by analogy with other names in -(bh)al</i>
{n} → {l}	<i>*Bhileabhair ON Uinuqrðu</i>
{n} → {L}	<i>An Fhàideal < *fòidean</i>
{n} → {ð}	<i>Beinn 'ic Nèill, cf. Coire Mhic Cròmuil (Nòbuill)</i>
{Nt} → {ŋk}	<i>*Bhiondalam</i> (Watson 1976: 211)
{ʃt'} (<{tʃ}) > {ʃN'}	<i>(Airigh Mhic) Risnidh Scots Ritchie</i>
{h} → {x}	<i>-Thùideagro, -Thudacleit</i>

ii) Dissimilation.

{n} → {r}	<i>/[m]- Allt Fèith' an Lomnochdain -{'Lwrdmoxkan}</i>
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but with metathesis §9.liv; *Ramraigeadh*

{'Rãmãrɪ, g'ay} ON *Hramn-giô* (also with

medial -{ð}- -/r'/-, §9.lviii)

(/{k'}- see *Beinn 'ic Nèill* §9.li)

{l} → {n}

/{{N}^h}- *Gàrradh an t-Sliabh* -{'Nhrìðv}

{n} → {r}

/{{N}^h}- *Creag an t-Sneachd* -{'Nhræxk}

{l} → {r}

/{{ð}- *Ceadraiseal* fr. ON *Ketilsfiall* (§9.liv)

{ð} → {L'}

/{{ʃ}- *Groislig* fr. ON *Gras-hrygg*

iii) Devoicing.

{v} → {f}

Cleit a' Mhagha -{'fð̃γð}; *Loch Bhatan Dìob*

-{'va^h tN'N'i:ð} > -{'fadN'N'i:ð} by

association with *fad* m. 'length' etc. or the

adj. *fada* 'long'; also *fadhail* 'ford' etc. fr.

ON *uaðil*

iv) Metathesis.

m(...)_r r(...)_m

Bealach na h-Imrich -{'hìð̃mɪç}; **Liosamar*

-{'lìsðrðm } and *Gèidearam*, both ON lnn. in

final -*hamar*; *Allt Fèith' an Lomnochdain*

-{'Lwðmɔxkan} (with *n/r* alternation §9.li)

l..._r → r..._l

Geàrraidh Allghair, once -{'aRàγðl}

bh {v}..._r → r..._{bh} {v}

Druim Thangabhair, once -{'hãŋkððv}

nV_{rt} → rnt

Cnocan Anart -{'ãŋð̃}, cf. {k^hõ:ŋð̃} dial. for

còmhnard adj. 'straight'

m..._l → l..._m

**Barndalum* **Uidealum*, lnn. in final ON -*múla*

n..._l → l..._n

Càrlaigin, fr. ON *Korn(a)gil*

l

Ceadraiseal (<**-dl-* §9.li) fr. ON *Ketilsfiall*

n	<i>snioghan</i> 'ant' EIr. <i>sengán</i>
r	<i>Carra Liath</i> (Beag) {'k ^h a-ðl̥a} /'ka-ðRl̥a/, besides {'k ^h ʀRðl̥a}
t	<i>Borgastar</i> , fr. ON <i>Borg-setr</i>

v) Projection and prosthetic {j} in sandhi.

Projection of final consonants before vowel-initial stressed syllables is common, e.g. *Airigh Mhic Aonghais*, *Màs Ard*, *Aird an Fhèidh* etc. Consonants are also projected before consonant-initial stressed syllables, e.g. *Tom Mhic Leòid*, *An Tòb Làthaich*, *Allt Salach*, *Allt Lacsabhat*. Resulting clusters are adapted phonemically, e.g. *Beinn 'ic Nèill* -{'k'ð}- where the nasal has become an r-sound. Further examples: *Lochan Tioram* -{'N'h}- *Na Toman Geura* -{'ŋ'}- *Airigh Mhic Risnidh* -{'k'ð}-.

After unstressed open final syllables {j} may develop before stressed syllables in {a}-or {ɑ}-, e.g. *Cleite Allghair* -{'jaL̥aγðð}, *An Airigh Ard* -{'ja:ɑ̃}; and as a glide before weakly stressed syllables, e.g. *Airigh Iain Bhàin* {,a.ð̥, j̃ã'n'vã:N̥}.

vi) Prosthetic s.

slag ← *lag* 'hollow'
spìod ← *bìod* 'peak, pinnacle'
sreap streap fr. EIr. *drep(p)*.

vii) Other intrusive consonants.

Dentals: Initial *sr-* is always {str}-, e.g. *sròin* 'nose', *sruth* 'stream'. A dental frequently intrudes before suffices after laterals and dental nasals, e.g. *Na Leanntaigean Boga*, *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich*, *Slag na Galltanaich*. The final in *Buaile na Mìst*,

from *mias*, is also intrusive.

The velar fricative {ɣ} frequently terminates otherwise open final syllables, e.g. *feòil* gen. *feòladh* 'meat', *Beirghsgèadh* ON *Bergsgjö*, *Bòstadh* ON *Bólstað*. In the final example {ɣ} is not a rendering of ON δ ; the penultimate segment {a} infers an intermediate stage *{'bɔ:,sta:}, i.e. loss of final δ was compensated for by lengthening of the preceding vowel; {a:} was later shortened to {a} - while an original unlengthened short {a} would have yielded {ə}.

viii) Palatalisation and depalatalisation.

Projected consonants (§9.1v) may be palatalised or depalatalised according to the quality of the following vowel or consonant, e.g. $C \rightarrow C'$: *Lochan Tioram*, *Aird nan Gèadh*, *Slag Glas Leathad Tòlabaidh*; $C' \rightarrow C$: *Breun Loch Cleit na h-Eanaich*.

Interchange of $-r(-)$ and $-\delta(-)$ is frequent, e.g. *Ramraigeadh*, *Lochan Tioram*, *Sgeir Gun Tacar*, *Tairigeadh* besides *Taraigeadh* (both fr. ON ϕ aragiö).

ix) Loss of consonants.

Nasals:- Before laterals, e.g. *A' Bheinn Leathainn*, *Steinn Langa*, *Allt Gleann Leòid*. Before r -sounds, e.g. *An Sean Rathad*, *Beinn Iain Ruaidh*; note also *An Sean Ghàrradh* {ə'fð:}- besides {ə'fð̃nð̃}-, *Druim na h-Aon Chloich* -{nə'hð:}- besides -{nə'hð̃nð̃}-. Internally before {f}: *An Innse Mhòr*, **Innseal* ON *Innstfiall*. Internally before {^ht}{^ht'}: *Cotan a' Bhanntraich*, *Mòinteach Tholstaidh*. After laterals: *Mol nan Gobhar*, *Mol nam Faochag*. After dentals: *Aird na Mònadh*, *Bot na Sgiùrd*. Also before {v}: in *Cotan Iain Mhic Coinnich*. The nasal of the article is sometimes dropped when in contact with another preceding nasal: *Càrn na Cuartaig*, *Beinneachan nan Sgalag*, though on occasion the article is lost altogether, e.g. *Cnoc Beag*

Gille (nan) Naomh, Cnoc (na) Leòba Ruaidhe.

The velar fricative {x} is dropped before r-sounds:

luarach for *luachrach* gen. of *luachair* 'rushes'; as in the cluster {xk}: *uarach* for *uachdrach* adj. 'upper', *ìorach* for *ìochdrach* adj. 'lower'.

There are more isolated instances of consonant loss, e.g. *Tobair Ruadh*, *Bàrr Rathacleit* and *Airigh Chùil Làimhe* where final consonants in close composition are dropped before homorganic sounds. For the loss of initial *mh-* (as initial of a weakly stressed element) in *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag* we may compare *'ic* for *mhic*, len. gen.sg. of *mac* 'son'.

x) The treatment of ON initials.

This sub-section shows the treatment of ON initials in the process of gaelicisation of ON loans (here are included the approximants *i* {j} and *u* {w} (often written *j* and *v* respectively), and certain consonant groups) in radical and lenited positions. The question of the gaelicisation of ON initials is for the most part straightforward, but there are nevertheless several points of interest and some instances of variation. Where the Gaelic renderings preceded original mid or high front vowels, or the approximant {j}, they are palatalised; but while the opposition between palatalised and non-palatalised consonants in Gaelic is phonemically distinctive, the quality of a Gaelic consonant can be of little significance when ascertaining its ON origin. The morphophonemic distinction in Gaelic between radical and lenited initials is of much greater importance here. This is true not only where ON lnn. survive as *ex nomine* units in dependent names, where for example an initial {v}- could conceivably represent ON *u-* *hu-* or

þu-, or the lenited form of G. {b̥}- fr. ON *b⁻¹*; but also where they survive as independent names. In the latter situation - where nominally there are no grounds for lenition - certain initial consonants may be delenited or 'restored' to appropriate radical forms; loan-words may also be affected in this way.

ON b-: rad. {b̥}- *Brèibhig* ON *Breið-uík*, *Brataigea* ON *Brattugið*; by len. {b̥} yields {v} *Tom Bhrataigea*.

ON d-: rad. {d̥} *doca* ON *dokk*; pal. {d̥'} is unattested. By len. {d̥'} yields {j} *Mól Dhiobadail* ON *Diúpadal*; the len. non-pal. form {ɣ} is attested in *Stacannan Dubh Dhruidigeadh*.

ON f-: rad. {f} *Flodabhat* ON *Flotuatn*, *fid(each)* §7.6iii ON *fit*. By len. {f} yields zero: *Gil Fheubais* ON *Fé-bási*.

ON g-: rad. {g̥} *gàrradh* ON *garði*; by len. {g̥} yields {ɣ} *Abhainn Ghrìoda* ON *Grýta*. Rad.pal. {g̥'} *geàrraidh* ON *gerði*; by len. {g̥'} yields {j} in *Loch Gheallabhat* ON *Giallauatn* (see also *Allt Eallagro*).

ON h-: rad.del. {t^h} *tòb* ON *hóp*, *tàbh(an)* §7.6i ON *háf*, *tùl* ON **hugl*; also zero: *allt* 'crag' ON *holt*, *amar* ON *hamar*, *ðb(an)* §7.6i ON *hóp*. In len. position (corresponding to len. forms of G. *s-* and *t-*) *h-* usually survives: **Thorrghal* ON *Horg-hól*. See also §7.2iv.

ON hi- {hj}-: (by association with the len. G. sound {ç}) rad.del. {k^h} *Ceallasaidh* ON *Hiallsøy*, *Ceartaidh* ON *Hiartøy*.

ON hl-: {l} is voiced: *Lidhir* ON *Hlíðir*.

ON hr-: {r} is voiced: *Rannraigeadh* ON *Hrammagið*.

ON hu-: the approximant + *a* yields the diphthong {uə} in **Uamaistean* ON *Huammsstein*. In *Barbhas* ON *Huarfð-ós*, G. {v} (< ON *u*) is delenited to {b̥}.

ON k-: rad. {k^h} *Cliosgro* ON *Klifsgrof*; pal. {k^h} *Ceadraiseal* ON *Ketilsfiall*; once (perhaps as an inter-dialectal loan) rad.non-pal.

{g} *glomair* ON *klqmbr*. By len. {k^h} yields {x} *Druim Chliasgro* ON **Kleifsbrokku*, and {k^h} yields {ç} *Cleite Chèiligir* ON **Keðlingagerði*.
ON kn-: rad. {k^hr} + nasalised vowel, *cnap* ON *Knapp*.
ON l-: rad. {L} or pal. {L'} *lèig* ON *løk*, *Lidh Langa* ON *Hlíðin Langa*.
 By len. {L'} yields {l} *Bealach Liamasteán* ON *Læmingastein*.
ON m-: rad. {m} *morgh(an)* §7.6i ON *morð*; by len. {m} yields {v} *Airigh Mhùscleit* ON *Mús-klett*.
ON n-: rad. {N} or pal. {N'} *Nis* ON *Nesi*, *Nùb* ON **Núp*.
ON p-: rad. {p^h} *palla* ON **palla*; by len. {p} yields {f} though there is no example from the nomenclature.
ON r-: rad. {R} *Rèabhat* ON *Røyðr-uatn*, len. {r} *Loch Raoinéabhat*
ON s-: rad. {s} or pal. {s'} *stiogha* ON *stiga*, *sgeir* ON *sker*; by len. {s'} yields {h} *Bealach Shèabhal* ON *Sev-fiall*, {hj} *Cnoc Sheothal* ON *Sió-hól*. See also Gaz. No. 2556.
ON str-: rad. {str} *Srèimeanais* ON *Stræum-nes*; by len. {r} *Cidhe Shrèimeanais*.
ON t-: rad. {t^h} or pal. {t'^h} *Tinndir* ON *Tindar*, *Totarl* ON *Toptarhól*.
ON þ-: rad.delen. {t^h} or pal. {t'^h} *Tormod* ON *þormund*, **Tiongalairidh* ON *þinguöll-érgi*. In len. position: {h} *Beinn Thòrsadar* ON *þórisætr*. For the possibility of þ- yielding rad.delen. s-, see Gaz. No. 349.
ON þu-: in len. position {f} , and through voicing {v}, *Alltan Feireagro* ON *þuerá(r)gróf*, *Tràigh Bhèitir* ON *þueitar*.
ON u-: rad. {v} *Bhata Ciorra* ON *Uatnit Kyrra*, *Bhàcasaidh* ON *Uágsøy*; rad. {f} §9.liii *Fìbhig* ON *Uiðuik*, *fadhail* ON *uadil*; similarly in len. position, *Loch Fàsgró* ON *Uaðsgróf*. Note also the developments ON *ui-* to {w} *uiste* ON *uist*, *Beinn Uidealum* ON *Uit-mála*; and ON *uí-* to {u:} *Rubh' Uig* ON *Uík* (with following palatalised consonants).

§9.2 Vowels.

i) Reduction.

By vowel reduction is meant the reduction of long vowels or diphthongs to short or half-long monothongs. This frequently occurs where syllables with long vowels or diphthongs are weakly stressed, e.g. *An Aird Mhòr* {ð,na.ɑ̃}-, *Allt Loch Fàsgrò* {,aɪt}-, *Buaile na Mìst* {,bɛɪð}-, *Druim an Lodain* {,dr̥m̃}-, *Beinn Rathacleit* {,bɛ̃n'}

In the examples *A' Bheinn Leathainn* {ð,vã}-, *Steinn Langa* {,st'a}- the resulting reduced vowel is lowered; so also in *Carra Liath Bheag* -{,la}-. Cf. the development of ON long vowels in half-stressed position, §10.2vi, c.²

ii) Intrusive vowels.

Intrusive final schwa is not uncommon with weakly stressed monosyllabic elements, e.g. *Loch Gainmhich* {,lɔxə}-, *Allt Geàrrraidh Rèisg* {,aɪtə}-, *An t-Eas Dubh* {ð,n^hæsə}-, *Aird Mhiasaid* {,a.ɑ̃ə}-.

Intrusive schwa (or {ɪ}) occurs commonly in ON lnn. between consonants that would otherwise form unfamiliar clusters, see §10.2i, d and xiv, d. In forms with final -(s)gro there are instances of variation between -{(s)kro}- and -{(s)k^əro}- with a fairly strong glide; see for example Gaz. Nos. 131, 174, 1899.

iii) Loss of vowels.

Stressless {ə} in open syllables and in name-final position is commonly dropped, e.g. *Peite na Bròig(e)*, *Geodha na Sgeir Glais(e)*, *Allt Loch Dubh na Glais(e)*, *Airigh Choimhead(a)*. Otherwise such

syllables may be closed, e.g. *Sgeir Lìonta(dh)*, §9.lvii.

1. Or possibly the lenited form of G. {m}- fr. ON *m-*, though here a following nasal vowel can normally be expected.
2. The combination V hiatus V in disyllabic words is frequently reduced resulting in a half-long monothong, e.g. *rathad* {,Ra.ḡ}-. Vowels following hiatus after svarabhakti groups are lost in weakly stressed elements, e.g. *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir* -{,ũṁṁf}-, *Sgairdheiseal Bheag* {,skøðʷfɑL}-.

§10 NORSE CREATIONS

§10.1 Notes on Structure.

A small number of ON loan-names consist of a single (Norse) element, e.g. *Tòlair* ON *Hólar* 'the hills', *Tinndir* ON *Tindar* 'the teeth or pinnacles'. It is most probable that the proportion of single-element names was greater, but that those consisting of elements which were borrowed as appellatives into Gaelic have become indistinguishable from the onomasticon and fully incorporated into the naming structure of the Gael.

Multi-syllabic ON forms have normally been shortened to three syllables through the process of gaelicisation. This suggests an otherwise concealed danger of which the researcher should be wary in setting about the reconstruction of ON forms, and is probably frequently the cause of problems encountered in their reconstruction (Oftedal 1972). In consequence, three element names, e.g. **Feireagro* ON *þverá-gróf* 'the stream (of the cross-set stream)' (sg)g, and **Tiongalairidh* ON *þinguöll-érgi* 'the shieling (of the assembly site)' (sg)g, although of a smaller class, are likely to be frequently beyond reconstruction.

Most ON loans, however, consist of two elements, e.g. **Thòrsadar* ON *þórisætr* 'þórir's shieling'. On a number of occasions the onomastic structure is conceivably (s)g, but we have no way of confirming this, e.g. *Beirghsgeadh* ON *Bergsgjö* 'the ravine [?] (of the promontory)'. A small but important group consists of gs, e.g. *Steinn Langa* ON *Steinninn Langa* 'the long stone' and *Beirghe Làgha* ON *Bergit Làga* 'the low(er) promontory'.¹

Weak or secondary stress is frequently discernible on final or penultimate syllables of ON loan-names. Where this occurs it corresponds to the stress on final generic elements of the ON originals, e.g. *Càrlabhadh* {'k^ha:l̩ð,vay} ON 'Kar^hla,uáð, Siabost {'fia,b̩st} ON 'Sæ^h,bólstað. Name-forms of the structure gs have a reversed stress pattern, e.g. *Bhata Ciorra* {,va^ht̩ð'k^h̩R̩ð} ON ,Uatnit 'Kyrra.

§ 10.2 From ON to loan-name: the development of sounds.

i) G. /i/ {i}{i}.

a. In stressed position:

ON <i>i</i>	<i>Stiogha</i>	{'st'̩yð} ²	ON <i>stiga</i>
	<i>Cliosgro</i>	{'k ^h ̩l̩,skro}	<i>Klifsgróf</i>
	<i>sgridhe</i>	{'sk̩i-i}	<i>skriðu</i>
ON <i>y</i>	<i>Bhata Ciorra</i>	{,va ^h t̩ð'k ^h ̩R̩ð}	<i>Uatnit Kyrra</i>
	<i>Brigeidh</i>	{'b̩i,ç'aj}	<i>Bryggiuðy</i>
ON <i>e</i>	<i>Nis</i>	{N'ĩf}{N'ĩf}	<i>Nes(i)</i>
	<i>Grinneabhat</i>	{'ç̩ĩN'ð,vah ^h t}	<i>Greniauatn</i>
ON <i>t̩</i> (>{i} before hiatus)	<i>Lidhir</i>	{'L'i-ið}	<i>Hlíðir</i>
ON <i>ei</i> (>{i} before hiatus)	<i>Britheascleit</i>	{'b̩i-a,skle ^h t'}	<i>Breidás-klett</i>

b. With svarabhakti groups:

ON <i>y</i>	<i>Cirbhig</i>	{'k ^h ̩ið̩,vik'}	<i>Kyruík</i>
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c. In half-stressed position:

ON <i>i</i>	<i>Càrlaigin</i>	{'k ^h a:l̩ð,ç'̩n}	<i>Korn-gil</i> §8.liv
ON <i>t̩</i>	<i>Brèibhig</i>	{'b̩e:,vik'}	<i>Breid-uík</i>
ON <i>e</i>	<i>Bratanaís</i>	{'brā ^h t̩ð,nif}	<i>Brattanes</i>

(For ON final *-gið* to *-{ç,i}* see *Atraigidh*)

d. In unstressed position:

ON *i* *geàrraidh* {'g'a:Rl} ON *gerði*
 beinghe {'bøðʒ-ɪ} *bergi*
ON *y* **Thorraig* {'hɔRɪk'}

Tor-hrygg

ON *a* before palatals,

**Ramraigeadh* {'Rãmãrɪ, g'a(ɣ)} *Hramm(a)gið*

ON *u* before palatals,

Clìbisgeir {'k^hli:βɪ, sk'ðð} *Klìpusker*

Brataigea {'bra^htɪg'a} *Brattugið*

By euphony after hiatus:

ON *u* *sgridhe* {'skði-i} *skriðu*

Intrusively, before palatals:

Cailigeadh {'k^halɪ, g'aɣ} *Kol-gið*

**Eilistean* {'elɪ, st'ðn} **Ail*-stein

ii) G. /i:/ {i:}

In stressed position:

ON *í* **Ríosart* {'Ri:, sat} *Hrís-*

**Ileigir* {'i:ɪɪ, g'ðð} *Ílugerði*

ON *ý* **Gríoda* {'gði:ðð} *Grýta*

Clìbisgeir {'k^hli:βɪ, sk'ðð} *Klìpusker*

ON *i* lengthened after the loss of a following consonant,

Fíbhig {'fi:, vɪk'}

Uíð-uík

**Innseal* {'ĩ:, ʃaL} *Innstfiall*

(but ON *i* remains short before disappearing *f* in

Clìosgro {'k^hlɪ, skro} ON *Klìfsgróf*)

iii) G. /e/ {e}

a. In stressed position:

ON <i>e</i>	* <i>Feireagro</i>	{'feða,grø}	ON þuerá(r)gróf
	<i>cleit(e)</i>	{'k ^h le ^h t'(ð)}	<i>klett(i)</i>
	<i>sgeir</i>	{sk'eð}	<i>sker</i>
ON <i>ǣ</i>	* <i>Eilistean</i>	{'eɫɪ,ʃt'ðn}	* <u><i>Ail</i></u> - <i>stein</i>
	<i>eilean</i>	{'elan}	* <u><i>ailan</i></u> (<i>d</i>)
ON <i>ei</i>	shortened before hiatus,		
	* <i>Seathabhal</i>	-{'he-ð,vɑL}	<i>Heiðarfiáll</i>

b. In half-stressed position:

ON *e* before geminates,

* <i>Múscleit</i>	{'mū:,skle ^h t'}	<i>Mús-klett</i>
<i>Britheascleit</i>	{'b̥ðɪ-a,skle ^h t'}	<i>Breiðás-klett</i>

iv) G. /e:/ {e:}

In stressed position:

ON <i>é</i>	* <i>Feubais</i>	{'fe:,baʃ}	<i>Fé-bási</i>
ON <i>ǣ</i>	* <i>Eireacleit</i>	{'e:ðð,kle ^h t'}	<i>Érklett</i>
ON <i>ø</i>	<i>Grèineabhal</i>	{'g̥ðẽ:nð,vɑL}	<i>Grøñafíall</i>
	<i>lèig</i>	{L'e:g'}	<i>løk</i>
ON <i>ei</i>	<i>Brèibhig</i>	{'b̥ðe:,vɪk'}	<i>Breið-uík</i>
	<i>Eimisgeir</i>	{'ẽ:mɪ,ʃk'ðð}	<i>Eim-skер</i>
ON <i>øy</i>	<i>Rèabhat</i>	{'Re:,va ^h t}	<i>Røyðr-uatn</i>
ON <i>e</i>	lengthened before disappearing consonant,		
	* <i>Cèiligir</i>	{'k ^h e:li,g'ðð}	* <i>Keðlingagerði</i>

v) G. /ɛ/ {ɛ}

In stressed position:

ON <i>e</i>	<i>Ceadraiseal</i>	{'k ^h ɛdri,ʃɑL}	<i>Ketilsfiáll</i>
	<i>Meireabhal</i>	{'mɛðð,vɑL}	<i>Mer(a)fiáll</i>

vi) G. /a/ {a}{a}

a. In stressed position:

ON a	<i>Bratanais</i>	{'bra ^h tə,nɪʃ}	ON <i>Brattanes</i>
	<i>amar</i>	{'ãmðr}	<i>hamar</i>
	<i>Callanais</i>	{'k ^h aLa,nɪʃ}	<i>Kallaðarnes</i>
	<i>cabhal</i>	{'k ^h afðL}	<i>kafla</i>
ON o	<i>Flodabhat</i>	{'fLɔðð,va ^h t}	
		{'fLaðð,va ^h t}	<i>Flotuatn</i>
ON o	<i>Amhastar</i>	{'ãva,stðr}	<i>Ofan-setr</i>
	<i>Cailigeadh</i>	{'k ^h ali,g'aɣ}	<i>Kol-gið</i>
	<i>*Rasabhat</i>	{'Rasð,va ^h t}	<i>Hrossauatn</i>
ON á	shortened before hiatus,		
	<i>*Rathailt</i>	{'Ra-aL't'}	<i>Rá-holti</i>

b. With svarabhakti groups:

ON a	<i>Barbhas</i>	{'b̥ar̥ə,vas}	<i>Huarfð-ós</i>
	<i>*Ramraigeadh</i>	{'Rãm̥ar̥l,g'a(ɣ)}	<i>Hramm(a)gið</i>
ON o	<i>Tormod</i>	{'t ^h ar̥əmɔt}	<i>þormund</i>

c. In half-stressed position:

ON á	<i>Càrlabhagh</i>	{'k ^h a:l̥ð,vay}	<i>Karlauðg</i>
	<i>*Feubais</i>	{'fe:;b̥af}	<i>Fé-bási</i>
ON o	<i>Beirghsgeadh</i>	{'b̥øðð,ʃk'aɣ}	<i>Bergsgid</i>
	<i>Barbhas</i>	{'b̥ar̥ə,vas}	<i>Huarfð-ós</i>
ON o	<i>Brunal</i>	{'br̥ʏn̥aL}	<i>Brun-hól</i>
	<i>*Thorrgal</i>	{'hɔR̥ðɣaL}	<i>Horg-hól</i>
ON æ	<i>*Thòrsadar</i>	{'hɔ:;s̥að̥r}	<i>þórissetr</i>
	<i>*Tiongalaíridh</i>	{'t ^h ĩŋkð,Laðɪ}	<i>þinguqll-érgi</i>
ON i	<i>Lidh Langa</i>	{;L'a'Lãŋkð}	<i>Hlíðin Langa</i>

ON *ei* *Steinn Langa* {,st'a'Lãŋkð} ON *Steininn Langa*

ON *a* before consonants from original geminates or certain
consonant groups (/L/ {L} < ON *ll*; /t/ {^ht} < ON *tn*;
/m/ {m} < ON *m*, falling together with EIr. *m* < *mm*)

<i>*Thòrabhal</i>	{'hɔ:rð,vəL}	þórufíall
<i>Ceadrai seal</i>	{'k' ^h ɛdɾɪ,səL}	Ketilsfíall
<i>Bhata Ciorra</i>	{,va ^h tð'k' ^h ɪRð}	Uatnit Kyrra
<i>*Thallabhat</i>	{'həLð,və ^h t}	Hallauatn
<i>*TannDRAMAR</i>	{'t ^h ãũN,tramðr}	Tandrahamar
<i>Amar Síne</i>	{,ãmð'ɕĩ:nð}	Hamar Síyna

ON *a* lengthened before disappearing consonants,

<i>Bðstadh</i>	{'bɔ:,sta(ɣ)}	Bólstað
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ON *o* before the group /L't'/ {L't'}, ON *-lti*,

<i>*Rathailt</i>	{'Ra-aL't'}	Rá-holti
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ON *o* lengthened before disappearing consonants,

<i>Cràgam</i>	{'k ^h ra:gam}	Krókuholm/ Krák-hoim
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(In the combination *-{aj}*, see xxxiv)

d. In unstressed position:

ON <i>á</i>	<i>*Bhineasgro</i>	{'vĩna,skro}	Uinás-gróf
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(For *sgíobair* {'sk'ɪb̥əð} ON *skipari*, see Gaz. *Airigh an Sgíobair*)

(ON *a* lengthened in certain circumstances, e.g. Nos. 531, 2335)

vii) G. /a:/ {a:}{a:}

In stressed position:

ON <i>á</i>	<i>Bhàcasaidh</i>	{'va: ^h kð,saj}	Uágsøý
	<i>Beirghe Làgha</i>	{,b̥øððj'La:ɣð}	Bergit Låga
	<i>bàgh</i>	{b̥a:ɣ}	uåg
ON <i>ó</i>	<i>Cràgam</i>	{'k ^h ra:gam}	Krókuholm etc.
ON <i>au</i>	<i>*rãn</i>	{Rã:n}	hraun

ON *a* lengthened before disappearing consonants and
certain consonant groups (Oftedal 1956 §31a)

<i>*Fàsgró</i>	{'fa:,skro}	ON <i>Uaðsgróf</i>
<i>Làbost</i>	{'Lã:,bɔst}	<i>Lamb-bólstað</i>
<i>Càrlabhaigh</i>	{'k ^h a:l̥ə,vay}	<i>Karlauág</i>
<i>Beàrnaraidh</i>	{'bja:nə,raj}	<i>Biarnarøy</i>
<i>Sgårdam</i>	{'ska:,ðam}	<i>Sgård-holm</i>

ON *a* and *e* in *gàrradh* {'gɑ:Rəɣ} ON *garði* dat. (or acc.pl. *garða*), *geàrraidh* {'g'a:Rɪ} ON *gerði* obl. case.

The long vowels here are at first sight unexpected since EIr. /a/, /o/ or /e/ were only lengthened before -/R/- in monosyllables, e.g. *bàrr* m. 'summit' {bɑ:R} EIr. *barr*, but pl. {'bARəɳ}; *ceàrr* adj. 'wrong' {k^ha:R} EIr. *cerr*, but compv. {'k^hARə}. ON -rð- cannot have been immediately interpreted as -/R/- when these words were first borrowed, but rather as -/R + consonant/-: ON -rð- > *-/Rh/- > -/R/-.

viii) G. /ɔ/ {ɔ}

a. In stressed position:

ON <i>o</i>	<i>bot</i>	{bɔ ^h t}	<i>botn</i>
	<i>sgor</i>	{skɔr}	<i>skor</i>
	<i>Torcall</i>	{'t ^h ɔɾkəL}	<i>þorkel</i>
ON <i>a</i>	<i>Groisigea</i>	{'grɔʃɪ,g'a}	<i>Gras-gið</i>
	<i>Conadal</i>	{'k ^h ɔnə,ðəL}	<i>Kanadal</i>
ON <i>ɔ</i>	<i>Flodabhat</i>	{'flɔðə,və ^h t}	<i>Fløtuuatn</i>
ON <i>ɔ</i>	shortened before hiatus,		
	<i>Crodhair</i>	{'krɔ-əð}	<i>Króar</i>
	<i>*Seothal</i>	{'ʃɔ-ɔL} aL}	<i>Sið-hól</i>

b. With svarabhakti groups:

ON <i>o</i>	<i>Borghastar</i>	{'bɔrðʏð, stɑr}	ON <i>Borg-setr</i>
	<i>morgh(an)</i>	{'mɔrðʏan}	<i>morð</i>
ON <i>ɔ</i>	* <i>Thorrghal</i>	{'hɔRðʏaL}	<i>Hɔrg-hól</i>

c. In half-stressed position:

ON <i>o</i> before original geminates,			
	<i>Cliasproc</i>	{'k ^h lia, sprɔ ^h k}	* <i>Kleifsbrokku</i>
ON <i>ɔ</i>	<i>Allaflod</i>	{'aLð, fLɔt}	<i>Hallaflɔt</i>
ON <i>a</i> before disappearing consonant			
	<i>Borghaston</i>	{'bɔrð-ð, stɔn}	<i>Borg-stafn</i>

d. In unstressed position:

ON <i>ó</i>	* <i>Seothal</i>	{'sɔ-ɔL}	<i>Sió-hól</i>
ON <i>u</i> before disappearing consonant			
	<i>Tormod</i>	{'t ^h arəmɔt}	þormund
	* <i>Tðmod</i>	{'t ^h ɔ̃:mɔt}	<i>Hámund</i>

ix) G. /ɔ:/ {ɔ:}

In stressed position:

ON <i>ɔ</i>	<i>Leðd</i>	{L'ɔ:d}	<i>Liót</i>
	<i>Bðstadh</i>	{'bɔ:, sta(ɣ)}	<i>Bólstað</i>
	<i>ceðs(an)</i>	{'k ^h ɔ:san}	<i>kiós</i>
	<i>greðd</i>	{gðɔ:d}	<i>griót</i>
ON <i>ɔ̇</i>	<i>geodha</i>	{g'ɔ:}	<i>gió̇</i>
ON <i>á</i>	* <i>Tðmod</i>	{'t ^h ɔ̃:mɔt}	<i>Hámund</i>
ON <i>au</i>	<i>sgðd</i>	{skɔ:d}	<i>skaut</i>
	* <i>rðn</i>	{Rɔ̃:n}	<i>hraun</i>

x) G. /o/ {o}

a. In stressed position:

ON <i>o</i> before hiatus,			
	<i>bogha</i>	{'bɔ-o}	<i>boga</i>

<i>bodha</i>	{'bo-o} ə}	ON <i>boda</i>
<i>glodhar</i>	{'gLo-ðr}	* <i>glōfr</i>

b. In half-stressed position:

ON <i>ô</i>	<i>Cliaagro</i>	{'k ^h lia,skro}	* <i>Kleifsgróf</i>
	* <i>Alagro</i>	{'a:Lə,gro}	Á <i>lagróf</i>

c. In unstressed position:

ON *a* by euphony after hiatus,

<i>bodha</i>	{'bo-o}	<i>boda</i>
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xi) G. /u/ {u}{u}

a. In stressed position:

ON <i>u</i>	<i>Brunal</i>	{'brũ,naL}	<i>Brun-hól</i>
	<i>tursa</i>	{'t ^h uʂ(ə)}	þ <i>urs</i>
	* <i>Ucsabhat</i>	{'u ^h ksə,və ^h t}	<i>Uxauatn</i>

ON <i>y</i>	<i>iola</i>	{'juLə}	* <i>hylla</i>
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ON *ú* shortened before hiatus

<i>rubha</i>	{'Ru-u}	<i>hrúga hrúfa</i>
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ON *ó* shortened before hiatus

<i>Gruthaigea</i>	{'gru-ı,g'a}	<i>Gróf-giô</i>
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b. With svarabhakti groups:

ON <i>u</i>	<i>Gurrbhair</i>	{'guRũ,vəð}	<i>Guðrúnaruorðu</i>
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c. In half-stressed position:

ON <i>ú</i>	* <i>Uidealum</i>	{'œd'ə,Lum}	<i>Uit-múla</i>
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d. In unstressed position:

ON *a* by euphony after hiatus

<i>rubha</i>	{'Ru-u}	<i>hrúga hrúfa</i>
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xii) G. /u:/ {u:}{u:}

In stressed position:

ON <i>ú</i>	* <i>Múscleit</i>	{ 'mã, skle ^h t' }	<i>Mús-klett</i>
ON <i>ý</i>	* <i>Tùideagro</i>	{ 't ^h u:ð'ð, gro }	<i>Týt(n)agróf</i>

ON *u* lengthened before disappearing consonants,

	* <i>Thùlabhaig</i>	{ 'hu:Lð, vɪk' }	* <i>Huglauík</i>
	<i>Bùistean</i>	{ 'b ^h u: ð'ðn }	<i>Bugsstein</i>
	<i>tùl</i>	{ t ^h u:L }	* <i>hugl</i>

ON *y* lengthened before certain consonant groups (Oftedal 1956 §31a)

	<i>sgiùrd</i>	{ sk'u:ɽ }	<i>skyrta</i>
	* <i>Liùrabhat</i>	{ 'L'u:rð, va ^h t }	<i>Lygruuatn</i>

Early ON *ay* *Uisdean* { 'u:st'an } **Aystein*

xiii) G. /ω/ {ɰ}{ω}{ω}; /ω:/ {ω:}

In stressed position /ω/ develops from

ON <i>y-</i>	* <i>Uisteam</i>	{ 'ω, st'am }	<i>Ystiholm</i>
ON <i>ui-</i>	* <i>Uidealum</i>	{ 'ωð'ð, Lum }	<i>Uit-múla</i>
	<i>uiste</i>	{ 'ωst'ð }	<i>uist</i>

See also Gaz. No. 2385.

{ω:} occurs in **Thaodramar* { 'hω:, dramðr } but the initial element of this ON ln. is obscure.

xiv) G. /ð/ {ð}{ð}{Λ}

a. In stressed position:

ON <i>a</i>	<i>fadhail</i>	{ 'fð-ðl }	<i>uaðil</i>
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b. With svarabhakti group:

ON <i>e</i>	<i>Beirghsgéadh</i>	{ 'b ^h ððð, sk'ay }	<i>Bergsgíð</i>
	<i>Beirgheasaidh</i>	{ 'b ^h ððð-ð, saɟ }	<i>Bergsþy</i>
ON <i>a</i>	<i>Sgairdheiseal</i>	{ 'skððð-ð, saL }	<i>Skarðsfiall</i>

c. In half-stressed position:

ON <i>e</i>	<i>Ainnsgeir</i>	{ 'ãɪ, sk'ðð }	<i>Agn-sker</i>
	* <i>Cèiligir</i>	{ 'k ^h e:lɪ, g'ðð }	* <i>keðlingagerði</i>

ON o	<i>Balabhair</i>	{ 'b ^a L ^a ,v ^a ð }	<i>Balau^orðu</i>
ON y	<i>*Thortamair</i>	{ 'h ^o ʒt ^a ,m ^a ð }	<i>-mýri</i>
ON ó	<i>Liarob</i>	{ 'L' i ^a ,r ^a b }	<i>Hlíðarhóp</i>

d. In unstressed position:

ON a	<i>*Grōda</i>	{ 'g ^o di:d ^a }	<i>Grýta</i>
	<i>*Alagro</i>	{ 'aL ^a ,g ^o ro }	<i>Álagróf</i>
	<i>Crodhair</i>	{ 'k ^h r ^o -ðð }	<i>Króar</i>
	<i>Beirghe Lāgha</i>	{ ,b ^o ðð ^j 'La:γð }	<i>Bergit Lāga</i>
ON o	<i>*Tiongalairidh</i>	{ 't ^h ɿ ^h g ^o ,Laðɿ }	<i>þingu^oll-^oergi</i>
ON u	<i>*Thòrabhal</i>	{ 'h ^o :r ^a ,v ^a L }	<i>þórufiall</i>
ON i	<i>Bhata Ciorra</i>	{ ,va ^h t ^a 'k ^h ɿRð }	<i>Uatnit Kyrra</i>
	<i>gàrradh</i>	{ 'g ^a :Rðγ }	<i>garði</i>
ON ei	<i>Allghar</i>	{ 'aL ^a γ ^a ðð }	<i>Hallgeir</i>
	<i>*Liamastean</i>	{ 'L' i ^ã ɿ ,st'ðn }	<i>Læmingastein</i>

Intrusive:

	<i>*Thòrsadar</i>	{ 'h ^o :s ^a ððr }	<i>þóris^oætr</i>
	<i>glodhar</i>	{ 'g ^o Lo-ðr }	<i>*glofr</i>
	<i>Borghaston</i>	{ 'b ^o rð-ð, st ^o n }	<i>Borg-stafn</i>
	<i>Beirgheasaidh</i>	{ 'b ^o ðð ^o -ð, s ^a j }	<i>Bergsø^y</i>
	<i>Ceallasaidh</i>	{ 'k ^h aL ^a ð; s ^a j }	<i>Hiallsø^y</i>
	<i>Bhàcasaidh</i>	{ 'va: ^h k ^a , s ^a j }	<i>Uāgsø^y</i>
	<i>Cailigeadh</i>	{ 'k ^h aɿɿ, g'ay }	<i>Kol-gið^o</i>
	<i>*Uidealum</i>	{ 'æð'ð, Lum }	<i>Uit-mūla</i>

xv) G. /ð:/ {ð:}

ON a and o lengthened before disappearing consonants,

<i>Raonailt</i>	{ 'R ^õ :nɿL't' }	<i>Ragnhild</i>
<i>Raghnall</i>	{ 'Rð:-ðL }	<i>Rognuald</i>

xvi) G. /ai/ {ai}

ON *a* before preconsonantal and disappearing *gn* in

Ainnsgeir {'ãĩ, sk'ðð} ON *Agn-sker*

xvii) G. /ði/ {ði}

Early ON *ai aoidh* {ði} **aið*

ON *uí Cuidhbhig* {'k^hði, vɪk'} *Kuí-uík*

xviii) G. /au/ {au}

In stressed position:

ON *a* before non-lenited, non-palatal, preconsonantal *l, n*

or *m*, also before lenited preconsonantal *m*:

Banndabeirghe {'bãũntð, bðððj} *Band(a)bergi*

Campaiddh {'k^hãũmpaj} *Kampøy*

**TannDRAMAR* {'t^hãũN, tramðr} *Tandrahamar*

allt {auLt} *holt*

Amhláigh {'ãũLaj} *Áleif*

xix) G. /ia/ {ia}

ON *ei Cliasgro* {'k^hlia, skro} **Kleifsgróf*

**Fiadaig* {'fiãðɪk'} *þueit-uík*

ON *æ Blianais* {'bliã, nɪʃ} *Blæ-nes*

**Liamaistean* {'L'ĩãmɪ, st'ðn} *Læmingastein*

xx) G. /ið/ {ið}

ON *í in Liarob* {'L'íð, rɒb} *Hlíðarhóp*

**Bhianais* {'við, nɪʃ} *Uíð(a)nes Uíðines*

Iomhar {'ĩðvðr} *Íuar*

ON *ei in*

**Thiamaistean* {'hiðmɪ, st'ðn} *Heimsstein*

xxi) G. /ua/ {ua}

ON *ua-* **Uamaistean* {'ũãmɪ, f't'ðn} ON *Huammsstein*

xxii) G. /b/ {b} {p}

In initial position:

ON *b-* *Balabhair* {'b̥aLθ, vðð} *Balauqrðu*

bot {b̥o^ht} *botn*

Also ON *hu-* *Barbhas* {'b̥arà, vas} *Huarfô-ós*

ON *u-* *bàgh* {b̥a:ɣ} *uág*

In half-stress initial position:

ON *b-* *Banndabeinghe* {'b̥ãũntð, b̥ðððj} *Band(a)bergi*

Beinghe Làgha {, b̥ðððj'La:ɣð} *Bergit Lága*

Elsewhere,

ON post-vocalic *p*

sgiobair {'sk'ɪp̥að} *skipari*

**Díobadal* {'d̥'i:bð, d̥ðL} *Díúpadal*

tðb {t^hɔ:b} *hóp*

Clíbisgeir {'k^hli:ɪ, sk'ðð} *Klýpusker*

Liarob {'L'ɪð, rɪp̥} *Hlíðarhóp*

ON *b* in the cluster *-sbr-*

Clíasproc {'k^hlia, sprɔ^hk} **Kleifsbrökku*

xxiii) G. /p/ {p^h} {p}

ON initial *p-*

palla {'p^haLθ} **palla*

ON post-vocalic *pp*

glupa pl. {'gLu^hpɪçðn} *gluppa*

ON final *-pp*

enap {k^h rā^h p} ON *knapp*

ON post-consonantal *p*

Campaídh {'k^h äümpaj} *Kampóy*

xxiv) G. /d/ {d}{t}

In full and half-stress initial position:

ON *d*-

doca {'d^h k(ð)} *ðokk*
**Diobadal* {'d^h i:bð, dðL} *Diúpadal*

Elsewhere:

ON post-vocalic *t*

**Gríoda* {'gði:dð} *Grýta*
**Thòrsadar* {'h^o:sədðr} *þórisssætr*
**Fiadaig* {'fiadik'} *þueit-uík*
greðd {gð^o:d} *griót*
sgòd (sgòidean) {sk^o:d} *skaut*
Allaflod {'aLð, fL^ot} *Hallaflot*
Ceadraiseal {'k^h eðri, faL} *Ketilsfiall*

ON final *-nd* in

Tormod {'t^h aràm^ot} *þormund*
**Tòmod* {'t^h ð:m^ot} *Hámund*

xxv) G. /t/ {t^h}{^ht}

In initial position:

ON *þ*- *Tormod* {'t^h aràm^ot} *þormund*
tursa {'t^h u^ʁ(ð)} *þurs*

ON *h*- *tðb* {t^h ð:b} *hóþ*
**Tòmod* {'t^h ð:m^ot} *Hámund*

<i>tùl</i>	{t ^h u:L}	ON * <i>hugl</i>
<i>Tòlaigea</i>	{'t ^h o:Ll, g'a}	<i>Hólagiô</i>

Elsewhere:

ON <i>tt</i>	<i>Brataigea</i>	{'b ^h ra ^h t ^h l, g'a}	<i>Brattugiô</i>
	<i>Bratanais</i>	{'b ^h ra ^h t ^h ð, n ^h l}	<i>Brattanes</i>
ON <i>tn</i>	<i>Athabhat</i>	{'a-ð, va ^h t}	- <i>uatn</i>
	<i>Bhata Ciorra</i>	{, va ^h t ^h ð'k ^h lRð}	<i>Uatnit Kyrra</i>
	<i>bot</i>	{b ^h o ^h t}	<i>botn</i>
ON <i>pt</i>	<i>Totarał</i>	{'t ^h o ^h t ^h ðr ^h al}	<i>Toptarhól</i>
	<i>lobhta</i>	{'lo ^h t ^h ð}	<i>lopt</i>

xxvi) G. /ð' / {ð'}{t'}

ON post-vocalic *t*

* <i>Uidealum</i>	{'æð'ð, Lum}	<i>Uit-múla</i>
* <i>fid (fideach)</i>	{fid'}	<i>fit</i>

xxvii) G. /t' / {t^h'}{t^h'}

In initial position:

ON <i>t-</i>	<i>Tinndir</i>	{'t ^h 'eĩN'd'ðð}	<i>Tindar</i>
þ-	* <i>Tiongalairidh</i>	{'t ^h 'ĩŋkð, Laðl}	þ <i>inguqlł-árgi</i>

Elsewhere:

ON <i>tt</i>	* <i>Músclait</i>	{'mũ:, skle ^h t'}	<i>Mús-klett</i>
	<i>Britheascleait</i>	{'bði-a, skle ^h t'}	<i>Breidás-klett</i>
ON <i>t</i>	occasionally after a long vowel,		
	* <i>Bhèitir</i>	{'ve: ^h t'ðð}	þ <i>ueitar</i>

In the following clusters:

ON <i>lt</i>	<i>allt</i>	{aułt}	<i>holt</i>
ON <i>ld</i>	<i>Raonailt</i>	{'Rð:nłL't'}	<i>Ragnhild</i>

(after long vowels)

ON <i>tr</i>	<i>Atraigidh</i>	{ 'a: ^h trɪ, g' i }	ON <i>Átraðagiǫ</i>
ON <i>ðs</i>	<i>Eitseal</i>	{ 'e: ^h tʃaL }	<i>Eiðsfiáll</i>

xxviii) G. /g' / {g'} {k'}

In full and half-stress initial position:

ON *g-*

<i>geodha</i>	{ g'ɔ: }	<i>giǫ</i>
<i>gil</i>	{ g'ɪl }	<i>gil</i>
<i>geàrraidh</i>	{ 'g' a: Rɪ }	<i>gerði</i>
* <i>Cèiligir</i>	{ 'k' ^h e: lɪ, g' θð }	* <i>Keðlingagerði</i>
<i>Brataigea</i>	{ 'br a ^h tɪ, g' a }	<i>Brattugiǫ</i>

Elsewhere:

ON post-vocalic *k*

<i>Brèibhig</i>	{ 'bðe: , vɪk' }	<i>Breid-uík</i>
<i>lèig</i>	{ L' e: g' }	<i>lǽk</i>

ON post-vocalic *gg*

<i>Groislig</i>	{ 'grɔʃL' ɪk' }	<i>Gras-hrygg</i>
* <i>Thorraig</i>	{ 'hɔRɪk' }	<i>Tor-hrygg</i>

xxix) G. /g / {g} {k}

In full and half-stress initial position:

ON *g-*

<i>glodhar</i>	{ 'gLo-ðr }	* <i>glofr</i>
<i>glupa</i>	pl. { 'gLu ^h pɪçðn }	<i>gluppa</i>
* <i>Alagro</i>	{ 'a: Lð, gro }	<i>Álagrðf</i>

(Exceptionally, ON *k* in *glomair* { 'gLɔ̃mðð } ON *klombr*)

Elsewhere:

ON post-vocalic *k*

<i>Cràgam</i>	{'k ^h ra:gam}	ON <i>Krák-holm</i>
<i>ròg</i>	{Rɔ:g}	<i>hrók</i>
<i>Crògabhat</i>	{'k ^h rɔ:gə,va ^h t}	<i>Krókauatn</i>

ON *k* after *s*

<i>sgarbh</i>	{'skaràv}	<i>skarf</i>
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xxx) G. /k' / {^hk'}{k^h}

In initial position:

ON *k*-

<i>Cèds(an)</i>	{'k ^h ɔ:san}	<i>kiós</i>
<i>Cirbhig</i>	{'k ^h ɪðì,vɪk'}	<i>Kyr-uik</i>
<i>Ceadraideal</i>	{'k ^h ɛdri,ʃaL}	<i>Ketilsfiall</i>

ON *hi*-

<i>Ceartaidh</i>	{'k ^h aʃtəj}	<i>Hiartøy</i>
<i>Ceallasaidh</i>	{'k ^h aLə,saj}	<i>Hiallsøy</i>

In the cluster {sk'}- fr. ON *sk*-

<i>sgeir</i>	{sk'eð}	<i>sker</i>
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xxxii) G. /k/ {^hk}{k^h}

In initial position:

ON <i>k</i> -	<i>Cliasgro</i>	{'k ^h lia,skro}	<i>*Kleifsgróf</i>
	<i>Callanais</i>	{'k ^h aLa,nɪʃ}	<i>Kallaðarnes</i>
	<i>Cleit(e)</i>	{'k ^h le ^h t'(ə)}	<i>klett</i>
	<i>Crodhair</i>	{'k ^h rɔ-ðð}	<i>Króar</i>

Elsewhere:

ON <i>kk</i>	<i>Cliasproc</i>	{'k ^h lia,spro ^h k}	<i>*Kleifsbrokku</i>
	<i>doea</i>	{'dɔ ^h k(ə)}	<i>døk</i>

ON post-vocalic *g* followed by *s* {xs} > */ks/ > /kðs/

with intrusive schwa,

Bhàcasaidh {'va:^hkə,saj} *Uágsóy*

In the following clusters:

ON <i>rk</i>	<i>Torcaill</i>	{'t ^h ɔrkəL}	ɸorkel
ON <i>ks</i>	* <i>Ucsabhat</i>	{'u ^h ksə,və ^h t}	<i>Uxauatn</i>
	<i>Lacsabhat</i>	{'La ^h ksə,və ^h t}	<i>Laxauatn</i>

xxxii) G. /v/ {v}

In full and half stress initial position:

ON *u-*

	* <i>Bhineasgro</i>	{'vĩna,skro}	<i>Uinás-gróf</i>
	<i>Bhàcasaidh</i>	{'va: ^h kə,saj}	<i>Uágsóy</i>
	<i>Breìbhig</i>	{'bðe:,vɪk'}	<i>Breid-uík</i>
	<i>Càrlabhagh</i>	{'k ^h a:l̩,vəɣ}	<i>Karlauág</i>

In weak stress initial position:

ON *f-*

	<i>Barbhas</i>	{'b̩arə,vas}	<i>Huarfó-ós</i>
	* <i>Thòrabhal</i>	{'hɔ:rə,vəL}	ɸórufiall

Elsewhere:

ON post-vocalic *f* and in the cluster *rf*,

	<i>Amhastar</i>	{'ãva,stəɾ}	<i>Ofan-setr</i>
	<i>tàbh</i>	{t ^h a:v}	<i>háf</i>
	<i>sgarbh</i>	{'skarəv}	<i>skarf</i>
ON <i>u</i> in <i>Iomhar</i>		{'ĩðvəɾ}	<i>Iuar</i>

xxxiii) G. /f/ {f}

In full and half stress position:

ON *f-*

<i>fang</i> (<i>faing</i>)	{fãŋk}	<i>fang</i>
* <i>Feubais</i>	{'fe: ,ɸaf}	<i>Fé-bási</i>
<i>Allaflod</i>	{'aLð ,fLɔt}	<i>Hallaflot</i>

ON *u-*

<i>fadhail</i>	{'fð-ðl}	<i>uadhil</i>
<i>Fíbhig</i>	{'fi: ,vɪk'}	<i>Uíð-uík</i>
* <i>Fàsgró</i>	{'fa: ,skro}	<i>Uaðsgróf</i>

ON *ɸu-*

* <i>Fiadaig</i>	{'fia ,ɸɪk'}	<i>ɸueit-uík</i>
* <i>Feireagro</i>	{'feða ,ɸro}	<i>ɸuerá(r)gróf</i>

Intervocally:

ON <i>f</i>	<i>cabhall</i>	{'k ^h afðL}	<i>kafla</i>
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xxxiv) G. /j/ {j}

In initial position:

ON *i* {j}

<i>Iðlagro</i>	{'jɔ:Lð ,ɸro}	<i>Iðlagróf</i>
* <i>Eallagro</i>	{'jaLð ,ɸro}	* <i>Iollagróf</i>

ON initial (*h*)*y-* before the geminate *ll* in

<i>iola</i>	{'juLð}	* <i>hylla</i>
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After initial labials:

ON <i>i</i> {j}	<i>Beàrmaraidh</i>	{'ɸja:ŋð ,raj}	<i>Biarnarøy</i>
ON <i>i</i>	* <i>Fionnacleit</i>	{'fjũNð ,kle ^h t'}	<i>Finnaklett</i>

In final position, in the reflex *-{aj}*:

ON final *-øy*

<i>Bhàcasaidh</i>	{'va: ^h kð ,saj}	<i>Uågsøy</i>
<i>Beirgheasaidh</i>	{'ɸøðø-ð ,saj}	<i>Bergsøy</i>

ON final *-eif*

Amlháigh {'ãũLaj} ON *Áleif*

Further, ON final *-i*, as a reduced form of /i/:

Banndabeirghe {'bãũntə, bəððj} *Band(a)bergi*

Beirghe Làgha {, bəððj 'La:ɣə} *Bergit Lága*

xxxv) G. /ɣ/ {ɣ}

ON non-initial *g*

Allghar {'aLəɣər} *Hallgeir*

stiogha {'st'ɪɣə} *stiga*

Càrlabhagh {'k^ha:lə, vaɣ} *Karlauág*

Borghastar {'bɔrðɣə, stər} *Borg-setr*

ON *ð*

morgh(an) {'mɔrðɣan} *morð*

urrdh(ag) {'uRðɣak} *urð*

xxxvi) G. /h/ {h}

In initial position:

ON *h-* **Thallabhat* {'haLə, va^ht} *Hallauatn*

**Thùlabhaig* {'hu:Lə, vɪk'} **Huglauik*

ON *þ-* **Thòrabhal* {'hɔ:rə, vaL} *þórufiall*

**Thòrsadar* {'hɔ:, sɑðər} *þórisætr*

Elsewhere:

ON *h* *Muathabhal* {'mũãha, vaL} *Mjáhag-fiall*

ON *g* *Tairtheabhal* {'t^haðãhə, vaL} *Hqrg-fiall*

xxxvii) G. /s/ {s}

ON *s* *Bhàcasaidh* {'va:^hkə, saɣ} *Uágsóy*

Ceðs(an) {'k,^hɔ:san} *kiðs*

<i>òs</i>	{ɔ:s}	ON <i>ós</i>
<i>Ceallasaidh</i>	{'k ^h alə,saj}	<i>Hiallsøy</i>
<i>Cliasproc</i>	{'k ^h lia,sprɔ ^h k}	* <i>Kleifsbrokku</i>
<i>Bðstadh</i>	{'bɔ:,sta(ɣ)}	<i>Bólstað</i>
<i>starr(ag)</i>	{'staRak}	<i>starr(i)</i>
<i>sgeir</i>	{sk'eð}	<i>sker</i>
* <i>Bhineasgro</i>	{'vĩna,skro}	<i>Uinás-gróf</i>

ON *ss*

* <i>Rasabhat</i>	{'Rasə,va ^h t}	<i>Hrossauatn</i>
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xxxviii) G. /s/ {s}

ON <i>s</i>	<i>Blianais</i>	{'blĩã,nɪs}	<i>Blæ-nes</i>
	<i>Ceadraiseal</i>	{'k ^h ɛdrɪ,sal}	<i>Ketilsfiall</i>
	* <i>Seothal</i>	{'sɔ-ɔL}	<i>Sið-hól</i>
	<i>stiogha</i>	{'st'ɪɣə}	<i>stiga</i>
	* <i>Liamaistean</i>	{'L'ĩãmɪ,st'ən}	<i>Læmingastein</i>

Internally in the cluster $-{sk'}-$, fr. ON *s*,

<i>Ainnsgeir</i>	{'ãĩ,sk'əð}	<i>Agn-skær</i>
<i>Clíbisgeir</i>	{'k ^h li:bɪ,sk'əð}	<i>Klýpusker</i>

xxxix) G. /m/ {m}

ON <i>m</i>	<i>Malanais</i>	{'mãLa,nɪs}	<i>Malarnes</i>
	<i>Tormod</i>	{'t ^h arãmɔt}	þormund
	<i>Amar Síne</i>	{,ãmð'sĩ:nə}	<i>Hamar Síyna</i>
	* <i>Thortamair</i>	{'hɔʂtə,məð}	-mýri

xl) G. /N/ {N}

ON initial *n-*

<i>Núð</i>	{Nũ:b}	* <i>Núp</i>
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ON inter-vocalic *nn*

**Thunnagro* {'hũNð,grø} ON *Tunnagrólf*

In the following clusters: /Nd/ /Ng/

ON post-vocalic *nd*

**Bhiondalam* {'vĩNtð,Lam} *Uind-holm*

Bannðabeirghe {'bãũNtð,bøððj} *Band(a)bergi*

ON *ng* **Tiongalairidh* {'t^hĩŋkð,Laðı} *Þinguql-ærgi*

**Tangabhair* {'t^hãŋkð,vðð} *Tangauorðu*

xli) G. /n/ {n}

ON post-vocalic *n*

**Bhineasgro* {'vĩna,skro} *Uinás-grólf*

Amar Síne {,ãmð'ɣĩ:nð} *Hamar Síyna*

**Liamaistean* {'L'ĩãmı,ʃt'ðn} *Læmingastein*

In half stress initial position:

ON *n-*

Blianais {'blĩã,nıf} *Blænes*

Bratanais {'bra^htð,nıf} *Brattanes*

xlii) G. /N'/ {N'}

ON initial *n-*

Nidigeadh {'N'ıd'ı,g'ay} *Nit-gið*

In the cluster /N'g'/,

ON *ng* *Lingeadh* {'L'ĩŋ'k'ay} *Lyng-gið*

Laingeanais {'Lãĩŋ'k'ð,nıf} *Lang-nes*

xliii) G. /L/ {L}

ON initial *l*

Beirghe Lægha {'bøððj'La:γð} *Bergit Læga*

lobhta {'Lo^ht(ð)} ON *lopt*

ON inter-vocalic *l ll*

**Iðlagro* {'jɔ:Lð,grɔ} *Iðlagróf*

**Alagro* {'aLð,grɔ} *Álagróf*

Ceallasaidh {'k^haLð,saj} *Hiallsøy*

Allaflod {'aLð,flɔt} *Hallaflöt*

Allghar {'aLäγðr} *Hallgeir*

stalla {'staLð} *stalla*

ON post-consonantal *l*

Flodabhat {'flɔðð,va^ht} *Flötuvatn*

glodhar {'gLo-ðr} **glofr*

ON final *l ll*

**Seothal* {'sɔ-ɔL} *Sið-hól*

Torcall {'t^hɔrkðL} *þorkel*

**Thðrabhal* {'hɔ:rð,vaL} *þórufiall*

ON final *-ld*

Raghnall {'Rð:-ðL} *Rognuald*

xliv) G. /l/ {l}

ON *l* *Cliasgro* {'k^hlia,skro} **Kleifsgróf*

Cailigeadh {'k^halɪ,g'ay} *Kol-giö*

**Ileigir* {'i:lɪ,g'ðð} *Ílugerði*

dail {ðal} *dali*

gil {g'ɪl} *gil*

cleit(e) {'k^hle^ht'(ð)} *klett*

xlv) G. /L'/ {L'}

ON initial *l*

Leðd {L'ɔ:d} *Liöt*

<i>lèig</i>	{L'e:g'}	<i>lþk</i>
<i>Leðsal</i>	{'L'ɔ:,səL}	<i>Liðs-hól</i>

ON medial *ll* in

<i>Mille Thðla</i>	{,mĩL'ð'hɔ:Lð}	<i>Milli/e Hóla</i>
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In the cluster /L't'/,

ON <i>ld</i>	<i>Raonailt</i>	{'Rð:nɪL't'}	<i>Ragnhild</i>
ON <i>lt</i>	* <i>Rathailt</i>	{'Ra-aL't'}	<i>Rá-holti</i>

xlvi) G. /R/ {R}

In initial position:

ON r-	* <i>Rathailt</i>	{'Ra-aL't'}	<i>Rá-holti</i>
ON <i>hr-</i>	<i>rubha</i>	{'Ru-u}	<i>hrúga hrúfa</i>
	<i>Ramraigeadh</i>	{'Ramàrɪ,g'a(ɣ)}	<i>Hrann(a)gið</i>

Inter-vocally:

ON <i>rr</i>	<i>Bhata Ciorra</i>	{,va ^h tð'k ^h ɪRð}	<i>Uatnit Kyrra</i>
	<i>starr(ag)</i>	{'stəRak}	<i>starr(i)</i>

ON *r* in certain clusters,

<i>rð</i>	<i>geàrraidh</i>	{'g'a:Rɪ}	<i>gerði</i>
	<i>gàrradh</i>	{'gə:Rðɣ}	<i>garði</i>
<i>rg</i>	* <i>Thorrgħal</i>	{'hɔRðɣəL}	<i>Horg-hól</i>
<i>rð</i>	<i>urrðh(ag)</i>	{'uRùɣak}	<i>urð</i>

Also in	<i>Gurrbhair</i>	{'gʊRù,vðð}	<i>Gudrúnarurðu</i>
	* <i>Thorraig</i>	{'hɔRɪk'}	<i>Tor-hrygg</i>

In the clusters

/Rn/	ON <i>rn</i>	<i>Beàrnaraidh</i>	{'bja:nð,raj}	<i>Biarnarþý</i>
/Rl/	ON <i>rl</i>	<i>Càrlabħagh</i>	{'k ^h a:lð,vəɣ}	<i>Karlauāg</i>
/Rd/	ON <i>rt</i>	<i>sgìurð</i>	{sk'u:ð}	<i>skyrta</i>

	ON rðh	<i>Sgàrdam</i>	{'skɑ:,d̥am}	ON <i>Skarð-holm</i>
/Rs/	ON rs	<i>tursa</i>	{'t ^h uʒ(ð)}	þurs
		<i>*Thòrsadar</i>	{'hɔ:,sɑðr}	þórisssætr
/Rsd/	ON rt	<i>Ceartaidh</i>	{'k ^h ɑʃtɑj}	<i>Hiartøy</i>

xlvii) G. /r/ {r}

ON r	<i>Crodhair</i>	{'k ^h rɔ-ðð}	<i>Króar</i>
	<i>Brataigea</i>	{'brɑ ^h tɪ,g'a}	<i>Brattugið</i>
	<i>morgh(an)</i>	{'mɔrðʏan}	<i>morð</i>
	<i>Orasaidh</i>	{'ɔrð,saj}	<i>Orfirisøy</i>
	<i>sgor</i>	{skɔr}	<i>skor</i>
	<i>*Theðraiseadar</i>	{'hjɔ:rɪ,sɑðr}	þiðrasætr

ON n after k

<i>enap</i>	{k ^h rɑ ^h p}	<i>knapp</i>
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xlviii) G. /r' / {ð'}

ON r	<i>sgeir</i>	{sk'eð}	<i>sker</i>
	<i>Crodhair</i>	{'k ^h rɔ-ðð}	<i>Króar</i>
	<i>Meireabhal</i>	{'mɛðð,vɑL}	<i>Mer(a)fiáll</i>
ON rð	<i>Balabhair</i>	{'bɑLð,vðð}	<i>Balauorðu</i>
	<i>*Cèiligir</i>	{'k ^h e:lɪ,g'ðð}	<i>*keðlingagerði</i>

xlix) Hiatus

ON post-vocalic g

<i>rubha</i>	{'Ru-u}	<i>hrúga</i>
<i>bogha</i>	{'bɔ-o}	<i>boga</i>

ON g after r

<i>beirghe</i>	{'bøðø-ɪ}	<i>bergi</i>
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	<i>Borghaston</i>	{'bɔrð-ð, stɔn}	ON <i>Borg-stafn</i>
ON post-vocalic δ			
	<i>fadhail</i>	{'fð-ðl}	<i>uaðil</i>
	<i>sgridhe</i>	{'skði-i}	<i>skriðu</i>
	<i>Britheascleit</i>	{'bði-a, skle ^h t'}	<i>Breiddás-klett</i>
ON post-vocalic f			
	<i>rubha</i>	{'Ru-u}	<i>hrúfa</i>
	<i>glodhar</i>	{'gLo-ðr}	* <i>glofr</i>
ON h	* <i>Seothal</i>	{'ʃɔ-ɔL}	<i>Sið-hól</i>
	* <i>Rathailt</i>	{'Ra-aL't'}	<i>Rá-holti</i>
ON hiatus			
	<i>Crodhair</i>	{'k ^h rɔ-ðð}	<i>Króar</i>

§10.3 Loss of original consonants.

ON *h* in initial position:

<i>Allafloð</i>	{'aLð, fLɔt}	<i>Hallafloṭ</i>
* <i>Rīosard</i>	{'Ri:, saṭ}	<i>Hrīs-</i>
* <i>Uamaistean</i>	{'ũām ₁ , ʃt'ðn}	<i>Huamsstein</i>

in half stress initial position:

* <i>Thorraig</i>	{'hɔRɪk'}	<i>Tor-hrygg</i>
* <i>Rathailt</i>	{'Ra-aL't'}	<i>Rá-holti</i>
* <i>Bhiondalam</i>	{'vĩNtð, Lam}	<i>Uind-holm</i>

ON *f* in position-final:

* <i>Bhineasgro</i>	{'vĩna, skro}	<i>Uinás-gróṫ</i>
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before and after *s*

<i>Cliosgro</i>	{'k ^h lɪ, skro}	<i>Klifsgroṫ</i>
<i>Eitseal</i>	{'e: ^h tʃaL}	<i>Eiðsfiáll</i>

(see also under §10.2, xlix)

ON *g* with lengthening of the preceding stressed vowel,

<i>Bùistean</i>	{ 'b̥a: ,st'ðn }	ON <i>Bugstein</i>
<i>tùl</i>	{ t ^h u:L }	* <i>hugl</i>
<i>Raonailt</i>	{ 'R̥õ:nıL ,t' }	<i>Ragnhild</i>

(see also under §10.2, xlix)

ON <i>l</i>	<i>Bòstadh</i>	{ 'b̥o: ,sta(γ) }	<i>Bólstað</i>
ON <i>m</i>	<i>Làbost</i>	{ 'Lã: ,bost }	<i>Lamb-bólstað</i>
ON <i>ð</i>	* <i>Bhianais</i>	{ 'vĩð ,nıf }	<i>Uíð(a)nes Uíðines</i>

also

<i>Bòstadh</i>	{ 'b̥o: ,sta(γ) }	<i>Bólstað</i> (see p. 127)
* <i>Fàsgró</i>	{ 'fa: ,skro }	<i>Uaðsgróf</i>

(see also under §10.2, xlix)

ON *n* is assimilated before *d*

* <i>Tðmod</i>	{ 't ^h õ:mot }	<i>Hámund</i>
<i>Tormod</i>	{ 't ^h arãmot }	þormund

ON *(n)n* before *s*

<i>Innseal</i>	{ 'ĩ: ,saL }	<i>Innstfiáll</i>
<i>Calmaistean</i>	{ 'k ^h alãmı ,st'ðn }	<i>Kalmansstein</i>

ON *gn* before *s*

<i>Ainnsgeir</i>	{ 'ãĩ ,fk'ðð }	<i>Agn-sker</i>
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ON *d* is assimilated to *l*

<i>Raghnall</i>	{ 'Rð: -ðL }	<i>Rognuall</i>
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ON *n* to *t*

<i>Bhata Ciorra</i>	{ ,va ^h tð 'k ^h ıRð }	<i>Uatnit Kyrra</i>
<i>Flodabhat</i>	{ 'fLodð ,va ^h t }	<i>Flotuuatn</i>

The loss of consonants and indeed whole syllables in the middle of longer names is common, e.g. *Callanais* {'k^haLa,nɪf} ON *Kallaðarnes*, but it is understandably impossible to formulate any rules here.

NOTES to §10

1. Oftedal's account (1980: 182-186) on the structure of ON forms may be usefully referred to.
2. Radical forms are given where appropriate.

§11.1 Elements identifying natural features.A Coastal.i) Shoreline.

The common word for shore in CR is *cladach*, and it occurs twice as generic: *C. na Dùine* 'the shore of An Dùn', *C. Lèirigeadh* 'the shore of *L.'. A specifically shingle or pebble beach is the ON lw. *mol* which occurs 21 times as generic, e.g. *Mol nam Faochag* 'the shingle of the winkles', 7 as specific, e.g. *Cnoc a' Mhoil Mhòir* 'the hill of the large shingle-beach'. As opposed to *mol* we have *tràigh* 'sandy beach', found as generic 7 times, e.g. *Tràigh Bhèitir* 'the beach of *Bh.', twice as specific, e.g. *Cnoc na Tràigh* 'the hill of the beach'. An archaic and semantically opaque element, *slodhach*, with the sense 'place of sand, sandy place' (§7.6iii), occurs in an obl. case-form in *Ceann Loch Shlodhaigh* 'the end of the lake of the sandy place'. **Slodhach* referred to the finest stretch of sand in CR, now *Tràigh Dhaile Mòire. Oitir* 'sand-bar, spit' occurs only in *An Oitir*.

For access to the shore both *laimrig* and *port* occur. *Laimrig* 'landing-place' is found only in *Laimrig na Mònach* 'the landing-place of the peat' i.e. from where peat was ferried to a nearby island. As an appellative *laimrig* also has the sense 'clear channel or passage between marine rocks'. *Port* 'landing-place' is far commoner: as generic it occurs 5 times, e.g. *Port nan Eathraichean* 'the landing-place of the boats', 8 as specific, e.g. *Leathad a' Phuirt* 'the hillside of the landing-place'. *Port* is normally associated with settlement sites and has the extended

sense 'harbourage'; it should not however be connected with Eng. *port* and artificial shelters.

The ON lw. *faoilinn* 'foreshore, upper beach' occurs twice as generic. As an appellative it also applies to the raised beaches, between salt and fresh-water lakes, characteristic of parts of Lewis.

Ceann defines the 'head, end or top part' of a feature. It is found twice as generic, e.g. *Ceann an Tàib* 'the head of the bay'. A small number of elements like *ceann*, indicate a part of a feature rather than an individual feature. MacAulay (1972: 317) considers 'they may be regarded as modifying elements since they serve to point out a location more exactly'. This is true from a lexical point of view, although the term PERIPHERAL ELEMENT will be used here (to avoid confusion with the entirely distinct term MODIFIER §4.3iii), but not from an onomastic one.

ii) Projections.

Aird generally refers to headlands and the largest of promontories, and is found 18 times as generic, e.g. *Aird na Mònadh* 'the headland of the peat', 15 as specific, e.g. *Loch na h-Airde* 'the lake of the headland'. The semantically opaque *tiompan* 'headland, bluff' occurs only the once. The commonest term for 'promontory, point' is *rubha* which occurs 54 times as generic, e.g. *Rubha Caol* 'narrow point', and 8 as specific, e.g. *Gob an Rubha* 'the point of the promontory'. Generally speaking, *rubha* may be thought of as referring to smaller features than *àird* does, but the distinction is relative. The less common *rinn* has the general application of 'point'.

Of a more specialised application is the ON lw. *beirghe*

which refers to a 'high peninsula or point with narrow neck'. It is found 4 times as generic, e.g. *A' Bheirghe*, 7 as specific, e.g. *Rubha na Beirghe* 'the promontory of the peninsula' §5.2. **Sgòidean* 'place of the sail-corner' §7.6i referred to a wafer-thin point: *Geodha Sgòidein* 'the ravine of *S.'. *Uilinn* 'elbow' is also found of a narrow point: *Uilinn Fhìbhig* 'the point or elbow of F.'. The element *corrán* has the sense 'rounded point', cf. the common lexical meaning 'sickle', and occurs twice as generic, e.g. *Corrán Bhlianaís* 'the rounded point of B.'. In the names *Gob-* and *Cnoc na Crois* 'the point-' and 'the knoll of the peninsula' *crois* seems to have the sense 'hindering point or peninsula', cf. the lexical sense 'hindrance', and refer to the spit of land above which the village *Borghaston* is situated - the village-name, fr. ON *Borg-stafn* 'fort-spit', records the same feature. Here, we may further include the ON lw. *cnap* 'a protruding clump of rock' which occurs 6 times as generic, e.g. *Cnap Rudhaileir* 'the point of *R.'.

The remaining elements here are more or less peripheral: *oisean* 'corner' in *Sgeir na h-Oisein*; *sròin* 'nose, point, forward part' as for example in *Sròin Thèibeirgh* 'the point of *Th.!'; and *màs* 'base, back-end, rear-part' in *Màs Mhalanaís*, applying to the shoreline of a promontory, and in *Màs Thurrban*, where the onomastic meaning is a stretch of sea at the foot of a promontory. Finally, there is *gob* 'beak, point, forward part' which occurs 5 times as generic, e.g. *Gob Geodh' an Sporain* 'the point of G.', and the derived form *goban* §7.6i 'little point or place of the point'.

iii) Precipices.

The current terms for 'cliff' in CR are *creag* and pl. *creagan* but in this sense they are not found in the nomenclature.

Aodann 'face, exposed cliff' occurs as specific in *Buail' an Aodainn* 'the enclosure of the cliff'. The Norse named the promontory here *Brattanes* 'steep promontory' (see *Bratanais Mhòr/Bheag*). The element *bratag* 'steep place' (< *brat fr. ON *bratt-* 'steep' + *ag* §7.6ii) occurs twice as *Bratag* of vertical cliff-faces. *Bruthach* 'bank', while common as an appellative, only occurs in *Bàrr na Bruthaich* 'the top of the bank'. Finally, an ON lw., *camp* 'overhang', is found in *Sgeir a' Champ* 'the skerry of the overhang' applying to the cliff above the skerry.

iv) Islands, rocks, ledges.

The only term for island is *eilean*, occurring 8 times as generic, e.g. *An t-Eilean Glas* 'the green islet', including the distant *Eileanan Flannach* 'the isles associated with St. *Flannán* or *Flann*'. *Eilean* is applied to islands of all sizes and occasionally overlaps with *sgeir* 'skerry', e.g. *An t-Eilean Glas* has the alias *Sgeir an Eòin* 'the skerry of the bird'.

The ON lw. *sgeir* normally applies to skerries or tidal rocks. It occurs as generic on 63 occasions, as specific in just 5, e.g. *Sgeir Dhearg* 'the red skerry', *Geodha na Sgeir Glais* 'the ravine of the green skerry'. See also under vii.

The common element for a stack is the ON lw. *stac staca*, occurring 21 times as generic, e.g. *Staca nam Faoileag* 'the stack of the gulls', *Na Stacannan* 'the stacks'. Other terms are *bidean* 'pinnacle, stack' as generic in *Bidean Geodh' a' Mhaide* 'the stack of G.' and *spid* (with the variant *spig*) 'peak, pinnacle' in *Spid an Amadain* 'the pinnacle of the fool'.

The current appellative for 'breaker, submerged rock' is the ON lw. *bodha* which is found 14 times as generic, e.g. *Bodha Chràgam* 'the submerged rock of C.'. The native (Gaelic) term for

'marine rock' (tidal or submerged) was *carra* which survives twice as generic, e.g. *An Carra Dubh* 'the black rock'. *Clach*, in the sense of 'large rock or boulder', but confined to the shore and not in the sea, occurs twice as generic and once as specific, e.g. *Clach an Ròin* 'the rock of the seal'. Here we might also include the recent *Clach an Linc* 'the rock of the link' where boats may tie up.

Leac 'flat rock, flagstone' occurs 14 times as generic, applying either to skerries, e.g. *Leaca Rèidh* 'the level flagstones', or to shoreline rocks, e.g. *Leac nam Mult* 'the flagstone of the wethers' from where stock would be taken with relative ease to and from the island *Cràgam*. *Creag* occurs in the sense of 'cliff-rock' or 'fishing-rock', as generic on 7 occasions, e.g. *Creag a' Bhacain* 'the rock of the tethering-stake', *Creag a Deas* 'the southern fishing-rock'. The ON lw. *iola* has the sense 'flat rock, ledge' and occurs twice as generic, e.g. *An Iol Loisgte* 'the burnt (i.e. bare) ledge', and on both occasions of fishing-rocks. A ledge above a precipice is *palla*, also from ON, which is found 9 times as generic, e.g. *Palla nan Caorach* 'the ledge of the sheep (pl.)'.

v) Indentations.

The native (Gaelic) word *loch* has the sense 'deep bay, arm of the sea, fiord' and occurs 6 times along the coast, e.g. *Loch nan Gedèrrannan* 'the bay of *Na Gedèrrannan*'; and as specific twice, e.g. *Ceann Loch Shlodhaigh* 'the end of the bay of **Slodhach*' - also in the phrasal-name *Eadar Dhà Loch* 'between two bays'. Also native Gaelic are *cala* 'bay' occurring twice as specific, e.g. *Cnoc Chàla Muc* 'the hill of the bay of whales', and *camas* 'bight, open bay' which occurs as generic on two occasions, e.g. *Camas an*

Tòirrr 'the bay of the hillock'. These last two elements have been ousted from the CR lexicon by the ON *lww.* *bàgh* and *tòb*. *Bàgh* 'bay' occurs as generic in *Bàgh Sheiligeadh* 'the bay of S.' and as specific in *Càrn a' Bhàigh* 'the knoll of the bay'. *Tòb* 'small bay, creek' is found 4 times as generic and once as specific, e.g. *An Tòb Làthaich* 'the muddy creek'. ON *hóp* yielded not only *tòb* but also *òb* and which survives in *Mòl Obain* (§7.6i).

Bun 'base, river-mouth' is found in *Bun na h-Aibhne* 'the mouth of the river', and the ON *lw.* *ðs* 'outlet' occurs once each as generic and specific.

The ON *lw.* *geodha* applies to ravines and also coves or small bays - frequently it implies both. It is a common element, occurring 128 times as generic, e.g. *Geodh' an Uillt* 'the ravine of the stream', and 15 times as specific, as in *Beul na Geodha* 'the opening of the ravine'. Similar to some extent is the ON *lw.* *sgor* 'cleft, niche, small ravine' which is found as generic on 4 occasions, e.g. *Sgor na Caillich* 'the old woman's cleft'.

Sloc occurs as generic in *Sloc an Duilisg* 'the pit of the dulse'; and *toll* 'hole, pit' as generic in *Toll na h-Uagh* 'the pit of the cave' and as specific on 4 occasions, e.g. *Geodh' an Tuill* 'the ravine of the hole'. Finally, *uagh uagha* 'cave' is found 4 times as generic, e.g. *Uagh an Oir* 'the cave of the gold' and 3 times as specific, e.g. *Cnoc na h-Uaghainn* 'the hillock of the cave'. The dimin. form *uaghag* also occurs: as generic in *An Uaghag*, and in a variant form as specific in *Cnoc na h-Uamhaig* 'the hill of the cavelet'.

vi) Seabed, narrows, current.

Poll '(deep) pool, deep water' is found twice as generic

e.g. *Poll an Sgadain* 'the pool of the herring'. The semantically opaque *ceòsan* 'place of the hollow' §7.6i occurs in *An Ceòsan* of part of the bed of the sea-loch *Loch Shiaboist*. Both these are ON lw.

Caolas §7.6v applies to straits or narrows, and occurs 7 times as generic, e.g. *Caòlas an Amadain* 'the straits of the fool', and as specific on 4 occasions, e.g. *Aird a' Chaolais* 'the headland of the straits'.

Sruth 'current' is found only in the names *Sruth Shrèimeanais* 'the current of S.' and *Sgeirean an t-Sruth* 'the skerries of the current'.

B Inland.

vii) Rocks.

Clach 'stone, rock, boulder' is found 22 times as generic, e.g. *Clach a' Bhrithheimh* 'the judge's stone', but as specific only in *Cnoc Chlacha Mòra* 'the hill of the large boulders'. Far more common is *creag* 'rock' or frequently 'crag'; occurring as generic 100 times, e.g. *Creag an Teine* 'the crag of the fire', *Na Creaga Beaga* 'the small rocks', and as specific on 19 occasions, e.g. *Bàrr na Creig* 'the top of the crag'. *Carra* 'large rock or boulder' survives in 6 names, as generic on each occasion, e.g. *Carra Liath Sgianailt* 'the grey rock of S.' - the word is no longer current in the lexicon. A further element for 'boulder' or rather 'heap of boulders' is the ON lw. **urrdh* only attested in the plural form *Na h-Urrdhannan*. The derived form *urrdhag* 'place of boulders' §7.6ii also occurs however in *An Urrdhag* and *Cnoc an Urrdhaig*.

Leac refers to a flagstone or flat rock and occurs 8

times as generic, e.g. *Leaca Geala* 'the light-coloured flagstones' and 5 as specific, e.g. *Allt na Lic* 'the stream of the flagstone'.

Sgeir is today limited in sense to a 'rock in the sea, skerry', but it must have been used more generally of a 'rock in contact with water' (hence the adj. *sgeireach* 'rocky', applied only to lakes) as in *Cnoc Sgeir na h-Aoidhe* 'the hill of the rock of the ford' which lies inland.

(See also *càrn*, ix)

viii) Projections, ledges.

Aird and *rubha* both apply to points or promontories on inland lakes, the latter usually referring to narrower features. *Aird* is found 12 times as generic, e.g. *Aird nan Geadh* 'the point of the geese', and as specific in *Allt Ceann Aird Lacsabhat* 'the stream of the head of the point of L.'. *Rubha* occurs 8 times as generic, e.g. *Rubha Faing Rèabhat* 'the point of F.', twice as specific, e.g. *Airigh an Rubha Chòinnich* 'the shieling of the mossy point'. *Rinn* is used similarly, as generic on two occasions, e.g. *Rinn na Buaile* 'the point of the enclosure'.

Rinn has another application, viz. 'projecting part of mountain', in which it occurs as generic 5 times, e.g. *Rinn na Beinne* 'the point of the mountain'. Here the function of the element is peripheral. Similarly, *gualainn* 'shoulder (of mountain)' is found as specific on 3 occasions, e.g. *Cnoc na Guailne* 'the hill of the shoulder'; *cluais* 'ear' in *Cluais na Creige* 'the corner of the crag'; *gob* 'beak, projecting point of mountain' in *Bealach a' Ghuib* 'the pass of the point'; *ceann* 'head, end (of lake or mountain)' as generic on 24 occasions, e.g. *An Ceann Reamhar* 'the broad end (of a mountain-range)', and as specific on 3, e.g. *Rathad a' Chinn A-staigh*

'the road of *An Ceann A-staigh*'; and *màs* 'rear, base, back-end' occurring 5 times as generic, e.g. *Màs Ard* 'the tall back-end', and twice as specific, e.g. *Cnoc a' Mhàs Riabhaich* 'the hill of the tawny back-end'.

A protruding crag is *cnap*, fr. ON *knapp*, found 3 times as generic, e.g. *Cnap Bealach nam Buaim* 'the knob of B.'.

The following terms for 'ledge' all derive from ON: **ceall(a)*, surviving only in the plural, 'a ledge or step in the side of a hill', occurs 3 times as generic, e.g. *Na Ceallan Ard* 'the upper ledges'; **iolair*, fr. *iola* §7.6vi, occurs in the plural form *Iolaircan* 'ledges'; lastly, *palla*, otherwise only found as a coastal element, occurs in *Am Palla Ruadh* 'the red ledge'.

ix) Eminences, precipices.

The common appellative for 'mountain' is *beinn*. In the nomenclature it occurs fairly consistently in any one area of the largest eminences, mountains or large hills. As generic it is found on 61 occasions, e.g. *A' Bheinn Mhaoil* 'the bald mountain', and as specific on 29, e.g. *Airigh na Beinne Bige* 'the shieling of the small mountain'. The ON lw. *cleit(e)* has a rather wide application but features commonly have a somewhat rounded base and are usually rocky or craggy towards the summit. The element generally refers to the larger features of an area. As generic it occurs 25 times, e.g. *Cleit a' Mhagha* 'the mountain of the plain', and as specific 17 times, e.g. *Loch Dubh na Cleit* 'the black lake of the mountain'. Two derivatives of *beinn* also occur: *beannan* lit. 'horn or peak-shaped mountain' (as generic 3 times), and *beinneag* 'the little peak or mountain' (twice as generic).

Cnoc 'hill' is the commonest element of its category -

it is in fact the commonest element of all occurring in the nomenclature - and is found 380 times as generic, though just 17 times as specific, e.g. *Cnoc Mòra* 'the large hills', *Cnuic Chuidhbhig* 'the hills of C.', *Tom a' Chnuic Mhòir* 'the hillock of the large hill'. *Cnoc* implies 'hill' or 'hillock', but, as for size, may apply to a great variety of these, from the very large to diminutive ones; they are not necessarily rocky. The diminutive form *cnocan* 'hillock' occurs as generic 11 times, e.g. *Cnocan Cruinn* 'the round hillock', twice as specific, e.g. *Druim Airigh a' Chnocain* 'the ridge of the shieling of the hillock'. A very common term for 'hillock' is *creagan* (§7.6i) which is found 141 times as generic, e.g. *Creagan a' Phuinnd* 'the hillock of the pound', 5 as specific, e.g. *Gil Ath a' Chreagain* 'the ravine of the ford of the hillock'. In most cases *creagan* applies to smaller features: knolls or mounds.

A number of elements refer specifically to rocky eminences: *dùn* 'rocky (to some extent rounded or mound-like) knoll or hillock', as generic in *Dùn Atha* 'the knoll of the ford', as specific on 5 occasions, e.g. *Càrnan Dùn* 'the hillock of the hillock' (§5.2). The derivative *dùnan* (§7.6i) is found 3 times as specific, e.g. *Rubh' an Dùnain* 'the promontory of the hillock', and as generic twice. *Tòrr* occurs only in *Camas an Tòrr*, of a craggy-topped hillock. *Mùthair* refers to similar features and is found 3 times each as generic and specific, e.g. *Mùthair Bheag* 'the little hillock'. The ON lw. *allt* occurs as specific twice and applies in the one instance to a craggy knoll, in the other to a rocky hillock.

We find the element *càrn* in a few applications: commonly as 'rocky knoll', e.g. *Càrn a' Bhàigh* 'the knoll of the

bay'; less frequently as 'rocky hill(ock)' e.g. *Càrn an Fhithich* 'the hillock of the raven'. *Càrn* is also found with the sense 'pile of stones' either man-made, e.g. *Càrn a' Bheannachaidh* 'the stone-pile of the blessing', or natural ('strewn heap of stones') e.g. *Na Càrnaichean Bàn* 'the light-coloured stones'. Altogether, *càrn* occurs 19 times as generic, 5 as specific. The derivative *càrnan* (§7.6i) occurs, rarely, in the sense 'rocky hill', applying to large hills, e.g. *An Càrnan Mòr* 'the large hill'; more often in the sense 'rocky hillock or knoll', e.g. *Càrnan Dùn* 'the hillock of the hillock'. *Càrnan* is also found of 'man-made stone-piles', e.g. *Càrnan Cnoc na Mònach* 'the stone-pile of C.'; *càrnan*, not *càrn*, is now used of this feature in the lexicon. As generic, *càrnan* is found 21 times, as specific 19.

Tom is a rather common term for 'hill or hillock', and features concerned are normally free of rocks, and of relatively gentle elevation. As generic the element occurs 51 times, e.g. *Tom an Fhèidh* 'the hillock of the deer', and as specific on 3 occasions, e.g. *Cnoc Glas Tom na Diathad* 'the green hillock of the hillock of the repast'; also in the phrasal-name *Car Ma Thom*. *Tulach* occurs only in *Tulach Ard* 'the high hillock'.

Croit 'hump' occurs of a rather hump-backed group of hills, *Na Croite Bàna* 'the light-coloured humps'. *Meall* 'mound, rounded knoll' is found 3 times as generic and as specific in *Caolas a' Mhill* 'the straits of the mound'. *Sìthean*, a derivative of *sìth* 'fairy, otherworld being', by association with features within which fairies were thought to dwell is applied to small (often upright) knolls, whether on a hillside, a hilltop or on level ground, and in most cases ones crowned by green grass. That *sìthean* should have come to be used of such features is unlikely to be coincidental:

they fulfil exactly the requirements of the shieling-site, offering a solid well-drained foundation. There are 32 instances of the element as generic, e.g. *Sĩthean na Crodhadh* 'the knoll of the fold', 6 as specific, e.g. *Druim nan Sĩthean* 'the ridge of the knolls'. As an appellative *sĩthean* is also indicative of a small grass-topped knoll. *Sĩth* itself, while not uncommon over mainland Scotland in the sense of 'knoll, mound, hill', occurs only in *Sĩth a' Chaointean* 'the knoll of the ?'. The element *grianan* lit. 'sunny place' (§7.6i) has an application similar to that of *sĩthean* except that it is found applied to larger features; *grianan* is much rarer though, occurring only 3 times as generic and 6 times as specific, e.g. *Tom a' Ghrianaan* 'the hillock of the hillock' (§5.2). The ON lw. *tùl* may be included here: the two knolls to which the element is applied were important as bearings to fishermen, and against the skyline are like *sĩthein* in shape; both features however are grassless and exceedingly rocky.

The use of *altair* lit. 'altar' in *Na h-Altaircean* of two flat-topped hillocks protruding from a mountain-side might be attributable to ON influence (see Gaz. No. 225). Another term of rather specialised application is the ON lw. *amar* 'hill with precipice', but which only survives as generic in the name *Amar na h-Eit* 'the hill of the cattle' (see also *Amar Sìne*). *Balla* applies only to a precipice and is found 3 times as generic, once as specific, e.g. *Am Balla Gorm* 'the dark precipice'.

The 'ridge of a hill' is *druim*, though commonly the term applies to a 'bow-shaped or arched hill'; it is found as generic on 93 occasions, e.g. *Druim an Ois* 'the ridge of the outlet', and 15 times as specific, e.g. *Leathad an Droma* 'the slope of the ridge'.

There are several terms which apply to the high ground or summit of an eminence. *Mullach* 'top, summit' is comparatively

common and is found 12 times as generic, 14 as specific, e.g. *Mullach na Craobhaig* 'the summit of A' *Chraobhag*'. *Bàrr* is similar in meaning, although it occurs on only 4 occasions, e.g. *Bàrr Rathacleit* 'the summit of R.'. The features to which *mullach* and *bàrr* apply are usually somewhat flat-topped. *Barran*, a derivative of *bàrr*, occurs only in *Bealach a' Bharrain* 'the pass of the summit or peak'. *Miorag*, attested only in *Druim Mioraig* 'the ridge of *M.', probably also means 'summit' (see Gaz.). The general sense of *bràigh* is 'high ground, upland' and it is found as generic on 7 occasions, e.g. *Bràigh na Beirghe* 'the high ground of A' *Bheirghe*', and as specific in the name *Geodha nam Bràigheachan* 'the ravine of the uplands'.

In contrast to these we have *bìod* 'peak, pinnacle; pointed knoll' in *Am Bìod* and *Leathad a' Bhìod* 'the slope of *Am Bìod*'. A by-form also occurs in *Càrnan Spid* (§9.1vi).

x) Declivities.

The commonest element for 'hillside, slope' is *leathad* which occurs 35 times as generic and 4 as specific, e.g. *An Leathad Mòr* 'the large hillside', *Na Leth Leòidean* 'the steep slopes'. The element is common as an appellative.

Other terms in this category are individually rather rare. *Leitir* 'slope, gradient' is found as specific twice and as generic once, e.g. *Loch na Leitreach* 'the lake of the slope'. *Maidhm*, *buaim* and *gleadh(i)r* (from *gleadh* §7.6vi) are found of steep or steepish gradients: the first in *Maidhm*; the second as generic twice and as specific 5 times, e.g. *Druim na Buaim* 'the ridge of the slope'; the third only occurs in plural form, *Na Gleadhairéan* (twice) and 8 times as specific, e.g. *Allt Ghleadhairéan* 'the stream of G.'. As

appellatives all three must have held a sense 'rush, onset' in common; as lexical items, however, they are no longer current.

Tac occurs in two names of a steep slope - at *Na Tacannan* of a precipice-cum-slope. The element derives its application from its lexical meaning 'prop, support'.

EIr. *clíath* 'hurdle, phalanx, side' with suffices has yielded *cliarach* (§7.6vi), possibly also *clèid clìd* (§7.6iv), with the sense 'slope, hillside'. *Cliarach* is found as generic once and as specific on two occasions, e.g. *Loch Dubh na Cliaraich* 'the black lake of the slope'. *Clèid* and its variant are found in *A' Chlèid*, *Leathad Chlèid* 'the slope of *A' Chlèid*' and *Geàrrraidh Glas Chlèid* 'the green site of *A' Chlèid*'. Also *A' Chliath* itself, 'the slope'.

Gnùig 'scowl, surly expression' occurs both in *A' Ghnùig* and the plural *Na Gnùigean*, and applies to slopes with such an aspect. The name *Ruighleag* (§7.6vii) 'slope' now applies to a plain.

xi) Plàins, plateaux.

Liana has the sense 'flat meadow-land, plain' and is common in the nomenclature, occurring 42 times as generic and 9 as specific, e.g. *Cnoc Leathainn na Liana Bàine* 'the broad hill of the light-coloured meadow'. The diminutive form *lianag* is found twice as generic, e.g. *Lianag Creagan a' Ghèidh* 'the meadow of *C.*'. A variant (and plural) form with intrusive -t- occurs in *Leanntaigean Boga* 'the soft meadows'. *Lèibheann* has the sense 'level ground'.

Blàr 'plain, field' is found as generic on 8 occasions, e.g. *Blàr a' Chlachain* 'the field of the stepping-stones', and as specific in *Cleit a' Bhlàir* 'the mountain of the plain'. This last name is the alias of *Cleit a' Mhagha* with *magh* 'plain', an old element surviving as generic in 3 names, e.g.

Am Magh Buidhe 'the yellow plain', and as specific in 4. *Machair* 'plain, low-lying land' occurs only in *Rubha nam Machairean*. There are also 7 instances of *achadh* 'field, plain', 5 as generic, 2 as specific, e.g. *Acha' nan Seicheannan* 'the field of the hides'.

Other terms in this category are either rare and/or more specialised in their application. *Srath*, occurring 4 times as generic and 7 as specific, e.g. *Bealach an t-Srath* 'the pass-', applies to 'level ground beside a river'. The element *fideach* (§7.6iii) has a somewhat similar application: *An Fhideach* 'the river-lea'. Finally, *glasar* in *Cnoc Ghlasair* (§7.6vi), seems to apply to 'grassy meadowland'.

Mòinteach with the sense 'heath', as opposed to 'moorland' (§11.5iii), occurring in *Mòinteach na Fola* (§11.2ib), might also be included here.

xii) Depressions.

Gleann is the common appellative for 'valley, vale' and is also frequent in place-names, occurring 31 times as generic, 8 as specific, e.g. *Gleann an t-Srath* 'the valley of the strath', *Tom a' Ghlinne* 'the knoll of the valley'. The ON lw. *dail* was productive at one time, if only temporarily. It survives as generic on 4 occasions and as specific on 14; it is found however at only 3 locations. The sense of *dail* seems to have been equivalent to that of *gleann*.

The ON lw. *bot* and the diminutive form *botan* refer to the 'head of a lake or valley'; the key sense is 'basin'. *Bot* is found as generic and as specific on two occasions each, e.g. *Gleann Bot an Aighe* 'the valley of the basin of the heifer'. *Botan* occurs in *Botan Thòmais*. The Lat. lw. *mias* has a similar sense: obl. case and

with intrusive -t- in *A' Mhíst* and *Buaile na Míst* 'the enclosure of the basin'. A derivative *miasaid* (§7.6iv) also occurs, with the same sense: *A' Mhiasaid*, *Aird Mhiasaid* 'the headland of the basin'.

Terms with a general sense of 'hollow' are *lag*, e.g. *Lag Innseal* 'the hollow of I.'; its commoner by-form *slag*, e.g. *Slag a' Bhainne* 'the hollow of the milk'; and the derivational form in *Lagaigh* (§7.6iii) 'the hollow'. *Glaic* 'palm of hand' also occurs with the sense 'hollow', e.g. *Loch Dubh na Glaic* 'the black lake of the hollow'.

To ravines, gullies and gorges the following terms apply: the ON lw. *gil* 'ravine' is associated with v-shaped features through which a stream normally runs; consequently, the appellative *gil* is sometimes found with the meaning 'water-course'. As generic *gil* occurs 13 times, as specific 4, e.g. *A' Ghil Thioram* 'the dry ravine'. Another ON lw., *glodhar*, occurs 3 times as generic, twice as specific, and has the sense 'gully, gorge', e.g. *Allt a' Ghlodhair* 'the stream of the gully'. Similar in sense are the native Gaelic terms *slug*, in *Creag-* and *Loch Slug* 'the rock and lake of the gully', and *slugaid* (§7.6iv), in *Slugaid an Uillt* 'the gully of the stream' and *Allt na Slugaid* 'the stream of the gully'.

More specialised in sense is *coire* 'corrie, cirque, mountain hollow' and which occurs as generic in 3 names, e.g. *Na Coireachan*, and as specific in *Poll a' Choire* 'the pool of the corrie'. *Peithir* in the lexicon means a 'bolt of lightning', though I have also heard 'meteor'. In the nomenclature it occurs 3 times each as generic and as specific, e.g. *Peithir Loch Urabhat*. At most locations the element seems at least potentially to have the sense 'rift'.

Finally, *sloc* and *doca* occur in the sense 'hollow, pit'. *Sloc* occurs 4 times as generic, e.g. *Sloc na Braich* 'the pit of the

malt', and as specific in *Loch Airigh an t-Sluic* 'the lake of the shieling of the hollow'. *Doca*, an ON lw. (which frequently implies 'quarry' in the current lexicon), occurs only in *Doca Mhurchaidh Leòbhdh* 'Murchadh Leòbhdh's pit' and *Doca Ruadh* 'the red pit'.

xiii) Fissures, caves.

Sgor 'fissure, niche' is found twice each as generic and specific, e.g. *Sgor an Teine* 'the fissure of the fire'. *Uagh* 'cave' occurs twice as generic, e.g. *Uagha Màiri* 'Màiri's cave', and 3 times as specific. e.g. *Cnoc na h-Uaghainn* 'the hillock of the cave'. The diminutive form *uaghag* occurs in *Na h-Uaghagan* 'the caves'.

xiv) Water, water-logged land.

Abhainn is applied to rivers and larger water-courses. It occurs on 16 occasions as generic, 7 as specific, e.g. *An Abhainn Dubh* 'the black river', *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* 'the enclosure of the river'. The commonest element in this category is *allt* with the general sense of 'stream', but it is found applied both to large and small water-courses. *Allt* is very frequent in the nomenclature and occurs 128 times as generic, though only 19 as specific, e.g. *Allt nan Uan* 'the stream of the lambs', *Geodh' an Uillt* 'the ravine of the stream'. The diminutive form *alltan*, found only 4 times as generic e.g. *An t-Alltan Dùinte* 'the closed stream', is rare by comparison. *Sruthan*, of 'a small stream, streamlet', occurs slightly more frequently than the latter: 6 times each as generic and specific, e.g. *Sruthan na Mìst* 'the streamlet of the basin', *Geodh' an t-Sruthain* 'the ravine of the streamlet'. Far commoner is *feadan* which now also has the general sense of 'streamlet' although originally it must have been restricted in use to the moor and been descriptive of watercourses

only part of which would be visible from the surface as they wove their way through the peat. *Feadan* is found as generic 38 times, but only twice as specific, e.g. *Feadan an Oir* 'the streamlet of the gold', *Creagan an Fheadain Chaim* 'the hillock of the crooked streamlet'. The appellative *lèig* is usually understood to mean a 'low-lying, level, marshy area', but its earlier meaning was 'brook, slow-running stream'; the word is a loan from ON *lǫk* which had the latter sense. Despite current lexical meaning (and the onomastic meanings of names in *lèig-*), from a topographical point of view the element should be seen as indicative of a certain type of stream. In contrast we have *fèith* 'sinew' used of rills or trenches formed by the action of rain-water streaming from the surface of an already saturated moor. The element occurs only in the plural (twice), e.g. *Cnoc Mòr nam Fèithichean Dubha* 'the large hill of the black rills'.

Loch applies to lakes both large and small; it is an exceedingly common element, occurring 202 times as generic, and 71 times as specific, e.g. *Loch a' Bhaile* 'the lake of the village', *Allt Loch Fàsgrò* 'the stream of the lake of *F.'. The diminutive form *lochan* occurs 21 times as generic, 5 as specific, e.g. *Lochan Stàirr* 'the lake of sedge'. The elements *lòn* and *lodan* both apply to marshy lakes or miry pools. The former is found 5 times as generic, e.g. *Lòn Cuile* 'the pool of bullrushes' and as specific in *Sràid an Lòin* 'the street of the marsh'. The latter is slightly less frequent and occurs twice each as generic and as specific, e.g. *Druim an Lodain* 'the ridge of the pool'. Terms for more boggy features are *fèithe* 'bog', as generic in *An Fhèith' Mhòr* 'the large bog' and occurring 3 times as specific; and the semantically opaque *lòbrach* 'bog, quagmire' which is found as generic in *An Lòbraich* (§7.3i) and 5

times as specific.

Miscellaneous terms associated with water are: *fuaran* 'spring', occurring 6 times as generic, 5 as specific, e.g. *Cnoc an Fhuarain* 'the hill of the spring'; *eas* 'waterfall' found twice as generic, e.g. *An t-Eas Dubh* 'the black waterfall'; *poll* 'pool (in river), pond' occurring 3 times as generic, e.g. *Poll a' Choire* 'the pool of the corrie', and as specific in *Fuaran Poll a' Mhèirlich* 'the spring of the pool of the thief'; *òs* 'outlet (of river or lake)' - by extension found in the lexicon also in the senses 'stream' and 'sand-bar' - occurs as generic 6 times and as specific 13, e.g. *Os nam Breac* 'the outlet of the trout'; and finally *caolas*, of the narrows between an island and the bank of a lake: as generic in *Caolas an Eilein* 'the straits of the island' - this name, however, has been transferred to the stretch of land facing the island in question.

xv) Islands.

Only *eilean* 'island, islet' occurs: as generic on 15 occasions and as specific on 5, e.g. *An t-Eilean Cruinn* 'the round island', *Loch an Eilein* 'the lake of the island'.

xvi) Access.

In this category are a variety of terms for features through or over which access may be gained from one place to another.

Aoidh, *fadhail* and *àth* may all refer either to a 'ford' or to an 'isthmus or neck of land between two stretches of water'. The first two are ON lww. *Aoidh* is found as generic on two occasions, and as specific on 4, e.g. *An Aoidh*. *Fadhail* is slightly less common

occurring 4 times as generic and only once as specific, e.g. *An Fhadhail Iosal* 'the low ford'. *Ath* occurs 4 times, only as specific, e.g. *Cnoc Mòr Atha* 'the large hill of the isthmus'. Similarly the native Gaelic term *tairbeart* may also apply to either 'ford' or 'isthmus', but occurs only as specific (4 times), e.g. *Loch an Tairbeirt* 'the lake of the ford'.

Bealach has the sense 'pass between two hills' and is frequent in the nomenclature: as generic it occurs 146 times, and as specific 7, e.g. *Bealach a' Bharrain* 'the pass of the summit', *Bealaich Beinn Iomhair* 'the passes of B.'. Both *beàrn* and *beul* have the sense 'gap, opening'. The former only occurs in *Beàrn Eibhle* and *Bealach Beàrn Eibhle* 'the pass of the gap of embers'. *Beul* need not necessarily facilitate human access, e.g. *Am Beul Uisge* 'the water gap '(from where water gushes) , *Cnoc Beul Thòlaigea* 'the hill of the opening of *Thòlaigea' (where the land ends and a ravine opens below). For the use of *ciste* 'pass', see Gaz. No. 630.

§11.2 Words descriptive of, and words qualifying natural features.

i) Colour.

a) ruadh normally applies to the orange-red stain of iron. Of water (4 times), e.g. *Allt Ruadh* 'the red stream', *Loch Ruadh* 'the red lake'; of rock or earth (30), e.g. *Creag Ruadh* 'the red rock', *A' Bhuaile Ruadh* 'the red enclosure'.

dearg (6) of dark but pinkish-red rock, or as above, e.g. *Sgeir Dhearg* 'the red skerry', *Druim Dearg* 'the red ridge'.

buidhe, of hills or ground with finer vegetation and lacking

heather; comparatively light pale green, growing quite fair towards the end of summer (that flowers might be visible on such features does not seem to be a factor, although yellow is one of the commoner colours of Lewis flora, except perhaps in enclosure-names): (15) *Am Magh Buidhe* 'the yellow plain'. Twice of light-coloured rock, e.g. *Leac Bhuidhe* 'the pale flagstone'.

bàn, of vegetation as above: (9) *An Liana Bhàn* 'the pale meadow'. Of rocks, lichen-covered or of quartzite, and on the coast (often encrusted) light-coloured features: (21) *Sgeir Bhàn* 'the pale skerry', *Cnoc na Creige Bàine* 'the hill of the pale rock'. Lichen-covered rocks are luminous up to a point, except in complete darkness.

fionn, of streams, probably due to light-coloured grasses along their banks. 'Clarity of water' does not seem to be the sense here, although it may originally have been: (5) *Na Fionn Alltan* 'the fair-banked streams'.

geal, of rocks, including stone (as opposed to turf, see *dubh*) dykes, as *bàn*: (8) *Creag Gheal* 'the white rock', *An Gàrradh Geal* 'the white dyke'. Of wells, 'clear' as opposed to iron-stained: (1) *An Tobair Geal* 'the white well'.

glas, of vegetation: by streams (15), e.g. *An Glas Allt* 'the grassy-banked stream'; on relatively heather-less hills (17), e.g. *An Cnoc Glas* 'the green hillock'; in fields, valleys and on miscellaneous features (11), e.g. *A' Bhuaille Ghlas* 'the green enclosure'. Of rock: inland, only in *Am Balla Glas* 'the light-coloured precipice'; on the coast (6), e.g. *A' Gheodha Ghlas* 'the grey ravine'.

gorm, a dark colour. Of rocks, 'grey, black': (10) *Am Balla Gorm* 'the dark precipice'. Of hills and fields covered in heather: (9) *Creagan Gorm* 'the dark hillock'. Also of heather-banked watercourses:

(4) *Feadan Gorm Nìb* 'the dark burn of N.'

dubh, as *gorm*, but far commoner. Of rocks: (37) *An Carra Dubh* 'the black rock'. Of hills and fields: (36) *Cnoc Dubh* 'the dark hill' - the sense 'wet, boggy' is also applicable to fields, e.g. *A' Bhuaiile Dhubh* 'the boggy enclosure'. Of watercourses, where the element might also apply to the colour of peaty water: (7) *Abhainn Dubh* 'the black or dark river'. Of lakes, it probably refers in most cases to opaque peaty water: (25) *Lochan Dubh* 'the black lake'. *Dubh* is also applied to turf (as opposed to stone, see *geal*) dykes, e.g. *An Gàrradh Dubh* 'the black dyke'.

liath grey, of rocks on land and in the sea: (10) *Carra Liath* 'the grey rock', *Cnap Liath* 'the grey clump of rock'.

riabhach tawny brown, of hills: (17) *Druim Riabhach* 'the tawny ridge'. Also in *Feadan Riabhach* 'the brown-banked burn'.

donn brown, only in *Cnoc na Buaiile Duinne* 'the hill of the brown enclosure'.

breac speckled, brindled, a patch-work of colour; of hills: (11) *Greagan Breac* 'the brindled hillock'. Also in *Na Sruthain Breac* 'the brindled streams'.

dorch dark, sombre; in *An Gleann Dorch* 'the dark valley'.

b) A few nominal elements also imply colour. **Ciarag*, fr. *ciar* 'dark, black' (§7.6ii), 'dark place' or as a stream-name 'dark one'.

Srianach 'streak, stripe' occurs of a stone: *Clach an t-Srianaich* 'the streaked stone'. *Fuil* 'blood' occurs in *Liana na Fola* and *Mòinteach na Fola* lit. 'the meadow -' and 'the heath of the blood'.

Despite suggestions that bleeding cattle or bloody battles gave rise to these names, it seems reasonable to suppose *fuil* here expresses the dark-red hues effected by some moor-grasses. (Note also, *glasar*

§11.1xi)

c) The various colour elements under (a) have rather broad ranges of application; and they are to some extent relative terms.

Although colour itself is of importance as a distinctive criterion among them, the opposition light ~ dark is on the whole of more importance. So, for example, of vegetation we have: light *buidhe*, *bàn*, *glas* ~ dark: *riabhach*, *dubh*, *gorm*; and of rocks we have: light *geal*, *bàn*, *glas* ~ dark: *dubh*, *gorm*, *liath*.

ii) Shape and size.

a) A number of (mostly common) adjectives are found denoting the shape or size of features: *àrd* 'high, tall', *domhainn* 'deep', *caol* 'narrow, thin', *cumhang* 'narrow', *clabach* 'gaping', *leathann* 'wide, broad', *reamhar* 'broad, thick', *mòr* 'big, large', *beag* 'small, little', *meanbh* 'small, tiny', *cùbagach* 'box-like; crouching', *fada* 'long', *cas* 'steep', *corrach* 'abrupt, precipitous, craggy', *beàrnach* 'fissured, notched', *geinneach* 'wedge-shaped', *biorach* 'pointed', *geur* 'pointed', *crotach* 'hunch-backed', *cruinn* 'round', *maol* 'rounded, bare', *rèidh* 'level, flat', *cam* 'crooked', *fiar* 'crooked, winding'.

b) A number of names have specifics which are nouns, and which describe the features' shape or size: e.g. *Sgeir a' Chàis* 'the skerry of the cheese', *Sgeirean an Dorais* 'the skerries of the door', *Geodh' an t-Seòmair* 'the ravine of the room', *Staca na Cròige* 'the stack of the claw', *Sgeir a' Bhodaich* 'the skerry of the old man', *Stac an t-Sìlich* 'the stack of the sluggard', *Sgeir an Fhèilidh* 'the skerry of the kilt', and possibly *Creagan a' Bhrèidein* 'the hillock of the patch' (§11.4ii).

Similar nominal elements are found with a generic function, e.g. *Leabaidh na h-Aon Ighne* 'the bed of the solitary girl', *Sùil Dubh Chuidhbhig* 'the black eye of C.', *Gobhal na Caillich* 'the old woman's crutch'; and they constitute unqualified names also, e.g. *A' Chùbainn* 'the pulpit', *Am Bonaid* 'the bonnet'. Note also the use of *leth* 'half' to give the sense 'steep' in *Na Leth Ledidean* 'the steep slopes'.

iii) Relative location.

Various adverbial phrases, prepositions, adjectives and nouns are used to denote relative location:

(A) *deas* 'southern', (a) *tuath* 'northern', *siar* 'western', *an iar* 'western', *an ear* 'eastern', *a-staigh* 'inner', *a-muigh* 'outer', *as fhaid' a-staigh* 'further in, inner', *as fhaid' a-muigh* 'further out, outer'; *àrd* 'upper', *ìosal* 'lower', *uarach* 'upper', *ìorach* 'lower', *as ìoraich* 'lowermost'; *meadhanach* 'middle', *leathach slighe* 'half-way', *thall* 'yonder'; *ma* 'by, beside', *eadar* 'between'; *tarsainn* 'cross-set'. For the obsolete form **i leth* 'over here', see §1.7i.

A peripheral element which otherwise defies any general classification may also be included here: *cùl* 'rear or back part'. The element occurs in 17 names in all, e.g. *Cùl Bheannain* 'the rear part of B.', *Cùl a' Mhoil* 'the back of the shingle beach'; and in both instances in the name *Cùl Chùl Chràgam* its onomastic meaning is a skerry or islet.

iv) Nature of terrain, vegetation; weather.

a) *mòine* 'peat', *iarann* 'iron deposits', *sgridhe* 'scree', *gredd* 'gravel, gritty soil', **griuthal* 'gravel', *morghan* 'gravel, peat-sand',

gairmheach 'sand', *criadh* 'clay', *riasg* 'peaty soil; heathland'.

b) *cruidh* 'hard', *sgeireach* 'rocky (of water)', *briste* 'broken', *sgoilte* 'cloven, split', *glainne* 'glass (i.e. glistening)'.

c) *loisgte* 'burnt (i.e. bare)', *maoil* 'bare', *maoilean* 'bare place', *lomaid* 'barren place'.

d) *fàs* 'withering', *crìonag* 'withering one', *tioram* 'dry', *tràghadh* 'drying, draining'.

e) *feusag* 'beard; lush, coarse, bushy', *molach* 'hairy, coarse', *dùinte* 'overgrown, closing-in'.

f) *bog* 'soft', *breun* 'putrid', *salach* 'dirty (of peaty water)', *loibhteag* 'stagnant place', *uisge* 'water', *garbh* 'raging, violent', *garbhag* 'the violent one'.

g) *sneachd* 'snow', *gaoth* 'wind', *sèideadh* 'blast', *osag* 'gusty place', *grian* 'sun', *grianan* 'sunny place', *teine* 'fire, lightning', *sgabhlaichean* 'squalls', *Bodh' a' Choin* 'the breaker of the ' (sound of the barking of a) dog', *Sgeir Shàile* 'sea-swept skerry'.

§11.3 Flora, fauna et alia.

A. Flora.

i) Trees.

Despite the deforestation of Lewis, trees can frequently be

seen in small numbers or singly, clinging to some precipice, dwarfed by the wind, but with feet dry and out of reach of the sheep. Among the varieties to be found are willow, rowan, alder and birch. Juniper also occurs, and preferring to keep low to avoid the wind, forms a tight, dense carpet over the ground. Islands on inland water, which have not been used for sheep, usually support several trees, and it is on these sanctuaries that the only self-seeded Scots pine in CR remain. Recent plantations and clumps of trees grown on crofting land play no part in the nomenclature. It is the 'indigenous' copse that here and there we find recorded. MacKenzie (1932: 295) suggests that a name like Loch na Craoibhe 'the lake of the tree' argues in favour of a wooded Lewis in the past. On the contrary, a scarcity of trees would make them all the more remarkable and so the more name-worthy.

Craobhag (4) and *dàireag* (1) both occur in the sense of 'copse'. Possibly also *sprumhag* in *Cnoc Sprumhaig*. The name *An Gasan* contains an element either of equivalent sense or one implying thicket (fr. *gas* 'branch, twig').

A very interesting name, *A' Choille Ghiuthais* 'the pine wood', onomastically means a certain part of the bay called *Loch nan Geàrrannan*. Here, at low spring-tides, the roots of pine trees can be seen in the seabed. Finally, *buinneag* in *Slag nam Buinneag* may have the sense 'sapling; shrub'.

ii) Plants.

A large variety of plants would have been used in the past either for medicinal, culinary, manufacturing or other general purposes. This is to some extent reflected by the range of plant, berry, and root-names attested in the nomenclature.

The bearberry, *còrdimhseag* (3), as in *Cnoc nan Còrdimhseag* 'the hill of the bearberries'; bilberry, *caorra mhiodhag* (2), as in *Tom na Caorrcha Mhiodhag* 'the knoll of the bilberry'; and wild liquorice root, *caorra meille*, in *Creag na Caorrcha Meille* 'the rock of the wild liquorice root' (Pennent, 1769: 358, states that 'cor-meille or carmel' was chewed or made into fermented liquor) - all these were sought after in their season. The root of silverweed, *brisgean* (2), as in *Allt nan Brisgean* 'the stream of the silverweed roots', is also edible but it is unlikely that much use of it was made after the introduction of the potato c.1757. We may also include *creamhainn* (4) '?wild garlic' here, e.g. *Creag a' Chreamhainn* 'the rock of the wild garlic'.

Dyes were produced from the following: *fraoch* 'heather, ling' (12) yellow, e.g. *An Aird Fhraoich* 'the headland of heather'; *crotal* 'stone parmelia' (3) red-brown, e.g. *Druim a' Chrotail* 'the ridge of the crotal'; *seileasdair* 'yellow flag' blue-grey, in *Geodha Sheileasdair* 'the ravine of yellow flag'; *cairt* 'water-lily root' (10) brown-black, e.g. *Loch na Cartach* 'the lake of the water-lily root'. A black dye was also produced from *dubhach* (3), e.g. *Liana na Dubhecha* 'the meadow of -'. MacAulay (1972: 319) states that the term refers to a sterile black earth; however, a different source gives it as the root of the plant *Lus nan Laogh* (MacDonald 1972: 308). The identity of this plant is probably *menyanthes trifoliata*, the bog or buckbean, although three other plants apparently bear the name *Lus nan Laogh* (golden saxifrage, orpine and roseroot).

Some plants were in general use for bedding: *còinneach* 'moss' (3), e.g. *Airigh an Rubha Chòinnich* 'the shieling of the mossy point'; *raineach* 'fern, bracken' (10), e.g. *Cnoc na Rainich* 'the hillock of the fern'; and *stàrr* 'sedge' in *Lochan Stàirr* 'the lake

of sedge'. Heath rush, *luachair* (3), was in use for thatching, e.g. *An t-Slag Luaraich* 'the hollow of rushes'. The bulrush, *cuile*, in *Lòn Cuile* 'the pool of bulrushes', must have also been put to practical use where it occurred (Cameron, 1900: 115, has 'to bottom chairs').

Other species attested in the nomenclature are *fhliodh* 'chickweed', in *Cnoc Buaille Fhliodha* 'the hill of the enclosure of chickweed'; *eanach* 'matgrass' (2) as in *Cleit na h-Eanaich* 'the hill of the matgrass'; while the general term for 'grass' is *feur* (10), e.g. *Loch an Fhèidir* 'the lake of grass' (§11.6ii). Further, the rosehip, *muc fàileag*, occurs in *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag* 'the large rock of the rosehips', and 'honeysuckle' may be the meaning of the specific in *Creag an Fheulainn*.

iii) Marine plants.

Although a number of species of seaweed were used for culinary and medicinal purposes, only *duileasg* 'dulse' is attested in the nomenclature: *Sloc an Duilìsg* 'the pit of the dulse'.

B. Fauna et alia.

iv) Wild animals.

The deer, *fiadh* (16), features fairly commonly in the nomenclature, e.g. *Creag an Fhèidh* 'the rock of the deer', not only because they were obviously hunted, but also because their appearance near a habitation was thought of as an omen of the imminent death of one the villagers. Another creature with which ill luck was associated was the otter, *biast bèist* (7), e.g. *Druim na Bèist* 'the ridge of the otter'; see the tradition under *Airigh na*

h-Aon Oidheche. As commonly featured in the nomenclature is the wild cat, *cat* (8), e.g. *Creag a' Chait* 'the rock of the wild cat'. It is possible that in one instance at least, *Uagha nan Cat* 'the cave of the cats', it is the domestic cat that is being referred to. Traditionally unwanted kittens have been drowned, and it may that this feature (into which the sea runs) was used for such a purpose. Deer and otters are still seen, though rarely, in CR, the former wandering up from the south of Lewis and North Harris; but the wild cat no longer occurs.

The pine martin, *taghan*, occurs in four names, e.g. *Cnoc an Taghain* 'the hill of the pine martin', but it has been extinct in the Western Isles for over a century (Darling 1947: 72). The mouse, *luch*, or more likely vole, is also recorded twice, e.g. *Feadan nan Luch* 'the burn of the mice'.

Finally the seal, *ròn*, occurs in *Clach an Ròin* 'the rock of the seal'.

(It is impossible to judge whether the specific in *Allt an Torcain* refers to a small boar or to a ravine; topographically the latter is acceptable, and swine have never been numerous in Lewis. It may be noted, however, that the ON ln. Galsón (OS 1974), of a village in B, seems to contain ON *galt-* 'hog', Oftedal 1954: 374.)

v) Wild fowl.

Of birds of prey there are *iolair* (4) 'eagle', e.g. *Nead na h-Iolair* 'the nest of the eagle'; the peregrine, *seabhag* (2), e.g. *Clach an t-Seabhaig* 'the rock of the peregrine'; and the sparrowhawk, *speireag* (6), e.g. *Creag Speireig* 'the rock of the hawk', which no longer breeds in the Outer Hebrides (Knowlton 1977: 132).

Clamhan is now used of a buzzard in CR, but this seems unlikely to be the bird referred to in *Gob a' Chlamhain* since the buzzard only began colonising the Outer Hebrides during the present century (Knowlton op.cit., 66). The bird in question is probably the kestrel (*clamhan ruadh*).

Two members of the crow family are cited. The raven, *fitheach* (6), e.g. *Geodh' an Fhithich* 'the ravine of the raven', and the guileful hooded crow, *starrag* (2), e.g. *Creag na Starraig* 'the rock of the crow'. The element *feannag* may in one or two instances mean 'crow', but this is by no means certain (see Gaz. Nos. 884 and 1181).

Several sea-birds are recorded in the nomenclature: *sgarbh* (3) 'cormorant', e.g. *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* 'the skerry of the cormorants'; *ròg* 'shag' in the name *Loch Ròg* 'the lake of shags'; *trilleachan* 'oystercatcher' in *Rubh' an Trilleachain* 'the point of the oystercatcher'; *steàrnag* (2) 'tern', e.g. *Loch nan Steàrnag* 'the lake of the terns'; and *arspag* 'great black-backed gull', in *Geodha nan Arspag* 'the ravine of the gulls' and in the archaic *Rubh' Sharspag* 'the point of gulls'. The common appellative for gull is *faoileag* and this is found in 5 names, e.g. *Staca nam Faoileag* 'the stack of the gulls'.

Gambolling flocks of starlings (*druid*) are not uncommon even in the moor, but they are only cited in the name *Loch na Druid* 'the lake of the starling'. The golden plover, *feadag*, is recorded twice, e.g. *Toll nam Feadag* 'the hole of the plovers', and the small stonechat, *clacharan*, occurs in *Loch Clacharain* 'the lake of the stonechat'. There are also the lapwing or peewit in *Druim nan Curracag* 'the ridge of the lapwings', and the red grouse hen in *Airigh na Circe Fraoich* 'the shieling of the grouse hen'.

Finally, we have *geadh* 'goose' in 11 names, e.g. *Tom a' Ghedidh* 'the hillock of the goose'; and *calman* 'rock dove' in 6, e.g. *Geodha nan Calman* 'the ravine of the doves'. The common appellative for 'bird', *eun* (12), is itself relatively frequent in the nomenclature, e.g. *Cnoc an Eòin* 'the hill of the bird', while *nead* 'nest' is found as generic on 3 occasions, e.g. *Nead an Fhithich* 'the nest of the raven'.

vi) Insects and reptiles.

Daolag 'beetle' is found in *Tom nan Daolag* 'the knoll of the beetles'; *snioghan* 'ant' in *Creagan nan Snioghan* 'the hillock of the ants'; and *cnuimh* 'maggot' in *Feadan nan Cnuimhean* 'the burn of the maggots'. *Laomainn* (2) 'moth' also occurs, e.g. *Cnoc Laomainn* 'the hillock of the moth'.

Although only the slow-worm occurs today in the Outer Hebrides, a mid 19th century account infers that the viper was once found in Lewis: cattle were bitten and sometimes died (SAS 1845: 121). *Nathair*, the common appellative for 'snake', occurs in 4 names, e.g. *Cnoc na Nathrach* 'the hill of the snake', but it is not certain what creature is being referred to here.

vii) Fish.

Of fresh-water fish two kinds are recorded: *breac* 'trout' (6), e.g. *Loch nam Breac* 'the lake of the trout'; and (conveniently included here) *easgann* 'eel', occurring in *Loch na h-Easgainn* 'the lake of the eel'.

Of the many fish once in abundance around the coast, only the following are cited in the nomenclature: *sgadan* (2) 'herring', e.g. *Poll an Sgadain* 'the pool of the herring'; *ledbag* 'flounder' in

Tòb nan Leòbag 'the bay of the flounders'; and *sgait* 'skate' in *Leac na Sgait* 'the flagstone of the skate'.

We may also include *muc* 'whale' here, which occurs in 9 names, e.g. *Cnoc Chàla Muc* 'the hill of the bay of whales'. *Muc* occurs comparatively frequently not only because whales would be found beached, but also because they were hunted by a method which involved driving them to shore.

viii) Shellfish.

Feusgan 'mussel' is found in *Creagan nam Feusgan* 'the hillock of the mussels'. The location is a little way inland, and it must have been a favourite haunt of gulls at some time. The winkle, *faochag*, still collected by some for their own consumption or for sale, occurs in two names of the same form: *Mol nam Faochag* 'the shingle-beach of the winkles'. Limpet, *bàrnach*, also occurs in *Sgeir nam Bàrnach* 'the skerry of the limpets'.

§11.4 Anthroponymy.

i) Personal-names.

It is for the most part impossible to ascertain the identity of individuals cited in the nomenclature. Few of the place-names involved have traditions attached to them. It seems probable that the only claim to fame that many of the men and women named ever had was that they spent the better part of their day on this or that particular spot while watching their stock. Blake (1966: 160) in his study of the distribution of surnames in Lewis shows that the north and west are historically the most stable parts of the island in respect of population mobility. This

fact inevitably makes the tasks both of identification and of dating more difficult. On the other hand we should expect to find names which were to some extent reflected, in terms of range and prominence, in the corpus of personal-names found in the area today.

First or Christian-names account for most personal-names in the nomenclature as is to be expected in an area where until the 18th century there can never have been any necessity or demand for surnames. It is interesting to note that while of the ten commonest surnames present in CR today¹ half are represented in the nomenclature, all but one of these represent an immigrant factor among the population. Most first-names are still current in CR today; the following, however, are absent: of men's names *Allghar*, *Beinn*, *Ciaran*, *Cormag*, *Crìsgéan*, *Cruimean*, *Dònall*, *Laghmann*, *Tànhas*, *Tòmod*; and of women's names *Bàididh*, *Sadhbh* and *Slàin*. The men's names *Tòmas* and *Pàraig* (variant of *Pàdraig*), if not absent, are extremely rare; so too the woman's name *Gormal*. Otherwise attested names reflect closely the range found currently in CR, while names such as *Aonghas*, *Calum*, *Dòmhnall*, *Iain* and *Murchadh* are as equally prominent today as they once were, as indicated by the nomenclature.

The patronymic is to some extent represented. There are several examples of the type *Tormod Neill* 'T. (the son) of N.', but name-forms detailing a greater number of generations are almost unknown - presumably because in the naming process an individual's description by name had no need to be any more precise than it normally had when given within his own community.

The syntax of compound name-forms is dealt with in §3.4. Below is given a list of personal-name elements along with the wider contexts in which they occur; a list of elements constituting

nicknames or epithets is given in (ii).

Ailean (Alan); see also under *mac*.

Alasdair (Alexander); see also under *Iain*.

Allghar a man's name.

Amhlaigh (Aulay); see also under *mac*.

Anna (Ann) *Anna Ruadh* 'red-haired Ann'.

Aodh a man's name, see under *mac*.

Aonghas (Angus); *A. Dhonnchaidh*; *A. Lidhir* (see ii); *A. Mac Fhionnlaidh*;

A. Martainn; *A. Tàillear* (see ii); see also under *mac*.

Bàididh a woman's name.

Barabal (Annabel)

Barbara (Barbara)

Beinn a man's name.

Brìghde see under *gille*.

Cailean (Colin)

Calum (Malcolm) *C. Dhòmhmaill Dhonnchaidh*; see also under *gille*.

Ceit (Kate)

ciar see under *mac*; cf. *Ciaran*.

Ciaran (Kieran) §11.10.

clann ('descendants' etc.) *C. Choinnich*; *C. an t-Saoir* (see ii).

Coinneach (Kenneth); see also under *clann*, *Iain*, *mac*, *nic*.

Colla see Gaz. No. 320.

Comhghall see under *mac*.

Conaing see under *gille*.

Cormag (Cormack)

Crìsgèan a man's name.

Cruimean a man's name.

Dòmhnall (Donald); *D. Bàn* (see ii); *D. Duncan*; *D. Mac Iain*; *D. Mac Iomhair*; *D. Miteil*; *D. Odhar* (ii); *D. Og* (ii); *D. Ruadh* (ii); also in *Creag Mhòr Dhòmhmaill Iain Bhàin* which conceivably translates either as 'of Donald (the son) of Iain Bàn' or 'of fair Donald-John'. See also under *Calum*, *gille*, *nic*, *nighean*, *Tormod*. Cf. *Dònall*.

Dònall see under *Iain*.

Donnchadh (Duncan); *D. an Droma* (ii); see also under *Aonghas*, *Calum*, *mac*, *nighean*.

Duncan see under *Dòmhnall*.

Eachann (Hector)

easbaig see under *gille*.

Eòghann (Ewan)

Fearchar (Farquhar) see under *mac*.

Fionnladh (Finlay); see also under *Aonghas*, *mac*, *nighean*.

Flann Flannan see *Gaz. Na h-Eileanan Flannach*.

gille ('youth, servant') *G. Brìghde* (Gilbride); *G. Chalum*

(Gillecallum); *G. Chonaing*; *G. Dhòmhnail Bheachd* (ii); *Gill'*

Easbaig (Gillespie); *Gille Naomh* (Gillenef); see also under *mac*.

Gormal (Gormelia)

Hurry a Scots surname.

Iain (John) *I. Alasdair*, *I. Bàn* (ii); *I. Choinnich*; *I. Dònaill*;

I. Geal (ii); *I. Ghràidhein* (ii); *I. Mac Aoidh*; *I. Mac Coinnich*;

I. Ruadh (ii). See also under *Dòmhnall*, *mac*.

Iomhar (Ivor); see also under *mac*.

Isbeal (Isabel)

Lagmann (Lamont)

Leadhran see under *mac*.

Ledd (Leod); see also under *mac*.

ligheach see under *mac*.

mac ('son' etc.) *M. a' Phearsain* (MacPherson); *M. Ailein*; *M. Amhlaigh*

(MacAulay); *M. an Lighich* (MacInleach); *M. an Tàilleir* (MacIntaylor,

Taylor); *M. Aoidh* (MacKay); *M. Aonghais* (MacInnes); *M. Coinnich*

(MacKenzie); *M. Comhghaill*; *M. Dhonnchaidh* (MacDonachie); *M. Fheadrais*

fr. Scots *MacFètridhe* ← *G. Mac Pheadrais*; *M. Fhionnlaidh* (MacKinlay);

M. Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh (ii); *M. Gille Chèir* (ii, MacGillechiar); *M.*

Gill' Leadhrain; *M. Iain* (MacIan); *M. Iain Bhàin* (ii); *M. Iain Deing*

(ii); *M. Iomhair* (MacIver); *M. Leòid* (MacLeod); *M. Nèill* (MacNeil);

M. Risnidh fr. Scots *MacRitchie*; *M. Phàil* (MacPhail); *M. Shaoir* fr.

Scots *MacTear* ← *G. M. an t-Saoir* (MacIntyre); *M. Thòmais* (MacThomas);

M. Thorcaill (MacCorkill). See also under *nic*.

Mairead (Margaret)

Màiri (Mary) *M. Bhuidhe*.

Martainn (Martin) see under *Aonghas*.

Miteal (Mitchell) see under *Dòmhnall*.

Muireasdan (Morrison) see under *Murchadh*.

Murchadh (Murdoch) ; *M. Leòbhàdh* (ii); *M. Mac Aoidh*; *M. Muireasdan*;

M. Mòr (ii).

naomh ('saint') see under *gille*.

Niall (Neil); *N. Bonaidh* (ii); see also under *mac*, *Tormod*.
nic ni' ('female descendent') *N. Coinnich* (MacKenzie); *N. Dhòmhmaill*
'ic Fhearchair; *N. Dhonnchaidh* (MacDonachie); *N. Fhionnlaidh*.
nighean ('daughter') *N. Dhòmhmaill*.
ò ('grandson' etc.) *O Dòmod*.
Pàl (Paul) see under *mac*.
Pàraig (Patrick) see under *Tormod*.
pearsan ('parson') see under *mac*.
Raghnall (Ranald)
Rèiceal ? a man's name.
Risnidh see under *mac*.
Raonailt (Rachel)
Ruairidh (Rory)
Sadhbh a woman's name.
saor see under *mac*.
Sèdnaid (Janet)
Seonaidh (Johnny)
Sèdras (George)
Slàin a woman's name.
Tàmhas (Thomas) cf. *Tòmas*.
Teàrlach (Charles)
Tòmas (Thomas) cf. *Tàmhas*; see also under *mac*.
Tòmod see under *ò*.
Torcall (Torquil) see under *mac*.
Tormod (Norman); *T. an t-Saighdeir* (ii); *T. Dhòmhmaill*; *T. Mòr* (ii);
T. Nèill; *T. Phàraig*; *T. Srònach* (ii).
Uilleam (William); *U. Mac Nèill*.
Uisdean (Hugh)

ii) Nicknames and epithets.

These frequently arise from an individual's occupation or pastime, or from some physical characteristic. Some name-forms may be passed to succeeding generations and so lose any lexical significance; in time they may reach the status of family nickname although one or two members of the family might bear the nickname almost exclusively.

While some forms are transparent, others are quite obscure; but of the former it is by no means always apparent why they should have been given. The distinction, of course, between lexical and onomastic meaning operates here also.

Of colour adjectives, normally descriptive of hair and/or complexion, there are *bàn* 'fair', *buidhe* 'fair, blonde', *geal* 'fair, pale', *odhar* 'dun, pale', *ruadh* 'red, ruddy' and *dubh* 'dark, swarthy, black'. *Dearg* 'red' occurs once also, but it is most probable that here we have a family nickname (Gaz. No. 942). For *ciar* 'dark' see Gaz. No. 1596. *Bàn*, *ruadh* and *dubh* are in common use today.

Other forms descriptive of physical characteristics are *beag* 'little', *mòr* 'large', *òg* 'young' and *srònach* 'having a large nose'. *Bonaidh*, a woman's nickname, may be from Scots *bonny*.

Relating to occupation or pastime we have *An Drumair* 'the drummer', *An Sgiobair* 'the skipper', *Aonghas Tàilleair* 'Angus the tailor' and *Tormod an t-Saighdeir* 'T. (the son) of the soldier'. The specific in *Creagan na Cùirt* 'the hillock of the court' was apparently the nickname of a woman; she was renowned for carrying on her courting here and the name may have arisen from her 'holding court for her suitors'. In names such as *Airigh an t-Saoir* 'the shieling of the carpenter', *Loch a' Chòcair* 'the lake of the cook', *Cnoc an Lighich* 'the hillock of the physician' and *Cnoc a' Phìobair* 'the hillock of the piper' it is usually uncertain whether the specific is a nickname or appellative.

The epithet in *Gille Dhòmhnail Bheachd* seems to be *beachd* 'opinion' etc., therefore ?'opinionated; a know-all'. The nickname *An Siorraidh* may also have arisen as a result of some personal characteristic, but has since virtually become a family nickname.

Arising from place of residence there are only the examples *Aonghas Lidhir* (Gaz. No. 2080) and *Donnchadh an Droma* lit. 'D. of the ridge'.

Other forms are either lexically obscure or are not self-revealing in how they came about, e.g. *Sedbhdaidh*, *Ledbhdh*, *Stob*, *Spuchan* and *Gràidhean*. *Brèidean* occurs as a nickname today, but whether it is such in the name *Creagan a' Bhrèidein* lit. 'the hillock of the patch' is unknown (see §11.2ii). Finally, while *Tuartan* is currently used as a nickname it is doubtful whether the form originated as such (Gaz. No. 103).

iii) Words for people: by sex, age, nationality and other characteristics.

In some names, e.g. *Bealach nam Ban* 'the pass of the women', *bean* 'woman, wife' indicates that a location was used principally by women. In the name *Geodha na Mhà* 'the ravine of the woman', and perhaps in one or two others, the use of the specific (also *bean*) probably records an accident or similar incident, for the ravine here is not one which would have been frequented by women for access to it is extremely difficult. The element *cailleach* occurs in 6 names; it now means 'old woman' and is often used familiarly with the sense 'the wife'. In the nomenclature, however, the meaning may be 'witch' (§11.10). *Duine* 'person, human being; man' is found in *Lian' Air na Shuidh an Duine* 'the meadow on which the man sat' (§3.5). *Fear* 'man' occurs in the semantic compound *fear an taighe* 'man of the house, head of the household', and the name *Cnoc Fear an Taigh* must record the regular stance of some individual. *Bodach* 'old man' is used familiarly for 'man' in *Drèana Bodaich nan Geàrrannan* 'the drain of the men of *Na Geàrrannan*' (i.e. men who hailed from GEARR built this drain). In some names, *bodach*

is descriptive of shape (§11.2ii), while in others its meaning may have conceivably been 'ghost' (§11.10). *Maighdeann* 'maiden, girl' occurs only in *Mùthair nam Maighdeann* 'the cairn of the girls' - for the tradition here, see Gaz. No. 2404. (For *clann*, *mac* etc., see i.)

Lomnochdan 'naked person, nude' in *Allt Fèith an Lomnochdain* 'the stream of the bog of the nude' may have arisen from the discovery of a body here. For *sìlich* 'sluggard', see §11.2ii.

Geodh' an t-Sasannaich 'the ravine of the Englishman' is so named, according to tradition, after the discovery of the body of an Englishman here. Currently, *gall* means 'lowlander', but previously it meant less specifically 'foreigner'. In the name *Staca nan Gall*, according to tradition (for which see Gaz.), it refers to men from Caithness. The form *galltanaich* also occurs; for this and *fionndanach* 'Norseman', see §11.11.

(For occupations, trades etc., see §11.9)

§11.5 Settlement.

i) Village and township.

Baile is the current appellative for 'township' (see Gaz., *Am Baile Thall*) and also 'village' (see, for example, *An Sean Bhaile*). In the name *Bail' an Teampaill*, however, the element has its earlier sense of 'piece of land', see (iii). All but one of the townships of CR bear names identical with those of their villages (§1.4); only 4 are Gaelic creations: *Na Dailean*, *Na Geàrrrannan*, *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* and *An Dùn*. Of these only *An Dùn* 'the fort' refers to an original

settlement site, while *Na Geàrrannan* and *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* infer such sites: *geàrraidh* had an earlier sense 'enclosure (for cultivation)'. The element occurs inland, but here has the sense 'land around dwelling, dwelling-site' and is associated with temporary dwellings (§11.7iii). In the coastal region we can be fairly certain that all *geàrraidh*-names have the earlier application, and that these imply early settlement sites consisting of a *creaga* (see §7, note 2).

ii) Permanent dwellings.

Taigh, the appellative for 'house', occurs in the nomenclature at 6 locations.² However, 3 names are recent: *Taigh Mhurchaidh 'ic Aoidh* (*Murchadh* held the tack in *Laimiseadar* until 1888), *Taigh a' Chìobair* ('-of the shepherd' who left DM when the tack there was broken up in 1921), and *Taigh Nèill Bonaidh* (the house was vacated by *Niall*'s widow in the late 1970's). *Cnoc nan Taighean* 'the hill of the houses' in CN must record an earlier location of dwellings in the area. *Cnoc an Taigh* 'the hill of the house' is the location of an isolated dwelling in the now deserted hamlet *Sanndaig* (DUN). Finally, the dwelling which once stood on *Eilean an Taigh* 'the island of the house' was, according to tradition, where *Niall MacLeòid*, a spy for the MacAulays of U lived (§11.11).

Three ancient forts are commemorated in names: the village, *An Dùn*, and its township derive their name from the broch here (outwith CR, cf. *Loch an Dùn* after the broch in BRA). The diminutive form *dùnan* occurs of the smaller type of dun structure: *An Dùnan* and *Loch an Dùnain*. Another dun is said to have been situated in the now drained lake *Loch Dubh Druim Thorraig*, and a stack dun in GEARR is referred to in the relatively recent name *Stac a' Chaisteil* 'the

stack of the castle'.

Bothan 'bothy' occurs only in the name *Bothan Cìaran* where it denotes an ecclesiastical cell (§11.10; but see also §11.7iii regarding temporary dwellings). The appellative *bothan*, which has the general sense 'hut, bothy' came to be used of the unlicensed drinking bothies found until about 20 years ago in CR, and later in other parts of Lewis. *Tobhta* 'site; walls of house; ruins', occurring in *Tobht a' Ghobhainn* 'the site of the smith', may be included here, as it presupposes a dwelling site; so too *clobhsa* 'close' in the unqualified name *An Clobhsa*.

iii) Division of land.

As described in §1.4, the township is divided into the village, pasture and moorland. Turf dykes originally separated these areas off from each other, but have been superceded entirely by wire fencing (so *Bealach na Feans' an Iar* 'the western pass of the fence'). Stone dykes, built by affluent tacksmen, are rare. *Gàrradh* the common appellative for 'dyke, wall' occurs in a total of 36 names, many of which define the (in some cases former) lines of demarcation between village, pasture and moor. In SD, *Gàrradh a' Bhaile* 'the dyke of the village' once protected the cultivated lands about the settlement from grazing stock; this is suggested by the alias *Gàrradh an Arbhair* 'the dyke of the corn'. The general term for the dyke between pasture and moorland was *gàrradh droma* 'ridge-dyke'. It was beyond this that all stock had to be taken at the beginning of May, and the term survives in several place-names, not only in CR.

No element occurs in the nomenclature for 'pasture' as opposed to village or moorland, but the English term 'surface-seeding' is currently used in the lexicon. In most townships the

pasture is divided into two, the grazing nearer the village generally being of better quality. It is likely that the part nearer the village constituted the original pasture area, and that this was extended through time because of the greater demands made upon it. The line between pasture and moorland was then redrawn further inland. By the same token, many of the village dykes have long been overrun by the growth of the villages and extension of settlement area.

Mointeach 'moor, heath' is used of the moorland. The phrase *cùl làimhe* lit. 'back of the hand' in *Airigh Chùil Làimhe* probably referred to all the land outwith the village, i.e. both pasture and moorland, but it is now obsolete. Within some of the westerly townships a hilly area lies landward of the villages; this covers parts of both pasture and moorland, and is termed *bràigh* (§11.lix).

The turf dykes that once followed the marches of the townships out to the moor have also been replaced by fencing. *Crìoch* 'border, boundary' occurs in 9 names, e.g. *Allt na Crìoch* 'the stream of the boundary'. *Gàrradh* is also found marking boundaries between townships, e.g. *Gàrradh Fhìbhig* 'the dyke of F.' (between ST and BRA). It is apparent that *dìon* 'shelter' etc. was also used of a march dyke: *Tom an Dìona* 'the hillock of the boundary' lies by the boundary extending from *Gàrradh Fhìbhig*. Within the moor itself, the marches are undefined and the only visible boundaries are natural ones.³

An interesting name is *Na h-Oirthearnan*, ultimately from ON *herað* 'certain division of land; district; neighbourhood', but it is uncertain what its real significance was. Conceivably it referred to the pasture and moorlands, as opposed to village lands.

The picture had from the nomenclature of land systems within the village is rather sketchy. It is possible that a pre-Norse

system is reflected in the name *Beinn Ghnís* 'the mountain of the 1/12th ploughgate'. The land here is now called *Buailtean a' Mhaoir* 'the enclosures of the Maor' (§11.11). The post-Norse system of *tìrning* 'ounceland' and *peighinn* 'pennyland' is evidenced by *An Fhedirlig* 'the farthingland'.⁴ *An Fhedirlig* most probably originates in a small joint-farm on which the land, held by 3 or 4 families, would have been divided by lot approximately every 3 years. In Lewis the villages were first divided into crofts in 1811, but this was later redone between 1849-51. Names, however, such as *Cnoc na Seann Chroit* 'the hill of the old croft' seem likely to be older than the introduction of the crofting system itself; they may represent individual holdings of craftsmen who would generally have been unable to participate in communal farming (Geddes 1948: 59).

The following are appended here for convenience: possibly *cliath* 'hurdle' in *A' Chliath*; *cachaileith* 'gateway' as in *Cnoc na Cachailleith Mòire* 'the hillock of the large gateway'; and *geata* 'gate' as in *An Geata Mòr* 'the wide gate'.

In *Bail' an Teampaill* the generic implies an unspecified value of land which pertained to the church there; see i.

§11.6 Cultivation.

i) Fields, enclosures.

Because of the poor quality and shallowness of soil, arable land was often created by heaping what little there was into long beds or ridges, supplemented with seaweed, manure and ash. The *feannag* 'lazy-bed' is still in use today. Traces of ancient ones are visible outwith villages, especially along the coast. According to tradition, herdsmen were given such areas of land for their own use

in payment for their services; §11.7ii. A larger piece of land was *leòb*; this was not really a lazy-bed, although a certain amount of building up of the soil would have been carried out on these too. As in *Cnoc na Leòba Ruaidhe* the area of land might be large enough to be worked in common by two or more families. At the other end of the scale is the Pictish lw. *peite* à 'small piece of land (in which something could be grown)', as in *Peite na Bròig* 'the shoe-shaped piece of land'. Frequently the appellative *peite* was applied to odd corners of land that otherwise would not have been utilised. *Gead* has the general sense of 'piece of land' and occurs twice in the nomenclature; whether the land in question was ever under cultivation though is difficult to ascertain. *Talamh* has the broader meaning 'ground', but in a few names is associated with arable, e.g. *Talamh Aitich* 'the cultivated land', *Talamh Chàl* 'the cabbage patch'. Here, *An Leasachadh* 'the augment, increase' may also be mentioned. This was an area of land in SD divided by lots every 3 years among a few families.

Nearly all holdings, and later crofts, would have a *leas*, an enclosure which could be permanently protected from stock and which also offered crops some protection from the wind. The ON lw. *geàrrraidh* originally had a similar application. Such enclosures were frequently adjoined to the dwelling-house or 'long house' (dwelling plus byre). *Gort* 'enclosure for cultivation' also occurs, though with suffices, e.g. *Loch nan Gortan* 'the lake of the enclosures'. Finally, in TOL, the appellative *tobhta* 'site; walls of house; ruins' is used of the diminutive enclosures which are common to that village. This usage is recorded in the name *Sgeir na Tobhta Càile* 'the skerry of the cabbage enclosure'.

Here might be appended *drèana* 'drain' as in *An Drèana*

Tharsainn 'the cross-set drain', and *sàibhir* 'conduit' in *Na Sàibhirean* - although here they pass under a road.

ii) Crops.

Most of the main crops grown through the centuries are represented in the nomenclature - a notable exception is *eòrna* 'barley'; and less notably *buntàta* 'potato', only introduced to the Outer Hebrides c.1757.

Oats, *coire*, occurs in *Cnoc na Buaille Coire* 'the hillock of the enclosure of oats'. *Arbhar* 'corn, ripe oats' occurs in such names as *Cnoc an Arbh* 'the hillock of the corn'; also *gràn* 'grain, corn' in the name *Stiogh Ghràin* 'the grain path', up which produce would be transported out of the hamlet *Laimiseadar*. We also have mention of straw, *connlach*, in *Cnoc na Connlach* 'the hillock of the straw'. Hay-making too is suggested by at least 3 names, e.g. *Creagan an Fhedir* 'the hillock of the grass' (with *feur* 'grass'); but specifically in *Cnoc na Tràthach* 'the hillock of the hay'. Finally, the growing of cabbage, *càl* (2), as in *Sgeir na Tobhta Càile* 'the skerry of the cabbage enclosure'.

iii) Miscellaneous.

A few miscellaneous items occur that are concerned with cultivation or processes arising from it: *Cnoc a' Bhualaidh* 'the knoll of the threshing', *Talamh Aitich* 'the cultivated land', *Creagan nan Sìg* 'the hillock of the hay-stacks', *An Iodhlainn Ard* 'the high stack-yard' and *Tom an Dòrlaich* 'the knoll of the sheaves'.

§ 11.7 Husbandry.

i) Domesticated animals and fowl.

Formerly, stock consisted mainly of cattle - of the diminutive black breed - and some sheep. Today, the picture is very different: sheep are in over-abundance and only a handful of families have any cattle. Although there are no longer any working horses, a few are kept for pleasure - including one survivor of the indigenous species (see under c, below). There is little evidence from place-names or elsewhere, to suggest that goats were ever commonly farmed, but in the last few years a number of people have started to keep them for milk.

a) Cattle.

Laogh 'calf' (9) *Buaille nan Laogh* 'the enclosure of the calves'.
Gamhainn 'one year old female' (4) *Geodha nan Gaimhne* 'the ravine of the stirks'. *Agh* 'two year old female' (6) *Loch Leum an Aighe* 'the lake of the leap of the heifer'. *Bò* 'cow' (10) *Cnoc na Bà Riabhach* 'the hill of the tawny cow'. *Seasgach* 'cows giving no milk' (1) *Creag an t-Seasgaich* 'the rock of the dry cattle'. *Mart* 'cow (usually for slaughter)' (3) *Mol a' Mhairt* 'the shingle-beach of the mart'. *Damh* 'castrated male' (2) *Cnoc nan Damh* 'the hillock of the bullocks'. *Tarbh* 'bull' (8) *Buail' an Tairbh* 'the enclosure of the bull'.

Two collective terms for 'cattle' occur: the obsolete *èit* (in 5 names but in only one area) as in *Amar na h-Eit* 'the hill of the cattle'; and *sprèidh* in *Slag na Sprèidh* 'the hollow of the cattle'.

b) Sheep.

Uan 'lamb' (11) *Cnoc nan Uan* 'the hill of the lambs'. *Othaisg* 'weaned sheep in first year' (1) *Creagan na h-Othaisg* 'the hillock of the hogg'. *Caora* 'ewe, sheep' (12) *Druim nan Caorach* 'the ridge of the sheep'. *Mult* 'castrated male (one year old and over)' (1) *Leac nam Mult* 'the flagstone of the wethers'.

c) Horses.

Searrach 'foal; colt' (4) *Tom an t-Searraich* 'the hillock of the foal'. *Làir* 'mare' (2) *Geodha na Làireadh* 'the ravine of the mare'. *Each* 'horse' (9) *Stiogha nan Each* 'the hill-path of the horses'. *Capall* 'horse' (4) *Cnoc a' Chapail* 'the hill of the horse'.

It is difficult to assess what distinction, if any, there may have been between *each* and *capall*. Some authorities cite 'mare' as one of the senses of the latter (e.g. MacLennan 1925: 71); so too in Irish (Dinneen 1947: 164), although Joyce (1913, I: 474-75) draws no such distinction. MacAulay (1972: 320) translates *Buail a' Chapail* BERN as 'the fold of the stallion'. I have only heard *digeach* for 'stallion' in CR, recorded, for example, in the phrase {,a.g'ɔxð,xɔ̃N'!d'Estik'} from the time of the Congested Districts Board (estd. 1897) when a stallion was brought round the villages to serve the mares. One informant thought *capall* meant a 'mule'; by others a 'small horse' has been suggested. Whether of a male or female animal, this is reminiscent of the indigenous species *equus caballus celticus* which was reportedly not much larger than the Sheltie (SAS 1845: 122). It seems reasonable to suppose that, as larger horses began to be introduced to the island, a distinction may have been drawn between *capall* referring to the diminutive indigenous breed and *each* referring to larger introduced breeds.

(By the last quarter of the 19th century the indigenous stock was restricted principally to the coastal area from SD to *Nis*, Smith 1875: 212) But what prior to this? According to the RIA, EIr. *capall* was frequently used in the sense of 'draught-horse' as opposed to *ech* 'saddle, chariot-horse'. This is supported by the ON Celtic lw. *Kapall* given by Heggstad (1975: 233) as meaning 'pack-horse, draught-horse', and by De Vries (1961: 300) as 'horse, draught-horse (*Zauntier*)'. It seems likely, therefore, that *capall* formerly meant 'draught-horse' in CR, but that, since larger breeds would have been introduced for riding purposes, the distinction between *capall* and *each* came to be seen as a question of size rather than one of function as it had been earlier.

d) Goats.

Gobhar 'goat' (3) *Crò nan Gobhar* 'the fold of the goats'. *Boc* 'he-goat' (2) *Sgeir a' Bhuic* 'the skerry of the billy-goat'.

e) Fowl.

Coileach 'cock' (2) *Cnoc a' Choilich* 'the hill of the cockerel'.
Cearc 'hen' (1) *Geodha nan Cearc* 'the ravine of the hens'.

f) Dogs.

Cù 'dog' (7) *Geàrrraidh a' Choin* 'the enclosure of the dog' (but see also §11.2ivg). *Cuilean* 'whelp' (4) *Loch a' Chuilein* 'the lake of the whelp'.

ii) Aspects of pastoral farming.

Cattle were until comparatively recently the main element

in the economy of CR. The day and year of the community was in large part dominated by the demands of pastoral farming, and the nomenclature records a good deal about the methods and techniques employed.

Prior to the introduction of the crofting system, herdsmen were employed by groups of tenants, or sub-tenants, and paid in kind for their services. Payment might be in corn, meal, or the use of land, or in seaweed as suggested by the name *Geodh' an Fhoirtheidh* 'the ravine of the "payment"'.⁵ By the late 19th century it is unlikely that herdsmen (as in *Creagan a' Bhuachail* 'the hillock of the herdsman') were still employed save by tenants of large farms (i.e. tacks; for example, see under *An Gàrradh Geal*). The terms *gille* and *sgalag* in the nomenclature may imply 'herdsman', but it is not certain. *Gille* may mean 'servant, youth, lad', while *sgalag* referred to a 'general labourer, menial'. Whatever task may have been behind such names as *Beinneachan nan Sgalag* and *Tom a' Ghille* the people involved would similarly have been paid in kind for their work.

All members of a family, were they at all able, would have had to participate to some extent in the tending of grazing stock. The grazing area was the *ionailt* or *innis*, the latter cited in names such as *Innse nam Ban* 'the pasture of the women'. Generally these were habitual areas, as shown by *Bòl Ruairidh* 'R.'s (animal) couch' and *Cnoc na Laighe* 'the hill where the cattle lay (lit. of lying)'. Normally there were no enclosures except for fanks outwith the village,⁶ although a calf or lamb might be kept in a *cotan* 'fold or pen' when necessary, e.g. *Cotan Choinnich* 'C.'s fold'. Animals which strayed were, if caught, impounded by the local constable: *Creagan a' Phuinnd* 'the hillock of the pound'; to be released

upon payment of a fine.

Two distinct terms for animal enclosures within the village are *buaille* 'enclosure for cattle', e.g. *Buail' an Tairbh* 'the enclosure of the bull', and *crò* 'enclosure for sheep, e.g. *Crò nan Uan* 'the enclosure of the lambs'. *Na Buailtean* 'the enclosures', however, in SD was an area of land for temporary pasturage allotted by rotation within the neighbourhood. The English lw. *pàire* 'park, enclosed field' occurs also.

Access through cultivated lands and between crofts, to the sea (seaweed was, and still is used as a foodstuff) or out to the moor was essential. *Rathad* 'road' now applies both to moorland track and mettled road. *Sràid* as an appellative also has the sense 'street', but in place-names such as *Sràid a' Bhàile* the sense is 'track, road'. *Ceum* 'step' has the sense 'path' in *Ceum an Rathaid Mhòir* 'the path to (lit. of) the main-road'. The ON lw. *stiogha* applies to a 'path up a cliff or steep gradient', as in *Stiogha nan Each* 'the path of the horses'. The Scots loan *lanaig* has the meaning 'free access, common right of way through crofting lands', as in *Lanaig na Dùine* 'the passage of the fort'; the Eng. ln. *Am Pasaid* is of similar sense and origin in terms of function. The name *A' Bhàir* interestingly records an obsolete word meaning 'cattle track, road' and one of native origin (cf. Mod. Ir. *bóthar* 'road'). Here might also be mentioned *drochaid* 'bridge', as in *Cnoc Fada nan Drochaidean* 'the long hill of the bridges', and *clachan* 'stepping-stones', e.g. *Clachan Iorach* 'the lower stepping-stones'.

The ON lw. *faing* denotes the gathering of sheep (and usually returning them to the village) or the pen into which the sheep are herded. Such names as *Cnoc an Fhradhairc* 'the hill of the

prospect' describe how vantage points would be sought in this process. *An Airigh Choimhead* 'the look-out shieling' may also imply a similar function (§11.11). *Cnoc an Tearbaidh* 'the hill of the division or separation' records the important act of separating flocks before the task or tasks at hand could be carried out. *Rùsgadh* is the common word now for 'shearing' in CR, but it appears *lomadh* was also once in use: *Cnoc Beag an Lomaidh* 'the lesser hill of the shearing'. Before the introduction of dips for protection against ticks and other parasites, archangel tar was applied in strips to the fleeces of sheep: *Tom na Bith* 'the hillock of the tar'. My older informants remember this tar being used.

Names specifically related to cattle are *Slag a' Bhainne* 'the hollow of the milk' (i.e. where milking was done), and *Leac Pronnadh nan Cnàmh* 'the flagstone of the grinding of the (fish) bones'. The latter is no doubt associated with rectifying calcium deficiency for example in cows newly calved. See also *fuil*, §11.2ib.

The need to tether or restrict the movement of individual animals from time to time is shown by such names as *Geodh' a' Bhacain* 'the ravine of the tethering-stake', *Blàr na Buaraidh* 'the plain of the hobble', *Cnoc nan Ceapan* 'the hillock of the stakes', *Uagha nan Cipeanan* 'the cave of the stakes', *Cnoc na Cleith* 'the hillock of the stake', and *Creag an Tèid* 'the crag of the rope'. However, *Pall' an Taoid* 'the ledge of the rope' more likely signifies that ropes were needed to retrieve any animal that had found its way to this dangerous feature. *Ploc*, as in *Druim Phluic*, may mean a 'block' or a 'clump (of earth)'.

Other names relating to dealing with animals are *Cnoc an Deoghail* 'the hillock of the sucking', *Creag an Fhodair* 'the crag of the fodder', and *Tom nan Caolan* 'the hillock of the entrails' - most

probably indicating a spot where discarded carcasses were buried. The all important drove to market is suggested by the name *Creagan na h-Analadh* lit. 'the hillock of the breathing'. Somewhat similar, though unconnected with the drove, are *Tom na Diathad* 'the hillock of the repast', and probably *Creagan na Feòladh* 'the hillock of the meat'. Further, we have *Bàthach Mhurchaidh 'ic Aoidh* 'Murchadh Mac Aoidh's byre' (see also *both* etc., iii), *Ciste nam Bataichean* 'the pass of the sticks (crooks etc.)', and *Cnoc Falasgair* 'the hill of moor-burning' - a necessary task which by temporarily clearing the heather encouraged grasses to grow.

Finally, the names *Bealach na h-Imrich* 'the pass of the removal or flitting' and *Rathad Mòr nam Banachagan* 'the great road of the milkmaids' point to the system of transhumance which survived until the Second World War (though in some townships it was revived during the fifties). *Bealach na h-Imrich* records the route taken on the way out to the shieling, with stock and belongings necessary for life in the temporary home. The other concerns how some members of the household remained in the village to work the land, and how produce from the shieling was brought in, usually daily, to them.

iii) Temporary dwellings.

The element *both* and the diminutive forms *bothan* and *bothag* refer to stone huts or make-shift shelters. With some exceptions these elements are associated with herding (*Bothag an Tairbh* obviously sheltered a bull, while *Bothan Cìaran* would have been a permanently occupied cell (§11.10)).

Airigh 'shieling' originally had the sense 'milking-place'. The more the need arose to take stock into the moor during the

early summer (traditionally from early May to the end of July), the more the term *àirigh* became associated with the shelters and temporary dwellings which gradually came to dot the landscape. The specifics of *àirigh*-names usually denote their owners, e.g. *Airigh Nèill* 'Niall's shieling'.

The ON lw. *uiste*, although short-lived as a productive place-name element, seems likely to have had a sense similar to that of *àirigh*, as in *Uiste Laghmann* 'Lagmann's shieling'.

See also *Na Taighean Earraich* 'the spring houses', Gaz. No. 2798.

§11.8 Fishing.

For natural landing-places, see §11.1i. The man-made *cidhe* 'quay' occurs at 3 locations, e.g. *Cidhe Shreimeanais* 'the quay of S.'. The two names *An Cidhe*, however, are most probably English inn. Two terms for 'boat' are found: *eathair*, e.g. *Port nan Eathraichean* 'the landing-place of the boats', and *long* in *Sgèir na Luinge* 'the skerry of the ship'. The relatively recent *Clach an Linc* 'the rock of the link' is self-evident. *Sgabhlaicean na Creige Mòire* 'the squalls of A' Chreag Mhòr' refers to an area at the mouth of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* where winds deflected from the high cliffs may be felt when entering the fiord. Names I have heard used as bearings are not related to fishing; although some land-names will have been given from the sea, it is usually just impossible to say which with any certainty (see Gaz. No. 393).

A seasonal method of fishing was the hand-trawling of the more indented bays. *An Ceòsan* 'the place of the hollow' in SD was

the part of *Loch Shiaboist* into which the fish would be driven. *Sgeir an t-Slaodaidh* in GEARR 'the skerry of the hauling' seems to record a similar technique. Another technique for trapping fish involved building a low wall, *caraidh*, across the bay between tide-lines. Rock-fishing was until recently always a successful enterprise, and *Pall' an Lìn Bhig* marks the use of hand-lines in this. The significance of the name *Geodh' an Ara* 'the ravine of the ladder' also concerns rock-fishing: access to good fishing points was made easier where the cliffs were steep by affixing ladders to the rock. Similarly, *Seiligeadh an t-Sreap* 'S. of the climb'.

For fresh-water fishing we have only *Creagan a' Chabhail* 'the hillock of the purse-net' - a round-mouthed net set in mid-stream. Since *cabhall* is an ON lw., we may assume that the apparatus was introduced by the Norse.

§11.9 Trades, crafts and other occupations.

Several crafts or trades are noted in the nomenclature. The important *gobha* 'smith' is mentioned in five names, e.g. *Aird a' Ghobhainn* 'the headland of the smith', and indirectly in names such as *Cnoc na Ceàrdaich* 'the hillock of the smithy'. Traditionally the smith also owned the mill, as inferred by *Muilinn nan Gobhaichean* 'the mill of the smiths'.

Associated with the processing of grain, we also have names such as *Cnoc na h-Athadh* 'the hillock of the kiln'. Some barley would be retained for brewing and the name *Sloc na Braich* 'the hollow of the malt' probably arises from the steeping of barley

there. A part of the dark ale ultimately produced would be locally distilled, and each township had one, sometimes several stills (it is reputed that GEARR had 6 at one time), e.g. *Gleann an Taigh Staile* 'the valley of the distillery'.

The following names contain elements which relate to the production or treatment of clothing: *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir* 'the shieling of *Aonghas* the tailor'; *Càrn nam Beart* 'the cairn of the looms'; *Tom Ghrèis* 'the knoll of embroidery'; *Cnocan Anart* 'the knoll of linen' where this was bleached by the elements; similarly, *Creagan an Aodaich* 'the hillock of the clothing'. Mention may also be made of *Acha' nan Seicheannan* 'the field of the hides', where skins would be dried. For *brèidean* and *feileadh*, see §11.2ii.

Finally, the stealing of cattle or sheep, at times a necessary occupation, is alluded to in names such as *Cnoc a' Mhèirlich* 'the hill of the thief'.

(For *drumair*, *sgiobair*, *saor*, *cècaire*, *lighiche*, *piobaire*, see §11.4ii; for *ciobaire*, *buachall*, *banchag*, *sgalag* etc., see §11.7ii)

Miscellaneous items which occur, which at least infer activity, are: *mòine* 'peat', *cruach* 'peat-stack'; *connadh* 'firewood', *maide* 'timber' (but in the contexts of the names in which the element is found, 'driftwood'), and *sgaid* 'trestle'; and finally *aol* 'lime' (made from shells).

§11.10 Law, custom and belief.

The legal process was institutionalised in the form of

the hereditary powers of the briefes of *Nis*. In ST the name *Clach a' Bhritheimh* 'the judge's stone' is evidence for a southerly circuit, and *Cnoc a' Chrochaidh* 'the hill of the hanging' the extent of his authority. The range of offences, whether 'civil' or 'criminal', which is revealed by the nomenclature is limited however: *Geàrraidh a' Mhuirt* 'the shieling of the murder', *Both a' Mhèirlich* 'the bothy of the thief' (§11.9), and *Creagan a' Phuinnd* 'the hillock of the pound' (§11.7ii). *Creagan an Troid* 'the hillock of the argument or fighting' probably records some minor offence, like a breach of the peace. Most aspects of life were governed by conventions which were part of the organisation of activities. The natural sanctions against non-conformity within inter-dependent communities would have been starvation and ostracisation.

The art of the *seanchaidh* 'story-teller' survives only through the medium of the anecdote today. Most of my informants, however, recall the custom of telling stories, frequently ghost-stories, particularly at the shieling. The male dominated *cèilidh* in the village has long gone. It was through such institutions that much in the way of tradition, custom and belief was passed on. A few names reveal aspects of Celtic mythology, while others appear to have anecdotal origins pointing to local traditions. Among these are *Creag Sìtheig* 'the crag of *Sìtheag*' (a fairy goddess), and *Clach na Gruagaich* 'the stone of the *Gruagach*' (a supernatural being ultimately associated with fertility, and to which offerings of milk would once have been made). The element *sìthean* 'fairy knoll' is frequent in the nomenclature (§11.lix). Further, *bodach* and *cailleach*, in some instances at least, likely imply 'ghost' and 'witch' respectively. Any tradition associated with *Cnoc an Amhrain* 'the hill of the song' is now lost unfortunately; for *Creagan na*

h-Ulaidh 'the hillock of the treasure', see Gaz.

Buail' an Dannse 'the enclosure of the dance' is self-explanatory; the village-halls or community centres where dances are now held are of course recently acquired amenities.

References to standing-stones or stone-circles in the nomenclature are of course uninformative in relation to the stones themselves or their original significance. The obsolete word *gallan* is found: *Allt nan Gallan* 'the stream of the standing-stones'; also the ON lw. *turs(a): Tursachan Cnoc Ceann a' Ghàrraidh* 'the stones of C.'. *Cnoc Ladhraín* contains *ladhran* 'hoof-shaped place' (§7.6i) alluding to the until recently unrecorded circle in SD (see Gaz.).

A small group of names informs us of two ecclesiastical sites on *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*. The earlier foundation, dedicated to the Irish saint, *Cíarán*, was on the north side of the fiord, at *Laimiseadar: Bothan Ciaran, Fuaran Ciaran* 'the bothy and spring of C.'. Associated with this foundation is *Càrn a' Bheannachaidh* (and its alias *Cnoc a' Bheannaich*) 'the cairn of the blessing', on which a stone would be placed each time the hamlet was left in order to guarantee a safe return. The later establishment was in CIR, and dedicated to St. Michael: *Bail' an Teampaill* 'the land of the temple', *Mol na Cille* 'the shingle-beach of the church'. Of other ecclesiastical sites there were *Eaglais Dhaile Mòire*, the ruined site of an early 19th church in DM, and one on *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* 'the isles associated with St. Flann or Flannán'. The late graveyards in DM and CAL are also found in the nomenclature: *An Cladh*. For *altair* 'altar', see §11.lix.

(It is possible that there was a church or chapel dedicated to St. Columba on the island *Cèabhaidh*, on which there is an old graveyard. Martin Martin (1934: 106) has a church dedicated to

St. Collum in Garien: this could conceivably be for *Na Geàrrannan*, although it is more likely that a foundation at Upper Coll on the east of Lewis is being referred to here; but note the tack 'Callernish and St. Columbs' mentioned in 1795 (SM GD46/7/276).)

For *cùbainn* 'pulpit', descriptive of shape, see §11.2ii. Of *Creag an t-Sagairt* and *Geàrrraidh an t-Sagairt* 'the rock and the site of the priest' the former may have arisen from the shape of the feature to which the name applies and the lie of the land below it, although open-air services were held (see *Buaile nan Cobhanantars* below). For *crois*, which could be taken as meaning 'cross', see §11.1ii. The word *peacach* 'sinner' occurs in *Clach a' Pheacaich*, but it seems most likely that the name has a secular and anecdotal origin.

Finally there is the intriguing name *Buaile nan Cobhanantars* 'the enclosure of the Covenanters'. MacAulay (1984: 9) suggests the location may have been a 'haven used by Covenanters to escape punishment by the soldiers of Cromwell who were stationed in Stornoway in 1653', presumably by reason of the fact that 'this garrison was unsuccessfully attacked in 1654'. It is not clear, however, why Cromwellian soldiers should have been after Covenanters, nor how the location on an exposed coastal headland might offer the escapers anything like a haven. It seems more likely that the name arose after the restoration of episcopacy in 1661, and that groups then met in the open in such places unlawfully, i.e. without a preacher licensed by a bishop.⁷

§11.11 Political history and institutions.

The most that is heard of the political history of CR

through tradition attached to place-names concerns the continual raiding and counter-raiding of the men of *Uig* (*Na h-Uigich*) and the men of *Nis* (*Na Nisich*). This principally took place in the form of the time-honoured cattle-raid, and TS was not infrequently the scene of bloody fights when one group managed to intercept the other; see the traditions under *Cnoc nan Cnàmh*, *An Coire Dubh* and *Leathad nam Marbh*. The elements *blàr* (Gaz. No. 673) and *fuil* (§11.2ib) are sometimes considered to refer to this fighting and to have the senses 'battle' and 'blood' respectively. Additionally, the name *A' Bhuaill' Fhalach* 'the hidden enclosure' is sometimes thought of as arising from the need to protect cattle in time of raids. One *Niall MacLeòid*, who acted as a spy for the MacAulays of *Uig* against the Morrisons of *Nis*, is said to have lived on *Eilean an Taigh* 'the island of the house' in SD, while he also had a look-out post at *Both Nèill* 'Niall's bothy or shelter'.

While the above internecine rivalry is centred within the 13th to 15th centuries, the nomenclature offers little for the period prior to this. While the names *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich* 'S. of the Norseman' and *Slag na Galltanaich* 'the hollow of the foreigner' mark peripheral Norse settlement, tradition connects *Staca nan Gall* 'the stack of the foreigners' with Caithness. *Cnoc Beinn Phrìnnse* 'the hill of the mountain of the prince' is undoubtedly later than the chambered cairn crowning it.⁸ Although it is possible that a tradition concerning the cairn was passed on by indigenous peoples to Goidelic settlers, the name itself, by virtue of the dating of the borrowing of the specific element cannot have originated earlier than the late 12th century.

More on the administrative side, the name *Cnoc na Comhalaich* 'the hill of the assembly' marks the location where

the men of the village would gather to discuss matters affecting their community and make the decisions necessary. *Cnoc an Tionail* 'the hillock of the gathering' probably has the same significance. Self-determinism, of course, with the introduction of tacksmen at the beginning of the 17th century, depended very much on the demands or constraints imposed by a landlord's factor or ground-officer, cited in *Buailtean a' Mhaoir* 'the enclosures of the ground-officer'. His subordinate, the constable, is indicated by the name *Creagan a' Phuinnid* 'the hillock of the pound' (§11.7ii).

A division of Lewis into lots (crofts) was first made in 1811, but this was redrawn between 1849-51, and probably the latter is commemorated by the names *Creagan a' Phòladh* 'the knoll of the pole' and *Gàrradh na Gobharmaid* 'the dyke of the Government'.

Further, *Càrman nan Sapars* 'the stone-pile of the sappers' marks the surveying of Lewis by Royal Engineers for the Board of Ordnance (later Ordnance Survey) during the period 1848-53; while *Cnoc na h-Aeroplaine* 'the hill of the plane' records the spot where a Wellington bomber crashed in 1940.

Finally, the clearances are inferred by *A' Phàirc* in ST. During the latter half of the 19th century Sir James Matheson built houses here. Strangely, evicted parishioners of U sent to ST were put to other areas of the township, the previous occupants here being placed in the new houses. The immigration is noted by the name *Muilinn Uig*, and the evictions in ST by *Leathad Thormoid an t-Saighdeir* (it was *Tormod* who carried them out). Families from *Beàrnaraidh Bheag* were evacuated to DUN c.1835 once their peat stocks had begun to run out, and this is relevant to the names *Aird na Mònach* and *Aird na Mònadh*.

NOTES to §11

1. MacLeod, MacDonald, MacLean, Morrison, MacIver, Smith, MacKay, MacAulay, Campbell, MacArthur.
2. The type of house at each was the black house.
3. A keen and commonly-shared awareness of boundary-lines and therefore grazing rights, and the fact that stock (consisting mostly of cattle) was not long left unattended, meant that in the past the lack of dykes in the moor never presented a great problem. Today, however, since stock consists almost totally of sheep and since they are left unattended for the greater part of the year, the problem of strays is significant.
4. Skene 1880 II; 223; Marwick 1935; Steinnes 1959; Geddes 1948; Carmichael 1914.
5. Skene 1880 III, 389.
6. 'Natural enclosures' were frequently made of promontories along the coast, but they would surely have been only temporary affairs considering the lack of shelter afforded and the danger they presented to grazing animals. See, for example, *Aird a' Ghobhann*.
7. MacAulay (op.cit., ibid.) mentions the stone-circle marked on the OS1898. There is no circle here, rather boulders have been left strewn over this headland since the Ice Age, and several of these can be seen as forming a large crude circle.
8. Catalogued, Feachem 1977: 49.

This section briefly analyses the input of Pictish, Norse and English speakers to the nomenclature with regard to loans.

Our area is far from historical Pictland and it would be interesting indeed to find evidence of the Pictish language (P-Celtic or otherwise) in the place-nomenclature. The two identifiable Pictish loan-words, *peite* 'parcel of land' and *laimrig* 'landing-place, clear passage', are in fact P-Celtic. Nevertheless, these loans in themselves do not show beyond doubt that the pre-Norse and pre-Goidelic inhabitants of CR spoke a Celtic language. It is arguable that these loans could have been borrowed in mainland Scotland and have been brought later to the Western Isles by Gaelic speakers. However, if this was the case, it is difficult to reconcile the dearth of *pett*-names outside historical Pictland with the fact that Pict. *pett* also found its way to Iceland and the Faroes (Gaz. No. 2437).

The majority of Eng. *lww.*, apart from personal-names, concern introduced concepts, methods and technologies in land use, husbandry and fishing: *croit* 'croft' *lot* 'allotment' *stòr* 'store' *lanaig* 'passage' *punnd* 'pound' *cìobaire* 'shepherd' *pàire* 'park' *cotan* 'fold' *geata* 'gate' *feansa* 'fence' *pòla* 'pole' *drèana* 'drain' *sàibhir* 'sewer' *dump*¹ *fodar* 'fodder' *ploc* 'block' *teadhradh* fr. *teadhar* 'tether' *bata* 'stick' *cidhe* 'quay' *linc* 'link' **sgabhla* 'squall'. A small number of bird and fish-names are also found: *seabhag* 'peregrine' *speireag* 'sparrow-hawk' *steàrnag* 'tern' *sgait* 'skate'.

As well as *cìobaire* above, a number of other occupations are found, or inferred: *tàillear* 'tailor' *còcaire* 'cook' *staille* 'still' *drumair* 'drummer' *siorraidh* 'sheriff' **sapar* 'sapper'. Appended here could be *prionnsa* 'prince' *gobharmaid* 'government' and **cobhanantar* 'covenanter'.

Of course, the degree of influence felt from the Scottish mainland or the rest of Britain that is implied by the presence of individual loans varies; in some instances the word 'exposure' would be more suitable. What is evident is that apart from the associative use of *seuthar*, *seòmar* and *bonaid*, no terms have been adopted from English as productive generic elements for natural features.²

Besides *maighdeann* 'maiden', other forms are personal-names. The following include names merely cited in the nomenclature: *Alasdair Barbara Ceit ?Colla Conaing Duncan Hurry Isbeal Mac a' Phearsain Mac Fheatrais Mac Risnidh Mac Shaoir Martainn Miteal Seònaid Seonaidh Seòdras Teàrlach Tòmas Uilleam*, as well as the nickname *Bonaidh* 'bonny'. This list testifies to the influence that must have been felt from incoming settlers from the Scottish mainland and from whom derive the majority of the loan-words above. The medium for the importation of these loans was for the most part a Gaelic one; many will strictly be Eng. lww. derived inter-dialectically. The loan-names themselves of course derive from a small and often temporary English speaking presence and are mainly centred around the mid and late 19th century.

If we consider the advantage that there has since been to the English language through education, officialdom, two World Wars and latterly radio and television, as well as through the introduction of more recent innovations in farming, fishing and other areas relevant to the socio-economy of CR, why is it there is not a greater number of English loan-words in the nomenclature? In part it is these very factors that have prevented any increase, since they have all helped deter people from continuing in traditional occupations, or from continuing with these in the same way; it must also be partly due to the hitherto conservative nature of crofting. Another reason is the general antiquity of the nomenclature (neither the potato, introduced in the 18th century, nor the

rabbit, introduced during the last, are cited). There is an inherent resistance to change, although this does take place, which is a consequence of the onomastic quality of names.

There is a complete contrast between the English and Norse elements in the nomenclature. The comparatively large body of Norse loans shows a settled population whose influence in land-use, husbandry, fishing and other occupations is seen in such forms as *geàrraidh* 'enclosure, site' *gàrradh* 'enclosure, dyke' *lobht* 'loft, terrace' *faing* 'fank' *bòl* 'animal couch, stall' *tobhta* 'site, ruins' *uiste* 'shieling' *Na h-Oirtheanan* 'the districts, outlying-lands' *sgìobair* 'skipper' *tàbh(an)* 'net' *cabhall* 'net' *sgòd* 'sail-corner' *sgaid* 'trestle' *surrag* 'kiln-vent' *bròg* 'shoe'. A number of species of flora and fauna are also cited: *arspag* 'black-backed gull' *sgarbh* 'cormorant' *ròg* 'shag' *starrag* 'hooded-crow' *boe* 'he-goat' *sgadan* 'herring' *càl* 'cabbage' *stàrr* 'sedge'. The close social and linguistic contact between Norse and Gaelic speakers is also inferred by such loans as *tursa* '(giant), standing-stone' and *fedirlig* 'fourth-part', *sporan* 'purse' and *sreap* 'climb' ultimately from ON verbs, and *bratag* 'steep place' ultimately from an ON adjective.

While full justice to the question of Norse influence cannot be given here, since there are many *lww.* still current in the lexicon not cited in the nomenclature, the comprehensive nature of the Norse settlement is amply borne out by the long list of elements in the nomenclature denoting natural features. The round of the sea-faring pirate is not one in which we would expect more than a few scattered loans to be made, either of names or of lexical items which could later work their way into the onomasticon.³ In contrast to the merchants and townsmen of many of the settlements of Ireland, it was undoubtedly groups of farmer-fishermen that settled in CR.

Of rocks, projections, eminences and precipices etc. there are:

allt 'crag' *amar* 'crag, precipice' *beirghe* 'peninsula' *bodha* 'reef' **cealla* 'ledge' *camp* 'overhang' *cleite* 'hill' *enap* 'knob, crag' *iola* 'ledge' *lobht* 'terrace' *mùthair* 'knoll, crag' *palla* 'ledge' *ràn ròn* 'hill' *rubha* 'promontory' *sgeir* 'skerry' *stac* 'stack' *stalla* 'ledge' *stob* 'stump' *tùl* 'crag, knoll' **urrdh* 'boulders' and *steinn* 'stone'; we also have the associative use of *cròg* 'claw' and *rògair* 'lanky fellow'. Of indentations, plains and depressions there are: *bàgh* 'bay' *bot* 'lake or valley-head, basin' **ceòs* 'hollow' *dail* 'valley' *doca* 'hollow, pit' **fid* 'river-lea' *geodha* 'ravine, cove' *gil* 'ravine' *glodhar* 'ravine, gully' *glupa* 'drop, hole' **òb tòb* 'creek' *òs* 'outlet' *sgor* 'crevice, ravine' and *sloc* 'hollow, pit'. Other forms are: *aidh* 'ford, isthmus' *bogha* 'bow, bend' *fadhail* 'ford, isthmus' *faoilinn* 'uppershore' *greòd* 'gravel, gritty soil' *lèig* 'brook, marshy ground' *lòn* 'pool, marsh' *mòl* 'shingle-beach' *morghan* 'gravel, peat-sand' *poll* 'peat-bank; pool; fishing-bank' *sgridhe* 'scree' and *stiogha* 'steep path'. We can also note the probable influence on the use of the elements *altair* 'altar' and *ciste* 'chest, coffin' in the nomenclature, and the probable inter-dialectal loan *glomax* 'vice, gully'.

Of personal-names there are: *Allghar Amhlaigh* ?*Bàididh* ?*Beinn* ?*Cruimean Iomhar Laghmann Leòd Raghnaill Raonailt Ruairidh Torcall Tormòd Tòmòd* and *Uisdean*. A list from which potentially commoner personal-names among Norse settlers would be drawn would have to include those cited in loan-names also, e.g. *Biqrn Ketill* ?*Kolla/i Guðrún* *þóra þórir* and *þórolfr*, as well as the Celtic loan *Kalman*.

In addition it is indicative of how comprehensive the Norse settlement was that analysis of the loan-names considerably lengthens the above lists. Terms for natural features that either were not borrowed or have not survived in the nomenclature include⁴ (of eminences etc.) *áss* 'ridge' *bakki* 'gradient' **brokka* 'slope' *fiall* 'mountain' *hlíð* 'hillside'

hóll 'hill' *holmr* 'knoll' *holt* 'hill' *hrygg* 'ridge' *múli* 'mull' *nes* 'promontory' **núpr* 'peak, pinnacle' *stafn* 'spit' *tindr* 'tooth, pinnacle' and *uarða* 'cairn'. Others are: *agn* 'bay' *bugr* 'bend, bay' *flata flöt* 'plain' *gróf* 'stream, brook' *holmi* 'island' *skarð* 'gap, pass' *strawmr* 'stream, current' *?sund* 'bay, sound' *tíqrn* 'tarn, lake' *uatn* 'lake' *uík* 'bay' *øy* 'island' and *ǫ* 'river'.

During the settlement periods the Norse obviously retained an independence from the Gaelic inhabitants and an integrity with regard to their own institutions as is evidenced by names such as **Tíongalairidh* (with ON *þing* 'assembly') *Marcastal* (with ON *mark* 'boundary') and use of the settlement generic elements *staðr bólstaðr sátr setr býr þueit garðr* and *gerði* (see for example *Tolstadh Bðstadh Laimiseadar Amhastar *Tðlabaidh *Bhèitir Bràgair *Cèiligir*).⁵ With what amounts to selective borrowing, however, only *garðr* (G. *gàrradh*) and *gerði* (G. *geàrraidh*) appear to have been borrowed by Gaelic speakers. The borrowing was not all one way, however. Common Gaelic appellatives such as *buaille* 'enclosure' (*Buailleabhal Buailleabhair*) *àirigh* 'shieling' (**Tíongalairidh*) *crò* 'fold, pen' (*Crodhair*) *?àth* 'ford' (**Athabhat*) *?creag* 'rock' (*Cliasam Creag*) as well as the EIr. form *aíl* 'rock' (**Eilistean eilean*) and the personal-name *Colmán* (**Calmaistean*) were borrowed by the Norse. That there are not more Gaelic loan-words in Norse creations suggests that once Norse declined in favour of Gaelic, which did not happen necessarily at the same time everywhere, it did so rapidly.

NOTES to §12

1. *An Dump, An Clobhsa*: these are lnn.
2. *Am Briost*, of a hillside, is a ln.
3. Fellows-Jensen (1984: 149) cites the use of the Northern and Western Isles as staging-posts and the fact that many of the Western Isles, their promontories and mountains bear 'Scandinavian names in *ey, nes* and *fjall*' respectively to suggest they were named by sailors rather than by settlers.
4. Some of these elements are attested in other areas.
5. *Borg*-names undoubtedly post-date the duns themselves (see for example *Borghastar Borghaston*).

§13 CHRONOLOGY

§13.1 Dating techniques.

The dating of names or groups of names may be ABSOLUTE or RELATIVE. Absolute dating is arrived at by supplying *termini ante* and/or *post quem* deduced from documentary, traditional or linguistic sources etc. Relative dating is a process whereby a name or group of names can be seen as early or late in relation to some other. Frequently name-forms are dated using these techniques in tandem: form α is relatively earlier than form β ; and since α is datable to post n , α must date from n or before.

The type of criteria involved in the dating process can most practicably be described as EXTERNAL or INTERNAL. Of the former, documentary evidence from maps and other sources of names are of little help for our purposes. Apart from a handful of village-names, we generally cannot go beyond the 19th century; and with regard to village-names which are ON Inn., we can anyway safely go beyond our earliest sources of the 16th century. A number of historical events are relevant. These include the Works Act of 1891; the building of roads, quays, graveyards; the survey of the island by the Board of Ordnance; the division of lots (crofts); the creation and breaking up of tacks; improvements in crofting methods; and the clearances. While the above are more or less well-documented, local tradition is also of some help, although it is more often of use regarding the dates of individuals cited in the nomenclature. Other broader criteria give correspondingly broader dating bases, e.g. demographic movements, aspects of ecclesiastical history, and mythology.

On the other hand, internal dating criteria are all of a

linguistic nature and involve aspects of name-structure (onomastic, syntactical and semantic) and of morphology, lexis and phonology. Some of the broadest criteria include questions of *ex nomine* units and the occurrence of loan-names or loan-words; while the narrowest criteria are frequently of a morphological or phonological nature. Indeed, some criteria can prove to be almost entirely useless in either absolute or relative dating terms. For instance, with regard to a name whose onomastic meaning has been transferred, in the absence of other dating criteria we can only say that it is older than yesterday; but while this merely states the obvious, the fact that transference has taken place does at least prove it.

In developing a chronology for the nomenclature, it is logical to begin with those criteria which affect the most names the most consistently. An obvious starting-point is with ON lnn. The dating process here is partly absolute, partly relative: name-forms consisting wholly of ON lnn. can be dated to a period of Norse name-productivity; those containing lnn. either to this period or to the following centuries. Although the criterion allows us no more precise a dating, that just over a fifth of the nomenclature is affected (nearly 680 names) is of considerable significance and value. The same process is then carried out with regard to ON lww.; here some 740 names are involved. Altogether nearly 1300 names contain either ON lnn. or lww.; a little over 100 contain both. Over a third of the nomenclature, then, is with certainty datable to the centuries after the first Norse settlement of the area. Yet while the figures are at first sight impressive, the names are nominally still only datable to within a millennium or more: only independent and unqualified names here can be accurately dated to a period during which the Norse language was being spoken in CR, and there are only 128 of these.

Continuing to draw 'chronological isoglosses' we next turn to

the Eng. loans. The nomenclature yields only a dozen or so lnn., but about 140 names contain Eng. lww. The chronological distribution of the latter generally in Gaelic is complex and they cannot all be assigned willy-nilly to any one period. Any value that those loans which do occur have for designating narrower dating bases will only be tapped by treating the loans individually. However, for present purposes, names affected here are deemed to post-date the Norse settlement period (this does not imply that the lww. were necessarily all borrowed into Gaelic after that time), and this is on the whole borne out by other criteria later on. As for the small body of Eng. lnn., these are all datable to the 19th and 20th centuries using external criteria.

The result of marking names in this way is that almost half the nomenclature (about 1420 names) can be assigned to one of two chronological bands, either to the period from the time of Norse settlement to the present or to the shorter period of Norse name-productivity when the Norse language was still being spoken.

A further way in which we can deal with the nomenclature as a whole is by applying the criterion of the onomastic unit. Dependent names are relatively younger than those they have drawn upon for qualifiers, as are modified name-forms than their unmodified counterparts. Here, however, the initial result gained is a profile of the individual name or pairs of names rather than a series of chronological periods into which groups of names clearly fall. Marked only when corresponding name-forms are still extant in the nomenclature, we find a total of 919 names containing onomastic units. Combining this result with that of the analysis of the loan content of the names, 684 of these are shown to contain ON or Eng. loans. Although the dependent name-form was no doubt plausible and productive as a name-structure prior to the advent of Norse settlers, the bulk even of those that do not contain loans are

likely to post-date the Norse settlement period. On the other hand, we can be certain that those that are modified or contrasted forms are relatively late.

At this point, in superimposing these various chronological fields upon the nomenclature, we can begin to isolate potentially earlier name-structures (at the same time it becomes less appropriate to speak in terms of pre and post-Norse chronological values). Given a further 100 names which in all probability do contain onomastic units, but for which corresponding name-forms are unattested, there remain about 1180 names that potentially belong to the earliest chronological strata represented in the nomenclature.¹ These can be analysed firstly according to their onomastic, and secondly their syntactical structure.

We are left with 3 basic onomastic structures: g, gs sg, gsm sgm. Other structures (Fig. 6, p. 77) are unrepresented. Names in g are of course unqualified names which do not contain loaned elements. There are just over 100 of these compared with about 60 of similar structure which do contain loaned elements. Most names of this structure could theoretically have been created at any time, but those of sub-class c of unqualified names (Fig. 5, p. 77) can be given a *terminus ante quem* c.1200. (Watson 1906: 360). Names in sg are potentially early as well, in fact only 4 names with this structure can be regarded with certainty as post-Norse. Of names with a structure gs, there are over 1000, compared to nearly 800 which can satisfactorily be dated to after the period of Norse settlement. These include names representing 8 different syntactical structures. In order to see if any chronological differentiation can be made within such a large body of names, we can treat them according to their various syntactical categories (Figs. 2, 3 & 4, pp. 36, 41 & 52). Excluding prepositional-names and those which contain personal-names, we find the following categories represented (appended figures are approximate totals

referring to 'potentially early/other names' that have such a structure): S2a (320/100) Cli&ii (55/65) Clv (490/305) Clxiv (35/65) Clxviii (10/15) Clxix (5/10) C2i (1/20) C2iv (5/70). From this we can surmise that names of the first 3 categories listed (e.g. *Beinn Riabhach*, *Aird Fhraoich* and *Loch nan Leac*) have a greater potential for being archaic than those of the remaining categories. What is more certain is that the latter structures have been largely if not wholly in use since the Norse settlement period. The same is likely to be the case for names in gsm of which there are about 25 as opposed to about 70 similarly structured names which post-date the Norse settlement period (syntactical categories are Cliii Clvi Clvii Clxii and C2ii). Of the 100 or so names here which contain personal-names little can be said. Of prepositional-names we are dealing with only 3: *Eadar Dhà Loch* which is conceivably very old, *Car Ma Thom* which is not likely to be all that old, and *Lian' Air na Shuidh an Duine* which, as a polite alias, seems very recent.

To summarise the picture so far, we can say that nearly half the nomenclature post-dates the arrival of Norse settlers to CR. This is established because of the loan content of the names. By virtue of the fact that approximately 75% of names which can be shown to contain onomastic units also contain ON or Eng. loans, it is unlikely that many such names not containing loans actually pre-date the Norse settlement period - at any rate, they cannot be seen as forming part of the earliest strata of names. A further 100 names can be similarly treated as containing onomastic units, although appropriate corresponding name-forms are not attested. About 1200 names remain from which to establish early and nominally pre-Norse Gaelic name-structures. The relative chronology established is for the name-structures rather than the names themselves. Of the earliest strata we have structures exemplified by the names *Bratag*, *Glas Allt* and *Cùl Phort*; potentially as early but continuing in productivity

are those exemplified by *An Abhainn*, *Beinn Riabhach* and *Aird Fhraoich*; there are early examples of the type shown by *Loch nan Leac* as well, but it can generally be considered, by virtue of the use of the article, as gaining ground later in the day; *Allt na Buaille Mòire*, *Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche*, *Airigh na Circe Fraoich*, *Cnoc Fear an Taigh* and *Airigh Chùil Làimhe* can be seen as representing structures as variations of and following on upon the last; finally there is the development of the modified name-form as shown by *Cnoc Leathainn a' Mhagha*, *Breun Loch na Beinne*, *Cnoc Dubh na Creige Bàine*, *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag* and *Cnoc Mòr Atha*. We could add that the contrasted name-form (as well as consequent syntactical irregularities, §3.6) is later still.

§13.2 Early Gaelic names.

Several criteria discern early Gaelic names in the nomenclature: the only external criterion is ecclesiastical; internal criteria include the neuter gender, archaic inflexion, certain name-structures, plural terminations and lenition. Other potentially early names can be identified by their generics, but theoretically at least a number of early Gaelic names will remain unidentified.

The names associated with the ecclesiastical foundation dedicated to St. *Ciárán* (*Bothan Ciaran*, *Fuaran Ciaran* and *Càrn a' Bheannaich/Bheannachaidh*) are certainly associated with the pre-Norse period. How early we can place them (St. *Ciárán* died in 547) is another matter. The derived name *Am Beannachadh* is probably early modern. *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* as a form must also be relatively late, although it may not have been created in isolation. *Bail' an Teampaill*, *Tràigh an Teampaill*

and *Mol na Cille*, associated with the foundation dedicated to St. Michael in CIR, are probably not older than the 12th century because of the biblical dedication.

Survivals of neuter forms (§7.2i) we can safely date to before the end of the 9th century: *An Dùn, Slag na Galltanaich, Sèabhal na Fionndanaich, Beinn Cloich, Beinn Feusaig, ?Beinn Colla* (Thurneysen 1975: 154). The first here provides the *ex nomine* unit for several dependent names, but how many of these will be that early is difficult to say. Very possibly *Beinn-*, *Port-*, *Cladach-* and *Loch na Dùine* are. It is probable that the unit retained a 'fossilised' archaic gen. form in other names. *Beinn-*, *Port na Dùine* etc. are not likely however to be earlier than about 750.²

Because of their structure (p. 233) certain groups of names can be dated to some time before the end of the 12th century. These include *Beannan, A' Chlèid, A' Chliarach, An Daireag, An Fhàideal, An Gasan, Goban, Lagaigh, An Loibhteag, Maoilean, A' Mhiasaid, A' Mhìst, Ruighleag, An Slugaid*. Some forms derive ultimately from ON (*Bratag, Iolairéan, An Cèdsan, An Fhìdeach*) but many of the remainder may be very early indeed. Some forms that have been created in the same way (§7.6) have eventually come to have full generic status, e.g. *creagan, clachan*; some of the following might be seen in this light, although they are no longer productive: *A' Chraobhag, Na Gleadhairéan, An Lèbraich*. We can also identify now obsolete name-forms by sifting through *ex nomine* units; for example we find **Barran, *Brocag, *Ciarag, *Clìd, *Crombaidh, *Garbhag, ?*Duibhean, *Glasar, *Gnìs, *Ladhran, *Lomaidean, *Miorag, *Oban, *Osag, *Slodhaigh, ?*Spillidh, *Sprumhag* and *?*Tuartan*. The forms *Lagaigh* and **Slodhaigh*, by virtue of their endings must be pre c.1100, before EIr. /ð/ > /ɣ/ (Thurneysen 1975: 77; O' Rahilly 1976: 53-7); indeed, they may be extremely archaic dat. forms.

Further names of which many will have been created alongside the above are *Am Fàs Allt*, *Am Fiar Allt*, *An Garbh Allt*, *An Glas Allt*, *Na Meanbh Chnoc*³, *An Dubh Sgeir*, *An Cùl Phort*, *An Fheur Loch* and the obsolete forms **Cam Allt*, **Dubh Loch* and **Fionn Allt*. Since the adj. *sean* 'old' continued and continues to precede its noun, names such as *An t-Sean Chreag* are undatable, at least as a result of this criterion.

Other unqualified names will also belong here, and some of these are suggested because the elements they consist of are rare and no longer productive, e.g. *An Tiompan*, *Maidhm*, *A' Ghnùig*, *A' Chliath*, *A' Bhàir*, *Leitir* and **Slug*.

Among qualified but unmodified names whose structures have been described above (p. 234) and among which we could expect to find early names, certain elements appear to be archaic, e.g. the generic in *Dùn Atha* with the sense 'rocky mound'; *camas* and *cala*, terms for types of coastal indentations, which gave way to elements borrowed from ON (pp. 167-68); similarly, the use of *carra* of a marine rock, and which was superseded as a productive element in this sense by ON *lw.* (p. 166-67); the use of *càrman* of a large rocky hill (p. 173); the isolated instances of *sìth*, as opposed to the well-attested form *sithean* (pp. 173-74), *tulach* (p. 173) and *tòrr* in *Camas an Tòrr* (p. 172); the specific in *Rinn nan Gallan* and *Allt nan Gallan*, superseded by the ON *lw.* *tursa*; the specific in *Loch na Lèibheinn* and *Peite Lèibheinn* (p. 176); and the name *Rubha Sharspag* (see *Gaz.*).

The question of the dating of the various plural endings (§7.5) is a vexed one. Certainly the form *-an* will have been developing at the latest during the 15th century, and there must have been a proliferation of the *-annan* type before this.⁴ It is not altogether unlikely that the archaic termination *-a* began to lose ground during the 13th century with the development of forms derived from inflexional stems (*-anna*, *-acha*).

This disappearance would have been accelerated after the reduplicated form *-annan* had developed and given rise to the ending *-an*. Name-forms containing the simple termination *-a* are probably no younger than the 13th century, although there is no hard evidence to support this one way or the other, while some may be considerably older.⁵ Most have a structure *n + a* (there is one modified form) and 3 contain ON *lww.*, e.g. *Creaga Beaga, Toma Dubha, Cnoca Dubha, Airde Beaga, Croite Bàna, Leaca Geala, Daile Beaga, Daile Mòra, Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag, *Clacha Mòra, *Cleite Dubha.*

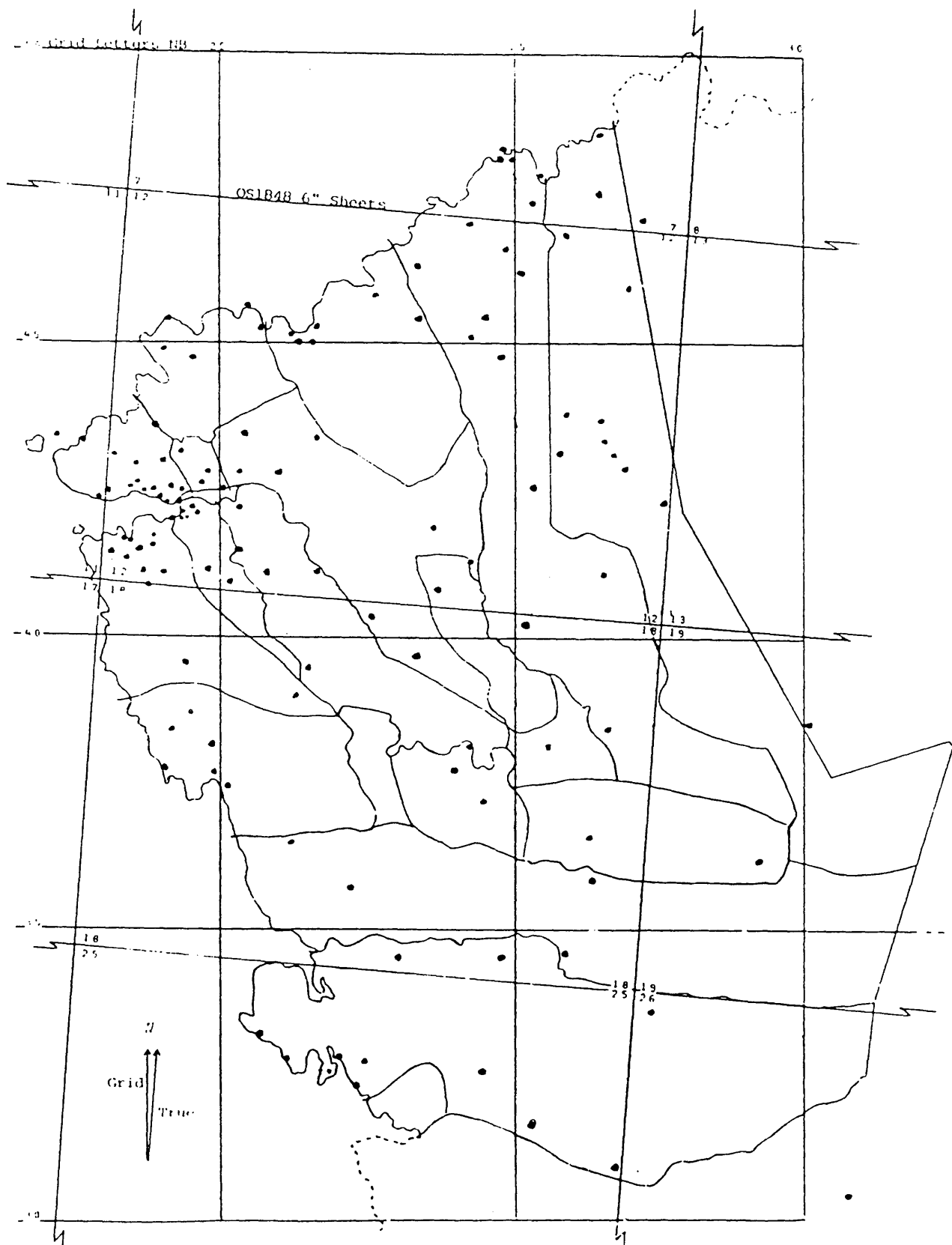
Certain developments regarding lenition prove equally difficult in dating terms. There are a small group of names in which lenition is not found in environments where the phenomenon would have occurred in the later language. The relevant environments concern non-personal proper-names, masc. personal-names and indefinite plural nouns in genitive position. Ante-dating development of lenition in these environments, we have for example *Loch Mille Thòla, Loch Bacabhat, Loch Fionnacleit; Fuaran Ciaran, Bothan Ciaran, ?Beinn Colla; Cnoc Chala Muc, Druim Leac, Am Both Clach,* and *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag.* Lenition of gen.m. persnn. probably originates with persnn. in a position following the gen.sg. of *mac* (where *mic* has a palatalised final consonant, cf. §7.lii, para. 14). An instance where lenition of the persn. occurs by analogy after rad. *mac* is found in the Book of Deer (Jackson 1972: 141, para. 27d). The phenomenon then spread to other gen. masc. personal and non-personal proper-names regardless of the quality of any preceding final consonant. As regards gen.pl. nouns, lenition may have become fixed here by analogy with usage for example after *mòran* EIr. *mórán*.⁶ Possibly by the early part of the 13th century lenition regarding masc. personal and non-personal proper-names had become the rule.⁷ The development in gen.pl. nouns is later.⁸

In the nomenclature, then, ON *lwn.* are normally lenited as

specifics in dependent names. *Ex nomine* units that are Gaelic creations are also found lenited (§7.1i, para. 7) but this is by no means the rule. What is interesting is not that the phenomenon developed later here, but that while it apparently did develop at the same time as with ON lnn. etc., it then died out.⁹ So we have earlier forms like *Loch Thoma Dubha*, *Cnoc Chlacha Mòra* and *Càrnaichean Thala' Thàmhais* besides *Airigh Cleite Fotharamar*, *Feadan Cnoca Mòra* and *Cnoc Beul Thòlaigea*. There are exceptions however, such as *Ceàrdach Chleite Dubha* (datable to early this century). The chronology is nevertheless confirmed by forms such as *Creagannan Buaile Bhoth Tastabhat* and *Allt Geàrraidh Mhaoilein*. In effect, then, when dealing with *ex nomine* units that are Gaelic creations, lenited forms come chronologically between unlenited forms, and without other criteria to help, the relative dating of unlenited forms is pure guess-work.

It has been claimed that the effect of the Norse settlement of the Western Isles was to all intents and purposes to clear out the Gaelic speaking population (Henderson 1910: 185; MacBain 1922: 70). More recently, however, despite it being held that Gaelic pnn. there cannot be shown to be pre-Norse (Watson 1926: 38-9, 86; Nicolaisen 1976: 122) it has been thought likely that a Gaelic speaking presence did survive since it was finally able to absorb the Norse speaking element in the population (Fellows-Jensen 1984: 151). It is evident, however, that in CR there are *pari passu* and pre-Norse Gaelic creations embedded in the place-nomenclature. Indeed, the evidence for a strong and continuous Gaelic speaking presence is considerable, and the geographical distribution of these early names corroborates such a conclusion (Map 4).

The Distribution of Early Gaelic Names



§13.3 Traditional dating of the first Norse settlements in Scotland.

In searching for the earliest probable date for the first Norse settlements in the Hebrides we have had to depend on frugal amounts of indirect historical evidence. From the annalists we know of the 8th and early 9th century raids, and at the latest this particular batch began in 795 with the attacks on Iona and the Church of Rechru off Dublin. Iona was frequently attacked in the years following: in 798, 802 and 806, the abbot leaving for Ireland in 807 (Chadwick 1962: 21). Evidence of at least second generation settlers emerges in the mid 9th century with mention of a mixed people of Irish and Viking stock appearing under the name *Gall-Gaedi'l* 'foreign Gael' from the late 850's (Chadwick op.cit., 27). From this, a period of primary Norse settlement is traditionally thought to have begun at the beginning of the 9th century.

On the whole this assumption has not been contradicted by circumstantial evidence from, for example, Shetland or Norway. It is reasonably assumed that the settlement of Orkney and Shetland was well underway before the colonisation of the west, which in turn must have had an intensive Norse presence before the colonisation of Iceland about 870.

The dating of settlement-name generics in Norway has not been facilitated by the fact that no chronological periods automatically emerge from internal historical evidence. The term 'Viking Age', however, has been responsible for a fairly incestuous process of assumptions made with regard to dating. The Viking Age, traditionally 800-1050, has been set off as a separate period chiefly because of its external influence, but there is nothing inherent in the internal history or the linguistic development of Scandinavia to justify it (Haugen 1976: 134).

Again, it begins with the recorded raids of the annalists' entries around 800. As a consequence, with little other evidence to follow, settlement-name generics have often in the past been allocated a chronology using the Viking Age yard-stick. *Staðr*-names, for example, are traditionally dated to between 800 and 1000 (but see p. 261). The *terminus post quem*, however, rests more or less on the fact of the element's presence in the nomenclatures of Shetland, Orkney, the Western Isles and the north of Scotland.

Conclusions drawn from the study of Orkney farm-names date primary Norse settlement there to c.800 (Nicolaisen 1976: 85-6). However, Nicolaisen makes an important point in his study of the evidence of pnn. in Caithness (Nicolaisen 1982: 75) which may be quoted here: 'There is... nothing or very little evidence in the place-name material to be used in the following, which directly and unequivocally points to, confirms or corroborates the dating of the earliest Norse settlement in Shetland, Orkney and Caithness at approximately the year 800 AD; there is, however, also nothing in that material to contradict such dating. The toponymic evidence is, on the whole, neutral in this respect.'

Although Viking graves and their contents are difficult to date narrowly in absolute terms, grave finds and early settlements alike are generally accepted to date to between 800 and the middle of the 9th century. However, Morris (1985: 213-14) points out that this is done - even with phase I at Jarlshof in Shetland - on the same basis as that used for the place-name evidence.

The dating of the first Norse settlements in Scotland, then, is generally thought to be c.800 AD, and this is because of the correspondence with the flush of raids recorded for that time. In the absence of any firm evidence, no earlier date has been confidently proposed. The nomenclature of CR, however, offers strong evidence to

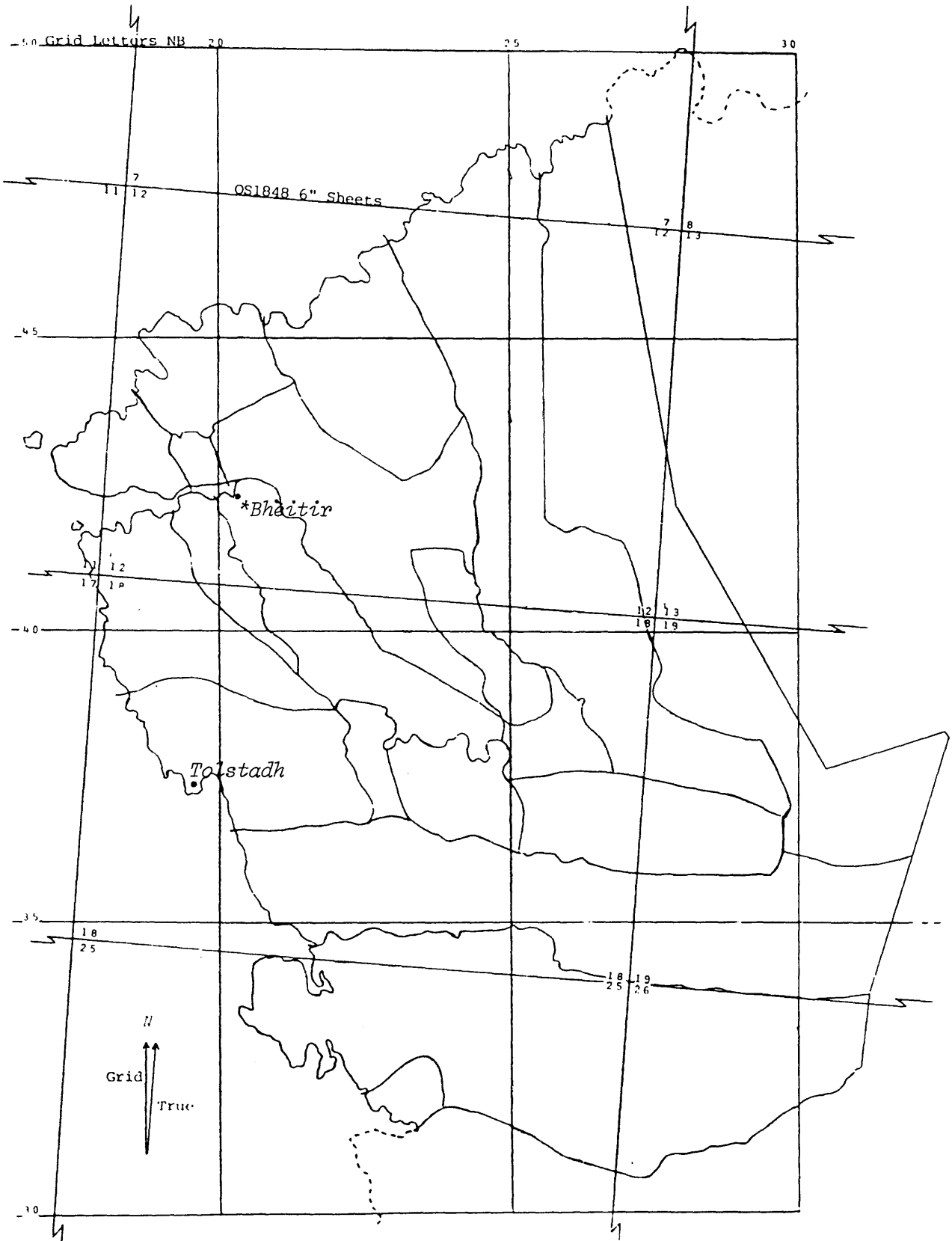
suppose this dating too late. Indeed, the following sub-sections hope to show how Norse settlement had already begun within our area by at least the middle of the 8th century.

§13.4 The relative dating of Norse settlements in CR.

Three stages or phases of Norse settlement are apparent from the type and distribution of settlement-name generics found in CR. Their relative chronology favourably compares with work done on place-name elements elsewhere in Scotland; for instance, it does not contradict conclusions drawn on the interrelation of the various elements ON *staðr*, *bólstaðr* and *setr/sætr* by studies such as Nicolaisen's (1976: 87-94). However, their relative chronology can be judged independently from other evidence in the place-name material. Settlement-names within each phase, or more especially within the first two, are found to have certain names or generics clearly identifiable with them; the identification is made upon linguistic and/or distributional grounds.

Two Inn. record the earliest settlements in CR, corresponding to the period of primary Norse settlement there: **Bhèitir*¹⁰ ON *þueitar*, and *Tolstaðh* ON *þólfsstaðir*. That *þólfr* is a rather late form of the persn. *þórolfr* is no objection, since while the early steading would have had the form *þórolfsstaðir*, the language of this part of CR was probably predominantly Norse speaking for several centuries afterwards and a contraction of the name would have occurred naturally during the course of time (p. 257). Both of the locations involved (Map 5) fulfil criteria we can expect of primary settlement sites, namely good harbourage, shelter, land for cultivation etc.¹¹ The name **Tiongalairidh* with ON *þinguöll*- 'assembly-field' in *Tolstaðh* shows the settlement must have grown to some

Primary Norse Settlement: staðr, þueit.



size and importance, if only at a local level. It is impossible to ascertain whether or not our location saw anything of assemblies from which representatives of the Western Isles would be sent to the Manx court during the centuries of political unity among the *Sudrøiyar*.¹²

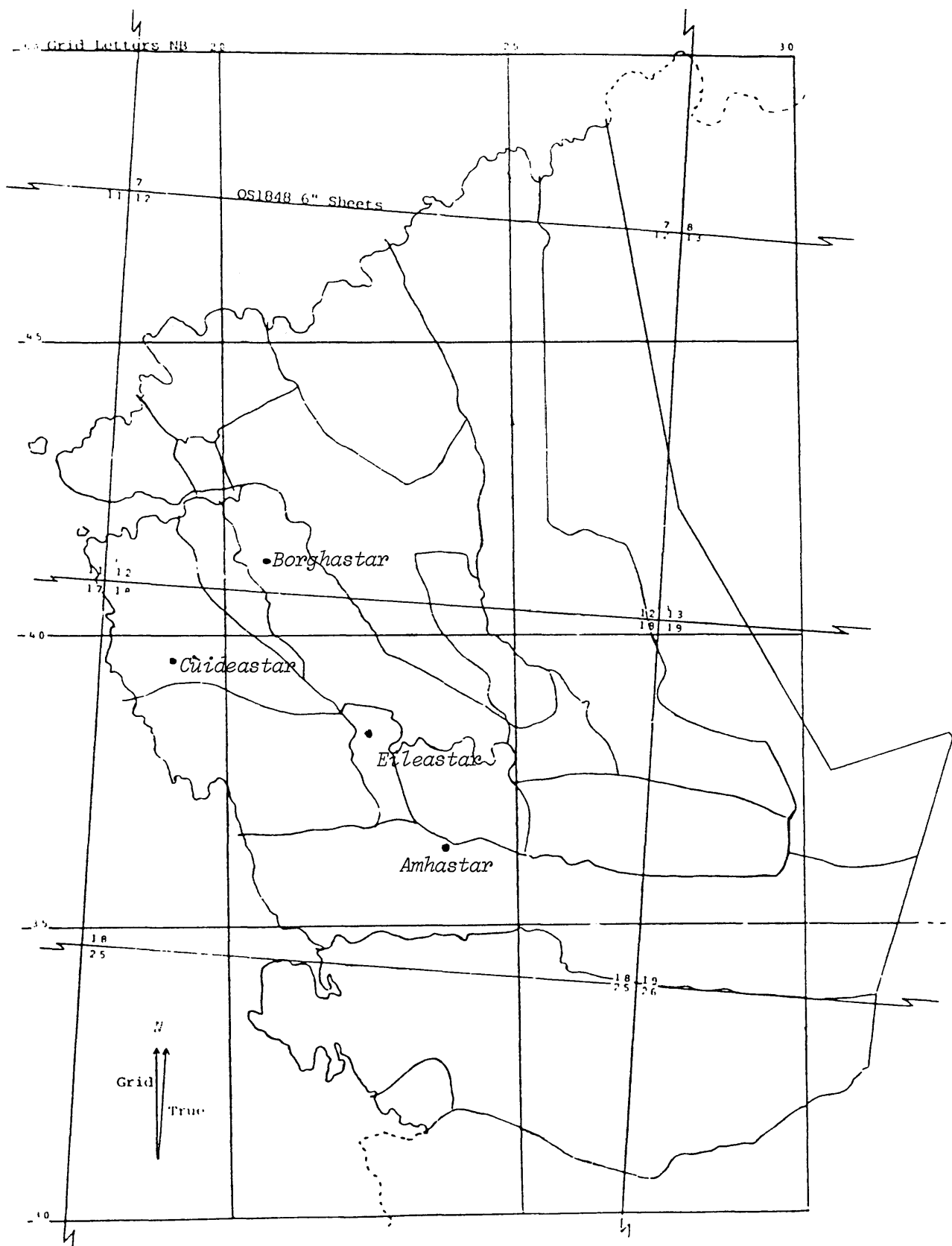
Associated with these early settlement sites are the *-setr* shieling-names *Cuideastar*, *Borgastar*, *Eileastar*¹³ and *Amhastar* which clearly lie within their domain (Map 6).

These early settlements and their associated names are identified on distributional grounds with a small but important group of toponyms whose structure is *gs* (consisting of *n + a* or *n x n*). In Proto-Scandinavian this order was commoner than that of *sg* which became the norm c.800. (Haugen 1976: 160, 312; Diderichsen 1946: 242-43). It is the number of names of the former structure which suggests that it is not just a question of the relatively late use of an archaic name-structure, but rather evidence for a prolonged period of settlement prior to the close of the 8th century.

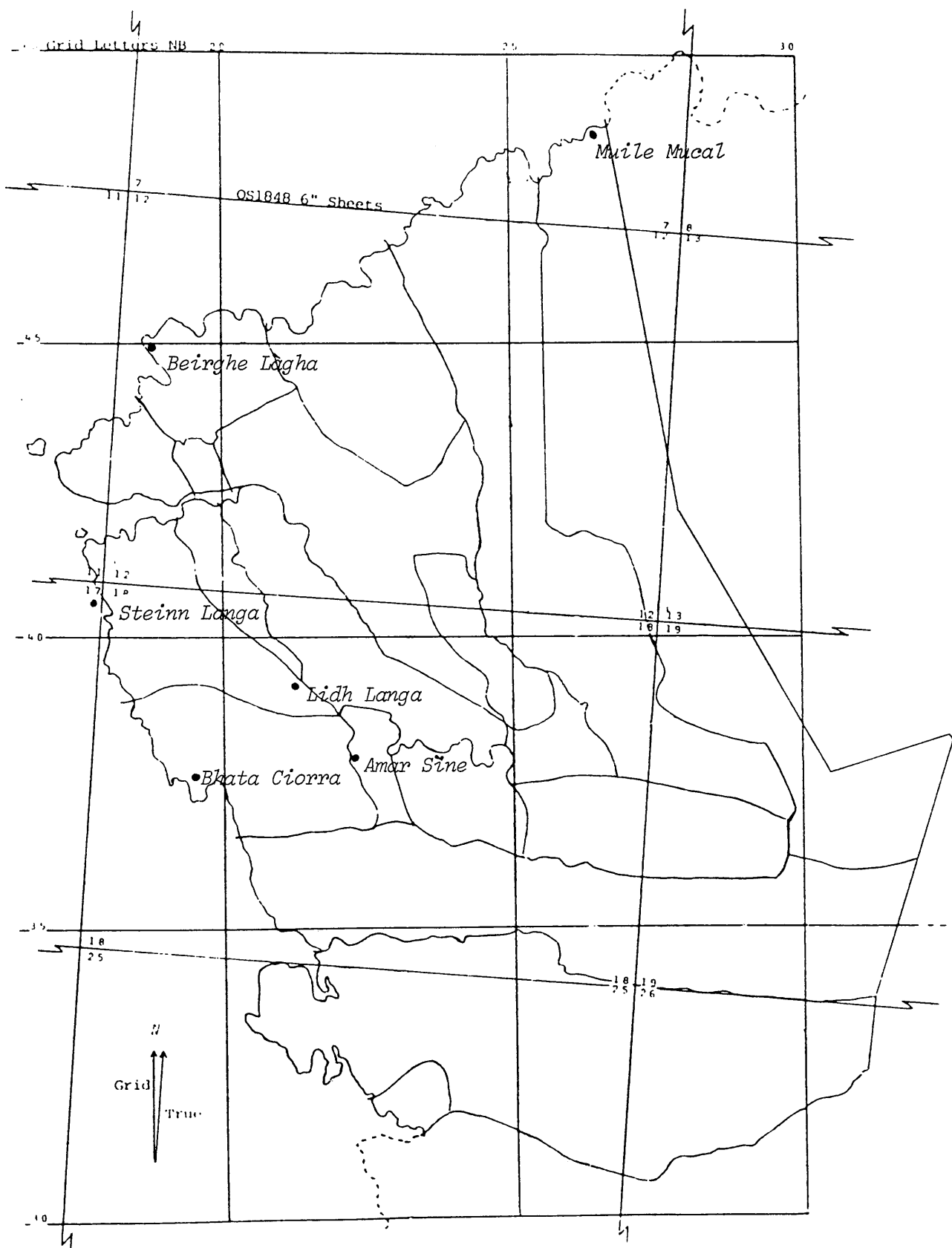
The older structure is exemplified by the Norwegian place-name Landegode ON *Landit Góða* 'the good land'. (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980:200). In CR (Map 7) we find *Muile Mucal* ON *Múlinn Mykli* 'the large mull', *Beirghe Lãgha* ON *Bergit Lága* 'the low promontory', *Steinn Langa* ON *Steininn Langa* 'the long stone', *Lidh Langa* ON *Hlíðin Langa* 'the long hillside', *Bhata Ciorra* ON *Uatnit Kyrra* 'the calm lake', and *Amar Síne* ON *Hamar Sína* 'the crag of the prospect'. Lewis also produces several other names of this structure, e.g. **Bhatan Diob* ON *Uatnit Diúpa* 'the deep lake'; in Cnoc Fada Breidhe NB2130 (OS 1974) ON *Uatnit Breiða* 'the broad lake'¹⁴; *-Bhata Ledis* $\{-\text{vaht}\partial\text{'L}'\text{c}:f\}$ ON *Uatnit Liósa* 'the bright or shining lake' ?NB5153 (Oftedal 1980: 186); and *Sgeir a' Langa* ON *Skerit Langa* BERN (MacAulay 1972: 331).

Similar names have been found in St. Kilda,¹⁵ and it is

Primary Norse Settlement: setr



Primary Norse Settlement: Loans structured gs



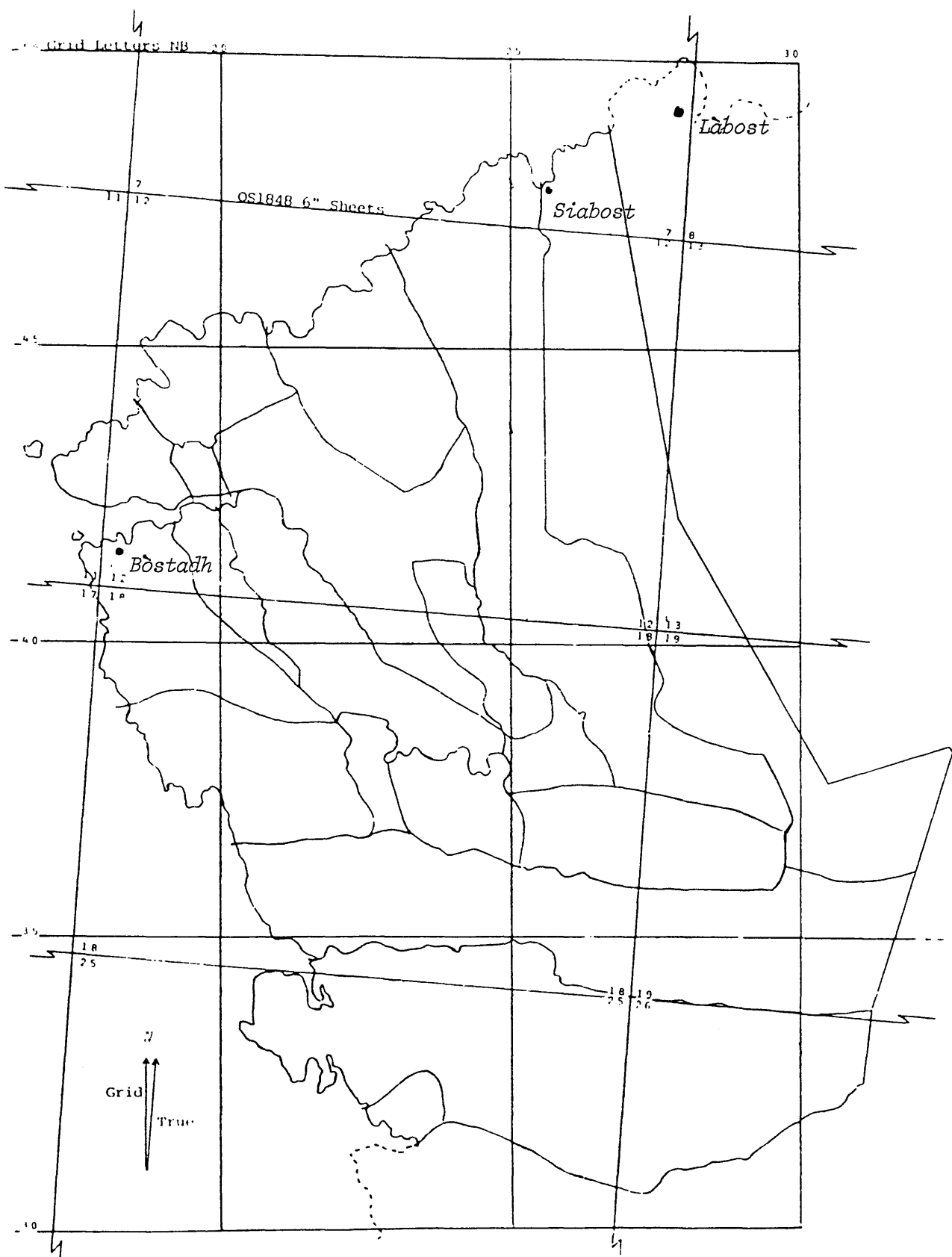
reasonable to assume that here we have evidence of Norse settlement on the north-west periphery of Scotland well within the 8th century. It is evident, however, that there is some connection with names of this early structure and secondary Norse settlements in CR, if only at an early stage of their development - compare Maps 7 and 8.

We do not have to find similarly structured names dotted around throughout the Hebrides, although further research may reveal some scattered examples. There is an inherent logic in supposing that Norse settlement of the islands and coastal districts of the west of Scotland was a progressive rather than blanket one. (§13.6).

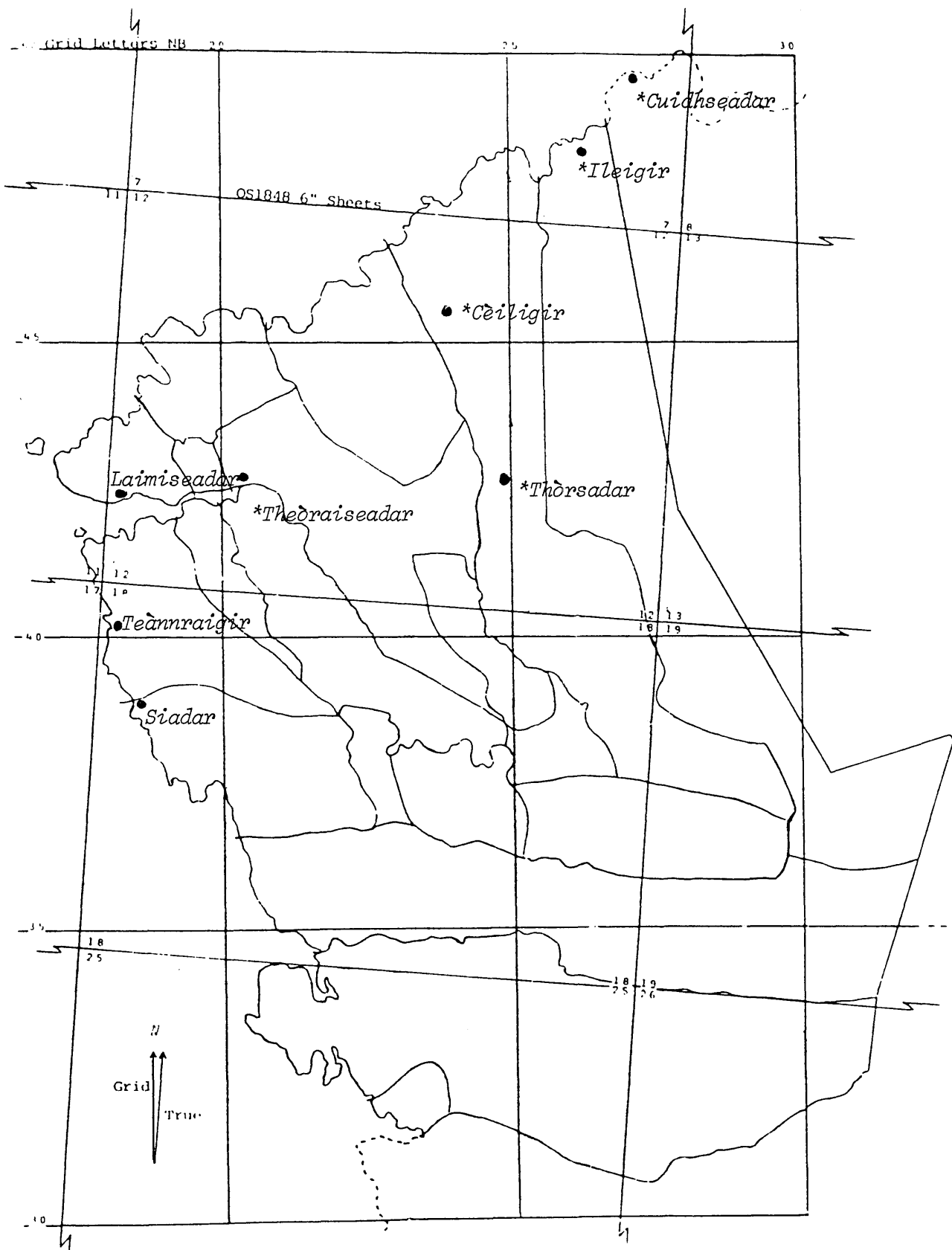
A secondary settlement period emerges with the appearance of the settlement generic *bólstaðr*. Within our area *Bòstadh* and *Siabost* date from this period; so too *Làbost* in BRA (Map 8). Associated with these are the shieling-names in (-) *sætr*: **Cuidhseadar*,¹⁶ **Theðraiseadar*, **Thòrsadar*, *Laimiseadar* and *Siadar* itself (Map 9). Some of these sites evidently became permanently settled during the course of time, as the name **Thiamaistean* ON *Heim(s)stein* 'the crag of the residence' by *Laimiseadar* shows.¹⁷ Similar development would have taken place at **Theðraiseadar* and *Siadar*; the latter, indeed, may have been established as a permanent site from the first. Enclosure-names in *-gerði* are also limited to the secondary settlement stage (Map 9). Part of the extent of the area of Norse settlement by the end of the secondary stage is interestingly shown by the names *Marcastal* ON *Markás(s)dal* 'the valley of the boundary ridge' and *Slag na Galltanaich* 'the hollow of the foreigner' which lie by the TOL/BRI border; note also *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich* 'S. of the Norseman' by the CARL/DAIL border.

Unfortunately there are few ON ln. generics of natural features which give us much assistance with regard to differentiating settlement zones. Three, however, serve our purpose: *hamarr*, *steinn* and *uarða*.

Secondary Norse Settlement: blstar



Secondary Norse Settlement: *ætr, gerði*

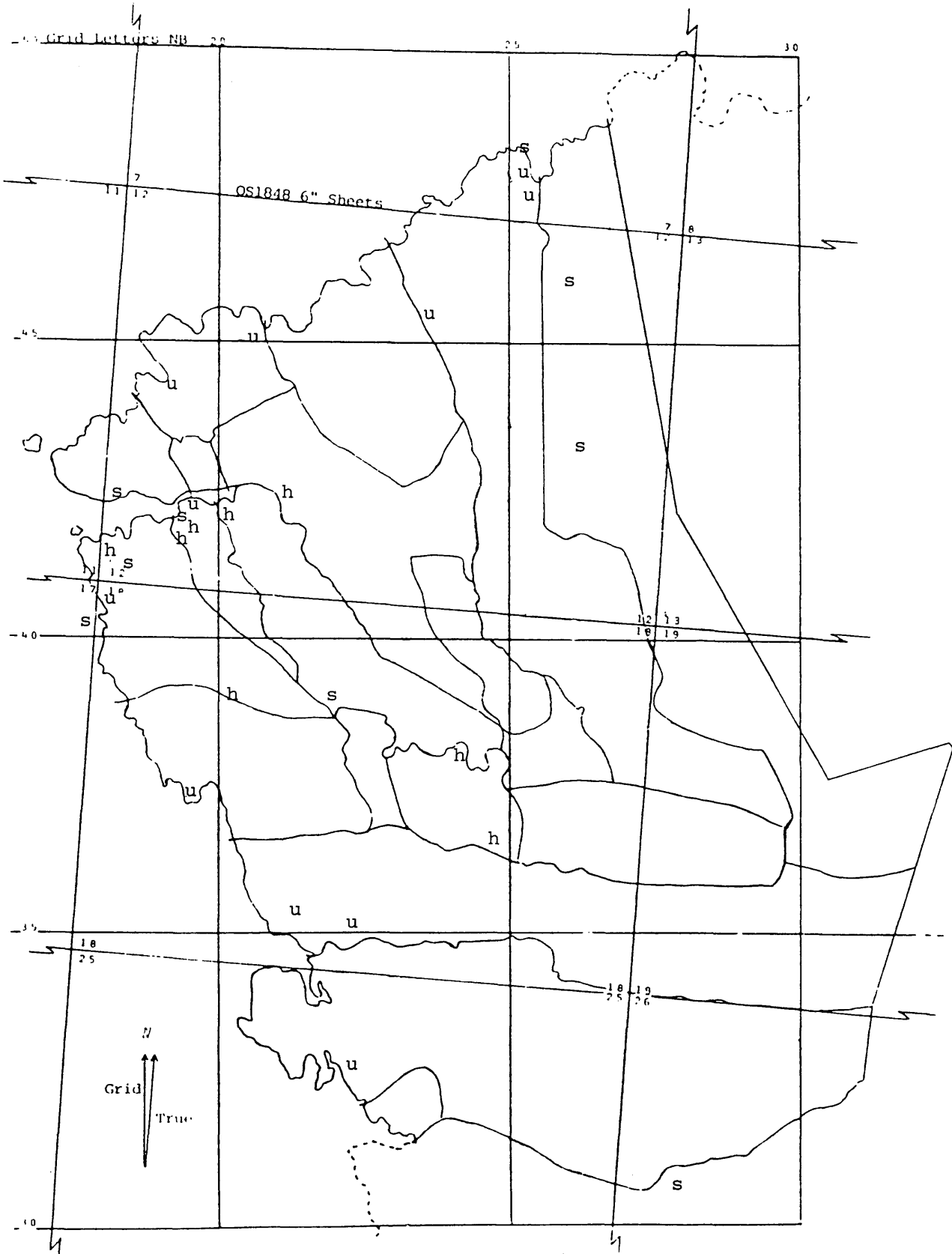


Hamarr is applied to crags with a vertical face or precipice, and so hills with such a feature, while *steinn* has the senses 'stone, rock, crag'. *Uarða* strictly meant a beacon, a pile of wood for such, or a stone-pile on which a beacon would be lit. Later the sense 'cairn' develops, so Mod. Norwegian *varde* 'beacon, cairn'. At a first glance at the distributional features of *uarða*-names in CR (Map 10), the element looks remarkably as if it may have had the sense 'cairn with beacon' - the names are dotted around the coast at roughly regular intervals. From my knowledge of the locations however and the features to which the names may have originally been applied, it seems unlikely that the element was productive in the onomasticon only with this sense; rather it seems to have applied to rocky knolls or hillocks, i.e. it had the sense 'cairn'.¹⁸ Although these elements did not have identical senses, it is probable that in reality there was some overlapping (the Norse *linn* in the names *Creag Thamar* and *Druim Thangabhair* may well have been applied to the same feature - though naturally at different times).

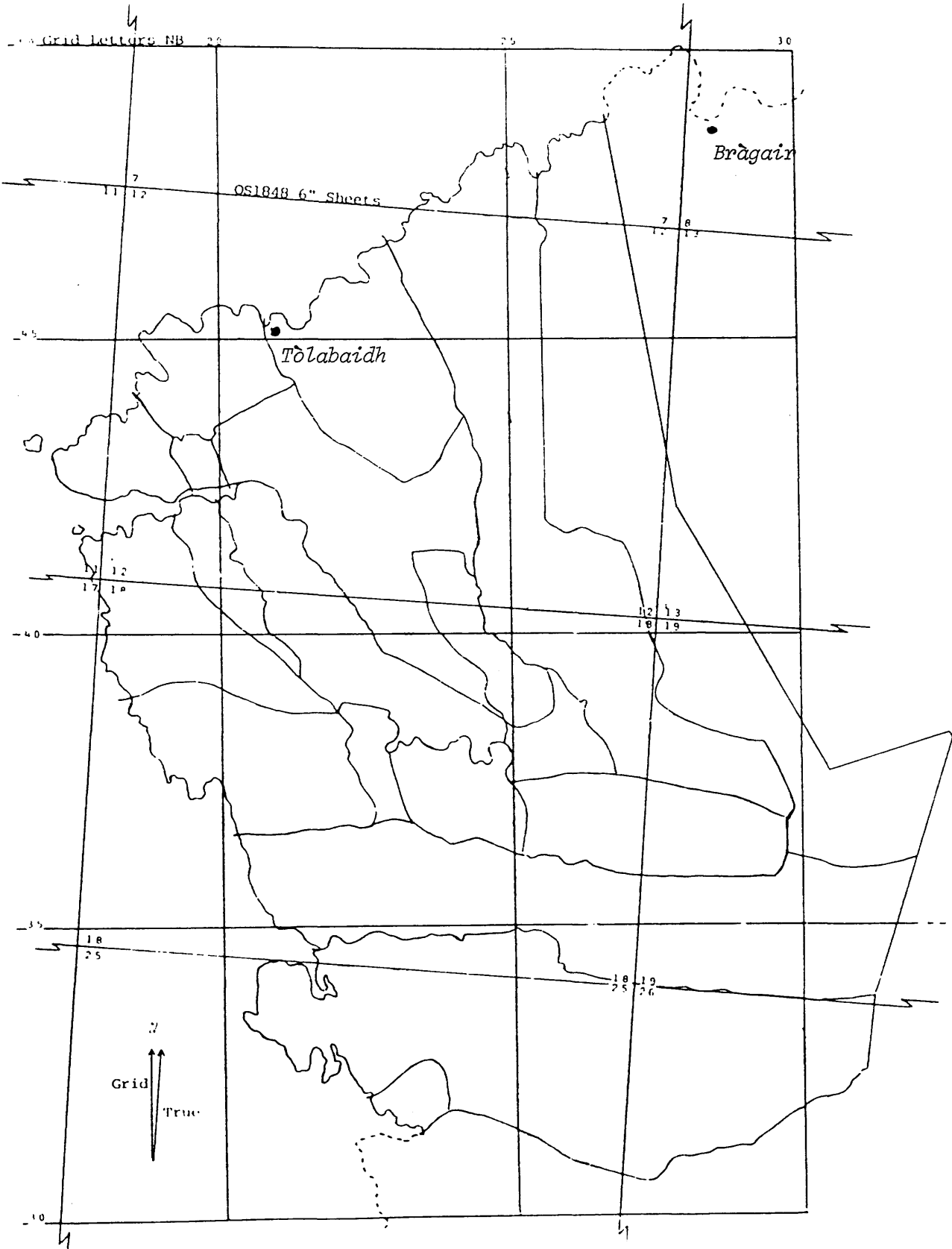
Their distributional features suggest that *hamarr*-names belong to the period of primary settlement, although the element is likely to have remained productive into the secondary stage of settlement. *Steinn*, on the other hand, appears to be confined more or less to this secondary stage. The element *uarða*, however, while it seems to have become productive during this stage, continued to be so for some time after - thus *uarða*-names appear within the southern area of CR (BRI and CAL) for which until now there has been no evidence of permanent contact with the Norse.

Broadly speaking, a tertiary stage of settlement saw a consolidation and intensification of the Norse presence. It was not one characterised solely by the establishment of new settlement sites. Certainly **Tòlabaidh* (Map 11) in ON *-bǫr*, because of its relatively poor

The Distribution of *hamarr* (h), *steinn* (s) and *uarda* (u)



Tertiary Norse Settlement: *børr, garðr*



location, probably forms part of a late series of arrivals, but more importantly this period saw a growth not just from the exterior, but from within CR itself. This would take the form both of an extension to the settlement area, due to the taking up of new land and to inter-marriage with non-Norse inhabitants, and of a general broadening of influence felt politically, socially and economically. At this stage some original shieling sites were probably becoming permanently settled, e.g. *Laimiseadar* (p. 248), and the settlement at *Bràgair* ON *Brá-garð(i)* 'brow-enclosure' most likely forms part of the same expansion.

As we have seen, it is not until now that the southern part of CR begins to have permanent contact with the Norse community. This is not only evidenced by the encroachment of *uarða*-names, but also, negatively, by the absence of settlement-names and a lack of those names we find associated with settlements in the north. It is likely, in fact, that any settlement in the southern part of CR was only sporadic and short-lived (p. 257). Apart from the possible exception of some coastal-names, lnn. in CAL and BRI are comparatively late.

§13.5 The Norse period: settlement, language and interaction.

There are few identifiable internal criteria which define bases on which to date individual lnn. Expectation here can be understandably high. There is however a crucial point which apparently has not, on the whole, been considered. This is that separate chronologies can be derived using different terms of reference in relation to borrowed elements within a nomenclature. On the one hand, loan-names have to be created; on the other, they then have to be borrowed. In the case of Eng. lnn. in the nomenclature of CR, the derived chronologies do not seem to differ.

As far as Norse loans are concerned, however, there is evidence to suggest they are very different. The conclusion to be drawn is that the development of interaction between Norse and Gaelic settled populations was a slow affair, and that initially Norse settlements were very much isolated from their Gaelic counterparts.

First of all we can set up a chronology for some loans by assessing the various Gaelic reflexes of ON $r\delta(-)$. There are three main varieties: {R} or -{r}, {rɣ}{Rɣ}, and -{t} -/Rd/. The development ON $r\delta$ to G. {R} -{r} has taken place before EIr. /δ/>/ɣ/(§10.2vii), and forms here must have been borrowed before the 12th or at some time early in the 12th century: names in ON *-gerði* (Map 9) *-uarða* (Map 10) *-garðr* (Map 11) and *-skarð* e.g. *Rothasgair*.¹⁹ This applies also to the lww. *gàrradh* and *geàrraidh*. Forms with the reflex {rɣ}{Rɣ} must therefore be post c.1100, for example the lww. **urradh* and *morghan* (§7.6i). The hiatus present in the lnn. *Sgairdheiseal* and *Sgardhaisgeir* (ON *skarð-*) presupposes that ON $r\delta$ would already yield {rɣ} before they were borrowed. Finally forms that show the reflex -{t} -/Rd/ would appear to have been borrowed after the /δ/>/ɣ/ process in EIr. had settled down. Outwith CR, this affects names like Loch Resort NBO617 (OS 1974) in final ON *-fiqrðr* m. 'fiord'; within CR this may concern the names **Riosard* and **Sgàrdam*.²⁰ Such forms will have conceivably been borrowed from the 13th century on, thereby also giving a *terminus ante quem* to loans such as *morghan* above.

This chronology refers to the borrowing of loans. We cannot say when they were actually created by Norse speakers. Similarly we can say that forms such as **Mille Thòla*, **Bacabhat*, **Fionnaclait* and *Lidh Langa* will have been borrowed early in or prior to the 13th century (p. 238). The Norse forms of the lnn. *Eileastar* and *Eilistean*, however, which contain a lw. from EIr. *ail*, can be considered to have been created before 1200, about which time ON \ddot{a} and *e* combined. At the same time we can say that

the lnn. were probably borrowed after that time (because of the resulting {e}).²¹ We can also apply the same chronology with regard to the process G. *eilean* ← ON **ælan(d)* ← EIr. *ailén*.

From this evidence we can only conclude that both Norse lww. and lnn. were still being borrowed in the centuries following the initial settlement periods, and that Norse speakers were still present in the area during the 13th century and perhaps later. We can say nothing about the dating of the settlement periods themselves.

It has already been established that the primary stage of Norse settlement began during the 8th century (pp. 245 & 248), but how early can we place the secondary stage? Considering that the Norse spoke a language wholly unintelligible at the outset to the established inhabitants of the area, it is reasonable to assume that linguistic contact was initially slow in developing. Before the end of the primary settlement period we can assume that some of the more important pnn., like those of settlements, and some persnn. also, *hād* come to be used by the earlier inhabitants. The latter, of course, do not have to have been adopted at this stage as part of their anthroponymy. It can only be during the secondary settlement period that we would expect much by way of an exchange of appellatives, although lww. might be datable to any time after this period.

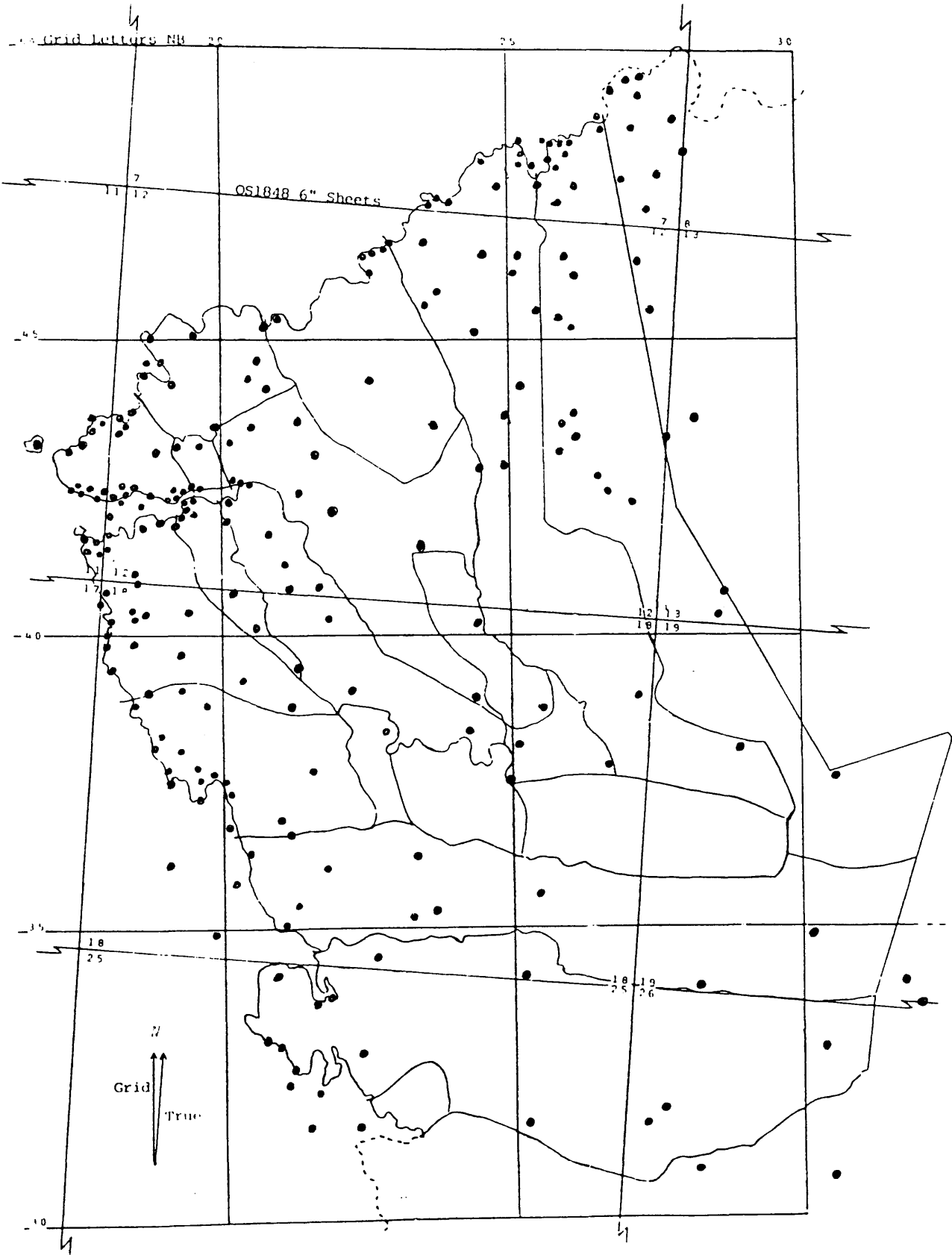
There are several forms which clearly belong to the earliest strata of loans, and which can be ascribed to the 8th century: *oidh* ON **aið* (> *eið*; cf. *Eitseal*); *Raoinigeadh Raoineabhat Raoineabhal* with ON **raunir* (> *røynir*); **Rostal* ← **Rostain(n)* with ON **stainn* (> *steinn*, cf. **Eilistean* etc.); the persnn. *Uisdean* ON **Aystein* (> *Øystein*) and *Amhlaigh* ON *Áleif* (cf. *Iomhar* ON *Iuar*).²² It is apparent then that the secondary stage of settlement began, if it did not entirely take place there, before the end of the 8th century. What confirms this, and even sets the start

of the tertiary settlement period to around the end of the 8th century, is the ln. **Rostain(n)*.

**Rostain(n)* lies inland just outside CAL's border with LOCH. It is at first sight anomalous that we should find an 8th century form so far away from the areas that have been shown to have been settled during the primary and secondary stages of Norse settlement, while within those areas all forms having the same generic have ON reconstructions in *steinn*. The matter is straightened out when we recall the point about separate chronologies being derived by different terms of reference. It is apparent that the tertiary period of Norse settlement - one which was more a question of expansion and increased influence than of settlement from the exterior - had begun at around the end of the 8th century; but from the distribution of settlement-name generics (Maps 5, 8 & 11) and from the distribution of all ON lnn. (Map 12) it is evident that any settlement of CAL and BRI by Norse speakers was sporadic and/or short-lived. In consequence, names here could be 'fossilised' in their earliest forms. This tertiary phase, however, continued into the 9th century, and this is shown by the ln. *Eitseal* ON *Eiðsfiall* (as opposed to **Aiðsfiall*; cf. *oidh* above) found both in CAL and LOCH, and by the fact that those in *steinn* in primary and secondary settlement areas were not borrowed until about the end of the 8th century or after. The same will apply to other forms although we are not in a position to be able to show they were not borrowed earlier.

It is in this context that we should consider the name *Tolstadh* (p. 243). It is quite plausible that some settlement areas remained almost entirely Norse speaking until comparatively late on, although perhaps with a Gaelic speaking population as a sub-stratum. On the other hand, some sections of the population, if not all in some areas, must have become bilingual at least to the point where more than a modicum of

The Distribution of Old Norse Loan-names.



technical words and phrases could be exchanged. While this matter cannot be fully dealt with here, because the nomenclature does not contain all the ON *lww.* found in CR, the range of *lww.* that are cited and the evidence of forms such as *Bratag* (ultimately from the ON adj. *brattr* 'steep') suggest that they did become bilingual to this extent.

In effect, it seems that Norse and Gaelic communities held a degree of separateness for some time before at least some sections of the population became bilingual. How long Norse speakers remained or survived in CR is difficult to ascertain. Apart from *Tolstadh* and other forms already discussed, we can cite *Nùb* (with ON *Núp*, earlier *Gnúp*), *Uiseal* and *Uisteam* (with ON *yztr*, earlier *ýztr*), and *glodhar* (from a late form *tylof^dr*) as being datable to the 13th and 14th centuries. We can consider also that Norse speakers may have been present for some time later without contributing to the nomenclature, and of course many names can easily be regarded either as relatively early or as relatively late, but more than this it is as yet impossible to say with any degree of certainty.

§13.6 A chronology and summary of Norse settlement in CR; the wider context.

Briefly summarised, Norse settlement of CR took place in 3 stages possibly beginning as early as c.740, and ending in a period of mainly internal expansion and consolidation, with marginal input from the exterior, from about the end of the 8th century. Settlement-name generics and associated generic elements for these stages are set out in Fig. 10 below.

For the sake of completeness, a word may be said on how this chronology for CR fits into the wider context of Norse settlement in the north and west of Scotland. It has already been pointed out that it does not

<u>PRIMARY</u> c.740-	<u>SECONDARY</u> c.770-	<u>TERTIARY</u> c.800-
<i>staðr</i> <i>þueit</i>	<i>bólstaðr</i>	<i>bþr</i> <i>garðr</i> (<i>sætr</i>)
<i>setr</i>	<i>sætr</i>	
	<i>gerði</i>	
<i>hamarr</i>	<i>steinn</i>	<i>uarrða</i>

contradict conclusions on the interrelation of the various elements *staðr*, *bólstaðr*, *sætr/setr* drawn by previous studies (p. 243). Inevitably, however, it implies a settlement period for the Northern Isles beginning early in the 8th century if not before, but future archaeological and place-name research there may yet be able to produce evidence to confirm such a dating.

There is some external evidence which lends support to the chronology given for the settlement of CR. Chadwick (1962: 15 & 16) rightly points out the significance of the invention of the keel c.600 for the Scandinavian migrations, and draws attention to the removal of two powerful fleets to the south - that of the Picts c.580 and that of the Frisians in 734. However, Marstrander (1915: 3) suggests that c.580, circumstances involved *Aedán Mac Gabrán* carrying out an expedition against Norse raiders using the Orkneys as their base, rather than against Picts. Of the following century, the attacks on Tory Island and Eigg in 617 may well have been early Viking raids, whether or not the raiders were based in the Northern Isles; while Sommerfelt (1958: 218-19) shows that the name of the Picts had already been borrowed by the Norse (ON *Pettar Pettir*) before 700.

Regarding the element *staðr* (p. 242): Swedish *sta*-names are thought to be largely from before 600, and in Denmark names in *sted* cover a variety of periods from 400 to 1000; in consequence it is now cautiously proposed that a more generous period for Norwegian *stad*-names be given, assuming a *terminus post quem* before the beginning of the Viking Age (Sandnes, Stenshaug 1980: 294-95). Indeed, most Trøndelag *stad*-names have been dated to between 600-800 (Sandnes 1956: 88).

The proposed chronology also places the beginning of the tertiary period of the Norse settlement of our area at just about the time of the raids for that period. This may not be of any significance. What is probably of more significance is what was happening in terms of settlement nearer Iona. Of course, neither the Northern nor Western Isles were settled all at once. In the west, Norse settlement possibly extended over a period of up to 150 years, petering out before the settlement of Iceland. It may be that the abbot left Iona in 807 (p. 241) as much because the vanguard of Norse settlement had finally begun to encroach upon Iona and its environs as because of raids. One day we may be able to identify chronological with geographical zones more accurately, but Fig. 11 below gives an idea at least of what the results of a progressive settlement of the Hebrides might look like. By the time this protracted settlement period was almost complete, land-hunger would already have been felt in the more northerly and westerly zones, and by the middle of the 9th century this would have become acute enough to have driven elsewhere many unencumbered by any prospect of an inheritance of land. It would be, then, under these circumstances that some sought their reward as mercenaries in Ireland,²³ while others began a new colony in Iceland.

Hypothetical Phasing of Norse Settlement in the Hebrides. Fig. 11

	Lewis (1) <u>St. Kilda</u>	Lewis (2) <u>Skye (1)</u>	Skye (2) <u>Uist (1)</u>	Uist (2) <u>Mull</u>	Islay <u>Kintyre etc.</u>
740					
750	I				
760		I			
770			I		
780	II			I	
790		II			I
800			II		
810	III			II	
820		III			II
830			III		
840				III	
850					III
860					
870					

§13.7 Later Gaelic names.

Of those names whose structures have been seen to contribute to the earliest strata of names in the nomenclature of CR (pp. 233-35) the vast majority remain undatable. Some of these will no doubt be old, even pre-Norse, although this cannot be shown; most, however, will be comparatively late. Similarly structured names but which contain ON *lww.* are almost as difficult to treat: they are relatively datable using the criteria of the loans they contain, but the result is still in terms of many centuries. Other than prepositional-names and those that contain *persnn.*, there remain about a further 670 names which are datable to somewhere between the 13th and present centuries. Almost exactly half of these have a structure *n x N*, others are largely modified or contrasted forms (for examples of early names in *n x N*, see p. 238). More important aspects with regard to internal dating criteria have already been discussed

above (§13.1) and cannot be pursued here to any advantage. It is to external criteria that we can now turn.

While Lewis during the period 1266-1610 was in practical terms more or less under the control of the MacLeods of Lewis, legal ownership remained outwith the island until 1511.²⁴ It is well known that people from client clans were settled in Lewis at various times to influence and establish control over affairs there. *Termini post quem* can be given forms which contain persnn. associated with the areas where legal ownership and ultimate political power lay. From 1266-1334 Lewis was held by the Earldom of Ross and we can ascribe names such as *Aird 'ic Phàil*, *Creagan Buàile Mhic Dhonnchaidh* and *Geàrrraidh Gille Chaluim* to this period.²⁵ For 1335-1493 when Lewis was under the Lordship of the Isles, we might include *Creag Gille Bhrìghde*, *Creagan Dhòmhnail Mhic Iain*, *Cnoc Mhic an Lighich*, *?Cnoc Gille Chonaing* and *Allt Mhic Gill' Leadhrain*.²⁶ After Torquil MacLeod forfeited Lewis in 1506, James IV commissioned that Lewis should be let out to approved tenants under the direction of the Earl of Huntly, and it is possible that another series of settlements is reflected in names such as *Cnoc Airigh 'ic a' Phearsain*, *Cnoc Gill' Easbaig*, *Cnoc Gille Naomh*, *Airigh Mhic Risnidh* and *Cnoc Mhic Thòmais*.²⁷ The MacLeods then held Lewis until 1610 when possession passed to Colin MacKenzie of Kintail. No doubt settlers came to Lewis during the 16th century, but this is not reflected directly among persnn. in the nomenclature.

The substantial increase in the population during this period perhaps contributed as much to the dissemination of introduced Christian-names as did incoming settlers. The name *Càrnaichean Thala' Thòmhais* is certainly earlier (p. 239). *Airigh Theàrlaich*, on the other hand, in all probability post-dates the early 17th century and its advertisement at court. Further, the persnn. in *Sgeir Mhic Shaoir* and *Creagan Mhic Fheatrais* could not be expected perhaps until the 17th century.

A number of criteria are relevant to the period 1610-1844: the introduction of whisky-making dates names with *taigh staile* to post 1600, and despite legislation the industry continued till c.1827;²⁸ road-making began: *Rathad Bharbhais* (1791-1832) *Rathad a' Bhuna* (1791-1841);²⁹ the church in DM was built, *Eaglais Dhaile Mòire* (1810), and we have an indirect reference to the restoration of episcopacy (1661, see *Buaile nan Cobhanantars* §11.10); finally, tradition dates *Cnoc Airigh Sednaid*, *Cnoc Airigh Barabail* and *Druim na Mnà* to round about the beginning of the 18th century.

The Eng. lww. *punn̄d*, *cotan* and *lanaig* may have entered the onomasticon during the previous century but certainly by the 17th. In *Sgabhlaiichean na Creige Mòire*, on the other hand, we may have the result of influence from English speaking crews of the numerous fishing vessels coming to the Western Isles at the end of the 18th century: in 1794 there were 90 boats from all parts of the UK in *Loch Ròg* (Thompson 1968: 100).

From 1844-1918 Lewis was owned by Sir James Matheson. The period is notable for its variety of improvements. Road-making continued: *Rathad a' Chinn a Deas* (1893-94); *Rathad a' Pheantlain* etc., *Creagan na Ceàrdaich*, *Drochaid Abhainn Ghrìoda* and the other names of bridges over this road (1891-1912).³⁰ Mills were constructed: *A' Mhuilinn Ur* (for *Muilinn Uig*, see §11.11). A number of Eng. lww. will also have come into the onomasticon about the middle of the 19th century because of these improvements: *drèana*, *sàibhir*, *geata*, *pàirc* and the lnn. *A' Phàirc*, *Am Pasaid*, *Am Peantlan*.³¹ Just before the middle of the century communal looms were being introduced, placed incidentally on common land and therefore outwith the crofting area (*Creagan Buaile nam Beart*, 1840-50).³² During this time the island was also being lotted (*Creagan a' Phòladh*, *Gàrradh na Gobharmaid* and the lw. *lot*, 1849-51) and surveyed by the Board of Ordnance (*Càrnan nan Sapars*, 1848-53). Towards the end of the 19th century there was also a good deal

of improvement in harbour facilities (*Cidhe, Clach an Line, An Clobhsa*, 1895-96),³³ and at the beginning of the 20th century new graveyards were consecrated in DAIL, TOL and CAL (1906-10). For names associated with the clearances, see §11.11.

A number of names with persnn. are dated by tradition: *Cotan Choinnich* (1840-) *Taigh/Bàthach Mhurchaidh 'ic Aoidh* (1850-88) *Cnoc Sheonaidh* (1860-70) *Cnoc Aonghais* (1860-) *Càrn Aonghais Lidhir* (1870-1901) *Creagan Thormoid Phàraig* (1870-) *Cotan Iain Mhic Choinnich* (1870-) *Cotan Iain Ruaidh* (1890) *Airigh Fhionnlaidh* (1890) *Buail' a' Ghobha* (1890-1910) *Taigh/Buaile Nèill Bonaidh* (1900) *Buaile Nèill* (1910).³⁴

Finally, we can note *Càrnan Beinn Iomhair* erected in 1897 upon Queen Victoria's diamond jubilee; for *Allt Sgealasangro*, see Gaz.

In the post-Matheson period, the breaking up of the tack in DM in 1921 saw the creation of a number of new names: *Bealach na Feansa*, *Cnap nan Cnàmh*, *Cnoc a' Chàrmain*, *Bealach nam Ban*, *Bealach an t-Sèididh*, *Leathad/Bealach Sheòbhdaidh*, *Beinn Iain Ruaidh*, *Beinn Riabhach*, *Bealach a' Ghuib* and *Bealach Chalum Dhòmhnail Dhonnchaidh*. *Creag/Taigh a' Chìobair*, *Sgor Dhòmhnail Duncan* and also *Buaile Sheòrais* in SD (*Sedras* left SD for DM) will be pre-1921 for the same reason.³⁵

Other names of the twenties and thirties era are *Allt Iain Ghràidhein*, *Buaile Dhòmhnail Miteil* (alias *Buaile Sheòrais* above), *Creagan na Faing* in SD, *Rathad a' Chinn a Tuath*, *Airigh an Drumair*, *Airigh Thormoid Nèill*, *Airigh/Buail' Iain 'ic Aoidh*, *Airigh an Sgiobair*, *Airigh Iain Alasdair*, *Bòl Phluic*, *Sìthean Aonghais Mhartainn*, *Slag/Sloc/Doca Mhurchaidh Leòbhdh*, *Bothag Aonghais* and *Sgeir Hurry*.

Later names are few in number: *Cnoc na h-Aeroplaine* (1940), *Loch Shiadar Beag*, *Sràid an Fhraoich*, *An Dump*, *Lot an Drumair*, *Lot an t-Siorraidh*, *Lot Iain Ruaidh* (post-war), *Am Bus* and *Rathad a' Bhus* (early 1960's).

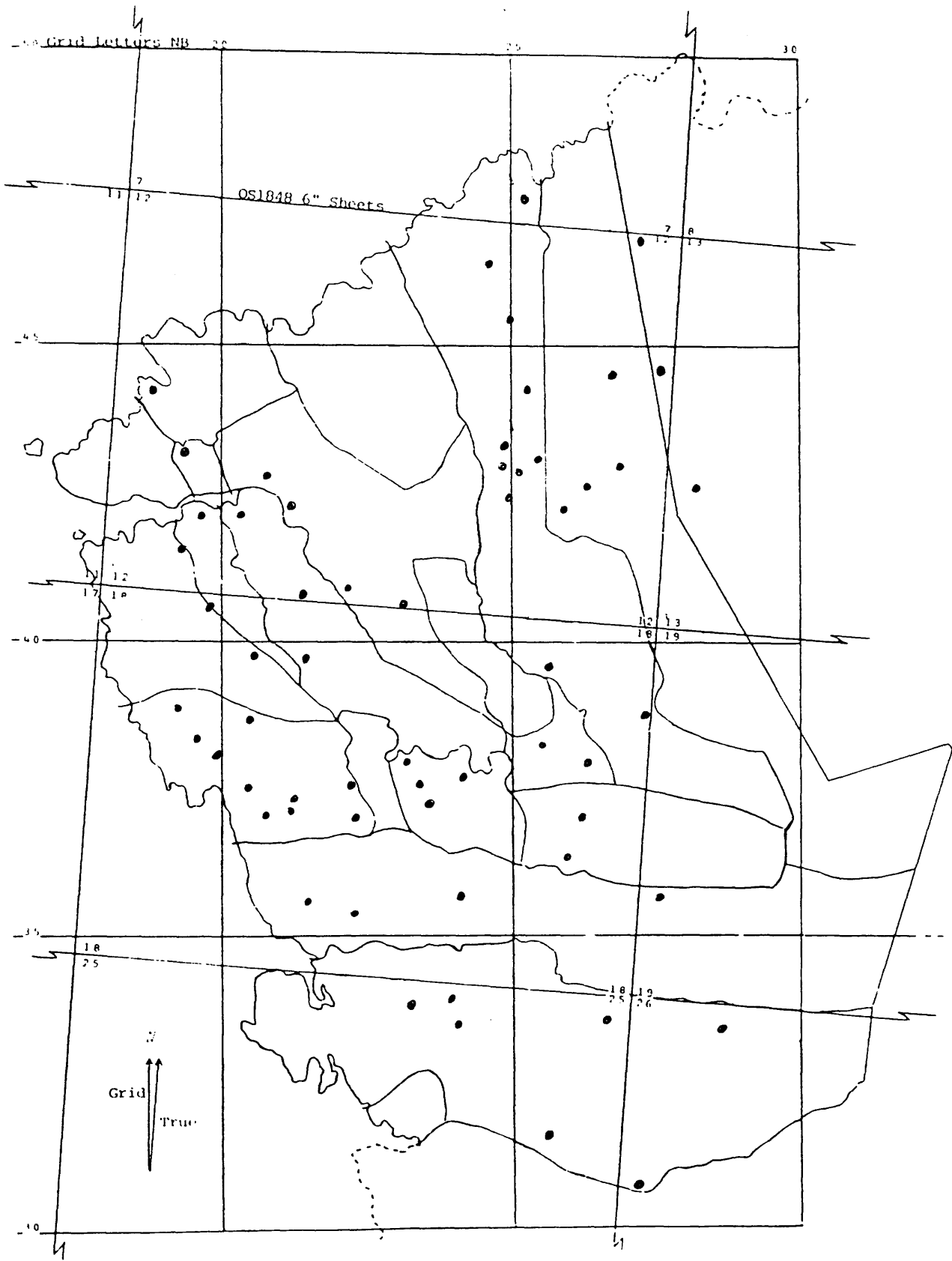
Many names, of course, can only be broadly dated, e.g. *Beinn Phrìnnse* as opposed to the later *Stac à' Phrionnse* (by virtue of the form of the specific); *An Cleite Dubh*, with masc. *cleit(e)*, probably pre-dating names with this element as fem. Some names can be assigned *termini ante quem*, e.g. *Cnoc na Sean Chroit* (before the division of lots, -1849); *Creag an Taghain* (thought to be extinct by c.1810); some are only vaguely dated, as *Leathad an Teatha* ?19th century. Finally, it is not impossible that some names containing Eng. *lww.* are in fact older than the 13th century, e.g. *Creag Speireig*, but the balance of evidence overall would favour a later rather than earlier dating.

§13.8 *Airigh, both and geàrraidh.*

Fellows-Jensen (1984: 163) discusses the question of why Norsemen should have borrowed a Gaelic word for 'shieling' since they already had term(s) of their own. The discussion is to some degree made irrelevant because the question itself is unsound: at the time EIr. *áirge* was borrowed, the word had the sense 'milking place' and was yet to be associated with the temporary dwellings now called *àirigh*. Of course, in time ON *ærgi* also came to be associated with these dwellings, but this explains the occurrence in Orkney of *ærgi*-names both in coastal and settlement areas and 'on the hill'.

In CR, a good proportion of *àirigh*-names in coastal/settlement areas must also have been created while the generic term still had the sense 'milking place'. Similarly, the ON ln. **Tiongalairidh*, located in the heart of *Tolstadh*, will have been created while *ærgi* still retained this sense. When EIr. *áirge* and ON *ærgi* developed the extended sense

The Distribution of àirigh-names.



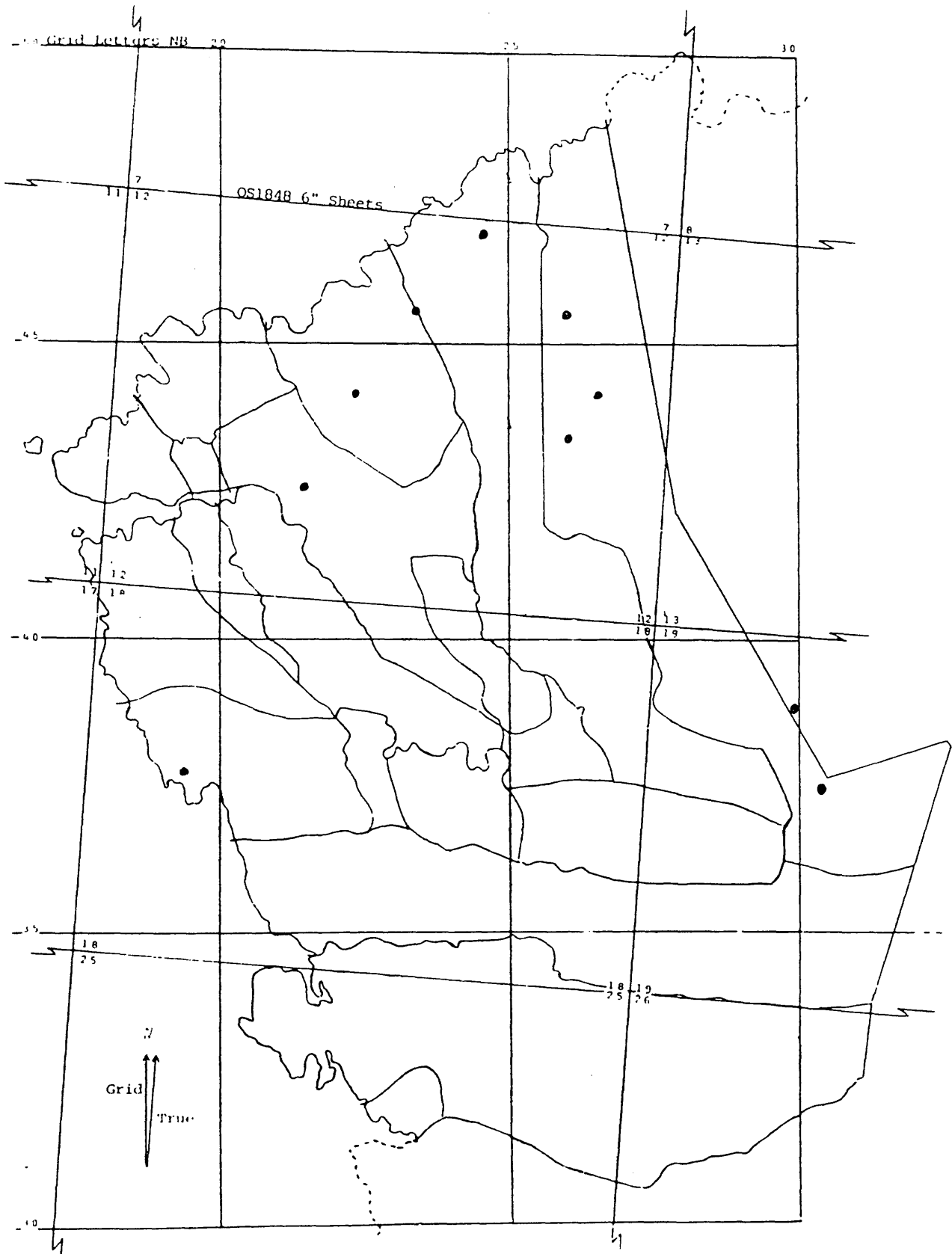
'temporary dwelling, shieling' is uncertain. The non-lenition of their onomastic units and the location of *Airigh Brocaig* and ?*Airigh Tuartain* sets the development before c.1200.

Broadly speaking, we can say that *àirigh*-names of the hinterland are later than those of coastal/settlement areas (Map 13). However, regarding individual names, the generalisation can be dangerous: the picture is complicated by the fact that, according to tradition, people from U (particularly BERN) also possessed shielings at one time in the *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* area. Such a situation can only have existed before the 18th century, for in 1726 the area from DAIL to TOL lay within the short-lived parish of Carloway, and from the mid 18th century the townships from ST to CIR were part of L.

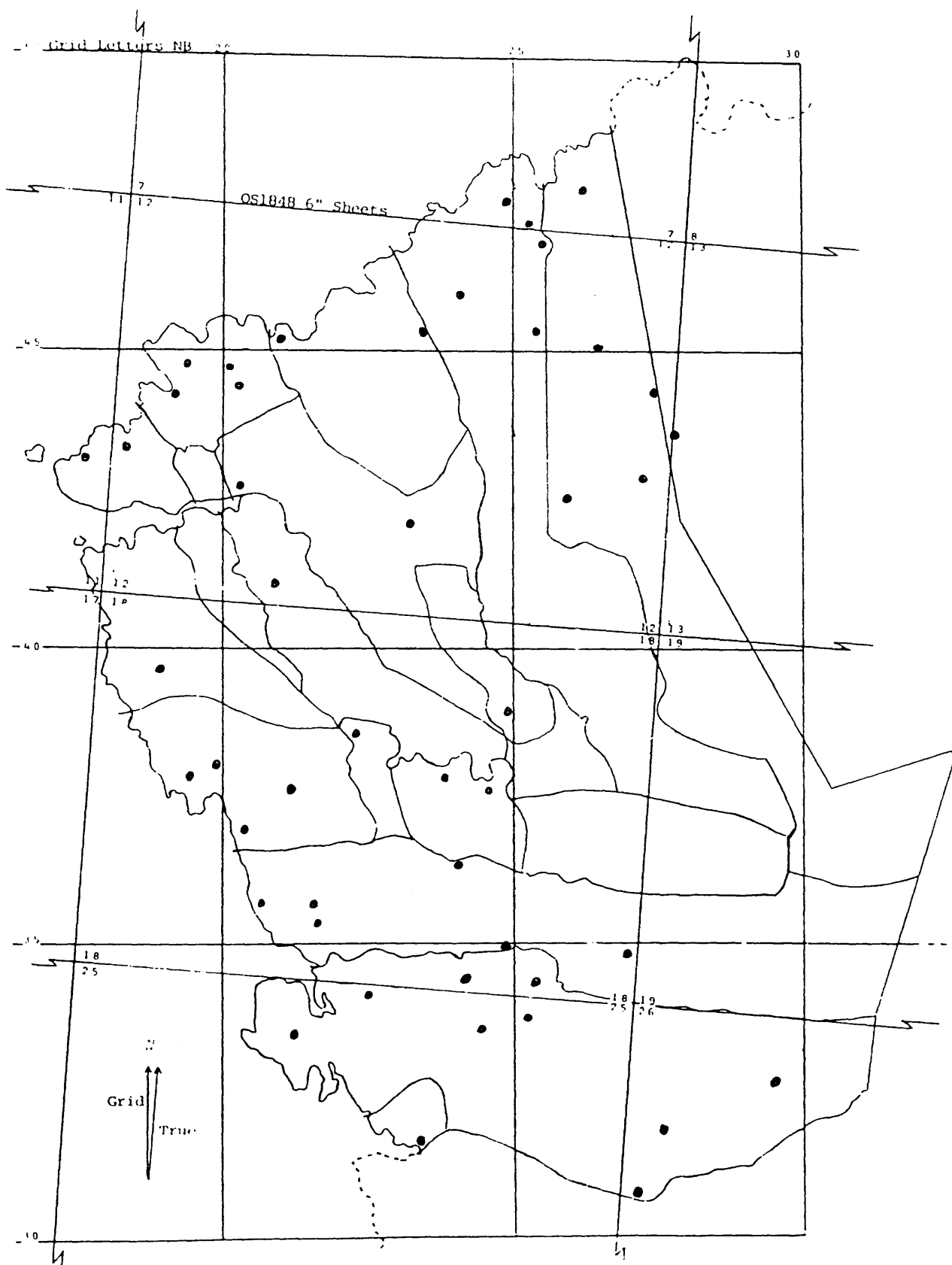
Both-names (Map 14) are far fewer. Despite the traditions connected with the names *Both Nèill*, *Both Mhurchaidh* and *Both a' Mhèirlich*, the element was no doubt associated with pastoral work. We may speculate that *both* was used of temporary dwellings and shelters before giving way to *àirigh*. *Am Both Clach* is unlikely to be later than c.1350, but is probably much earlier, and the secondary onomastic unit in *Creagannan Buaille Bhoth Tastabhat* may go back to the 12th century, for the tertiary onomastic unit is datable to between approximately 1200-1400.

We can envisage the element *geàrraidh* (Map 15) coming to be used during the 9th and 10th centuries, but at this stage only in its original sense 'enclosure'. As with *àirigh*, the coastal/settlement areas must have been where names in *geàrraidh* first appeared. When exactly the sense 'site' developed is not clear. Certainly moorland *geàrraidh*-names are on the whole more recent than equivalent *àirigh*-names, and it is probable that a number of the former only arose after the demise of the shieling system during the 1940's. However, it is likely that the sense 'site, land around the house' existed for some time within settlement areas

The Distribution of both-names.



The Distribution of *geàrraidh*-names.



before *geàrraidh*-names began appearing inland. Because of the lack of any firm dating criteria here, we might set the development of this sense around 1400, at a time when influence from Norway can no longer have been effective.

1. Great care has been taken here not to include names where the specific could as easily constitute an appellative rather than an onomastic unit.
2. EIr. *dún* nt. o-stem adopts the s-stem inflexion towards the end of the 8th century (Thurneysen 1975: 178-79). Cf. the Book of Deer's *Dúni Callenn* gen. s-stem, but older *Dún Callden* dat. o-stem (Jackson 1972: 31, 32 & 59).
3. Cf. the rare and late pl. form in *Na Meanbh Chnocan*.
4. *-an* forms crop up in the Book of the Dean of Lismore (O' Rahilly 1976: 129).
5. The name *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag* suggests the *a-* termination survived until after the development of the lenition of indef.gen.pl. nouns. On the other hand, the name could conceivably be for earlier **Creag Mhòr Mucan Fàileag* with *-n* lost before the following labiodental and lenition of *muc-* under influence of preceding *mhòr*.
6. ?By confusion of *mòran* 'much, many' + partitive and leniting *de* + (dat.) noun with *mòran* + (gen.) noun.
7. The Dean of Lismore's book is of little help here since classical forms are as a rule adhered to.
8. This is shown by the name *Cnoc Chala Muc*.
9. If this is right, it appears to have begun to die out after the pl. termination *-annan* had developed: *Creagannan Buaile Bhoth Tastabhat*. The phenomenon of course may have occurred sporadically through the centuries, but there are over 80 instances where such units are not lenited as against about 40 where they are, and of the latter 12 exx. consist of *-Dhaile Beaga/Mòire*.
10. Note also *Gleann/Tràigh Fiadaig*.
11. For a full discussion of such criteria as a technique for relative dating

- Of Norse settlements in Lewis, see Olson 1983.
12. Dating from 1079 representatives to the Manx Assembly were from the Western Isles (4) Skye (4) Coll Tiree Mull and Lismore (4) Islay Kintyre Arran etc. (4) and Man (16) (Cubbon, Megaw 1942).
 13. This name will have been created comparatively late on and probably after the secondary settlement period had begun: it contains a lw. fr. EIr. *aíl* 'rock'.
 14. I found no one from near the location here who knew this name-form; the hill is now called *Cnoc Mòr na Pàirce Glaise* 'the large hill (of the green park)'.
 15. Several rather obscure field-names are recorded in the Rev. Kenneth MacAulay's History of St. Kilda: 'Multum agria, Multum taurus, Multum favere, or Multum fodere, Queen O Scot, Land dotteros, or the Doctor's ground, Lan-phalia, or Paul's division' (MacAulay 1764: 30-33). These are briefly discussed by Sommerfelt (1952a: 375-76) although he does not draw attention to their onomastic structure. See also Taylor 1969: 127-29.
 16. NB2749 Sgeir Chuidhshader OS 1848, Sgeir Chuidhshader OS 1974; now apparently lost.
 17. Cf. **Thiamaistir* ON *Heim(s)steinar* by *Bòstadh*.
 18. In any area, of course, the distributional patterns of such features will to some extent be determined by the local topography. ON *uítí* m. 'beacon' occurs for example in *Beinn Uidealum*.
 19. Also *Garsan* ON *Garð(s)*-
 20. **Sgàrdam* ON *Skarð-holm*: /Rd/ may however have developed here by a process of delentition, cf. *Eitseal* ON *Eidsfiáll*.
 21. Iversen 1973: 10.
 22. Diphthong assimilation (*ai* > *ei*) took place some time after c.700, cf. runic *stAin* for later *stein* on the Eggjum stone grave cover (Haugen 1976:

- 155), and apparently before *i*-mutation occurred in **Austeinn*, later *Øystein*. *I*-mutation here is traditionally dated to between 800-1000 (Haugen op.cit: 153), but *Visdean* must derive from an early intermediary **Aystein* (Gaz. No. 1172). For *Amhlaigh*, see Gaz. No. 678.
23. See Chadwick 1962: 26.
24. Broad chronological periods arise from the political history of Lewis and their use here provides a natural and relevant structure for later Gaelic names. The first begins in 1266, when sovereignty of the Hebrides passed to the Scottish Crown after the Treaty of Perth.
25. MacPhail; *Mac Dhonnchaidh* ?= MacPhail (MacDonald 1967: 104); *Gille Chaluin* ?sept of the MacLeods of Sutherland.
26. Gilbride MacIan MacInleach ?*Gille Chonaing* and *Mac Gill' Leadhrain* (for which see MacDonald 1967: 73), septs of MacDonald.
27. MacPherson and Gillespie. (sept of MacPherson); Niven, MacRitchie and MacThomas (septs of MacIntosh). MacPherson and MacIntosh are associated with Badenoch and Strath Spey.
28. Thompson 1968: 112, 127.
29. By 1796, 4 miles of *Rathad Bharbhais* had been built (SAS 1845); Thomson (1832T) shows it complete. By 1841, a tolerable road existed between Stornoway and U (SAS 1845).
30. *Rathad a' Pheantlain* was formally opened in 1912, but was begun after the Western Highland and Islands Works Act 1891.
31. The settlement in ACH was established in 1844 by Sir James Matheson with a view to land reclamation; the name given to the village is certainly much older.
32. At this time weaving was still mainly a woman's occupation.
33. *Clach an Linc* and *An Clobhsa* may be earlier since there are harbour facilities in BOR marked on the OS 1848 map.
34. The dates here of course are rough guidelines.

35. Due partly to the fact that local shepherds were employed while DM was *bàn* (i.e. 'fallow', implying uncrofted), the traditional nomenclature for the most part survived, as far as one can judge. It may be noted that a few ON lnn., e.g. *Totarāl*, occur both on the western side of *Loch Ròg* (in U) and in DUN which was settled by families from *Beàrnaraidh Bheag* and Pabbay c.1835 and from Mangersta in U c.1872. We can consider that such names could have been transferred with the resettlements of DUN. This is extremely unlikely however. There is no evidence that this happened in DAIL with resettlement (mainly from SD) nor in CARL to which families from DM were evacuated when the tack in DM was created c.1860. The survival of numerous other lnn. in DUN, which are unparalleled elsewhere, also argues against a transferral of lnn. The retention of old name-forms in these situations is only partly due to the employment of local shepherds by tacksmen however. It is also due to the fact that many of those who worked with stock would be intimately acquainted with vast areas of territory; there are few such people alive today. The point is demonstrated by what has happened with regard to GA. This township was relotted in 1935 having been made a tack in 1852, and names here are now few. However, of those that remain, while they are unheard of to most people living in GA now, they are familiar to many in CAL.

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- 1974 Map (1:10,000) published by the Ordnance Survey, 1974.
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B. Informants.

For each entry the following information is given: The English name of the informant; township of residence; dates, and township of birth (if different from that of residence); and the name by which I knew the informant.

Gillies Donald	SD b.1910	Dòmhnall an t-Siorraidh
Gillies, Murdo	SD b.1907	Murchadh an t-Siorraidh
Martin, Angus	SD b.1903 BRA	Brèidean Fhìbhig
Morrison, Duncan	DAIL b.1925	Donnchadh Aonghais Ruaidh
Morrison, John	ST b.1935	Seonaidh Rob
Murray, Donald	SD b.1905	Dòmhnall Thormoid Nèill
Murray, Murdo	ST b.1909	Murchadh Gobha
MacArthur, Donald	BOR b.1900	Dòmhnall Iain (An Ceidhear)
MacArthur, Donina	TOL b.1916	Donina
†MacArthur, John	DUN b.1923-83	Iain Shanndaig
MacArthur, Malcolm	CARL b.1923 DAIL	Calum Aonghais Dhòmhnailh Mhòir
†MacAskill, Malcolm	BOR b.1912-84	Calum Aonghais Iain 'ic Asgail
MacAulay, Angus	BRA b.1920	Aonghas Fhìbhig
MacAulay, Angus	BRI b.1913	Aonghas Iain Amhlaigh
MacAulay, Donald	CARL b.1913	Dòmhnall a' Bhraisich
MacAulay, John	CARL b.1908	Iain an Teampaill
MacAulay, Murdo	CARL b.1907	Murchadh a' Bhraisich
MacAulay, Norman	BRA b. ?	Tormod Fhìbhig
Macdonald, Alexander	BRI b.1916	Alasdair Laidhsaidh
Macdonald, Donald	CN b.1906	Dòmhnall Ruadh
Macdonald, Effie	CN b.1909	Oighrig
Macdonald, Effie	SD b.1917	Oighrig Bhorraidh
Macdonald, John	DUN b.1941	John Norrie
Macdonald, John	ST b.1921	Iain Mhurchaidh Iain Deirg
Macdonald, Malcolm	GEARR b.1905	Iocoil
†Macdonald, Norman	BRI b.1902-86	Norrie
MacIver, Norman	CN b.1925	Tàgo
Mackay, Angus	GA b. ? BERN	Angie Domhnall Iain
Mackay, Bell-Anna	GA b. ? CAL	Beileag
Mackay, Malcolm	CIR b.1898	Cafaidh

†Mackay, Malcolm	SD b.1924-83	Calum Murdo
Mackay, Murdo	DAIL b.1913 SD	Murchadh a' Bhoer
Mackenzie, Donald	GEARR b.1924	Dòmhnall Murdo Thormoid Uisdein
Mackenzie, Duncan	TOL b.1923	Donnchadh Togan
Mackenzie, John	CAL b.1924	Iain Uilleim Alasdair Mhòir
Mackenzie, Ronald	DUN b.1928	Ronnie a' Mhaoir
MacLean, Donald	BRI b.1911 CARL	Dòmhnall a' Phost
MacLean, John	CAL b.1925	Jock Dubh
MacLean, John	BRA b. ?	Iain Mhurchaidh Aonghais Iain
†MacLean, Malcolm	DUN b.1911-83	Calum How
MacLennan, Alec	GEARR b. ?	Aileagan Iain Philip
MacLennan, John	CAL b.1925	Iain Harry
MacLeod, Agnus	SD b.1913	An Coileach
MacLeod, Annie	SD b.1900	Anna Spuchain
MacLeod, Christine	GEARR b.1894	Cairistìona Làta
MacLeod, Donald	GEARR b.1935	D.R.
†MacLeod, Donald	CARL b.1910-84	Tom
MacLeod, Donald	CAL b.1913	Dol Chudaidh
MacLeod, Donald	CN b.1928	Dòmhnall Gearaidh
MacLeod, Donald	DUN b.1910	Dòmhnall Nèill Mhòir
MacLeod, Donald	SD b.1937	Fuchag
MacLeod, Donald	BRI b.1907	Dòmhnall a' Chidhe
MacLeod, Duncan	CARL b.1910	Duncan John
MacLeod, Finlay	BOR b.1905 GEARR	Philip
MacLeod, George	DAIL b.1914 SD	Seòras Lipton
†MacLeod, John	SD b.1897-84	Iain Ruadh
MacLeod, John	ST b.1918	An Fheòsag
MacLeod, Kenneth	SD b.1907	Coinneach Gliog
MacLeod, Kenneth	DUN b.1940	Kennie Dan
MacLeod, Malcolm	GEARR b.1927	Calum Nèill Leòid
MacLeod, Malcolm	CN b.1909	Calum Aonghais Alasdair
†MacLeod, Malcolm	TOL b.1905-85	Calum (An Giogan)
MacLeod, Malcolm	DUN b.1939	Calum Mac Dhòmhnail an Dùnain
MacLeod, Marion	DUN b.1914	Mòr
MacLeod, Norman	CAL b.1912 BOR	Tormod Aonghais Alasdair
MacLeod, Peter	TOL b.1917	Pàdraig Ruairidh
MacLeod, Roddy	ST b.1919	Roddy Fòrtaig

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Place-names of the Carloway Registry, Isle of Lewis

Richard Anthony Victor Cox

Volume Two

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

Registration-forms: where these are different from the forms of names used in the Gazetteer, they are included but flagged by a plus sign (+). The minus sign (-) is used once in order to flag a name-form (Cladach) recorded neither by the OS 1974 nor in the field. Along with Grid References, appropriate forms used in the Gazetteer are given where names have been recorded.

Gazetteer or reference numbers: these are supplied for each entry proper.

Place-names: these are listed alphabetically. However, neither the article in name-initial position nor the lenition marker (*h*) in name-initial position after the art. is heeded for this purpose. Elsewhere, the forms of the article *an t-* and *na h-* follow the forms *an* and *na* respectively.

Grid References: usually only 4 digits are given.

Townships: Abbreviations are used to indicate in which township a name occurs.

Phonetic transcriptions: these are confined within braces ({}). Unless otherwise indicated, names are quoted in the radical (nom./acc.) case. The equals sign (=) is used as a space saving device. It occurs only before a full stress marker (') and indicates that the pronunciation up to that point is identical to that in the transcription for a preceding name up to *its* full stress marker. Where consecutive names have identical pronunciations, a transcription is only given for the first in a series, 'as above' sufficing for the remainder.

Symbols and diacritics for the most part have their International Phonetic Alphabet definitions. It will be expedient, however, to set out all those used in order to avoid any misconception or confusion arising due to idiosyncratic character

design or character redefinition.

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palato-alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Pharyngeal
Nasal	m		N	n	ɳ			ŋ		
Plosive	p b		t d	ʈ ɖ	ɖ̌ ɖ̌̄			k g		
(Med) Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s	ʂ ʐ	ʃ	ç	x γ		ħ
(Med) Approximant							j		w	
(Lat) Fricative										
(Lat) Approximant			L	l	ɭ					
Trill				R						
Tap, flap				r						

Note: {N}{L}{R} are velarised.

{ð} in transcriptions of CR name-forms = {ð'}

Vowels:

front		back		front		back	
i	ɨ	ɘ	ɚ	close			u
e				half-close		ø	o
ɛ		ɔ	ʌ	half-open			ɔ
æ				open			
a		ɑ					
unrounded				rounded			

Diacritics:

- ' palatalised: {t'}{k'} etc.
- . voiceless: {b}{g} etc. (voiced consonants in name-final position are often devoiced, e.g. -{ð}ɾ]{ɭ}{j}{v}{ɣ}), but this is not shown in transcriptions.
- h post or pre-aspiration: {^hp}{^hp} etc. (after long vowels, pre-aspiration is often indistinct).
- ~ nasalised: {ã} etc.
- , syllabic: {ŋ} etc.
- nasalised stop: {Ṇ}{ṅ} etc. (Oftedal 1956 §96; Borgstrøm 1940 §8)

Vowel length: : long; . half long.

Stress: ' full; , weak or half; ~ svarabhakti vowel

Hiatus: - (with no glottal catch; Borgstrøm 1940 §45)

Translations: names are translated according to their broadest

onomastic meaning, e.g. *Loch Airigh Brocaig* 'the lake of A.', i.e. *Airigh Brocaig* occurs as a name and may be referred to. *Ex nomine* onomastic units which do not occur as names in their own right are translated but often confined within round brackets, e.g. *Airigh Brocaig* 'the shieling (of the dark place)', i.e. it is most probable that a name **Brocaig* occurred in the past. Where consecutive entries have identical translations, this is only given for the first, 'as above' being given against the rest (the phrase may infer that both the pronunciation and meaning of a name are identical to those of a preceding name).

Description: only pertinent details not inferred by the name itself (e.g. where a name has been transferred) are given.

Derivations: the derivation or etymology of a name-form or name-element is normally only given once within the Gazetteer, often where it first occurs. Appropriate reference or Gazetteer numbers are given in the register of name-elements.

Documentation: usually only dates are given against documentary forms (see List A of the Sources). Where the abbreviation 'doc.' occurs after an alias, the documentation is given under that form. Two signs are used in order to save space. Firstly, a dash (-) is used in documentary forms to replace an element having an identical form in the 'head-name' or entry name-form; the abbreviation is terminated by an end-marker, an oblique line (/). This form of abbreviation is not reverted to after a particular documentary form diverges from the entry name-form. Secondly, the equals sign (=) indicates that the relevant documentary form is identical to the entry name-form in its entirety. For example, *Gleam Mór Shiaboist*.....1848 -/Mor Shiaboist 1895 = 1974 Glen Mór Shawbost.

A

- 1 *An Abhainn* NB1840 DUN {ð'NãvɪN'} the river - a stream; with *abhainn* f. EIr. *ab(u)inn* obl.case. Alias *An Drèana*.
- 2 *An Abhainn* NB2545 ST/SD, as above. Alias *Abhainn Shiaboist*.
- 3 *Abhainn a' Bhogha Mhòir* NB2634 BRI {,ãvɪN'ð,vo'vo:ð} the river of the great bow - river has v-shaped bend; with gen.sg. of *bogha* m. fr. ON *boga* acc.m., and *mòr* adj. EIr. *mór*. 1848 Amhuinn na Bà Moire 1934 -/a bhógha mhoir 1974 -/na Bà Móire. MacIver incorrectly translates 'booth' assuming the noun of the specific unit to be *both* m.; the OS1848 has probably confused this name with others in the vicinity which contain *bò* f. 'cow' gen. *bà*, e.g. *Loch na Bà Buidhe*.
- 4 *An Abhainn Bheag* NB2042 CARL {ð,NãvɪN''veg} the little river - flowing into the larger *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh*; with *beag* adj. EIr. *bec(c)*.
- 5 *Abhainn Bhritheascleit* NB2234 BRI {,ãvɪN''vði-a,sklet'} the river of B.; 1848 Amhuinn Bhreascleit 1895 idem 1974 River Breascleite.
- 6 *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh* NB2042 CARL/CN {,ãvɪN''xɑ:lð,vaj} the r. of C.; 1848 Amhuinn Chàrlabhaidh/Charlobhaidh 1875 The Carloway River 1895 Amhuinn Charlobhaidh 1974 Carloway River.
- 7 *An Abhainn Dearg* NB3432 S {ð,NãvɪN''d'æək} the red river; with *dearg* adj. EIr. *derg*. 1848 1895 1974 Allt Ruadh, with the same meaning. This does not exclude the use of *(*Ant*)Allt Ruadh in S.
- + *Abhainn Dhubh Eitseal Bheag* NB2834, see *An Abhainn Dubh*.
- 8 *An Abhainn Dubh* NB2834 BRI ='dʊ^h} the black river; with *dubh* adj. EIr. *dub*. 1848 Amhuinn Dhubh Eitshal Bheag 1974 *Abhainn Dhubh Eitseal Bheag*; the river indeed runs by *Eitseal Bheag* q.v.
- 9 *An Abhainn Dubh* NB2531 CAL, as above. 1832 Avon Dhu 1848 Amhuinn Dhubh 1875 Blackwater 1895 idem 1974 *Abhainn Dubh*.
- 10 *An Abhainn Dubh* NB2633 CAL, as above. 1848 Amhuinn Dhubh 1895 idem 1974 *Abhainn Dubh*. Alias *Abhainn Dubh Ghrèineabhal*.
- 11 *Abhainn Dubh Ghrèineabhal* NB2633 CAL {,ãvɪN',dʊ'γðē:nð,vɑl} the black r. of G. Alias *An Abhainn Dubh* (doc.).
- 12 *Abhainn Ghrìoda* NB3333 S {,ãvɪN''γði:dð} the r. of *G. 1971 River Creed 1832 R. Creed 1841 Creid 1848 Amhuinn Ghrìde/River Creed 1974 River Creed/Greeta River. Rad. *{'γði:dð} is a ln. fr. ON *Grýta* 'stony one', referring to the same river, a fem. subst. derived fr. ON *gríot* nt.coll. 'stones'. ON *Grýta* is a common river-name in Norway, see NE81. The pronunciation given by

Oftedal (1956: 67) shows loss of the final schwa. MacKenzie (1932: 298) incorrectly derives the name from ON *grýtttr* adj. 'stony'; MacBain (1922: 81) gives the wholly untenable derivation ON *krydd* nt. 'spice'.

- 13 *Abhainn Iðlagro* NB2931 CAL {,ãvɪ'N'ɔ:Lð,grɔ} the river of *I. 1848 Amhuinn Chealagro 1895 idem 1934 Abhainn-dheolagro 1974 Abhainn Iolagro. The rad. form of the ON ln. here is interpreted locally as {'jɔ:Lð,grɔ}, which may represent an ON *Iólagróf* 'stream of the mid-winter feast' with gen. of *iól* nt. (pl.) and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. ON *iól* however is very rare in place-names in Norway: there is one example near Stavanger, Julebygda (Oftedal 1984, notes). The rad. form might however have had initial {ɔ:}-, but if so I can suggest no suitable derivation at present. Just conceivably, our name may represent an earlier *{'ãvɪ'N'hɔ:Lð,grɔ} where the ln. could be interpreted as from ON *Hólagróf* 'the stream of the hills' with gen. pl. of *hóll* m. (cf. *Gleann an t-Síogainn*). MacKenzie (1903) has Cealla-gro which must be taken from the 1848 form -Chealagro; the latter may be for '-Ghealagro/Gheolagro' (as a rule the OS1848 does not mark long vowels). For ON *gróf*, see under *Airighean Bhineasgro*.
- + *Abhainn na Bà Móire* NB2735, see *Abhainn a' Bhogha Mhòir*.
- 14 *Abhainn Othagro* NB2438 CARL {,ãvɪ'N'ɔ-ɔ'grɔ}, once -{'N'ɔ:g^ðro} the river of O. 1848 Amhuinn O'thagro 1895 idem 1974 River Ohagro.
- 15 *Abhainn Shiaboist* NB2545 ST/SD {,ãvɪ'N'hia,bɔst'} the river of S. 1848 Amhuinn Sheaboist 1895 idem 1974 Shawbost River. Alias *An Abhainn*.
- 16 *Abhainn Theideagal* NB2142 CARL ={'hed'ð,gaL} the river of *T/Th. 1848 Amhuinn Theidagul 1895 idem 1974 Heidagul River. With an obscure ON ln. Recorded, Oftedal 1962: 47.
- 17 *An t-Ach'* NB3029 ACH {ð'N^hax} §7.3i, the meadow; with short form of *achadh* m. EIr. *achad*. Refers to the village and township. Alias *An t-Acha' Mòr* (doc.).
- 18 *An t-Acha' Mòr* NB3029 ACH {ð,N^haxð'mo:r} the large meadow - of the village and township. 1809 1832 Auchmor 1934 Achamor 1974 Achmore. Alias *An t-Ach'*.
- 19 *Acha' na Caraidh* NB1937 TOL {,axðnð'k^harɪ} the meadow of A' Charaidh.
- 20 *Acha' nan Geadh* NB1938 TOL ={'ɟ'iaɣ} the meadow of the geese; with gen. pl. of *geadh* m. EIr. *géd*.
- 21 *Acha' nan Seicheannan* NB2037 TOL ={'seçðNðn} the meadow of the hides;

with gen.pl. of *seiche* f. EIr. idem.

- + Achmore NB3029, see *An t-Ach'*, *An t-Acha' Mòr*.
- 22 *Ainnsgeir* NB2548 SD {'ãĩ,ʃk'ðð}, once {'ãĩʃ^l,g'ðð}, of a skerry. 1848 *Aisgeir* 1903 (H)ae-sgeir 1974 *Ais Sgeir*. MacKenzie's (1903) derivation from *eydhi* (sic) 'wild' (cf. ON *øyði* nt. 'deserted place') takes no account of the pronunciation. Possibly the name represents ON *Hafn-skær* 'harbour-skerry' with stem form of *hǫfn* f. and nom./acc. of *sker* nt.: there is loss of initial *h-*; diphthongisation of the stressed vowel with loss of *f* (here {v}), cf. G. *abhainn* gen. *aibhne* {'ãĩnð}; medial *-sk-* is palatalised to *-{ʃk'}*-, cf. {'øiL'ʃk'ɪn} fr. Eng. *oilskin*; *n* is palatalised and assimilated before {ʃ}, cf. G. *banais* gen. *bainnse* {'bãĩʃð}, though with retention of nasality in the vowel. The consequence of accepting a derivation from ON *Hafn-skær* is that *hafn-* will have yielded another form in Lewis, namely in /tãũNðraj/ (Oftedal 1962: 49). Although ON *Hafn-skær* is attractive, we should do well to look for an alternative. ON *Agn-skær* 'bait-skerry' with stem form of *agn* nt. is possible both topographically and phonetically. ON *agn* occurs in several Norwegian place-names, e.g. *Agnefest*, *Vest-Agder*. However, the best solution may be ON *Angrsskær* 'skerry of the bay' with gen.sg. of *angr* m. - though here we must assume the loss of *r* between the surrounding consonant groups before loss of *ng* and diphthongisation. *Angr* was used of a rather indented bay or fiord, and forms part of a very early stratum of names in Norway, particularly in the south-west (Sandnes, Stemschaug 1980: 58). It is reasonable to assume the structure here is (s)g.
- 23 *An Aird* NB1742 BOR {'ð'NA:d̥} the headland - coastal. With *aird* f. EIr. *áird*. Alias *Aird Laimiseadar*.
- 24 *An Aird* NB2145 DAIL, as above. Alias *Aird Dhaile Mòire*.
- 25 *Aird a' Chaolais* NB2034 CAL {'a.d̥ð'xw:Lɪʃ} the headland (of the straits); with gen.sg. of *caolas* m. EIr. *cáelas*. 1848 *-/a Chàolais* 1895 *-/a Chaolais* 1974 =.
- 26 *Aird a' Chotain* NB1940 DUN ={'xɔ^htan} the headland (of the fold) - on inland lake; with gen.sg. of *cotan* m., a dimin. form of **cot* fr. ME *cot*. There are the remains of a fank here, but there is no tradition of a fold.
- 27 *Aird a' Ghobhann* NB2045 GEARR ={'γo-ðN}, rarely ={'γo-ð} the headland of the smith; with gen.sg. of *gobha* m. EIr. *gobae*. Remains of ancient wall partitioning off headland (a common feature, §11 note 6). 1848

- /Ghoudhann 1974 -/Gouham. ?Earlier **An Aird Bheag* 'the little headland' with *An Aird Mheadhanach* and *An Aird Mhòr* (q.v.) to the west (although note OS1848 Aird Bheag at NB1844, either this was an invention or an alias at the time, but incorrectly located).
- + Aird an Duin NB1841, 1848 Aird na Dùine.
- 28 *Aird an Fhèidh* NB2338 CN {,a.ḁḁ'N'e:j} the headland of the deer, on inland lake; with gen.sg. of *fiadh* m. EIr. *fiad* m.
- 29 *Aird an Fhèidh* NB2638 SD, as above.
- 30 *An Aird Bheag* NB2850 BRA {ḁ,Na.ḁ'veg} the little headland. Alias *Aird Bheag Bhràgair* doc.
- 31 *Aird Bheag Bhràgair* NB2850 BRA {,a.ḁ,veg'vra:gḁḁ} the little headland of B. 1848 1895 = 1974 --/Bragair. Alias *An Aird Bheag*.
- + Aird Bheag Bragair NB2850, see *Aird Bheag Bhràgair*, *An Aird Bheag*.
- 32 *Aird Bhianais* NB2246 DAIL {,a.ḁ'vīð,nɪf} the headland of **Bh*. 1848 -/Bhianuis 1974 -/Bianish. A part of *Aird Dhaile Beaga*. The ON ln. here is also found in *Rubha Fianais* in CR, and possibly in *Leac Mhòr Fianuis* on *Rònaidh* (§9.liii, x); this might well be fr. ON *Uíð-nes* 'wide promontory' with stem form of the adj. *uíðr* and nom./acc. of *nes* nt. (or *Uíðanes* with obl.nt. of the wk. form of the adj.), or fr. ON *Uíðines* 'willow-promontory' with stem-form of *uíðir* m. Willow, *salix aurita*, is certainly found in dwarfed form even on promontories. In Norway, Vines occurs in Hordaland (NG XII, 100) and may contain either of the above specifics.
- + Aird Bianish NB2246, see *Aird Bhianais*.
- + Aird Callanish NB2033, see *Aird Challanais*.
- 33 *Aird Challanais* NB2033 CAL ='xqLa,nɪf} the headland of C. 1832 -/Callanish 1848 -/Callernish 1974 -/Callanish.
- + Aird Chòinnich NB2438, 1848 Aird Choìnnich.
- + Aird Dalbeg NB2246, see *Aird Dhaile Beaga*.
- 34 *Aird Dhaile Beaga* NB2246 DAIL {,a.ḁ,ɣalð'begð} the headland of DB. 1848 - -/Béaga 1974 -/Dalbeg.
- 35 *Aird Dhaile Mòire* NB2145 DAIL ='mo:ð} the headland of DM. Alias *An Aird*.
- 36 *Aird Duibhein* NB2437 DUN {,a.ḁ'ḁu¹jan} 1848 -/Dúibhan 1974 Ard Duivan. ?With gen.sg. of **duibhean* m., which may be a nickname or an *ex nomine* unit 'dark place' based on the adj. *duibh* 'dark, black'. For the palatalisation of the final before the suffix *-an*, cf. *Allt Iain Ghràidhein* (< *gràdh* m.), *Geodha Sgòidein* (< *sgòd* m.).
- 37 *An Aird Fhraoich* NB2547 SD {ḁ,Na.ḁ'rɔ:ç} the heathery headland, on inland lake; with gen.sg. of *fraoch* m. EIr. *fráech* m.

- + Aird Gouham NB2045, see *Aird a' Ghobhann*.
- 38 *Aird 'ic Phàil* NB2134 BRI {,a. ,ḡl̥k' 'fa:l} *MacPhàil*'s headland, with gen.sg. of *mac* m. EIr. *mac(c)m*. 'son', and gen.sg. of *Pàil* m.persn., ultimately fr. Lat. *Paulus*. 1848 1974 -/*Mhic Phail*.
- 39 *Aird Lacsabhat* NB2438 GEARR {,a. 'ḡLa^hksə,va^ht} the headland of *L.*, on inland water. 1848 -/*Lácsabhat* 1974 -/*Laxavat*.
- 40 *Aird Laimiseadar* NB1742 BOR = 'ḡLãĩm₁,faḡər} the headland of *L.* 1848 -/*Laimisheadar* 1895 -/*Lamisheadar* 1974 -/*Laimishader*. Alias *An Aird*.
- + Aird Laimishader NB1742, see *Aird Laimiseadar*.
- + Aird Laxavat NB2438, see *Aird Lacsabhat*.
- 41 *Aird Loch Thunnagro* NB1840 DUN {,a. ,ḡLɔx'hũNə,grɔ} the headland of *L.*, on inland lake.
- 42 *Aird Loisgte* NB2438 CN {,a. 'ḡLɔst'} the burnt headland, on inland lake; with the adj. *loisgte*, fr. *loisg* 'to burn' EIr. *loiscid*. 1848 1974 =. The sense of the specific may be 'exposed'; at any rate it is not uncommon in pnn. in Scotland, e.g. Cnoc Loisgte, Kintyre (KAS 1945: 11).
- 43 *Aird Mheadhanach* NB1945 GEARR {,a. ,ḡ'vĩ-anɔx} the middle headland, coastal; with *meadhanach* adj. EIr. *medónach*. 1848 -/*Mheadhonach* 1895 1974 idem.
- + Aird Mheadhonach NB1945, see *Aird Mheadhanach*.
- 44 *Aird Mhiasaid* NB1840 DUN {,a. ,ḡḡ'vĩḡsɪt'} the headland (of the basin), on inland water; with gen.sg. of *miasaid* f. fr. *mias* f. (ultimately fr. Lat. *mensa*) + suffix §7.6iv. The element is not uncommon in Lewis: *Druim a mhiasaoid* (MacIver 1934: 90), *Miasaid* and *Cnoc a' Mhiasaid* (Watson 1976: 269). MacIver's and Watson's derivation fr. an ON form with initial *mið-* 'narrow' is unacceptable since *-[ĩḡ]-* is unlikely to have developed from this. Cf. *mĩst* No. 2353.
- + Aird Mhic Phail NB2134, see *Aird 'ic Phàil*.
- 45 *Aird Mhòr* NB1945 GEARR {,a. ,ḡ'vo:r} the large headland, coastal. 1848 1895 -/*Mhor* 1973 *Ard Mhór* 1974 -/*Mhór*.
- 46 *Aird Mhòr* NB2547 SD, as above, on inland lake. 1848 -/*Mhor* 1974 -/*Mhór*.
- 47 *Aird Mhòr Bhràgair* NB2749 BRA {,a. ,ḡ,vo.r'vra:ḡḡḡ} the large headland of *B.* 1848 -/*Mhor Bhragair* 1895 idem 1974 -/*Mhór Bragair*.
- + Aird Mhór Bragair NB2749, see *Aird Mhòr Bhràgair*.
- + Aird na Mòine NB1937, see *Aird na Mònadh*.
- + Aird na Mòine NB1839, see *Aird na Mònach*.
- 48 *Aird na Mònach* NB1839 DUN {,a. ,ḡnə'mõ:nɔx} the headland of the peat, coastal; with gen.sg. of *mòine* f. EIr. *móin* f. 1848 = 1895 -/*na Monach*

- 1974 -/na Mòine. Trad: people fr. BERN used to cut peat here.
- 49 *Aird na Mònadh* NB1937 TOL ={'mõ:nðγ} as above. This gen. form corresponds to the one found in BERN (Borgstrøm 1940: 96), as opposed to the form in -{ɔx}, see No. 48, which corresponds to the one found in *Nis* (Borgstrøm op.cit: 126). Trad: as under No. 48.
- 50 *Aird nan Geadh* NB2140 CN ={'j'iaγ} the headland of the geese, on inland water.
- 51 *Aird nan Sìthean* NB2338 DUN ={'fi:han} the headland (of the knolls), on inland water; with gen.pl. of *sìthean* m., fr. EIr. *sìd sìth* nt. (later m. and f.) + suffix §7.6i; the word meant 'fairy mound' i.e. a 'knoll in which otherworld beings dwelt'. *Sìthean* in the lexicon now means 'flower', a meaning possibly derived by association with some tradition about the origin of flowers (in this sense the word is not found outside Lewis).
- 52 *Airde Beaga* NB2041 CN {,a.ḍə'begə} the little headlands, on inland water; with pl. of *àird* f. §7.5iv. 1848 *Airdan Béaga* 1974 *Airdean Beaga*.
+ *Airdean Beaga* NB2041, see *Airde Beaga*.
- 53 *Aireachan Ledd* NB2337 DUN {,a.ðɔxə'n'lɔ:ð'} the shielings of *Ledd*, of a hilly area; with pl. of *àirigh* §7.5v, EIr. *áirge*, and gen. of the man's name *Ledd* m., fr. ON *Liðt* acc.m. Alias *Airigh Ledd* doc.
- 54 *Airichean a' Mhullaich* NB2038 TOL {,a.ðiçə'nð'vũliç} the shielings (of the summit), with pl. of *àirigh* f. §7.5v, and gen.sg. of *mullach* m. EIr. *mullach*. Alias *Airigh a' Mhullaich*.
+ *Airidh a' Bhealaich* NB2140, 1848 *Airidh a Bhealaich*.
- 55 *Airigh a' Chleite Dhuibh* NB2433 CAL {,a.ði-ð,xle^ht'ð'γwɔj} the shieling of *An Cleite Dubh*. 1848 *Airidh a Chleite Dhuibh* 1974 =.
- 56 *Airigh a' Chreagain* NB2142 CAL {,a.ði-ð'xðegan} the shieling (of the hillock), with gen.sg. of *creagan* m., fr. *creag* f. + suffix §7.6i. 1848 *Airidh a' Chreagain* 1974 =.
- 57 *Airigh a' Ghlas Allt* NB2445 SD {,a.ði-ð'γLa,sqLɪt} the shieling of *An Glas Allt*. 1848 *Airidh a Ghlas Allt* 1974 =.
+ *Airigh a' Loch* NB2238, 1848 *Airidh a Loch*.
+ *Airigh a' Loch a' Ghainmheich* NB2834, see *Airigh Loch Gainmhich*.
- 58 *Airigh a' Mhullaich* NB2038 TOL ={'vũliç} the shieling (of the summit). Alias *Airichean a' Mhullaich*.
+ *Airigh Aird an Fhèidh* NB2339, 1848 *Airidh Aird an Fheidh*.
+ *Airigh Amhastar* NB2435, see *Geàrrraidh Amhastar*.
- 59 *Airigh an Drumair* NB2443 SD ={'Nřmað} the shieling of *An Drumair* (a

- man's nickname); with gen.sg. of *drumair* m., fr. Eng. *drummer*.
- 60 *Airigh an Fhionn Allt Bhig* NB2835 BRI {,a.δ1-ð,N'ũ,NaLt'v1g'} the shieling of *Am Fionn Allt Beag*. Alias *Airigh Theàrlaich*.
+ *Airigh an Rubha* NB2532, 1848 *Airidh an Rudha*.
- 61 *Airigh an Rubha Chèinnich* NB2636 TOL {,a.δ1-ð,Ru'x̃:N'1ç} the shieling (of the mossy promontory), on inland lake; with gen.sg. of *rubha* m., and *cèinneach* f. 'moss' EIr. *càennach*. Borgstrøm (1940: 223) and Oftedal (1956: 79) derive *rubha* fr. ON *hrúga* f. or *hrúfa* f. with similar meanings: 'heap, lump; manure pile'. Cf. Norn *rug* 'heap, pile', NN *ru(v)e* f. 'heap, stack; manure pile' *ruge* f. 'manure pile'. EIr. has *ruba* m. 'point; mound; clearing'; the sense 'clearing' is probably fr. ON *rud* nt., or the dat. *rudí* 'clearing'. The extension in sense, 'mound' → 'point' may have been partly due to the influence of the ON word *rófa* f. 'tail', also found in pnn. in Norway (Rygh 71). ON *rófa* may be present in a name in *Nis*: 1583 Rowaneß 1848 *Rudha Ròbhanais*, at NB5165, fr. ON *Rófunes* 'the promontory of the tail'; but without the pronunciation this is uncertain. In BERN, the long vowel of *hrúga hrúfa* is preserved: {Ru:-ðγ} (Borgstrøm op.cit., ibid.).
- 62 *Airigh an Sgiobair* NB2443 SD {,a.δ1-ð'sk'1p̄aδ} the shieling of *An Sgiobair* (a man's nickname); with gen.sg. of *sguibair* m. 'skipper' fr. ON *skipari* m. 'crew-member, ruler', or fr. the Eng. *skipper*. In favour of the Norse derivation is the existence of the G. word *sguibadh* m. 'crew'. Development of -{aδ} is by analogy with the G. agent suffix.
- 63 *Airigh an t-Saoir* NB2042 CN = {N^hω:δ} the shieling of *An Saoir* (a man's nickname); with gen.sg. of *saor* m. 'carpenter' EIr. *sóer sáer*. 1848 *Airidh an t-Saoir* 1974 =. See *Eilean Clann an t-Saoir*.
+ *Airigh an t-Slag Luachraich* NB2537, 1848 *Airidh an t-Slag Luaich*.
+ *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir* NB2730, see *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir*.
- 64 *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir* NB2730 CAL {,a.δ1,ũñs't^ha:L'aδ} the shieling of *Aonghas Tàilleir* (Angus the tailor); with gen.sg. of the man's name *Aonghas* m. EIr. *Óengus*, and of *tàilleir* m., fr. Scots *talour tailzour*. 1848 *Airidh Aonghais Tàilleir* 1974 --/Tàilleir.
- 65 *An Airigh Ard* NB1939 TOL {ð,Na.δ1'ja:ð} the high shieling, of a hill; with the adj. *àrd* EIr. *árd* 1848 *Airidh Ard* 1974 *Airigh Ard*.
+ *Airigh Ard* NB2140, 1848 *Airidh Ard*.
+ *Airigh Beinn nan Sgalag* NB2237, see *Airigh Beinneachan nan Sgalag*.
- 66 *Airigh Beinneachan nan Sgalag* NB2237 CIR {,a.δ1,b̃ēN'ɔx̄nn̄ð'sk̄Lak} the shieling of *B*. 1848 *Airidh Beinn nan Scallag* 1974 -/Beinn nan Sgalag.

- 67 *Airigh Brocaig* NB2733 CAL {,a.δi'br^ho'kæk'} the shieling (of the dark one), with gen.sg. of **brocag* f. 'dark or miry one' (an old river-name), cf. EIr. *brocach* adj. 'badger-like; dirty, filthy' fr. *brocc* m. 'badger'. For the use of the suffix -ag, see §7.6ii. 1848 *Airidh Bhrogach* 1895 *idem* 1974 =.
- + *Airigh Ceann Loch an Tairbeart* NB2636, see *Airigh Ceann Loch an Tairbeirt*.
- 68 *Airigh Ceann Loch an Tairbeirt* NB2636 TOL {,a.δi,k'āN,Loxθ'N^haδāpθt} the shieling (of the head of L.); with *ceann* m. EIr. *cenn*. 1848 *Airidh Ceann Loch an Tairbeart* 1974 ---/an Tairbeart.
- 69 *An Airigh Choimhead* CN {θ,Na.δi'xū-at} the look-out shieling, with gen.sg. of *coimhead* m. 'looking' - our form derives fr. EIr. *coiméta coiméto*, gen. of *coimét* m. u-stem; cf. Mullaigh-coimheada, Ireland (Joyce 1913, I: 214). 1848 *Airidh Choimhead* 1974 *Airigh Choimhead*.
- 70 *Airigh Choinnich* NB2843 BRA {,a.δi'xōN'ic} *Coinneach*'s shieling, with gen.sg. of the man's name *Coinneach* m. EIr. *Cainnech* Alias *Geàrrraidh Choinnich* doc.
- + *Airigh Chùbhraidh* NB2240, see *Airigh Chùrr*.
- 71 *Airigh Chùil Làimhe* NB2642 ST {,a.δi,xu'Lāivθ} ,a.δo,xu'Lāivθ} the shieling of the moorland pasture, with gen.sg. of *cùil* m. 'rear, back-end, back part' EIr. *cùl*, and gen.sg. of *làmh* f. 'hand' EIr. *lám*. For the semantic cpd. *cùil làimhe*, cf. *cùil cinn* 'outrun, common grazing ground of a township' (Dwelly 1977: 298). Cf. *Cu-laimhe, Nis* (MacIver 1934: 67).
- 72 *An Airigh Chùrr* NB2240 CARL {θ,Na.δi'xu:R} with an adj. **cùrr* fr. EIr. *corr curr* 'tapering, peaked, jutting out' etc., and so descriptive of the shieling's shape; or with gen.sg. of *cùrr* m. 'corner, recess, pit', of the same origin, and so 'the recessed shieling'. 1848 *Airidh Chubhar* 1974 *Airigh Chùbhraidh*. The OS1848 form may intend *cubhar* m. 'corner'; the OS1974 form follows the f.etym. with the adj. *cùbhraidh* 'fragrant'.
- 73 *An Airigh Chùrr* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- + *Airigh Cleit Fuharamair* NB2437, see *Airigh Cleite Fotharamar*.
- 74 *Airigh Cleite Fotharamar* NB2437 DUN {,a.δi,k^hle t'^hθ'fə-ɔ,ramθr} the shieling of C. 1848 *Airidh Cleite Phútharamair* 1974 -/Cleit Fuharamair.
- 75 *Airigh Cnoc nan Uan* NB2541 SD {,a.δi,k^hrō^hknθ'Nūān} the shieling of C.
- + *Airigh Feadan an t-Searraich* NB2740, 1848 *Airidh Feadan an t-Searraich*.
- 76 *Airigh Fhionnlaidh* NB2038 TOL {,a.δi'jōũLaj} the shieling of *Fionnladh*, with gen.sg. of the man's name, EIr. *Findloeche*. 1848 *Airidh Fhionnlaidh* 1974 =.

- + Airigh Ghrèinaval NB2533.
- + Airigh Greanach NB2041.
- + Airigh Griadaich Bheag NB2333, see *Airigh Griadaich Bige*.
- 77 *Airigh Griadaich Bige* NB2333 CAL {,a.δ₁-ð'g̊diad̪iç'p̪iç'ð} the lesser (shieling of the female illegitimate), of a hill. 1848 Airidh Griadaich Bheag 1974 --/Bheag. With gen.sg. of *griadaich* f. 'female unbaptised child; often a female illegitimate' (CG VI, 87); as a name it was used temporarily before baptism (CG I, 114-15). The (first) schwa is regarded as intrusive rather than a remnant of the gen.sg.fem. art.; and for the purposes of classification the specific is regarded as a personal-name.
- 78 *Airigh Griadaich Mòire* NB2332 CAL ='mo:ð̪ the greater (shieling of the female illegitimate), of a hill; see above. 1848 Airidh Griadaich 1934 Airigh Griadaig. Presumably a girl was born either at this location or at *Airigh Griadaich Bige*.
- + Airigh Hestaval NB2140.
- + Airigh Horshader NB2443, see *Airigh Thòrsadar*.
- 79 *Airigh Iain Alasdair* NB2443 SD {,a.δ₁,ã'N'aLðstðð} the shieling of *Iain Alasdair* (I. the son of A.), with gen. sg. of the men's names *Iain* m. EIr. *Ioin Eoin*, and *Alasdair* m. (ultimately fr. Greek, via Lat. and Eng. *Alexander*. Alias *Airigh Thormoid Neill*.
- 80 *Airigh Iain Bhàin* NB2039 DUN {,a.δ₁,ã'n'vã:N'} the shieling of *Iain Bàn*, with gen.sg.masc. of *bàn* adj. 'fair' etc. EIr. *bán*, here as an epithet 'fair-haired or fair-complexioned'. 1848 Airidh Iain Bhain 1974 =.
- 81 *Airigh Iain 'ic Aoidh* NB2443 SD {,a.δ₁,ã'ñ'k̪i} the shieling of *Iain Mac Aoidh* (MacKay), with gen.sg. of the old persn. *Aoidh* EIr. *Áed*.
- 82 *Airigh Leòid* NB2337 DUN {,a.δ₁'l̪:ð'} the shieling of *Leòd*. 1848 Airidh Leòid 1974 =. Alias *Aireachan Leòid*.
- + Airigh Loch an Tairbeart NB2636, 1848 Airidh Loch an Tairbeart.
- 83 *Airigh Loch Gairmhich* NB2834 BRI {,a.δ₁,Loxð'g̊ãñṽiç} the shieling of *L.*; the schwa is intrusive. 1848 Airidh a Loch a Ghainmhich 1974 -/ a' Loch a' Ghainmheich.
- + Airigh Loch na Bà Buidhe NB2436, 1848 Airidh Loch na Bà Buidhe.
- 84 *Airigh Mhic Aonghais* NB1844 GEARR {,a.δ₁,ṽi^h'k̪õñ'ðf} the shieling of the son of *Aonghas*. 1848 Airidh Mhic Fhionnlaidh 1974 Airigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh. The location is above the croft once owned by one *Fionnladh Mac Aonghais Bhàin*, grandfather of *Philip* (Finlay MacLeod).

There are two reasons for rejecting any connection between this family and the individuals cited in the name-forms: firstly, and chiefly, any shieling-name so close to a settlement must be extremely old; and secondly, such a connection from so recent a period should have survived in tradition.

- + Airigh Mhic Crisnidh NB2545, see *Airigh Mhic Risnidh*.
- + Airigh Mhic Dhomhnuill Bhàin, 1848 Airidh Mhic Dhomhnuill Bhain; note *Cnoc Airigh Dhòmhnail*.
- + Airigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh NB1844, see *Airigh Mhic Aonghais*.
- + Airigh Mhic Lean NB2482.
- + Airigh Mhic Leod NB2433, see *Geàrrraidh Mhic Ledid*.
- 85 *Airigh Mhic Risnidh* NB2545 SD {,a.δi,vĩ^h'k'δi/N'ı} the shieling of *Mac Risnidh* (MacRitchie), of a hill; with the persn. *Risnidh*, fr. Scots *Ritchie*, in gen. position. 1848 Airidh Mhic Crisnidh 1974 --/Crisnidh.
- + Airigh Mhór Thoma Dubha NB2534, see *An Geàrrraidh Mór*.
- + Airigh Mhurchaidh Ruaidh NB2242, 1848 Airidh Mhurchaidh Ruaidh.
- 86 *Airigh Mhùscleit* NB2644 ST {,a.δi'vã:,skle^ht'} the shieling of *M. 1848 Airidh Mhùthscalaid 1974 -/Mhùthscalaid. *M. is a ln. most probably fr. ON *Mús-klett* 'mouse-mountain' with stem-form of *mús* f. and acc. of *klettr* m. '(round) bluff, hill, knoll, rounded mountain-top'; cf. the Norwegian Musland ON *Músaland*, Rogaland (NG X, 295).
- + Airigh Mhùthscalaid NB2644, see *Airigh Mhùscleit*.
- 87 *Airigh na Beinne Bige* NB2235 BRI {,a.δiɪnð,bẽN'ð'bıg'ð} the shieling of *A' Bheinn Bheag*.
- + Airigh na Beinne Móire NB2235, 1848 Airidh na Beinne Moire; note *Airigh na Beinne Bige*.
- 88 *Airigh na Circe Fraoich* NB2433 CAL {,a.δiɪnð,k^h'ıðk'ð'frw:l'ç} the shieling of the grouse-hen, with gen.sg. of the semantic cpd. *cearc fraoich* f. (*cearc* f. 'hen' EIr. *cerc*, and gen.sg. of *fraoch* m. 'heather'). 1848 Airidh Circe Fraoich 1974 =.
- 89 *Airigh na Cloich* NB2444 SD {,a.δiɪnð'k^hLa^lç} the shieling (of the stone), with gen.sg. of *clach* f. 'rock, stone' EIr. *cloch*.
- 90 *Airigh na Guailne* NB1938 TOL ='guøL'ð} the shieling (of the mountain-shoulder), with gen.sg. of *gualainn* f. EIr. *gúalainn* obl. case.
- + Airigh na Heit NB2237, 1848 Airidh na Thèit; note *Amar na h-Eit*.
- + Airigh na Nighinne Bàine, 1848 Airidh na Nighinne Baine.
- 91 *Airigh na h-Aòn Òidheche* NB2743 BRA {,a.δiɪnð'hð,nðĩç} the shieling

of the single night ('s stay), with gen.sg. of *oidhche* f. 'night' EIr. *aidhí* dat., and the num. adj. *aon* 'one' etc. EIr. *oín oén*.

Trad: 2 girls spent a night in new shieling; in the morning one was dead: her throat had been cut (perhaps by an otter); no one stayed there again.

- 92 *Airigh na h-Aon Oidhche* NB2531 CAL ={'hǫ,nĩç} as above. Trad: someone was killed here by collapsing roof.
+ *Airigh nam Braighloch* NB2633, 1848 *Airidh nam Briaghloch*.
+ *Airigh nan Síthean* NB2337, see *Airigh nan Síthean*.
- 93 *Airigh nan Síthean* NB2337 DUN ={'si:han} the shieling (of the knolls). 1848 *Airidh nan Síthean* 1974 -/nan *Síthean*.
- 94 *Airigh Nùb* NB2643 ST {,a.δ1'Nũ:b} the shieling of *Nù*: 1848 *Airidh Nupe* 1974 -/Nupe.
+ *Airigh Nupe* NB2643, see *Airigh Nùb*.
- 95 *Airigh Riabhach* NB2539 SD ={'riðvɔx} the tawny shieling, with the adj. *riabhach* EIr. *riabach*. 1848 *Airidh Riabhach* 1974 =.
- 96 *Airigh Saidhbh* NB2638 SD ={'se:v} the shieling of *Sadhbh*, with gen. of the woman's name, EIr. *Sadb*. 1848 *Airidh Seìbh* 1895 idem 1934 -/Séif 1974 -/Seìbh. MacIver (1934:8) translates 'shieling of the rushes ground', alluding to ON *sef* nt. 'rush' - this is not only an unnecessary exercise, ON *sef* would yield initial {ʃ}- and a short vowel.
+ *Airigh Seìbh* NB2638, see *Airigh Saidhbh*.
- 97 *Airigh Sednaid* NB2137 TOL ={'fõ:nat'} the shieling of *Sednaid*, with gen. of the woman's name, 17th *a Sheónóid* voc. (Eigse XI, 7, 15), ?fr. Scots *Janet* (with half-long *a*) with lengthening of the post-tonic vowel by analogy with the G. dimin. suffix *-óc -óg* > -{ak}.
- 98 *Airigh Slàin* NB1940 DUN ={'sLã:N'} the shieling of *Slàin*; with gen. of the woman's name, cf. *Slàinidh* (Thomson 1978: 182) and Ir. *Slàine* (DF I, 84; Ó Corráin, Maguire 1981: 166). 1848 *Airidh Slaine* 1974 -/Slaine.
- 99 *Airigh Steinn Bheim* NB2142 CARL {,a.δ1,ʃt'a'vẽĩN'}. A curious name. -{ʃt'a'vẽĩN'} very possibly contains ON *steinn* m. 'stone, rock', cf. *Steinn Langa* {,ʃt'a'Lãŋkð}, *A' Bheim Leathainn* {ð,vã'le h1N'}. Despite the resemblance of -{'vẽĩN'} to G. *beinn* in len. position, a G. cpd. has to be rejected because of the stress pattern. It is tempting to consider that -{ʃt'a'vẽĩN'} and the -{,æʃt'ð'vẽĩN'} of *Feadan Uiste Bheim* (see also *Feadan Uiste Bhàididh*) are connected; but while our

name may be a contracted form, the variation {əst'ð} ~ *{əst'a} is difficult to explain. There are a number of tentative solutions:

1. The second element of our name is a lw. fr. ON *steinn* m., the third is a loan fr. the ON persn. *Beini* m. or *Beinir* (see No. 2931).
2. The third element constitutes a primary pre-Norse *ex nomine* unit, (G.) *A' *Bheinn* 'the mountain', subsequently a Norse name **Yzti Bheinn* 'outermost *Bheinn*' was created, using the len. form of the G. name (but ON -i > {a} is unlikely to say the least).
3. The form -{st'a'veĩN'} is partly of pre-Norse non-Gaelic origin. On the whole, the first solution is preferable.

100 *Airigh Theàrlaich* NB2835 BRI {,a.δi'hja:lɪç} the shieling of *Teàrlach*, with gen. of the man's name, fr. Eng. *Charles* but influenced by a native Gaelic persn., EIr. *Toirdelbach* m. Alias *Airigh an Fhionn Allt Bhig*.

101 *Airigh Thormoid Nèill* NB2443 SD - {,a.δi,haràmɔt ('),nē:L'} the shieling of *Tormod Nèill*, with gen. of the men's names, *Tormod* fr. ON *þormund* acc.m., and *Niall* EIr. *Níall*. Alias *Airigh Iain Alasdair*.

102 *Airigh Thòrsadar* NB2443 SD {,a.δi'ho:ɟaðər} the shieling of **Th*. 1848 *Airidh Thòrsader* 1974 -/Horshader. With an ON ln. fr. *þórisætr* 'the shieling of *þórir*', with nom./acc. of *sætr* nt. The name *þórir* is common in Norwegian pnn., e.g. *Torsæter* (GP 260), also fr. ON *þórisætr*; in Orkney, cf. Hourston (Fellows-Jensen 1984: 159). *þórir* is well-attested in Lnb. An alternative solution could be ON *þórðsætr* with gen. of the man's name *þórðr* m.

103 *Airigh Tuartain* NB2642 ST = {tuðɟt̪an}. *Tuartan* is a nickname belonging to a family who once used this shieling; accordingly it could be that the nickname passed to the shieling. However, were the specific a persn. or nickname (one which certainly looks masc.) len. would normally be expected here. According to trad., the peculiar feature of this shieling was that it was round. In light of this we might consider an original **Airigh Cuairtein* with gen. of *cuairtean* m., a dimin. of *cuairt* f.: 'the circular shieling'; for {k^h} > {t^h}, see §9.li. Rather than justify the non-lenition of the specific on grounds that *àirigh* may have once been masc. or neut., we may interpret the specific as an *ex nomine* unit with an original meaning 'dell, basin', which is not incompatible with the type of mountain plateau in which the shieling is situated.

104 *Airighean a' Bhoth Chlach* NB3038 {,a.δi-ðnð,vɔ'xLax} the shielings of *Am Both Clach*. 1848 1985 *Airidhean a Bhótha Chlach* 1974 =. With pl. of

àirigh f.

- 105 *Airighean Bhineasgro* NB2544 SD {,a.δ1-ðn'vĩna,skro} the shielings of **Bh.* 1848 *Airidh Bhinasgro.* **Bh.* most probably represents ON *Uin-ás-gróf* 'meadow-ridge-stream' or *Uin-ássgróf* 'the stream of the meadow-ridge', with stem-form of *uin* f., the stem-form or gen.sg. of *áss* m. 'ridge', and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. with the sense 'stream'. This is a very apt name for the location; although the ln. has been transferred and the stream is now called *Allt Bhineasgro.* The ON element *gróf* is not widely used in Norway of a 'brook or stream', but was evidently used frequently in Lewis. It is a derivative of ON *grafa* 'to dig' and is especially appropriate for a stream digging its way between peat banks; cf. the G. element *feadan.*
- + *Airighean Cleit Aulaidh* NB2039, 1848 *Aireachan Cleit Aulaidh.*
- + *Airighean Cnoc an Ois* NB2239, 1848 *Aireachan Cnoc an Ois.*
- + *Airighean Creagavat* NB2239, 1848 *Airieachan Creagabhat; note Crògabhat.*
- + *Airighean Druim Cliasbrock* NB2545, see *Gedarraidh Chliasproc.*
- + *Airighean Mùthoir Thuimoir* NB2338, 1848 *Aireachan Mùthoir Thuimoir.*
- + *Airighean Rahacleit* NB2641, see *Gedarraidh Rathacleit.*
- + *Ais Sgeir* NB2548, see *Ainnsgeir.*
- 106 *Allaflod* NB2335 BRI {'aLð,fLøt} of a hill. 1848 *Allafl'od* 1934 =.1974 *Alliflod.* A ln. most probably fr. ON *Halla(r)fløt* acc. 'the plain of the slope(s)' with gen.sg. or pl. of *høll* f. 'slope' and nom./acc. of *fløtr* m. Cf. the ln. **Thallabhat,* where initial *h-* survives. The ON element *fløtr* (alongwith side-forms *fløt* f. *flati* m.) is common in Norwegian pnn. for a 'plain or level ground'; e.g. *Buflaaten,* *Rogaland* (NG X, 341), *Kverneflaaten* (NG X, 348); in Shetland, cf. *Fladabister* (Jakobsen 1897: 111). For *høll* f., see Rygh 58; it occurs as specific for example in *Hallrynjene* ON *Hallar-uin* (NG XII, 155).
- + *Alliflod* NB2335, see *Allaflod.*
- 107 *An t-Allt* NB2748 BRA {ð'N^hauLt} the stream, with *allt* m. EIr. *alt allt* 'height, cliff'. Alias *An t-Allt Salach.*
- 108 *Allt a' Bhaile* NB2342 CARL {,aLtð'valð} the stream of the village, with gen.sg. of *baile* m. EIr. *baile.* 1848 *Allt a Bhaile* 1974 =.
- 109 *Allt a' Bhiorachain* NB3134 BRI ='vĩrɔxan} the stream of the ? 1848 -/a *Bhíorachan* 1895 -/Bhiorachan 1903 -/a *Bhioraidh* 1934 -/a *Bhiorach.* The later forms here assume the name contains *biorach* (but which is currently fem., although there may have been variation: NB3147 *Druim na Bioraich,* OS 1974, NB3847 *Allt a' Bhioraich,* OS 1974). The following meanings are attested for *biorach*: 'heifer, bullock; horse,

- colt; muzzle; type of fish', the last of these may be disregarded since it is the salt-water dogfish. The dimin. *biorachan* might refer to a young bullock since *damh* refers to bullocks of any age. It is equally plausible that the word is a man's nickname, perhaps alluding to the bearer's manner or temperament; cf. EIr. *birach berach* adj. 'pointed, sharp', fr. EIr. *bir* 'stake, point, spike' etc.
- 110 *Allt a' Bhuidhnich* NB2244 DAIL = 'vuĩN'ıç} the stream of ? 1848 -/ Bhuinaig 1974 -/Bhuinaig. One form or other may be corrupt; the name was only known by one informant. Cf. OS 1848 Sgor a Bhuinich, on the coast (see *Sgor na Caillich*).
- 111 *Allt a' Chapuill* NB2433 CAL = 'xa^hpıL' } the stream of the horse, with gen.sg. of *capall* m., ultimately fr. Lat. **cappillus* (Thurneysen 1975: 567). 1848 1895 -/a Chapuill 1974 -/a' Chapuil.
- + *Allt a' Chapuil* NB2433, see *Allt a' Chapuill*.
- 112 *Allt a' Chðcair* NB3334 S = 'xɔ: ^hkðð} the stream of the cook, with gen.sg. of *cðcaire* EIr. *còcaire* (ultimately fr. Lat. *coquus*) later *còcaire* (cf. the Eng. word). This crosses the old drove road into Stornoway, and may indicate a regular stopping-place. It is also possible that *An Cðcaire* was a man's nickname.
- 113 *Allt a' Gheàrrraidh* NB2145 DAIL = 'jɑ:Rı} the stream of *An Gheàrrraidh*. 1848 1974 -/na Muilne.
- 114 *Allt a' Ghlas Allt* NB2235 BRI = 'ɣLa,sɑL} the stream of *An Glas Allt*. 1848 1974 Allt Glas.
- 115 *Allt a' Ghlodhair* NB2331 CAL = 'ɣLo-ðð} the stream (of the ravine), with gen.sg. of *glodhar* m. 1848 Allt a' Ghluair 1974 -/a' Ghluair. MacBain (1982: 198): *glodhar* 'ravine, chasm', and Watson (1976: 267): *globhur* 'abrupt descent (in river-bed)' derive their forms fr. ON *gliúfr* nt. 'ravine'. As a name-element in Lewis, *glodhar* is well-attested: NB4553 *Globhar a' Deas/a' Tuath* (OS 1974); see also No. 1901. Henderson (1910: 348) states that ON final *-r* always drops and cannot explain its retention in *globhar*. The final of ON *gliúfr* is in fact part of the stem. It is the vowel quality which is problematic here: we have to assume {o} from ON *ú*, given that after the development of an unstressed schwa between *f* and *r*, and the loss of *f*, the length of the stressed vowel was reduced before hiatus. However, cf. the Norwegian dialectal forms *glöva glövrá* and also Norm *glover* (De Vries 1961: 175), which point to ON **glofra* f. and **glofr* nt. *Glodhar* from an ON **glofr* nt. is quite satisfactory; it also avoids the

- matter, although not unattested, of an expected {l} > {L}.
- + Allt a' Ghluair NB2331, see *Allt a' Ghlodhair*.
 - + Allt a' Glas NB1943, 1848 Allt a Glas.
 - + Allt a' Loch na Gainmhich NB2335, see *Allt Loch Gainmhich*.
 - + Allt a' Loch Shalaich NB2237, see *Allt an Loch Shalaich*.
- 116 *Allt Alagro* NB1939 DUN {,aL̥t'a:L̥,gr̥o} {,aL̥t'ḁa:L̥,gr̥o} the stream of *A. 1848 1974 -/Allagro. With a.ln. fr. ON *Álagróf* 'the stream of the eels' with gen.pl. of *áll* m. 'eel' and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. ON *áll* m. occurs in, for example, the Norwegian name Aalgaard (NG X, 5) ON *Álagarð-*. As for the presence of the fish, cf. the nearby *Loch na h-Easgairm*.
- + Allt an Aon Bhealaich NB2233, see *Allt an t-Sean Bhealaich*.
 - + Allt an Cnàmh NB2338, see *Allt nan Cnàmh*.
- 117 *Allt an Fheur Loch* NB2440 SD {,aL̥t̥N̥'N̥'a,L̥ox}, and {-N̥'aL̥iç} §7.4, the stream of *An Fheur Loch*. 1848 -/an Fheath Loch 1974 idem.
- 118 *Allt an Loch Chaim* Nb 2443 SD {,aL̥t̥,Lox'xãim} the stream (of the crooked lake). 1848 -/Loch Cam nan Eilidean 1974 idem. With gen.sg. of *loch* m. EIr. *loch*, and the adj. *cam* EIr. *camm*.
- 119 *Allt an Loch Shalaich* NB2237 TOL ={'haL̥iç} the stream of *An Loch Salach*. 1848 -/a Loch Shallaich 1974 -/a' Loch Shalaich.
- + Allt an Lochan Tràigh NB2346, see *Allt Fèith' an Lomochdain*.
- 120 *Allt an Tàbhain* NB2042 CARL {,aL̥t̥N̥'N̥^ha:van} the stream of the bag-net, or (of the place where this was used); with gen.sg. of *tàbhan* m., fr. *tàbh* m. (fr. ON *háf* acc.m.) + suffix §7.6i. One informant suggested *tàbhan* applied to some sort of flower, perhaps by confusion with *sabh samh* 'sorrel', MacIver (1934: 38) gives L. an Tàven and says the specific denotes a slender plant with yellow bloom. 1848 -/Loch an Tabhain 1974 -/Loch an Tàbhain. Alias *Allt Loch an Tàbhain*, *Allt an t-Siùcair*.
- 121 *Allt an Tairbh* NB2640 SD ={'N̥^hoðv̥} the stream of the bull, with gen. sg. of *tarbh* m. EIr. *tarb*. 1848 1974 =.
- + Allt an Tairbh NB2835, see *Allt nan Tarbh*.
- 122 *Allt an Torcain* NB3130 ACH ={'N̥^hoɾkan} the stream of the young boar, with gen.sg. of *torcan* m., dimin. of *torc* m. EIr. *torc*. In some districts, *torcan* has the sense 'cleft' (CG III, 140) which is highly apt here. 1848 -/nan Dearcan 1934 = 1974 -/nan Torcan.
- 123 *Allt an t-Sean Bhealaich* NB2233 CAL {,aL̥t̥N̥'N̥^hoðv̥,vjaL̥iç} the stream of *An Sean Bhealach*. 1848 -/an Aon Bhéalaich 1974 -/an Aon Bhealaich.

- 124 *Allt an t-Searraich* NB3235 S = 'N^h aR₁ç} the stream of the colt, with gen.sg. of *serrach* m. EIr. *serrach*. 1848 1974 -/Loch nan Geadh. Further upstream, this is *Allt Loch nan Geadh* q.v.
- 125 *Allt an t-Siùcair* NB2042 CN = 'N^h u: k₃r} the stream of the sugar, with gen.sg. of *siùcar* m. (ultimately fr. AN *sūgre*). ?Elliptical for *lus an t-siùcair* 'chicory' *cichorium intybus* (Cameron 1900: 51); but since chicory is not found in Lewis as far as I know, ?hawkbit *leontodon hispidus*. Alias *Allt an Tàbhain*, *Allt Loch an Tàbhain*.
+ *Allt Bealach na Beinne* NB2234, see *Allt Loch nan Eilean*.
- 126 *Allt Bhineasgro* NB2444 SD {,aL₁t'vĩna,skro} the stream of *Bh. 1848 -/Bhinasgro 1895 -/Bhinasgro 1974 Binasgro Burn.
- 127 *Allt Bhritheasleit* NB2036 BRI = 'vði-a,skle^ht'} the stream of B. 1848 Òs Geodha Crumpaigh 1903 Òs Chrumpaigh 1974 Os Geodha Crumpaigh. Alias *Allt na Crìch*, *Allt na Muilne*.
+ *Allt Bhuinaig* NB2244, see *Allt a' Bhuidhnich*.
- 128 *An t-Allt Cam* NB2446 SD {ð,N^h aL₁t'k^h aüm} 'k^h aüm} the crooked stream; the variant pronunciation of the adj. is not uncommon in CR and derives from oblique case-forms. 1848 1974 Allt Cam.
- 129 *Allt Ceann Aird Laesabhat* NB2437 DUN {,aL₁t,k^h a,Na.'dLa^h ksð,va^ht} the stream (of the head of A.). 1848 -/Loch na Bèiste 1974 -/Loch na Bèiste.
- 130 *Allt Chliasgro* NB2644 ST {,aL₁t'xlia,skro} the stream of *C. 1848 -/Chliàsgro 1974 -/Cliasgro. The ln. here undoubtedly has final ON -gró^f f. 'stream, burn'. The first element has been held to be ON *klif* nt. 'path up a steep cliff' (e.g. MacIver 1934: 4), but this would not yield the diphthong {ia}, rather {i}{i} (see *Cliosgro*). In conversation, Oftedal suggested the man's name *Klæ(i)ngr* m., with gen. in *Klæ(i)ngsgró^f*. However, initial {k^hlias}- is common in ON lnn., e.g. *Cliasgro* (twice), *Cliasam Creag*, *Cliasproc*, also at NB5059 Feadan Chliasgro (OS 1848). On the other hand, the persn. *Klæingr* is not: it is found neither in GP nor in lnb. The identity of the element is probably ON **kleif* nt., gen. **kleifs*; cf. ON *kleif* f. 'steep hillside, usually with track or path'. *Kleif* f. is frequent in Norwegian pnn., e.g. Kleven, in many places (see, for example, NG IX, 91, 234; X, 170, 382; XII, 47, 302). Phonetically and topographically an ON **kleifsgró^f* is sound. ON *kleif* f. **kleif* nt. and *klif* nt. are all derivatives of the verb *klifa* 'to climb'.
- 131 *Allt Chliosgro* NB1942 BOR = 'xl₁,skro} the stream of C. 1903 -/Chlis-gro.

- + Allt Chrìanaig NB3031, see *Allt Chrìonaig*.
- 132 *Allt Chrìonaig* NB3031 CAL = 'xðĩũnæk' } the stream (of the withering one), with gen.sg. of *crìonag* f., fr. the adj. *crìon* 'dry, withered' EIr. *crín*, + suffix §7.6ii. 1848 1895 Allt Crìanaich 1974 -/Chrìanaig. The specific is an old stream-name.
- 133 *Allt Chrìsgein* NB2447 SD = 'xði:fk'an } the stream of ?, with gen.sg. of a ?masc. persn. 1848 Lian Allt Fhrisgro. Alias *Sruthan Phluic*.
- 134 *Allt Cleit a' Mhagha* NB2039 TOL {,aL̥t,k^hle^ht'ð'fð̃γð } 'vð̃γð } §9.liiii, the stream of C. Alias *An t-Alltan Dubh*.
- + Allt Cliasgro NB2644, see *Allt Chliasgro*.
- 135 *Allt Cnoc a' Choilich* NB2142 CARL {,aL̥t,k^hrō^hkð'xal̥ç } the stream of C. + Allt Cnoc an Daimh NB2240, see *Allt Loch Chalmaistean*.
- 136 *Allt Cnoc Eusamaig* NB1940 DUN {,aL̥t,k^hrō^hk'e:sð,m̥k' } the stream of C. 1848 -/a' Gharaidh Ghainmhich.
- 137 *Allt Cnoc nan Sgoran* NB2445 SD {,aL̥t,k^hrō^hknð'skɔrðn } the stream of C.
- 138 *Allt Cnocan Ma Lèig* NB2134 BRI {,aL̥t,k^hrō^hkan,ma'le:g' } the stream of C.
- 139 *Allt Creag Gille Bhrìghde* NB2036 TOL {,aL̥t,k^hðeg,g'̥l'ð'vði:d'ð } the stream of C.
- 140 *Allt Dhaile Beaga* NB2344 DAIL {,aL̥t,γalð'begð } the stream of DB. 1848 --/Béaga 1895 =.1974 Dalbeg Burn.
- 141 *Allt Dhaile Mòire* NB2144 DAIL = 'mo:ð(ð) } the stream of DM. 1848 --/Mora 1974 Dalmore Burn.
- + Allt Doud NB2244, see *An t-Alltan Dùinte*.
- 142 *Allt Druim nan Cnàmh* NB2934 BRI {,aL̥t,ðr̥ðmnð'ɪ^hrã:v } the stream of D. 1848 -/na Buaile Mòire 1974 -/na Buaile Moire. Alias *Allt na Buaile Mòire*.
- 144 *Allt Eallagro* NB2748 BRA {,aL̥t'jalð,gro } the stream of *E. 1848 -/Eállagro 1974 =. The ln. here may be fr. ON **Iollagróf* 'the chattering stream' with an unattested verb **iolla*, cf. *ioll* nt. 'gossip, chat' and NN *jolla* 'to chatter, prattle'. River-names in Norway are often descriptive of sounds of water (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 35), e.g. Kvina fr. ON *hufna* 'to shriek' (op.cit: 195). A further possibility is ON *Giallagróf* or *Giallugróf* acc. 'the sharp or piercing stream' with the wk.fem. form of the adj. *giállr*; {j} from len. palatal *g-* is acceptable, for there is no phonemic distinction in the dialect between the approximant {j} and the fricative {ɟ}. In this regard, note the interesting development with the verb *ionnsaich*: CR *ionnsaich* {,ð̃ũs̥̃ç } 'learn!' ~ *dh'ionnsaich* {,j̃ũs̥̃ç } 'j̃ũs̥̃ç } 'learnt'; BERN *ionnsachadh* {,l̥{ð̃ũ} s̥̃xð̃γ } 'learning' ~

- {l̥{öü}sıç} 'learnt' (Borgstrøm 1940: 62); Leurbest /j̥öüsiç/ 'learn!' ~ /j̥öüsiç/ 'learnt' (Ofte dal 1956: 113).
- 145 *Allt Fèith' an Lomnochdain* NB2346 SD {,aL̥t,fe-ð'Λ(ɔr̥)ɔxkan} the stream (of the bog of the naked person), with *fèithe* f. EIr. *féith* and gen.sg. of *lomnochdan* m. EIr. *lomnochtán*.
- 146 *Allt Fhìbhig* NB1944 GEARR {,aL̥t'i:,vɪk'} the stream of F. 1848 *Allt Fhìbhig* 1974 *Fivig Burn*.
- 147 *An t-Allt Garbh* NB2144 DAIL {ð,N^haL̥t'g̥arəv} the fierce or violent stream, with the adj. *garbh* EIr. *garb*. 1848 1974 *Allt Garbh*.
- 148 *Allt Geàrraidh Mhaoilein* NB2044 GEARR {,aL̥tð,g'aRɪ'vð:lan} §9.lii, the stream (of the enclosure (of the exposed place)), with *geàrraidh* m. fr. ON *gerði* nt. 'enclosed piece of land, for cultivation'; cf. Norn *gairdie*. *Geàrraidh* has come to mean 'the land around the house' and also since the demise of the system of transhumation 'site where shieling stood'. The sense 'enclosure' is probably intended in many of the names found within villages. For *maoilean* m., here in the gen., see No. 2336.
- 149 *Allt Geàrraidh Rèisg* NB2045 GEARR ='re:fk'} the stream (of the enclosure of peaty soil), with gen.sg. of *riasc* m. 'peat; moorland' EIr. *riasc*.
- 150 *Allt Ghleadhairéan* NB2342 CARL {,aL̥t'ɣl̥ɔɔððn} the stream of G. 1848 =.
- 151 *Allt Ghleadhairéan* NB2334 CAL, as above, and -{'ɣleyððn}
- 152 *Allt Ghrèinir* NB2135 BRI ='ɣðẽ:nðð} the stream of G.
+ *Allt Gil an Rainich* NB2830, see *Gil Rainich*.
- 153 *An t-Allt Glas* NB2445 SD {ð,N^haL̥t'g̥Las} the green stream, with the adj. *glas* EIr. *glas*. Alias *An Glas Allt* doc., *An Glas Allt Mòr*.
+ *Allt Glas* NB2235, see *An Glas Allt*, *Allt a' Ghlas Allt*.
- 154 *Allt Gleann a' Phuirte* NB1841 DUN {,aL̥t,gl̥ãNð'fust̥} the stream of G. 1848 1974 =.
- 155 *Allt Gleann Bot an Aighe* NB1940 DUN {,aL̥t,gl̥ãN,bo^ht̥N'Ne-ð} the stream of G. 1848 1974 =.
+ *Allt Gleann Falasgair* NB2144, 1848 idem.
- 156 *Allt Gleann Ledid* NB2337 TOL {,aL̥t,gl̥ã(N)'lɔ:d'} §9.lix, the stream of G. Alias *Allt Gorm*.
- 157 *Allt Gleann Liosamar* NB2039 DUN ='lɪ,samɔr} the stream of G. 1848 --/*Lisamor* 1974 idem.
+ *Allt Gleann Lisamor* NB2039, see *Allt Gleann Liosamar*.
- 158 *Allt Gorm* NB2337 TOL {,aL̥t'g̥ɔr̥ɔm} the dark stream, with the adj. *gorm*

- EIr. *gorm*. Alias *Allt Gleann Ledid*.
- 159 *Allt Iain Ghràidhein* NB1938 TOL {,aL̥t,ãn'ɣra:jan} the stream of *Iain Ghràidhein*. *Gràidhean* (m., prob. *gràidhean*, a term of affection, < *gràdh* m. + agent suffix) was *Iain's* father's nickname. Alias *Allt Mhic Gill' Leadhrain*.
- + *Allt Liana Bandalum* NB2345, see *Allt Liana Bhanndalum*.
- 160 *Allt Liana Bhanndalum* NB2345 SD {,aL̥t,L'ãnd'vãũNtð,Lum} the stream of *L*. 1848 --/Bhándalum 1974 --/Bandalum.
- + *Allt Lith Langa* NB2137, see *Allt Loch Eileastar*.
- 161 *Allt Loch Amhastar* NB2335 BRI {,aL̥t,Lox'ãva,stðr} the stream of *L*. 1848 -/a Loch a' Ghainmheich.
- 162 *Allt Loch an Fhraoich* NB2336 BRI {,aL̥t,Loxð'rɔ:ʲç} the stream of *L*. 1848 --/a Fhraoich 1974 =.
- 163 *Allt Loch an Laoigh* NB2333 CAL ='Lði} the stream of *A*. 1848 1974 =.
- + *Allt Loch an Laoigh* NB2635, see *Am Feadan Dubh*.
- 164 *Allt Loch an Tàbhain* NB2042 CN ='N^ha:van} the stream of *L*. Alias *Allt an Tàbhain* doc., *Allt an t-Siùcair*.
- + *Allt Loch an Tobair* NB2934, see *Allt Druim nan Cnàmh*.
- 165 *Allt Loch an Tuim* NB2535 BRI ='N^hðim} the stream of *L*. 1848 1974 =.
- + *Allt Loch Bealach a' Sgail* NB2040, see *An Glas Allt*.
- + *Allt Loch Beinn nan Sgalag* NB2237, see *Allt Loch Beinneachan nan Sgalag*.
- 166 *Allt Loch Beinneachan nan Sgalag* NB2237 CIR {,aL̥t,Lox,bẽN'ɔxðn(ð)'skaLak} also -{'vẽN'}-, the stream of *L*. 1848 --/Beinn nan Scallag 1974 --/Beinn nan Sgalag.
- + *Allt Loch Cam nan Eilidean* NB2443, see *Allt an Loch Chaim*.
- + *Allt Loch Ceann Allavat* NB2738, see *Allt Loch Ceann Thallabhat*.
- 167 *Allt Loch Ceann Thallabhat* NB2738 SD {,aL̥t,Lox,k'^hãN'hqLð,va^ht} the stream of *L*. 1848 ---/Állabhat 1974 ---/Allavat. Alias *Feadan Loch Ceann Thallabhat*.
- 168 *Allt Loch Chalmaistean* NB2240 CN {,aL̥t,Lox'xqLãm,ft'ðn} the stream of *L*. 1848 -/Cnoc an Daimh 1974 idem.
- + *Allt Loch Cliasam Creag* NB2040, see *An t-Allt Ruadh*.
- 169 *Allt Loch Dhaile Beaga* NB2245 DAIL {,aL̥t,Lox,ɣalð'ɸegð} the stream of *L*. 1848 ---/Béaga.
- 170 *Allt Loch Dhubh* NB2043 CARL {,aL̥t,Lox'ɣu^h} the stream (of the black lake); §7.4.
- 171 *Allt Loch Dubh a' Chleit* NB2244 DAIL {,aL̥t,Lox,ɸu-ð'xle^ht'} the stream of *L*. 1848 ---/a Chleit 1974 ---/a' Chleite.

- + Allt Loch Dubh a' Chleite NB2244, see *Allt Loch Dubh a' Chleit*.
- 172 *Allt Loch Dubh na Glaic* NB1843 BOR {,aL̥t,Lox,d̥anəð'gLa^hk'} the stream of L. 1848 =.
- + Allt Loch Earraid NB2239, 1848 Allt Loch Thorrad.
- 173 *Allt Loch Eileastar* NB2137 TOL {,aL̥t,Lox'ela,stə̀r} the stream of L. 1848 -/Lith Langa 1974 idem.
- 174 *Allt Loch Fàsgrò* NB2041 CN ='fa:sk^əro} the stream of L. 1848 Gil Fàsgrò 1974 Gill Fasgrò.
- 175 *Allt Loch Gainmhich* NB2235 BRI {,aL̥t,Loxəð'gãnav̥iç} the stream of L. 1848 Allt Glas 1974 Allt a' Loch na Gainmhich.
- 176 *Allt Loch Galabhat* NB2840 ST {,aL̥t,Lox'gəLəð,va^ht} the stream of L. 1848 Alt Loch Gállabhat.
- 177 *Allt Loch Griùla* NB2239 CN ='g̥əu:Lə̀} the stream of L. 1848 --/Grùla 1974 idem.
- + Allt Loch Grùla NB2239, see *Allt Loch Griùla*.
- 178 *Allt Loch Liùrabhat* NB1943 GEARR/CN ='l̥u:rə̀ð,va^ht} the stream of L. 1848 =.
- + Allt Loch na Bèiste NB2437, see *Allt Ceann Aird Laosabhat*.
- + Allt Loch na Gruile Bige NB2238, 1848 idem.
- 179 *Allt Loch na h-Airde* NB1743 BOR {,aL̥t,Loxnəð'ha:d̥ə̀} the stream of L. 1848 1974 =.
- + Allt Loch nam Breac NB2836, see *Feadan Mhic Gille Chèir*.
- 180 *Allt Loch nan Eilean* NB2235 BRI ='N'elan} the stream of L. 1848 -/Bealach na Beinne 1974 idem.
- 181 *Allt Loch nan Geadh* NB3136 ST ='ŋ'iaɪ} the stream of L. Further downstream, this is called *Allt an t-Searraich* doc.
- 182 *Allt Loch nan Gortairean* NB2037 TOL ='ŋ̥ə̀st̥aðə̀n} the stream of L. Alias *Allt Os na Creige Ruaidhe*.
- + Allt Loch nan Stearnag NB3137, 1848 idem.
- 183 *Allt Loch Rèabhat* NB1943 GEARR {,aL̥t,Lox're:,va^ht} the stream of L. 1848 --/Bhreidhbhat.
- + Allt Loch Urabhal NB3032, see *Allt Loch Urabhat*.
- 184 *Allt Loch Urabhat* NB3032 S ='u:rə̀ð,va^ht} the stream of L. 1848 1974 --/Urabhal.
- 185 *Allt Meadhanach* NB2929 ACH {,aL̥t'mi̯-anə̀x} the middle stream. 1974 Allt Meanach.
- + Allt Meanach NB2929, see *Allt Meadhanach*.
- 186 *Allt Mhic Gill' Leadhrain* NB1938 TOL {,aL̥t,v̥i^hk',g'ɪL''l̥ə̀:ran} 'l̥ə̀:lan}

- the stream of *Mac Gill' Leadhrain* (?anglicised as MacLaren, MacDonald 1967: 40, 73; Glasach 1965: 101); with gen.sg. of **Leadhran*, etym. obscure. Alias *Allt Iain Ghràidhein*.
- + *Allt Mhic Ille Chetheir* NB2636, see *Am Feadan Dubh*.
- 187 *Allt Mhic Phàil* NB2344 DAIL {,aLt,vĩ^h'k''fa:l} the stream of MacPhail. 1848 1974 --/Phail.
- 188 *Allt Mhurchaidh* NB2331 CAL {,aL̥t'vurũx₁} *Murchadh's* stream, with gen.sg. of the man's name, EIr. *Murchad*. 1848 1974 =.
- 189 *An t-Allt Mòr* NB2930 ACH {ð,N^haL̥t'mo:r} the large stream. 1974 *Allt Mòr*.
- 190 *Allt na Beinne Cloich* NB2445 SD {,aL̥tnð,bẽN'ð'k^hLa^lç} the stream of *Beinn Cloich*. 1848 1974 =. With the neut. art., see No. 319.
- 191 *Allt na Buaille Mòire* NB2042 CARL {,aL̥tnð,buølð'mo:ð(ð)} the stream (of the large enclosure), with gen.sg. of *buaille* f. EIr. *búaille*. 1848 --/Móire 1974 --/Moire. Alias *Allt Druim Thorraig*.
- 192 *Allt na Cartach* NB2342 CARL {,aL̥tnð'k^haʃtɔx} the stream of the water-lily, with gen.sg. of *cairt* f. 'water-lily root' EIr. *coirt* 'bark' (Lat. *cortex*). 1848 -/na Cairt 1974 =.
- 193 *Allt na Crìch* NB2036 BRI = 'k^hði:ç} the stream (of the boundary), with gen.sg. of *crìoch* f. EIr. *crìch*. Alias *Allt Bhritheascleit* doc., *Allt na Muilne*.
- 194 *Allt na Crodhadh* NB3130 ACH = 'k^hrɔ-ðɣ} the stream (of the fold), with gen.sg. of *crò* f. EIr. *cró* (this word was borrowed by the Norse, ON *kró* f., Oftedal 1954: 379; not the other way round, Marstrander 1915: 122). 1848 -/Chliasgro.
- + *Allt na Gile Tioram* NB2730, see *Gil Thioram*.
- 195 *Allt na Lic* NB2645 ST = 'L'i^h'k'} the stream of the flagstone, with gen.sg. of *leac* f. EIr. *lecc*.
- + *Allt na Lochannan Tràighte* NB2536, 1848 *Allt na Lochannan Traighte*.
- 196 *Allt na Muilne* NB2037 TOL = 'mũl'ð} the stream (of the mill), with gen.sg. of *muilinn* f. EIr. *muilend* (Lat. *molīna*). 1848 1974 =.
- 197 *Allt na Muilne* NB2036 BRI, as above. Alias *Allt na Crìch*, *Allt Bhritheascleit* doc.
- 198 *Allt na Muilne* NB2447 SD, as above. 1848 =.
- 199 *Allt na Muilne* NB2647 ST, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- + *Allt na Muilne* NB2145, see *Allt a' Gheàrraidh*.
- + *Allt na Siùgaid* NB2647, see *Allt na Slugaid*.
- 200 *Allt na Slugaid* NB2647 ST = 'sLugit'} the stream of *S*. 1848 -/na

Slúgaid 1974 -/na Siùgaid.

- 201 *Allt nam Breac* NB2446 SD = 'm̥ðe^hk} the stream of the trout, with gen.pl. of *breac* m. EIr. *brecc*. 1848 1974 =.
- 202 *Allt nam Brisgean* NB2447 SD = 'm̥^hðifk'an} the stream of the silver-weed, with gen.pl. of *brisgean* m. *potentilla anserina*, EIr. *briscén*. Alias *Sruthan Allt nam Brisgean*.
- + *Allt nan Capull* NB2439, 1848 *idem*.
- 203 *Allt nan Cnàmh* NB2338 CN = 'r̥^hrã:v} the stream of the bones, with gen.pl. of *cnàmh* EIr. *cnám*. 1848 -/nan Cnamh 1974 =.
- + *Allt nan Cnocan Dubha* NB2439, 1848 *Allt nan Cnocan Dubha*.
- 204 *Allt nan Cròitean* NB2233 CAL = 'r̥^hrc:t'ðn} the stream (of the folds), with gen.pl. of *crò* f. 1848 =. 1974 -/nan Croitean.
- 205 *Allt nan Gallan* NB2042 CARL = 'r̥^halAn} the stream (of the standing-stones), with gen.pl. of *gallan* m. 1848 =. *Gallan* EIr. *gallán*, dimin. of EIr. *gall* 'foreigner' etc., is found in Galanaich, Ross and Cromarty (Watson 1976: 24); Aghagallon, in Ireland (Joyce 1913 I, 343); Achagallon, on Arran (Cameron 1889: 135). The plant butter-bur, *petasites vulgaris*, is also *gallan* (*mòr*) in G. (Cameron 1900: 56) and there may have been confusion between *gallan* 'standing-stone' and *gallan* 'butter-bur' on the part of some commentators: Achadh nan Gallan, Skye (Forbes 1923: 26) and Dun Ghallain, Ardnamurchan (Henderson 1915: 167) have translations with 'butter-bur'. Of course, the presence of standing-stones at or in the vicinity of a location is the best supporting evidence for a translation with 'standing-stone'. To the north of our stream we have *Cnoc an Tursa* q.v.
- 206 *Allt nan Tarbh* NB2835 BRI = 'N^haràv} the stream of the bulls. 1974 -/an Tairbh.
- + *Allt nan Torcan* NB3130, see *Allt an Torcain*.
- 207 *Allt nan Uan* NB3130 ACH = 'Nũän} the stream of the lambs, with gen.pl. of *uan* m. EIr. *úan*.
- + *Allt Neadabhat* NB2442, see *An t-Allt Salach*.
- 208 *Allt Os na Creige Ruaidhe* NB2037 TOL {,aL̥t,ɔ.snð,k^hðeg'ð'Rud̥jð} the stream (of the outlet (of the red rock)), with *òs* m., fr. ON *ós* acc.m., and gen.fem.sg. of the adj. *ruadh* EIr. *rúad*..1848 -/Loch nan Goirtairean. Alias *Allt Loch nan Gortairean*.
- 209 *An t-Allt Ruadh* NB2040 CN {ð,N^haL̥t'Rud̥ɣ} the red stream. 1848 1974 *Allt Loch Clisam Creag*.
- 210 *Allt Ruadh* NB2239 CN {,aL̥t'Rud̥ɣ} as above. 1848 1974 =.

- + Allt Ruadh NB3432, see *An Abhainn Dearg*.
- 211 *An t-Allt Salach* NB2442 SD {ð, N^h aL'tsaLox} the dirty stream, i.e. peaty; with the adj. *salach* EIr. *salach*. 1848 1974 Allt Neadabhat.
- 212 *An t-Allt Salach* NB2748 BRA, as above. Alias *An t-Allt*.
- 213 *An t-Allt Salach* NB2242 CARL, as above.
- 214 *Allt Sgeālasgro* NB2043 CARL *{, aL't'sk'aLð, skro}. My only informant for this name said he was told it once by an old man who pronounced it as {, aL't, sk'aLð'skro^h}; the stress pattern must derive from some f.etym., although it is not at all clear what this may have been. At any rate, while the asterisked form above is suspect, it seems probable that this name does contain an ON ln. in final *-gróf* f. 'stream'. Note 1848 Allt Talamh Bhácsaidh, which indicates in all probability that land here was utilised by someone from *Bhàcasaidh* (q.v.). Our name may contain the U village-name, Scaliscro (OS 1974), with similar implications.
- 215 *Allt Sheonaidh* NB2042 CN {, aL't'hjõnı} *Seonaidh*'s stream, with gen. sg. of the man's name, fr. Eng.; although we may speculate that in Lewis the name also derives from a native form, cf. the sea-god's name, given as Shony by Martin (1934: 107).
- 216 *Allt Sròin an Torrrghain* NB2142 CARL {, aL't, strõ:N'N'^hõRõyan}, as a result of a f.etym. ?fr. *torghan* m. 'purling sound' (MacLennan 1925: 347); from *Allt Sròin Thorrghal*.
- 217 *Allt Sròin Thorrghal* NB2142 CARL {, aL't, strõ.N'^hõRõyaL} the stream (of the point of *Th.); with *sròin* f. 'nose; point' EIr. *sròin* obl. case. *Th. is very possibly from ON *Hqrg-hól* acc. with acc. of *hóll* m. 'hill'. ON *hqrg* m. (with stem-form here) may mean '(pagan) altar' but more commonly 'stone heap'; NN *hong* f. has the sense 'precipitous cliff'. ON *Hqrg-hól* 'cairn-hill' seems plausible. In Norway, cf. Horgjem, Romsdal, ON *Hqrgheimr* (NG XIII, 234). See also *Tairtheabhal*.
- 218 *Allt Thàideagro* NB2241 CARL {, aL't'hæ:d'ð'gro}, also with initials {x}- and {xr}-, the stream of *T. 1848 1974 Cam Allt. *T. might just be fr. ON *Týt(n)agróf 'the stream of the cowberries' with nom./acc. of gróf f. 'stream', and gen.pl. of *týta f. *vaccinium vitis-idaea*, for which an ON form *tytta* f. is attested; but cf. Norw. dial. *tyta* f. Cowberries, or cranberries, are rare in Scotland and in the Western Isles are limited to the hills of Harris (Knowlton 1977: 149); but it is probable they were once found more widely (Darling, Boyd 1969: 217).
- 219 *Allt Uiseal* NB2641 ST {, aL't'ʉ/aL} the stream of U.

- 220 *Allt Uisteam* NB2132 CAL ={'əft'am} the stream of *U. 1848 -/Ísdeam. *U. fr. ON *Ytst(i)holmi* *Yzt(i)holmi* 'the outer island' with the stem or wk.m. form of the adj. *yztr ytstr*, and *holmi* m. 'island'. The name has been transferred to the shore; while a shore-name has in turn been transferred to the island (*Bratanais Mhòr*). See also *Mol Uisteam*.
- 221 *An t-Alltan Dubh* NB2039 TOL {ð,N^hal_ltan'da^h} the black streamlet, with *alltan* m., dimin. of *allt* m. Alias *Allt Cleit a' Mhagha*.
- 222 *An t-Alltan Dùinte* NB2144 DAIL {ð,N^hal_ltan'dã:N^h't'} the closed (i.e. silted up, overgrown) streamlet, with the adj. *dùinte*, fr. *dùin* 'to close' EIr. *dúinid* 'closes'. 1848 *Allt Dhoud* 1974 *Allt Doud*.
- 223 *Alltan Dùinte* NB2043 GEARR {,al_ltan'dã:N^h't'} as above.
- 224 *Alltan Feireagro* NB2043 GEARR/CARL ={'feða,gro} the stream of *F. With a ln. fr. ON *þuerá(r)gróf* 'the stream of the cross-set stream' with the stem-form or gen.sg. of *þverá* f., a cpd. fr. the adj. *þuerr* 'oblique, crossing' and *ó* f. 'river, stream', and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. 'stream'. In Norway the cpd. *þuerá* is applied to side-streams set at oblique angles to the main river (NE 279).
- 225 *Na h-Altaircean* NB2643 ST {nð'haL_tðððn} the altars, of two flat-topped hillocks jutting from the base of *A' Bheinn Mhòr*; with pl. of *altair* f. EIr. *altóir* (Lat. *altāre*). While there are names in Ireland with the Irish equivalent *altóir* (see Hogan 1910: 30) which are taken as having religious significance (Joyce 1913 I; 120), this is not the case here. Cf. *Altair*, Skye, 'a cromlech shaped in the form of an altar' (Forbes 1923: 44). In Faroese pnn., *altar* nt. is not uncommon, and has the sense 'flat raised platform (*klippeforhøjning*) or terrace', e.g. *Altarið* (Matras 1933, *altar*). I have no examples fr. Norway as regards this latter sense, but they may exist for smaller features; on the other hand, *Altarsæter*, Nordhordland (Beito 1949: 30) signifies an ecclesiastical foundation. A case for the use of *altair* of natural features being as a result of Norse influence is, although a weak one, still quite plausible; see No. 630.
- 226 *Amar na h-Eit* NB2237 TOL {,ãmðŋð'he:^ht'} the crag of the cattle, with *amar* (prob.m.) fr. ON *hamar* acc.m., cf. Norn *haamar haamars hammers*; and gen.sg. of *èit* f. EIr. *éit* (well-attested in pnn., e.g. *Càrn-éite*, *Kintail*, Watson 1976: 182). 1848 *Amar na Theit*.
- 227 *Amar Sìne* NB2237 TOL {,ãmð'sĩ:nð} the name of a hillock with precipice. 1934 *Amur Sìna*. A Norse ln. fr. *Hamarr Síyna* 'crag of the prospect' with acc. of *hamarr* m., and obl. case of *sýni* nt. 'sight, view, prospect'.

Our name has an equivalent in *Cnoc an Fhradhaire* q.v. In Norway, Synes, Romsdal, ON *Sýnnes* (NG XIII, 202), with ON *sýn* f. with the same meaning. Far. *sýn* f. is used in pnn. with the sense 'look-out hill, high point on horizon' (Matras 1933, *sýn*).

228 *Amhastar* NB2336 BRI {'ãva, stðr} of a hill. 1848 Amhaster 1934 1974 =. Very possibly this name is from ON *Ofan-setr*, originally *fyrir ofan setr* with the cpd.prep. *fyrir ofan* 'above, over' (governing in the acc.) and acc. of *setr* nt. 'dwelling, residence, seat'. In Norway, cf. Oveinang, Aust-Agder, ON *Ofan Einang* (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 246); Ovenvold (now Vold Øvre), Buskerud, ON *Ofanuǫll* (NG V, 166-67; gives nom. form); see also Rygh 16. There are several problems concerning a derivation from ON *Ofansetr* however. The nasal {ã} cannot be due to the initial of the ON form, nor due to the following *f* {v}, despite a possible variant form *oman*, cf. Far. *oman*, Norw.dial. *oma* (Telemark), and see De Vries (1961: 417) ON *oman* besides the commoner *ofan*. The development *ofan* > *oman* is one of direct phonemic interchange and we cannot presume an intermediate stage with *{-{ṽ}-} or *{-{β̃}-}. The nasality could conceivably have been transmitted from the second syllable: *{ovan}- > *{ovã:-} > *{öva}- > {ãva}-; see also Oftedal (1956: 42) for several words, e.g. *abhainn* 'river', where nasality is difficult to explain historically. A further problem concerns the second element, which I have suggested is ON *setr* nt. Three other Inn. apparently contain the same element: *Borghastar* **Cuideastar* and *Eileastar*. At first sight ON *-staðr* m. 'farm' is attractive, but there are two objections to this. Firstly the Hebridean reflex is otherwise only *-{sta}* (with final *-{γ}* a later development, §9.lvii), e.g. *Tolstadh*; secondly, a nom.sg. form would be extremely rare, as opposed to *-stað* dat./acc.sg., but much more frequently to pl. forms in *-staðir* nom. *-staði* acc. *-støðum* dat. Oftedal (1954: 375) discusses the reflexes {'fiadðr} e.g. *Siadar*, and *-{,faððr}* e.g. *Laimiseadar*, and considers the former to be fr. ON *setr* nt. and the latter from ON *setr*. On purely phonetic grounds, this seems to be incorrect. Let us look first at *setr* *-{ε:-}*: independently {'fiadðr} is to be expected (for the diphthong, see Jackson 1968: 65-71), but in half-stressed or unstressed position-final the diphthong would be reduced to a monothong, as in {'L'ĩãñ} ~ {'L'ãñ}. Independent *setr* *-{e:-}* could be expected to give {'feððr} and also {'fóððr} more towards the northern half of TS, cf. *beag*

'little' {þeg}{þøg} EIr. *bec(c)*, *sgeir* 'skerry' {sk'eð}{sk'øð} ON *sker* nt. In final position we could normally only expect -{,fððr} since {e} survives in this position only before an original geminate, e.g. *Britheasleit* {'þði-a,skle^ht'} ON *-klett* acc. However, final monosyllabic ON -{setr} might have yielded a metathesised G. form -{stðr}, particularly before the development of an intrusive schwa between *t* and *r* in the Norse form. There is really no objection on semantic grounds to ON *Ofansetr*: early on both *sætr* and *setr* referred to pastoral (temporary) dwellings and herding activities; later *setr*, but also *sætr*, developed the sense 'dwelling; farm' (Beito 1949: 11; Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 272-74; Nicolaisen 1976: 91).

229 *An Aoidh* NB2542 SD/ST {ð'Nði} the ford, with *aoidh* f., fr. early ON **aið* (before assimilation of the diphthong) later *eið* nt.; cf. Norn *eid* Far. *eið eidi* nt.

230 *An Aoidh* NB2139 CN, as above, of an isthmus between two lakes.

+ Ard Duivan NB2437, see *Aird Duibhein*.

+ Ard na Mòine NB2134, 1848 *Aird na Mònach*.

231 *An Ath* NB1942 BOR {ð'Na:} the kiln, with *àth* f. EIr. *áith*.

232 *Athabhat* NB2745 BRA {'a-ð,va^ht} of an area. A ln. perhaps fr. ON *Hagauatn* 'the lake of the pasture or enclosure' with gen.sg. of *hagi* m. and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. The original meaning of *hagi* was an 'enclosed piece of land', later 'pasture'; neither meaning seems unreasonable here. In Norway, cf. Hagali, Rogaland, ON *Hagalíð* (NG X, 302). In Lewis, ?cf. Ahavig NB4359 (OS 1974). The main criticism here is that we might have expected the stress-vowel to have been {ð}. An alternative solution is ON **Ath+uatn* containing a borrowing fr. G. *àth* 'ford'; this is topographically very suitable.

+ Athrigill NB1838, see *Atraigidh*.

233 *Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {'a:^htr₁,g'i} of a hill and its area. 1848 *Athtrigil* 1974 *Athrigill*. An ON ln. which may contain ON *átroð* nt. *átroði* m. 'trampling'. It is not impossible the name had final *-gil* nt. 'ravine' (cf. the map-forms; although *-idh* occurs also, see No.2668); there are certainly narrow ravines and gullies in the area, but loss of *-l* is not a characteristic phenomenon in CR, if there are any examples at all. ON *Áträdagil* is not altogether impossible, cf. *Atrå*, Telemarken (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 61). As an alternative for a generic instead of *-gil*, we could consider ON *dý* nt. 'mud,mire; ditch; dyke' which is

found in a few pnn. in Norway, mostly in the sense 'mire, quagmire', e.g. Dyva ON *Dýuin* (Rygh 47-8; NG XV, 44). An ON *Átraðadý* might give $-\{g'i\}$ §9.li. A further possibility for the final element is ON *giǫ* 'ravine'; cf. Oftedal's derivation (1980: 187) of (len.) $\{id'ig'i\}$ fr. ON *Fitiargiǫ* 'ravine of the meadow'. It may be that *giǫ* (with stress on *i*) was rendered $\{g'i:-\partial\} > \{g'i:.\} > \{g'i\}$ in some instances. Alias *Cnoc Atraigidh*.

B

- 234 *Bàgh Sheiligeadh* NB2045 DAIL {,b̥a.ɣ'hel̪i,ɣ'aɣ} the bay of S., with *bàgh* m., fr. ON *uág* acc.m. 1848 *Bagh Sheiligadh*.
- 235 *Bail' an Teampaill* NB1941 CIR {,b̥al̪ə'N^hãũmp̪iL'} the farm or land (of the temple), with *baile* m. EIr. *baile*, and gen.sg. of *teampall* m. EIr. *tempul* (Lat. *templum*). 1848 -/an *Teampuill* 1974 *idem*. Refers to an area around the site of St. Michael's church; the graveyard is still enclosed (for the trad. of its consecration, see MacAulay 1984: 8). St. Michael's is mentioned by Martin (1934: 106), and *baile* must imply the 'piece of land' or 'farm' associated with it. These are the earlier senses of *baile*, which now most commonly means 'village, town' (see Price 1963).
- + *Baile an Teampuill* NB1941, see *Bail' an Teampaill*.
- 236 *Am Baile Thall* NB2546 ST/SD {ə,m̪al̪ə'hauL} the village over there, yonder village; with adjectival use of the adv. *thall* EIr. *tall thall*. This is used with reference to ST by the inhabitants of SD, and *vice versa*. *Baile* here means 'village, township'.
- 237 *A' Bhàir* NB2542 ST {ə'va:ð} the road, cattle track; a dat. form (§7.3i) of *bàir* m., cf. *bàir* m. 'beaten track' (HSS); fr. EIr. *bóthar*, via a syncopated obl. form, cf. Ir. *bóithre* pl., but also Ir. (Co. Monaghan) *ar an bóthar* {,ɛr̪ə'n'bɔ:r} 'on the road' (Wagner, Ó Baoill 1969: 10).
- 238 *Balabhair* NB2045 GEARR {,b̥al̪ə,vəð} of a pass between two hills. A ln. fr. ON *Balavgrðu* 'the cairn of the even grassy bank' with gen.sg. of *bali* m. and obl. case of *uarða* f.; or with obl. case of *uarða* m. with the same meaning. The pass lies above this bank.
- 239 *Am Balla Dubh* NB2233 CAL {ə,m̪al̪ə'du^h} the dark precipice, with *balla* m. EIr. *balla* (ME *wall*). 1848 *Màla Dúbha* 1934 *Mala Dubh* 1974 *Am Buaile Dubh*.
- 240 *Am Balla Glas* NB2643 ST ='ɣLas} the grey precipice.
- 241 *Am Balla Gorm* NB2643 ST ='ɣɔr̪əm} the dark precipice.
- + *Bandaberie* NB2045, see *Banndabeirghe*.
- 242 *Banndabeirghe* NB2045 DAIL {'b̥ãũnt̪ə,b̥øðʃj} of a rock/skerry at foot of small promontory, a fishing-rock. 1848 *Banndabeiridh* 1974 *Bandaberie*. A ln. possibly fr. ON *Uandabergi* 'the difficult promontory' with dat. sg.nt. of the wk. form of the adj. *uandr*, and dat.sg. of *berg* nt.; but this cannot refer to the difficulty in gaining access to the fishing-rock from above, since the ON ln. has obviously been transferred. In Norway, at least two similar names are found: *Bandeberg*, *Rogaland*

(NG X, 332), and Bamberg, Nord-Trøndelag, formerly Bandberg (NG XV, 87); however, the tentative derivations suggested for these cannot be applicable to our location. Although I have no example of such a usage in pnn., ON *Band(a)bergi* 'the promontory of the leash(es) or fetter(s)' with the stem-form or gen.pl. of *band* nt. seems plausible. It was common practice to enclose or tether animals on promontories, cf. *Geodh' a' Bhacain, Geodh' an Teadhraidh*. ON *berg* commonly means 'rock; mountain' but more specifically in Norwegian pnn. 'rocky ground; hill with exposed rock' (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 68). However, in coastal-names the element is associated with fishing grounds and deep water (Hovda 1961: 55), and this sense seems to be relevant here. The element was also borrowed into Gaelic (see for example *A' Bheirghe*) and applies strictly to 'peninsulas with sheer cliffs (seawards) and with a narrow neck (landwards)', and again there is association with deep water. Norn *berg* (in pnn. commonly 'cliff or crag') Far. *berg*. For the initial element in our name, cf. No. 2046.

- 243 *Barbhas* NB3649 {'*̥*arà,vas} of the village, township and parish. Doc: *Barvas passim* e.g. 1695 1750M 1753-66 1791 1845 1869 1895 1974, except 1583 *Paruas, Paruas illé* 1848 *Barabhas, Barvas* 1973 *Barabhas*. Oftedal 1954: 376) suggests ON *Borguóss* 'mouth of *Borga*' with *óss* m. and gen. of a river-name *Borga* (probably a derivative of *borg* f.). The sense of *borg* here is not clear: it might refer to a hill-fort or a hill used for such a fort, or simply 'hill, mountain' (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 76). However, regarding the phonological development, {v} for ON *g* {γ} is not very satisfactory. A plausible alternative is ON *Huarf-ós* 'the outlet of the bend' with stem-form of ON *huarf* nt., a derivative of the vb. *huerfa* 'to turn, swing'. *Huarf* is found frequently in stream-names, e.g. *Ækkevar* ON *Bekkiarhuarf*, but it is also used of headlands around which a sail would gybe (Rygh 58). There is no suitable promontory here, but there is a suitable candidate for *huarf* in the sense of 'bend' in the river flowing into the north end of Loch Mór Barvas (OS 1974). In the light of this, a better derivation is ON *Huarf-ós* 'Huarf-ó outlet' with a river-name in final -ó f. 'river, stream'. ON *huarf* is also found in the Gaelic name for Cape Wrath: *Am Parbh*, where initial ON *hu-* has been treated slightly differently: {ϕ} (>{f}), delen. to {p^h} ~ {ϕ} (>{β})/{f}) > {v}, .delen. to {b}.
- 244 *Bàrr na Bruthaich* NB2547 SD {'*̥*ba.ŋð'*̥*bra-ıç} the top of the bank, with *bàrr* m. EIr. *barr*, and gen.sg. of *bruthach* f. EIr. disyll. *bruäch*.
- 245 *Bàrr na Craobhaig* NB1942 BOR ={'*̥*k r̥w:væk'} the top of *A' Chraobhag*. Alias

Mullach na Craobhaig.

- 246 *Bàrr na Creig* NB1941 CIR = 'k^hðeg'} the top of the crag, with gen.sg. of *creag* f.
- + *Barr Rahacleit* NB2641, see *Bàrr Rathacleit*.
- 247 *Bàrr Rathacleit* NB2641 ST {,b̥a.'Ra-a,kle^ht'} the summit of *R.* 1848 *Barr Rathagleit* 1974 *Barr Rahacleit*.
- + *Barvas* NB3649, see *Barbhas*.
- 248 *Bàthach Mhurchaidh 'ic Aoidh* NB1842 BOR {,b̥a-ɔx,vurũxð'kði} *Murchadh Mac Aoidh's* (MacKay's) byre, with *bàthach* f. EIr. *bóthe(a)ch*.
- + *Beagha* NB2439, see *Am Magh*.
- 249 *Bealach a' Bharrain* NB2643 ST {,b̥jɑLɔxð'vʉRan} the pass (of the summit); with *bealach* m. EIr. *belach*, and gen.sg. of *barran* m., fr. *bàrr* m. 'summit, top' + suffix §7.6i.
- 250 *Bealach a' Ghàrraidh* NB2244 DAIL = 'ɣɑ:Rɪ} the pass (of the dyke), with gen.sg. of *gàrradh* m., fr. ON *garði* dat.m. Alias *Bealach A-staigh na Mònach*.
- 251 *Bealach a' Ghuib* NB2144 DAIL = 'ɣʌb} §7.4, the pass (of the spur or point), with gen.sg. of *gob* m. EIr. *gop*. Alias *Bealach na Feans' an Iar*.
- 252 *Bealach A-muigh na Mònach* NB2244 DAIL {,b̥jɑLɔxð,mũjnð'mõ:nɔx} the outer (pass of the peat), with adjectival use of the adv. *a-muigh* EIr. *immaig*.
- 253 *Bealach A-staigh na Mònach* NB2244 DAIL {,b̥jɑLɔxð,stɔjnð'mõ:nɔx} the inner (pass of the peat), with adjectival use of the adv. *a-staigh* EIr. *istig*. Alias *Bealach a' Ghàrraidh*.
- 254 *Bealach an Eich* NB2643 ST {,b̥jɑLɔxð'N'eç} the pass of the horse, with gen.sg. of *each* m. EIr. *ech*.
- 255 *Bealach an Ròigh* NB1740 DUN = 'Rɔ:j} the pass of *An Rògh*.
- 256 *Bealach an Sgail* NB2040 DUN {,b̥jɑLɔx(n)ð'skal} the pass of ?the echo; with gen.sg. of *sgal* m. EIr. *scol scal*. 'Echo' is highly applicable, but the fem. form of the art. and the gender of *sgal* are at odds, unless we conjecture that {n} is intrusive (?by analogy with *sgailc* f. 'report' *sgailc creag* f. 'echo'). 1848 *Bealach a Scail*.
- + *Bealach an Uisg* NB1941, see *Am Beul Uisge*.
- 257 *Bealach an Uisge* NB2643 ST {,b̥jɑLɔxð'Nɔf'k'} the pass of the water, with gen. of *uisge* m. EIr. *usce*.
- 258 *Bealach an t-Searraich* NB2246 DAIL = 'N^hɑRɪç} the pass of the colt,
- 259 *Bealach an t-Sèididh* NB2145 DAIL = 'N^he:ð'ɪ} the pass of the gust (of wind), with gen.sg. of *sèideadh* m., vn. of *sèid* 'blow', cf. EIr. *séitid* 'blows'. Alias *Bealach Gaoith* doc., *Bealach nam Ban*.

- 260 *Bealach an t-Srath* NB2743 ST/BRA = {N^hra^h} the pass of *An t-Srath*, with gen.sg. of *srath* m. EIr. *srath*.
- 261 *Bealach an t-Srath* NB3638 S, as above, the pass (ōf the strath).
- 262 *Am Bealach Bàn* NB2137 TOL {ð,m̥jaLɔx'pã:n} the light-coloured pass.
- 263 *Bealach Beàrn Eibhle* NB1941 DUN {,bjaLɔx,bja.'ne:lð} the pass of *B*.
- 264 *Bealach Buail' a' Mhàin* NB1944 GEARR {,bjaLɔx,belð'vũ:N'} the pass (of the enclosure of the urine), with gen.sg. of *màin* m. EIr. *màin*.
- 265 *Bealach Caol a' Bhalla Ghuirn* NB2643 ST {,bjaLɔx'k^h(^o):Lð,vəLð'ɣwððm} the narrow pass of *Am Balla Gorm*, with the adj. *caol* EIr. *cáel*.
- 266 *Bealach Chaluim Dhòmhnail Dhonnchaidh* NB2144 DAIL {,bjaLɔx,xəLðm,ɣõ-ɪL'γũNũxɪ} the pass of *Calum* (the son) of *Dòmhnall* (the son) of *Donnchadh*; with persnn. (all masc.) fr. EIr. *Columb*, *Domnall* and *Donnchad*. Trad.: pass is above the croft this man acquired in 1921, although he never lived there.
- 267 *Bealach Chèiligir* NB2445 SD {,bjaLɔx'çe:lɪ,g'ðð} the pass of *C. The final element of the ON ln. here is *gerði* nt. 'enclosed piece of land', occurring also in *Teànnraigir* and **Ileigir*. The first element is uncertain. ON *keila* f.a 'small shallow bay with narrow inlet' cannot be applicable; though the meanings 'fish; hen; female troll' are also found in classical poetry. ON *keili* nt. a 'wedge to prop up a mast' is also inapplicable. We might consider a variant form of ON *kiðlingr* m., dimin. of *kið* nt., BM *kid* NN *kje*. Tentatively, then, our ln. may be fr. ON **Keðlingagerði* 'the enclosure of the kids' with gen.pl. of a variant form of *kiðlingr*. This remains speculative, however, and an alternative solution should be sought.
- 268 *Bealach Cnoc na h-Uaghach* NB1842 BOR {,bjaLɔx,k^hrõ^hknð'hũã(h)ɔx} the pass of *C*.
- 269 *Am Bealach Cumhang* NB2444 SD {ð,m̥jaLɔx'k^hũ-ðk} the narrow pass, with the adj. *cumhang* EIr. *cumung*.
- 270 *Bealach Gaoith* NB2145 DAIL {,bjaLɔx'gɔ:} §7.4, the windy pass, with gen.sg. of *gaoth* f. EIr. *gáeth*. 1848 1974 =. Alias *Bealach nam Ban*, *Bealach an t-Sèididh*.
- 271 *Bealach Glaiè a' Chapail* NB2138 TOL {,bjaLɔx,ɣLa^hk'ð'xa^hpɪL'} the pass (of the hollow of the horse), with *glaiè* f. EIr. *glaiè(c)* obl. case.
- 272 *Bealach Gorm* NB1942 CN {,bjaLɔx'ɣɔrðm} the dark pass.
- 273 *Am Bealach Gorm* NB2037 TOL {ð,m̥jaLɔx'ɣɔrðm} as above.
- 274 *Bealach Gorm Chleite Ròin* NB2444 SD {,bjaLɔx'ɣɔrðm,xle^ht'ð'rõ:N'} the dark pass (of the hill (of the hill)); with *cleit cleite* f. (earlier

- .masc.; see, for example, No. 684) fr. ON *kletti* dat.; and gen.sg. of *rònm.*, fr. ON *hraun* nt. (see under *Clach Ma Ràin*).
- 275 *Bealach Liamaistean* NB2642 ST {,bjaLɔx' lĩãm,ft'ðn} the pass *L. The ON ln. here undoubtedly has final *-stein* acc.m. 'stone, rock'. For the first element *læmingi* m. 'lemming' might be suggested; ON *Læmingastein* 'the rock of the lemming(s)' with gen.sg. or pl. of *læmingi* is phonetically acceptable. The lemming did occur once in Britain (Darling, Boyd 1969: 62) and it is possible that it survived in the Western Isles up to the 8th and 9th centuries.
- 276 *Bealach Mhurchaidh* NB2144 DAIL = 'vuRùx₁} *Murchadh's* pass.
- 277 *Am Bealach Mòr* NB1941 CIR {ð,mjaLɔx'mo:r} the large pass.
- 278 *Bealach na Beinne Maoil* NB2742 ST {,bjaLɔxnð,bẽN'ð'mð:l} the pass of A' Bheinn Mhaoil.
- 279 *Bealach na Feans' an Ear* NB2144 DAIL {,bjaLɔxnð,fẽNsð'N'ɛr} the eastern B.; with adjectival use of the adv. *an ear* EIr. *an air*. Alias *B. na Feansa*.
- 280 *Bealach na Feans' an Iar* NB2144 DAIL = 'N'iðr} the western B.; with adjectival use of the adv. *an iar* EIr. *an iar* Alias *Bealach a' Ghuib*.
- 281 *Bealach na Feansa* NB2144 DAIL {,bjaLɔxnð'fẽNs} the pass of the fence, with gen.sg. of *feansa* f., fr. Eng. *fence*. Alias *Bealach na Feans' an Ear*.
- 282 *Bealach na h-Imrich* NB1939 DUN = 'hĩðĩmç} §9.liv, the pass of the removing or flitting, with gen.sg. of *imrich* f. EIr. *immirge immirc(h)e*. 1974 =.
- 283 *Bealach na h-Imrich* NB2138 DUN, as above.
- 284 *Bealach na h-Imrich* NB2743 ST, as above.
- 285 *Bealach na h-Imrich* NB1842 BOR, as above.
- 286 *Bealach nam Ban* NB2145 DAIL = 'mĩcn} the pass of the women, with gen.pl. of *bean* f. EIr. *ben*. Alias *Bealach Gaoith* doc., *Bealach an t-Sèididh*.
- 287 *Bealach nam Buaim* NB2743 ST = 'mũðm} the pass of the slopes, with gen. pl. of *buaim* f. 'steepish slope or hillside', ?connected with *buaidheam* 'fits of inconstancy or unsteadiness' *buatham* 'sudden attack' *buath* 'rage, madness' (Dwelly 1977: 134, 137). *Buaim* occurs in a few pnn. within CR (see under *Buaim-*); note also at ?NB2939 (Gairm 40, 341); outwith CR, *Druim Mor na Buim* NB3039 (OS 1974).
- 288 *Bealach nan Leathad* NB1944 GEARR = 'L'i-at} the pass of the slopes, with gen.pl. of *leathad* m. EIr. *leithet* 'breadth, expanse'.
- + *Bealach Sgail* NB2040, see *Bealach an Sgail*.
- 289 *Bealach Shèabhal* NB2143 DAIL {,bjaLɔx'he:,vaL} the pass of S.
- 290 *Bealach Shèabhal* NB2140 CN, as above. 1848 -/Sheabhail 1974 -/Sheaval.

+ Bealach Sheaval NB2140, see *Bealach Shèabhal*.

291 *Bealach Sheòbhdaidh* NB2243 DAIL ={'hjúuḁi} the pass of *S.* - nickname of man who had his peats here.

292 *Bealach Thotaral* NB1940 DUN ={'ho^htðraL} the pass of **T.*

293 *Bealaich Beinn Iomhair* NB2041 CN {,bjaLıç,bẽN'İðvðð} the passes of *B.*

294 *Beannachadh* NB1842 BOR {'bjaNɔxðɣ} applied to the track between *Laimiseadar* and *Borghaston*. Derived from *Càrn a' Bheannachaidh* (q.v.). 1848 1974 -/*Ciaraig* (there is confusion between the similar elements in the names *Cnoc Ciaraig* and *Fuaran Ciaran* (q.v.); it is the saint's name *Ciaran* which of relevance here).

+ *Beannachadh Ciaraig* NB1842, see *Beannachadh*.

295 *Beannan* NB2038 TOL {'bjaNan} the horn-shaped mountain, fr. EIr. *benn* + suffix of place §7.6i. Cf. *Bennan*, Arran (Cameron 1889: 139). Alias *Beannan Mòr* doc.

296 *Beannan Beag* NB2037 TOL {,bjaNan'beg} lesser *B.* 1848 *Béannan Béag* 1974 =.

297 *Beannan Mòr* NB2038 TOL ={'mo:r} greater *B.* 1848 = 1974 -/*Mór*. Alias *Beannan*.

+ *Bearasay* NB1242, see *Beirgheasaidh*.

298 *Beàrn Eibhle* NB1941 DUN {,bja.'ne:lð} the gap of embers or fire, with *beàrn* f. EIr. *bern* and gen. of *èibheall* f. EIr. *otbell atbell*; cf. *Port na h-éile*, Gairloch (Watson 1976: 226). F.etym: with *èigh* f. 'cry, shout', gen. {'e:vð}. Trad: concerning *Bodach Beàrn Eibhle* 'the ghost of *B.*': 2 to 3 hundred years ago, 19 Irish drovers came to Lewis to buy cattle (according to another informant, Irish drovers came during the famine of 1846-48), but they were way-laid by villagers for their money; 15 were killed and the remainder escaped with their lives. One of those murdered was attacked at *Beàrn Eibhle*; his ghost is said to have accosted someone here in order to relate his story. Further, coins from George IV's reign are said to have been found here.

299 *Beàrmaraidh* NB1635 BERN {'bja:ŋð,raj} of an island. Doc: e.g. 1630 *Bearnera* 1695 *Berner* 1750 *Berner* I. 1750M *idem* 1786 *Berner* 1800 *idem* 1809 *Barner* I. 1974 *Great Berner*. A ln. fr. ON *Biarnarøy* 'Biqrn's island' with gen.sg. of the man's name *Biqrn* m., and nom./acc. of *øy* f. This persn. is common in Inb., also in Norwegian pnn. (GP 41-44). There are also several islands in the Hebrides with the same name as ours. Alias *Beàrmaraidh Mhòr*.

300 *Beàrmaraidh Bheag* NB1441 BERN {,bja.ŋðraj'veg} lesser *B.*, of an island. Doc: e.g. 1549 *Berneray beg* 1583 *Berner* Beg 1630 *Bearner* 1695

- Berneria Minor 1789 L. Barnera 1791 Little Bernarai 1812 Little
 Bernera 1832T idem 1832 L. Barnera 1974 Little Bernera.
- 301 *Beàrmaraidh Mhòr* NB1635 BERN ={'vo:r} greater *B.*, of an island. Doc:
 e.g. 1549 Berneray Moir 1583 Bernera Moir 1695 Bernera Major 1791
 Large Bernera 1832 Gt. Barnera. Alias *Beàrmaraidh*.
- 302 *Beinn a' Bhuna* NB3330 S/L {,bĕn'ð'vũnð} the mountain of the foot or
 base; with *beinn* f. EIr. *benn*, and gen.sg. of *bun* m. EIr. *bun*; the
 mountain has a steep slope at the foot of which is Loch a' Bhuna (OS
 1974). 1974 =; but cf. 1832T L. Vun.
- 303 *Beinn a' Chnuic* NB1942 CN ={'xrĕ^h'k'} the mountain of *An Cnoc*. 1848
 -/Ghòlach 1974 -/Ghobhlach.
 + *Beinn a' Sgridhe* NB3438, see *Beinn an Sgridhe*.
 + *Beinn an Dùin* NB1941, see *Beinn na Dùine*.
- 304 *Beinn an Sgridhe* NB3438 S ={'skði-i} the mountain of the scree, with
 gen.sg. of *sgridhe* m., fr. ON *skriða* f. or obl. case *skriðu*. 1848 -/
 a' Sgrídhe 1974 -/a' Sgridhe.
- 305 *Beinn Bharbhais* NB3638 S {,bĕn'varà,vaf} the mountain of *B*. The hill
 is a long way from the village *Barbhas*, but it has probably acquired
 its name as the source of the river which flows into the village. 1583
 Bin Parvas 1807 Barvas Hill 1819 The Hill of Barvas 1848 *Beinn*
Bharabhais 1895 Ben Barvas 1932 *Beinn Bharbhais* 1974 Ben Barvas. With
 reference to the group of hills of which ours forms a part: 1750
 Barvas Hills, Hills of Barvas 1832 Hills of Barvas.
- 306 *A' Bheinn Bheag* NB2136 BRI {ð,vĕn'veg} the small mountain, 1848 *Beinn*
Bheag 1974 idem. (Earlier *Britheasleit* q.v.)
- 307 *A' Bheinn Bheag* NB2144 DAIL, as above. 1848 1974 *Beinn Bheag*.
- 308 *A' Bheinn Bheag* NB1942 CN, as above. 1848 *Beinn Bheag*.
- 309 *A' Bheinn Bheag* NB1743 BOR, as above. 1974 *Beinn Bheag* (misplaced).
 Alias *Beinn Bheag Laimiseadar*.
- 310 *Beinn Bheag Laimiseadar* NB1743 BOR {,bĕn'veg'Lăĩmı,fadðr} the little
 mountain of *L*. 1974 *Beinn Bheag*. Alias *A' Bheinn Bheag*.
- 311 *Beinn Bheàrnach* NB3438 S {,bĕn'vja:ŋox} the cleft mountain, with the
 adj. *beàrnach* EIr. *bernach*. 1848 1974 -/Bhearnach.
- 312 *Beinn Bhorghaston* NB1842 BOR ={'vɔrð-ð,ston} the mountain of *B*. 1848
 -/Bhórroston 1974 Ben Borrowston.
- 313 *Beinn Bhràgair* NB2643 ST ={'vra:gðð} the mountain of *B*. - seldom used
 since it is a 'map-creation'. 1848 -/Bhragair 1895 idem 1974 -/Bragar.
 Alias *A' Bheinn Mhòr*, *Beinn Mhòr Shiaboist*.
 + *Beinn Bragar* NB2643, see *Beinn Bhràgair* doc., *A' Bheinn Mhòr*, *Beinn*

Mhòr Shiaboist.

- 314 *Beinn Chailein* NB3537 S = 'xalan} *Cailean*'s mountain, with gen. of the man's name *Cailean* EIr. *Culén*. 1848 -/Chailean 1974 =.
- 315 *Beinn Chliosgro* NB1942 BOR = 'xli,skro} the mountain of *C*. 1848 -/Chliosgro 1974 Ben Cliasgro.
- 316 *Beinn Choinnich* NB2843 BRA = 'xōN'lc} *Coinneach*'s mountain. 1832 Beinie Connich 1848 1895 1934 1974 =.
- + *Beinn Chrìanaig* NB2932, see *Beinn Chrìonaig*.
- 317 *Beinn Chrìonaig* NB2932 CAL = 'xōĩũæk'}{,bēN'ð}- §9.2ii, the mountain (ōf the withering one). 1848 -/Crianach 1934 -/Ghrianaig 1974 -/Chrìanaig.
- 318 *Beinn Chrotach* NB2743 ST = 'xro^htɔx} the hump-backed mountain, with the adj. *crotach* EIr. *crottach*.
- 319 *Beinn Cloich* NB2444 SD {,bēN'ð'k^hLa^lç} the stony mountain, with gen.sg of *clach* f. 1848 1974 *Beinn na Clòich*. The doc. forms assume assimilation of the nasal of the art.; but this does not take into account the dependent name *Allt na Beinne Cloich*. Rather, I take the medial schwa as intrusive (§9.2ii), and the gender of *beinn* as nt. - hence the non-len. of *clach*; similarly with *Beinn Feusaig*.
- 320 *Beinn Colla* NB2041 CN = 'k^hɔLð} 1848 = 1934 -/na Coille 1974 -/na Colla. MacIver (1934) has disregarded the pronunciation to derive the specific from G. *coille* f. 'wood, forest'. The form could reflect an earlier *{,bēN'nð'k^hɔLð} or *{,bēN''k^hɔLð}. There are several possibilities for a derivation for the specific here. **Beinn Colla* might contain the man's name EIr. *Colla*; or a loan fr. the ON persnn. *Kolla* obl.m. or *Kollu* obl.f., both of which were common (the masc. form appears 3 times in Lnb.); for the question of lenition, see Nos. 319 and 322. For the specific as an ON ln. we can compare the village-name, *Coll*, on the east of Lewis, discussed by Oftedal (1954: 391) and possibly from ON *Kolla* 'the rounded hills' with acc.pl. of *kollr* m. An original **Beinn na Colla* presents more difficulty. It might just contain a lw. fr. ON *kolla* acc.pl. (as above), but a singular arising from a plural form in this way seems unlikely.
- 321 *Beinn Dhaile Mòire* NB2144 DAIL {,bēN',ɣalð'mo:ð(ð)} the mountain of DM. 1848 --/Mòra 1974 Ben Dalmore.
- + *Beinn Feusag* NB2742, see *Beinn Feusaig*.
- 322 *Beinn Feusaig* NB2742 ST {,bēN''fiasek'} the lush or grassy mountain, with gen.sg. of *feusag* f. 'beard' EIr. *fésóc*, dimin. of *fés* 'hair'. Contrast the neighbouring A' *Bheinn Mhaoil* q.v. 1848 -/Fensaig 1974

- /Feusag. For the gender of *beinn* here, see No. 319.
- 323 *Beinn Gharbhaig* NB3735 S ={'γarāvæk'}, once in final -{'k'} the mountain (of the violent one), with gen.sg. of *garbhag* f., an old river-name, based on the adj. *garbh* + suffix §7.6ii.
- 324 *Beinn Ghn̄is* NB1940 DUN ={'γδĩ:f} 1848 -/Ph̄is 1934 -/Ghr̄is 1974 -/Phris. MacIver's (1934) form is essentially correct, though it implies no nasality. This may be due to his deriving the specific fr. *gr̄isir* (i.e. ON *gr̄isir* 'pigs') which is unlikely to say the least. EIr. *gr̄is* 'heat, fire, embers' must also be discounted for some of the same reasons. Conceivably, *{'gδĩ:f} represents an EIr. **gn̄imseo*, gen. of a u-stem **gn̄imus* m., fr. EIr. *gn̄im* m. 'division of land, equivalent to 1/12th of a ploughgate' + suffix of place §7.6v. *Beinn Ghn̄is* (or *Ghn̄imhse*) would then have marked the outer edge of cultivated lands running southward along the road from *An Dùn*. These lands are now part of *Buailtean a' Mhaoir* q.v.
- + *Beinn Ghobhlach* NB1942, see *Beinn a' Chnuic*.
- + *Beinn Ghréinaival* NB2534, see *Beinn Ghrèineabhal*.
- 325 *Beinn Ghrèineabhal* NB2534 CAL ={'γδẽ:nð,vəL} the mountain of G. 1848 -/Ghreinebhall 1934 -/Ghrinnibhal 1974 -/Ghréinaival.
- 326 *Beinn Iain Ruaidh* NB2144 DAIL {'b̄ẽ,N'ĩ-a'ruðj} *Iain Ruadh*'s mountain, with the man's name and an adjectival epithet, *ruadh* 'red-haired or complexioned'.
- 327 *Beinn 'ic Nèill* NB2937 ST {'b̄ẽ,N'ĩ'k'δẽ:L'} §§9.1ii, v, *MacNèill*'s (MacNeil's) mountain. 1848 -/Mhic Nèil 1974 -/Mhic Neill.
- + *Beinn Iobheir* NB2041, see *Beinn Iomhair*.
- 328 *Beinn Iðlagro* NB2832 CAL {'b̄ẽ'N'ɔ:Lð,gro} the mountain of *I. 1848 -/Chealagro 1974 -/Iolagro.
- 329 *Beinn Iomhair* NB2041 CN {'b̄ẽ'N'ĩðvðð} *Iomhar*'s mountain, with gen. of the man's name, EIr. *Imar*, fr. ON *Íuar* acc. (with nasal ʀ, cf. the OE Norse loan *Inwer*. 1848 -/Iobheir 1934 -/Iomhair 1974 -/Iobheir.
- 330 *A' Bheinn Leathainn* NB2037 TOL {'ð,vã'leh̄N'} the broad mountain, with the adj. *leathainn*, in origin an obl. case form fr. EIr. *lethan*. 1848 *Beinn Leathainn* 1974 *Beinn Leathann*. Alias *Beinn Leathainn Sgianailt*.
- 331 *A' Bheinn Leathainn Bheag* NB2137 TOL {'ð,vã,leh̄N''veg} the lesser (broad mountain). Alias *Beinn Leathainn Bheag Amar na h-Eit*.
- 332 *Beinn Leathainn Bheag Amar na h-Eit* NB2137 TOL {'b̄ã,leh̄N''veg,ãmðŋð 'he:^ht'} the lesser (broad mountain) of A. Alias *A' Bheinn Leathainn Bheag*.
- 333 *Beinn Leathainn Bheannain* NB2037 TOL {'b̄ã,leh̄N''vjãNan} the broad

mountain of B.

- 334 *A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr* NB2137 TOL {ð,vã,leh₁N''vo:r} the greater (broad mountain). 1848 *Beinn Leathainn Amar na h-Eit* 1974 *Beinn Leathann Amar na h-Eit*. Alias *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr Amar na h-Eit*.
- 335 *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr Amar na h-Eit* NB2137 TOL {,bã,leh₁N''vo:r,ãmðŋð 'he:^ht'} the greater (broad mountain) of A. Alias *A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr* doc.
- 336 *Beinn Leathainn Sgianailt* NB2037 TOL {,bã,leh₁N''sk'ĩũ,n₁L't'} the broad mountain of S. Alias *A' Bheinn Leathainn* doc.
- + *Beinn Leathann* NB2037, see *A' Bheinn Leathainn* doc., *Beinn Leathainn Sgianailt*.
- + *Beinn Leathann Amar na h-Eit* NB2137, see *Beinn Leathainn Mhòr Amar na h-Eit*, *A' Bheinn Leathainn Mhòr* doc.
- 337 *A' Bheinn Mhaoil* NB2642 SD {ð,vẽN''vð:l} the bare or bald mountain, with the adj. *maoil* EIr. *mael*. *Maoil* usually implies 'rounded' also. 1848 *Beinn Mhaol* 1974 *idem*.
- 338 *A' Bheinn Mhaoil* NB3035 BRI, as above. 1848 *Beinn Mhaol Stacashal* 1974 *idem*. Alias *A' Bheinn Mhaoil Mhòr*.
- 339 *A' Bheinn Mhaoil Bheag* NB3136 BRI {ð,vẽN',vð.l'veg} the lesser B.
- 340 *A' Bheinn Mhaoil Mhòr* NB3035 BRI ='vo:r} the greater B. Alias *A' Bheinn Mhaoil* doc.
- + *Beinn Mhaol* NB2642, see *A' Bheinn Mhaoil*.
- + *Beinn Mhaol Stacashal* NB3035, see *A' Bheinn Mhaoil*, *A' Bheinn Mhaoil Mhòr*.
- + *Beinn Mhic Neill* NB2937, see *Beinn 'ic Neill*.
- 341 *Beinn Mholach* NB3538 S {,bẽN''vɔLɔx} the hairy or coarse mountain, with the adj. *molach* EIr. *mothlach*. 1848 -/*Mhólach* 1973 1974 =.
- 342 *A' Bheinn Mhòr* NB2643 ST {ð,vẽN''vo:r} the large mountain. Alias *Beinn Mhòr Shiaboist*, *Beinn Bhràgair* doc.
- 343 *A' Bheinn Mhòr* NB2336 BRI, as above. 1848 *Beinn Mhor* 1974 *Beinn Mhór*. Alias *Beinn Mhòr Bhritheascleit*.
- 344 *A' Bheinn Mhòr* NB1742 BOR, as above. 1848 *Beinn Laimisheadar* 1974 *Ben Laimishader*. Alias *Beinn Mhòr Laimiseadar*.
- 345 *Beinn Mhòr Bhritheascleit* NB2336 BRI {,bẽN',vo.r'vði-a,skle^ht'} the large mountain of B. Alias *A' Bheinn Mhòr* doc.
- 346 *Beinn Mhòr Laimiseadar* NB1742 BOR ='Lãĩm₁,fãðr} the large mountain of L. Alias *A' Bheinn Mhòr* doc.
- 347 *Beinn Mhòr Shiaboist* NB2643 ST ='hia,bɔft'} the large mountain of S. Alias *A' Bheinn Mhòr*, *Beinn Bhràgair* doc.
- + *Beinn na Cloich* NB2444, see *Beinn Cloich*.

- + Beinn na Colla NB2041, see *Beinn Colla*.
- 348 *Beinn na Dùine* NB1941 DUN {,bĕN'nə'dǣ:N'ə} the mountain of *An Dùin*. 1848 = 1974 -/an Dùin.
- + Beinn nan Sgalag NB2237, see *Beinneachan nan Sgalag*.
- 349 *Beinn nan Surrag* NB3131 S/ACH ='suRak} the mountain of the hollows, with gen.pl. of *surrag* f.; this is usually compared with EIr. *sorn(d)* 'furnace, oven, kiln' (Lat. *furnus*), but the development is doubtful. *Surrag* is used of the cavity or vent beneath the drying grain in a kiln. It is attractive to consider that this might be a loan fr. an ON cpd. with initial *þurr* adj. 'dry', but what the second element of the cpd. could be is not so clear. We might also consider that the adj. was borrowed, in connection with the function of a kiln, and from which borrowing *surrag* was then derived. 1848 -/na'n Surrag 1895 1932 1934 1974 =.
- + Beinn Phrìs NB1940, see *Beinn Ghnìs*.
- + Beinn Rathacleit NB2642, see *Beinn Rathacleit*.
- 350 *Beinn Rathacleit* NB2642 ST {,bĕN'ra-a,kle^ht'} the mountain of *R*. 1848 -/Rathagleit 1934 Rá-cleit 1974 -/Rahacleit.
- 351 *A' Bheinn Riabhach* NB2832 TOL {ə,vã 'riðvɔx} the tawny mountain. 1848 Beinn Riabhach 1974 idem.
- 352 *A' Bheinn Riabhach* NB2244 DAIL {ə,vĕN'riðvɔx} as above. 1848 Beinn Thuishabhal 1974 Ben Tuishaval. Alias *Beinn Thòrabhal*.
- 353 *A' Bheinn Riabhach* NB1942 CN, as above. 1848 Beinn Riabhach.
- 354 *Beinn Sheathabhal* NB2844 BRA {,bĕN'he-ə,vəL} the mountain of **S*. 1848 -/Shèithabhal 1974 -/Sheihaval. Certainly with an ON ln. in final *-fiáll* nt. 'hill, mountain'. The first element might be *seið* f. 'magic', gen. in *Seiðarfiáll*. Better is an ON *Heiðarfiáll* with gen.sg. of *heiðr* f. 'heath, moor; treeless, level, often heather-covered area'; in Norway, cf. Heieknuden ON *Heiðarknútr*, Lister & Mandal (NG IX, 237).
- + Beinn Sheihaval NB2844, see *Beinn Sheathabhal*.
- 355 *Beinn Stacaiseal* NB3037 ST ='sta^hkə,ʃəL} the mountain of *S*. Alias *Stacaiseal*.
- 356 *Beinn Theastabhal* NB2140 CN ='hestə,vəL} the mountain of *Th*. 1848 Testabhal, Beinn Thestabhal 1903 Hesta-val 1932 Thestabhal 1934 -/Hestival 1974 Ben Hestaval. Alias *Theastabhal*.
- 357 *Beinn Thòrabhal* NB2244 DAIL ='hɔ:rə,vəL} the mountain of **Th*. With a ln. very likely fr. ON *þórufiáll* 'the mountain of *þóra*' with gen. of the woman's name and nom./acc. of *fiáll* nt. *þóra*, the fem. equivalent of

- þórir* m. (see No. 102), was a common name. Alias *A' Bheinn Riabhach* doc.
- 358 *Beinn Thòrsadar* NB2442 SD ={'hɔː, ʃaɖər} the mountain of **Th.* 1848 -/
Thòrshader 1934 -/*Sheorshader* 1974 Ben Horshader.
- 359 *Beinn Uidealum* NB2345 {, bĕN' 'γœɖ' ð, Lum} 'hœɖ' ð, Lum} 'œɖ' ð, Lum}, the
 first two only from a few elderly people. 1848 -/*Ghuidemul* 1934
Thuitalum 1974 Ben Guidamol. No doubt the specific is an ON ln. in
 final *-múla* acc.m. (§9.liv). The first element presents a problem.
 While initial {œ}- is the commonest form, both {γ}- and {h}- initials
 are represented by the documentation; it is difficult to judge which
 form might be closest to the ON original. Tentatively, I propose the
 ON form was *Uit-múla* acc. 'beacon-mull' with stem-form of *Uiti* m.
 'beacon'. Cf. *Tom Uideabhal*; also, in Norway, Vetem, in several places
 (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 340). Topographically this solution is
 extremely fitting. As for the variant forms, {h}- is conceivably due
 to analogy with other names with this initial; {γ}- may have
 developed from a strong velar glide in the speech of one or two
 individuals in the transition from the open position of the velum for
 {N'} to the closed position for {œ} (I have the impression that the
 form in {γ}- is localised). For var. pronunciation, see. No. 2899.
- 360 *Beinneachan Lidhir* NB1942 CN {, bĕN' ɔxðn' li-ið} the mountains of *L.*, with
 pl. of *beinn* f. §7.5v.
- 361 *Beinneachean nan Sgalag* NB2237 TOL {, bĕN' ɔxðn(n) ð' skɔLak} the mountains
 of the labourers, with gen. pl. *sgalag* 'farm-servant or labourer (who
 had no tenurial rights)', Ir. *scológ* 'farm-servant, husbandman, farmer'.
 Originally one who received education in the monasteries in return for
 his labour, EIr. *scolóc* < *scol* (< Lat. *schola*) 'school, place of
 learning' + agent suffix. Cf. *Druim nan Sgalag*, Argyll (Gillies 1906:
 214); *Ballynasculloge*, Wicklow (Joyce 1913 I, 114). Henderson (1910:
 117) and De Vries (1961: 482) derive *sgalag* from ON *skalkr* m. 'servant,
 slave, weapon-bearer'; however, an acc. *skalk* should yield *-{Lk}*. 1848
Beinn nan Scallag 1974 *Beinn nan Sgalag*.
- 362 *A' Bheinneag Ard* NB2445 SD {ð, vēN' a' kɑ: d̥} the upper peak, with *beinneag*
 dimin. of *beinn*.
- 363 *A' Bheinneag Iorach* NB2445 SD ={'k' iðrɔx} the lower peak, with *iorach*
 adj. lower' EIr. *íchtarach* §9.lix.
- 364 *Beirghe* NB2245 DAIL {'b̥øðð-ɪ} the promontory, with *beirghe* f., fr. ON
bergi dat.nt. (see No. 242).
- 365 *A' Beirghe* NB1844 GEARR {ð' vøðð-ɪ} , as above. 1848 *Beiridh* 1934
An Cúdhál 1974 *Berie*. Alias *An Cúl Mòr*.

- 366 *A' Bheirghe* NB1743 BOR, as above. 1848 Beiridh 1974 Berie.
- 367 *A' Bheirghe* NB2347 SD, as above. Alias *Rubha na Beirghe* doc.
- 368 *Beirghe Làgha* NB1844 GEARR {,b̥øðʃj'La:ɣð}, of the low neck of the promontory *A' Bheirghe*; fr. ON *Bergit Lága* nom./acc. 'the low *berg*' (see No. 242) with nom./acc.nt.sg. suffixed art. and obl.nt. of the wk. form of the adj. *lágr* 'low'.
- 369 *Beirgheasaidh* NB1242{'b̥øðʃ-ð,saj} of an island; fr. ON *Bergsøy* §9.2ii 'the island of the promontory' with gen.sg. of *berg* nt. and *øy* f. 'island'. Cf. the pronunciation {b̥εðɛ̃-ðsɛj} (Oftedal 1954: 387). 1974 Bearasay.
- 370 *Beirghsgeadh* NB1743 BOR {'b̥øðʃ,ʃk'ay} of a coastal ravine; fr. ON *Bergsgiǫ* 'the ravine of the promontory' with *giǫ* f. 'ravine'. 1848 Beiris Geodha Mhor 1934 Beirisgea 1974 Beiris Geodha Mór. Alias *Beirghsgeadh Mhòr, Geodha na Beirghe*.
- 371 *Beirghsgeadh Chaol* NB1743 BOR {,b̥øðʃ,ʃk'ay'xω:L} narrow *B.*, of a ravine. 1848 Beiris Geodha Bheag 1974 Beiris Geodha Beag.
- 372 *Beirghsgeadh Mhòr* NB1743 BOR ='vo:r} greater *B.*, of a ravine. Alias *Beirghsgeadh* doc., *Geodha na Beirghe*.
- + Beiris Geodha Beag NB1743, see *Beirghsgeadh Chaol*.
- + Beiris Geodha Mór NB1743, see *Beirghsgeadh, Beirghsgeadh Mhòr, Geodha na Beirghe*.
- + Ben Barvas NB3638, see *Beinn Bharbhais*.
- + Ben Borrowston NB1842, see *Beinn Bhorghaston*.
- + Ben Cliasgro NB1942, see *Beinn Chliosgro*.
- + Ben Dalmore NB2144, see *Beinn Dhaile Mòire*.
- + Ben Guidamol NB2345, see *Beinn Uidealum*.
- + Ben Hestaval NB2140, see *Theastabhal, Beinn Theastabhal*.
- + Ben Horshader NB2442, see *Beinn Thòrsadar*.
- + Ben Laimishader NB1742, see *A' Bheinn Mhòr, Beinn Mhòr Laimiseadar*.
- + Ben Tuishaval NB2244, see *A' Bheinn Riabhach, Beinn Thòrabhal*.
- + Berie NB1743, see *A' Bheirghe*.
- + Berie NB1844, see *A' Bheirghe*.
- 373 *Beul Geodh' a' Mhaide* NB2045 GEARR {,b̥jɔL,ɣ'ɔ-ð'vãd'ð} the opening of *G.*; with *beul* m. EIr. *bél*.
- 374 *Beul na Geodha* NB1944 GEARR {,b̥jɔLnð'ɣ'ɔ:} the opening (of the ravine), with gen.sg. of *geodha* f. (and ?masc., see *A' Gheodha Domhainn*, and note NB5166 *Geodha Beag* NB2949 *Geodha Beag nan Cuileachan* (OS 1974)) fr. ON *giǫ* f. 'ravine'. The ON word is not restricted to the coast in its sense 'ravine', but *geodha* is apparently strictly limited to

- coastal use; neither do there appear to be any ON *lunn* with final *-giǫ* not on the coast in CR. Far. *gjǫgv* Norn *gio* (with the same limitation in sense as in CR).
- 375 *Beul nan Geodhachan* NB2045 GEARR ={'ŋ'ɔ-ɔxðn} the opening of the ravines, with gen.pl. of *geodha* f. §7.5v.
- 376 *Am Beul Uisge* NB2037 TOL {ð,m̥jɑ'ɪəʃk'} the water opening, through which stream runs.
- 377 *Am Beul Uisge* NB1941 CIR, as above. 1848 *Bealach an Uisg* 1974 *idem*.
- 378 *Bhàcasaidh* NB1836 BERN {'va:h̥kð,saj} of an island. 1695 *Vacksay* 1807 *Vacasay* 1809 *Vaxay* 1832T *idem* 1848 *Eilean Bhàcasaidh* 1895 Eⁿ *Bhacasaidh* 1974 *Vacasay Island*. Fr. ON *Uágsfý* acc. 'the island of the bay' with gen.sg. of *uágr* m. and nom./acc. of *þy* f. The ON form had medial *-{xs}*-yielding G. *-{ks}*- > *-{kðs}*- with intrusive vowel, cf. *Laxay* {Lahkðsaj} ON *Laxǫ* (Oftedal 1954: 401). Cf. in Norway, *Vågsøy*, Sogn og Fjordane (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 349); in Lewis, *Vacsay* NB1136 (Oftedal 1972).
- 379 *Bhata Ciorra* NB1937 TOL {'va:h̥tə'k'h̥ɪRð} of an area with hollow. A ln. fr. ON *Uatnit Kyrra* 'the calm lake' which must have applied to *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh* since ON *uatn* nt. (here with nom./acc. suffixed art.) only applies to fresh-water. The adj. *kyrr* 'calm, quiet' (here with wk. obl.nt. form) also occurs in the name *Cirbhig* q.v. F.etym: with *ciora* f. 'pet lamb'.
- 380 *Bidean Geodh' a' Mhaide* NB1844 BOR {,b̥ɪd̥'an,g'ɔ-ð'vǣð'} the pinnacle of G., with *bidean* m., dimin. of *biod* m.
+ *Binasgro Burn* NB2444, see *Allt Bhineasgro*.
+ *Bindalein Island* NB1741, see *Eilean Bhiondalam*.
- 381 *Am Biod* NB1742 BOR {ð'm̥ɪd̥}, without art. {b̥ɪd̥} the pinnacle, with *biod* m. cf. Ir. *meadóg miodóg biodóg* 'dagger'. 1848 *Bid an Eion Mhoir*.
- 382 *Blàr a' Chlachain* NB2141 CN {,b̥ɪa.rð'xLaxan} the meadow (of the stepping-stones), with *blàr* m. EIr. *blár*, and gen.sg. of *clachan* m. fr. *clach* f. 'stone' + suffix *-an* §7.6i. 1848 *Blar a Chlachain* 1974 *Blar a' Chlachain*.
- 383 *Blàr an Fhedir* NB1943 GEARR {,b̥ɪa.rð'N'ɔ:ð} the meadow of the grass, with gen.sg. of *feur* m. EIr. *féir*. 1974 *Blar an Fheoir*.
- 384 *Am Blàr Buidhe* NB1937 TOL {ð,m̥ɪa.r'bu^ljð} the yellow meadow, with *buidhe* adj. EIr. *buide*.
- 385 *Am Blàr Dhubh* NB2447 SD {ð,m̥ɪa.'ru^h} the black meadow §§7.2ii, 7.3i.
- 386 *Am Blàr Iorach* NB2547 SD ={'riðrɔx} the lower meadow.
- 387 *Blàr na Buarach* NB1937 TOL {,b̥ɪa.ŋð'buðrɪç} the meadow of the hobble, with gen.sg. of *buarach* f. EIr. *búarach*.

- 388 *Blàr nan Sgalag* NB2648 SD {,bLɑ.ŋð'skɑLak} the meadow of the labourers. F.etym: with *blàr* 'battle', a place where servants were placed (in amongst the cattle) to fight out their differences.
- 389 *Am Blàr Uarach* NB2447 SD {ɑ,mLɑ.'ruðrɔx} the upper meadow, with the adj. *uarach* EIr. *úachtarach*.
- 390 *Blianaís* NB1937 TOL {'b̥l̥iã,nɪʃ} of a promontory or spur of land, and its area. A ln. fr. ON *Blæ-nes* 'the promontory of the gust' with the stem-form of *blær* m. 'gust of wind' and nom./acc. of *nes* nt. 1832T {?} Blemish 1848 Bliadhnaish. Alias *Rubha Bhlianaís*.
- 391 *Am Boc* NB2547 SD {ð'mɔ̃^hk} of a skerry; derived from the alias *Sgeir a' Bhuic*.
- 392 *Bodh' a' Choin* NB1839 DUN {,bɔ-ð'xɔ̃N'} the reef of the dog, ?i.e. distinguished by the loud noise of breaking water. With *bodha* m. 'submerged rock, breaker, reef' fr. ON *boda* acc.m., cf. Norn *baa* Far. *boddi* m.; and with gen.sg. of *cū* m. EIr. *cú*.
- 393 *Bodh' Ailein* NB1935 BRI {,bɔ.'alan} *Ailean's* reef, with gen.sg. of the man's name, EIr. *Ailéne*. A's house was one of the bearings used for this reef.
- 394 *Am Bodha* NB2649 BRA {ð'mɔ-o} the reef. Alias *Bodha Fhíbhig*.
- 395 *Am Bodha* NB2548 SD, as above. Alias *Bùistean* doc., *Bodh' Shiaboist*.
- 396 *Bodha Chormaig* NB1739 DUN {,bɔ'xarəmɪk'} *Cormag's* reef, with gen.sg. of the man's name, EIr. *Cormac*.
- 397 *Bodha Chràgam* NB1743 BOR ='xra:gam} the reef of *C*. 1848 *Bogha Caolas Chràigeam* 1974 *Bogha Caolas Chraigeam*.
- 398 *Bodha Fhíbhig* NB2649 BRA {,bɔ'i:,vɪk'} the reef of *F*. Alias *Am Bodha*.
- 399 *Bodha Leumadair* NB1740 DUN ='l̥ɛ:mð̥d̥að} the reef of the ?porpoise, with gen.sg. of *leumadair* m. 'jumper', cf. the meaning 'dolphin' (Dwelly 1977: 587), fr. the vb. *leum* 'jump' + agent suffix. §7.3i.
- 400 *Bodha Mhurchaidh* NB1841 DUN ='vuRùxɪ} *Murchadh's* reef.
- 401 *Bodha na Dubh Sgeir* NB1743 BOR {,bɔnð'ð̥,ʃk'ð̥} the reef of *An Dubh Sgeir*; one of two reefs known as *Na Coilich* q.v.
- 402 *Bodha Ramraigeadh* NB1838 TOL {,bɔ'rãm̥rɪ,g'a(ɣ)} also with medial -{ð}-, the reef of *R. No doubt with a ln. fr. ON *Hramn(a)giǫ* 'raven-ravine' with stem-form or with gen.pl. of *hramn hrafn* m., and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f. ON *hrafn* developed into *hramn* early in eastern and some western dialects of Norway; cf. ON *hɔfn* **hɔmn* f. 'harbour' (for examples in Lewis, see Oftedal 1962: 49). In the Western Isles, cf. *Ramraga* and *Ramrageo*, NB5166 5462 (OS 1974); *Ramnaigea*, BERN (MacAulay 1972: 333); *Ramerigeo*,

- Scalpay (Moireasdan 1983: 226).
- 403 *Bodha Rubha Thalanais* NB1743 BOR {,b̥o,Ru'hɑL̥ð,nɪf} the reef of *R*.
1848 Bogha Rudha Thalanis 1974 Bogha Rubha Talanish.
- 404 *Bodha Shiaboist* NB2548 SD {,b̥o'hia,b̥ɔst'} the reef of *S*. Alias *Bùistean* doc., *Am Bodha*.
- 405 *Bodhacha Ruadha* NB2548 ST {,b̥o-ɔx̥ð'Ruðɣ̊ð} the red reefs, with pl. of *bodha* m. §7.5v.
+ Bogha Caolas Chraigeam NB1743, see *Bodha Chràgam*.
+ Bogha Rubha Talanish NB1743, see *Bodha Rubha Thalanais*.
- 406 *Bòl Phluic* NB2347 SD {,b̥o.L̥ð'fLu^{lh}'k'} *Pluic*'s animal couch; with gen.sg. of the family nickname, *Pluic*, probably derived from the name of the ridge where their croft lies, see *Druim Phluic*.
- 407 *Bòl Ruairidh* NB2346 SD {,b̥o.L'ruð̥ɪ} *Ruairidh*'s animal couch, with *bòl* fr. ON *ból* nt., cf. Norn *bøl* Far. *ból* nt., and gen.sg. of the man's name, EIr. *Ruadri*. Oftedal (1983: 155) derives *Ruaraidh Ruairidh* fr. ON *Hrǫrek* acc.m. (< *Hróðrík* acc.); however, among other problems with this derivation, ON *ǫ* would be expected to yield {e:}. Contrast the surnames MacCririe, originating in EIr. *Ruadri*, with MacCricrick which originates in ON *Hrǫrek* acc. (though Black, 1965: 480-1, derives both these from ON), see MacBain 1982: 411.
- 408 *Am Bonaid Mòr* NB1944 GEARR {ð,m̥ɔnat'mo:r} the large bonnet, with *bonaid* m. fr. Eng. *bonnet*; of a hat-shaped knoll.
- 409 *Borghastar* NB2141 CN {'b̥ɔr̥ð̥ɣ̊ð,st̥ər} refers to an area on the north side of *Loch Bhorghastar*. 1848 Borghastail. Very probably fr. ON *Borg-setr* 'fort-shieling/steading' with stem-form of *borg* f. 'fort' and nom./acc. of *setr* nt. There is an island fort here, and ancient run-rigs are visible.
- 410 *Borghaston* NB1942 BOR {'b̥ɔr̥ð̥-ð,st̥ɔn} of the village and township. 1848 Bórraston 1875 Boroston 1895 Borraston 1932 idem 1934 Borroston 1974 Borrowston. Oftedal (1954: 378) also records {b̥ɔr̥ð̥ɣ̊ðst̥ɔn}. The final element in this ln. is possibly *tún* nt. 'enclosed field' as he suggests; for the first element he offers two possibilities: firstly a cpd. *borgás* 'fort-ridge', but we should expect a resulting medial {a} not {ð} from ON *á*. Secondly, with *Borgars*, gen. of the man's name *Borgarr* m.; here though, we could expect final {-st̥ɔn}. Certainly there was a fort here, (see *An Dànán*) and it reasonable to pursue a derivation with ON *borg*- 'fort'. The fort lay at the tip of a spit protruding from the downward-sloping headland on which the village is situated; it seems quite probable that our name represents ON *Borg-stafn* 'fort-spit' with final

stafn stamm m. 'bow of ship' but also used of protruding hills and promontories, e.g. Stavnan, Sør Trøndelag (NG XIV, 168). ON *Borg-stafn* is phonetically acceptable.

+ Borrowston NB1942, see *Borghaston*.

+ Bosta NB1841, see *Bòstadh*.

- 411 *Bòstadh* NB1841 DUN {'bɔ:,sta(ɣ)} of a hamlet of *An Dùn*. 1848 *Bòsta* 1974 *Bosta*. Fr. ON *Bólstað* acc. 'the farm' §9.lvii. Cf. *Bosta*, BERN (Oftedal 1954: 379); in Norway, *Bolstad*, Nordre Bergenhus (NG XII, 12); in Shetland, *Busta* (Jakobsen 1897: 115).
- 412 *Bot na Sgiùrd* NB2644 ST {'bɔ^htə'sk'u:ɔ̃} with *bot*, fr. ON *botn* m. 'the head of a lake or valley', cf. Norn *boiten* Far. *botnur* m.; and gen.sg. of *sgìurd*, var. *sgùird*, fr. ON *skyrta* f. 'shirt, tunic' (> EIr. *scuirð scuirrt*, Marstrander 1915: 72). *Sgiùrd* has the sense 'skirtful, apronful, lapful'. With partial elision of the art., §9.lix.
- 413 *Botaichean an Aigh Dhuinn* NB1945 GEARR {'bɔ^htɪçəɲ,Nə'ɣɔ̃ɪN'} the lake-head of the brown heifer', with pl. of *bot* m., gen.sg. of *agh* m. EIr. *ag*, and the adj. *donn* EIr. *donn*. EIr. *ag* had a number of senses: 'cow, ox; deer, stag'. In CR, *agh* is always rendered 'heifer'; contrast *Càrn nan Aighean*, Fodderty, 'Hinds' cairn' (Watson 1976: 102).
- 414 *Botan Thòmais* NB2044 GEARR {'bɔ^htan'hõ:mas} the valley-head of *Tòmas*, with *botan* m., dimin. of *bot*; and gen. of the man's name, earlier *Tómás* (e.g. Watson 1937: 30), cf. *Tànhas*. *Botan* probably also occurs at NB3745, *Botan Ruairidh*, and at NB4045, *Botan Ràdhil* (OS 1974). Trad: *Thathas ag ràdh gu robh fear ann air an robh Tòmas; is bhiodh e 'n còmhnaidh coiseachd a-null 's a-nall eadar Daile Mòr is Na Geàrrannan. Is bhiodh am balach seo ga leantainn, is cha do chòrd seo ri Tòmas idir. Dh' fheuch e a chur air falbh ach chan fhaigheadh, is sa' cheann thall mharbh e am balach ann am fuaran an sin. Sann 'son siud a chaidh Botan Thòmais air an àite.* 'They say there was a man called *Tòmas*; and he was always walking to and fro between *Daile Mòr* and *Na Geàrrannan*. This boy used to follow him, and this didn't please *Tòmas* at all. He tried to send him away, but he couldn't, and in the end he killed him in a spring there. It's because of that the place is called *Botan Thòmais*.' The spring in question is *Fuaran Bhalabhair*.
- 415 *Am Both* NB2243 DAIL {'ð'mɔ^h} the bothy, with *both* m. EIr. *both*. 1848 *Tota Pairc* 1974 *idem*; of a hill.
- 416 *Both a' Mhèirlich* NB2743 ST {'bɔ-ð'vja:lɪç} the bothy of the thief, with gen.sg. of *mèirleach* m. EIr. *meirlech*; this specific is frequent

in pnn. in Scotland, Ireland and Man, e.g. Lag y Varrlee 'the hollow of the thief', Man (Gill 1944). Trad: the thief broke his leg jumping from *Am Balla Gorm* (which is nearby) and was caught and hanged upon *Cnoc a' Chrochaidh* q.v. According to another informant it was *Mac an t-Srònaich* who jumped *Am Balla Gorm* (for *Mac an t-Srònaich*, see: Urquhart 1941). Alias, according to some, *Both Mhurchaidh* q.v.

- 417 *Am Both Clach* NB3038 BRA {ə,m'ɔ'k^hLax} the bothy of stones, with gen.pl. of *clach* f. 1848 *Bótha Clach* 1974 *Botha Clach*.
- 418 *Both Mhic Ailein* NB2142 CARL {,bɔ,vĩ^h'k'alan} *Mac Ailein's* bothy.
- 419 *Both Mhurchaidh* NB2643 ST {,bɔ'vuRùx} *Murchadh's* bothy. Alias, according to some, *Both a' Mhèirlich*. Trad: *Air taobh an iar na beinne tha {àite} ris an can 'ad Both Mhurchaidh - {cha chreid mi} nach e Murchadh MacLeòid a bh' air. Bha daoine ann an uairsin, ris an canadh iad am press-gang, a bha ga iarraidh dhan Navy. Agus bha e ag àiteachadh an fhearainn anns a' Phàirc air an oidheche agus a' dol a-mach chun a' bhoth air an latha. Ach an latha seo bha e muigh ag iasgach bhon eathar: is nuair a thàinig e chun a' chladaich, bha am press-gang reimhe ann an shiud. Agus nuair a chunnaic e iad - se bàtaichean mòr tapaidh a bh' aca an uairsin, agus bha ràimh mhòr fhad' orr' - nuair a chunnaic e iad shuas reimhe air a' chladach, fhuair e ràmh anns gach dòrn agus ghabh e suas nan coinneimh. Agus nuair a chunnaic iad cho càlma 's a bha e, cha do chuir iad dragh air; is cha dàinig iad an taobh a bha e a-riamh tuilleadh.*
- 'On the west side of the mountain there's a place they call *Both Mhurchaidh* - I think his name was *Murchadh MacLeòid*. There were people at that time, what they called the press-gang, who wanted him for the Navy. And he was working on the land in *A' Phàirc* at night, and going out to the bothy in the day. But this day he was out fishing from the boat; and when he came to the shore, the press-gang was there before him. And when he saw them - they had great big boats then, equipped with great long oars - when he saw them up ahead of him on the shore, he took an oar in each fist and went up to meet them. And when they saw how robust he was, they didn't trouble him; and they never crossed his path (lit. came where he was) ever again.'
- 420 *Both nan Geadh* NB2242 CARL {,bɔnə'ɨ'iaɣ} the bothy of the geese.
- 421 *Both Nèill* NB2345 SD {,bɔ'nē:L'} *Niall's* bothy. 1848 *Bothan Neil* 1974 idem. Trad: *Niall MacLeòid*, reputed to have lived on *Eilean an Taigh* q.v., was a spy for the MacAulays against the Morrisons of *Nis*.
- 422 *Both Stacaiseal* NB3037 ST {,bɔ'sta^hkə,ʃaL} the bothy of *S*. Trad: after

the rising of 1745, 3 people came to seek refuge in Lewis and lived here; one was *Mac Dhòmhaill Ruaidh na Ceapaich*.

+ Both Uilleim NB2440, 1848 Both Uilleam.

423 *Both Uilleim Beag* NB2645 ST {,bɔ,ɐL'am'pɔg} the lesser (*Uilleam's* bothy), of a knoll; with gen. of the man's name, fr. Eng. *William*.

424 *Both Uilleim Meadhanach* NB2645 ST ='mĩ-anɔx} the middle (*Uilleam's* bothy), of a knoll.

425 *Both Uilleim Mòr* NB2645 ST ='mo:r} the greater (*Uilleam's* bothy), of a knoll.

+ Botha Clach NB3038, see *Both Clach*.

426 *Bothag an Tairbh* NB1840 DUN {,bɔhakɔ'N^hɔðv} the bothy of the bull, with *bothag* f., dimin. of *both*; an enclosure. Alias *Bothag Mheireabhal*.

427 *Bothag Aonghais* NB1944 GEARR {,bɔhak'ɔnɔ-ɔf} *Aonghas's* bothy.

428 *Bothag Mheireabhal* NB1840 DUN ='veðð,vɔL} the bothy of M. Alias *Bothag an Tairbh*.

429 *Bothag Mhùthair Bheag* NB2141 CARL {,bɔhak,vã.hað'veg} the bothy of M. Remains of stone hut here.

430 *Bothag Raonailt* NB1842 BOR {,bɔhak'Rð:nɪL't'} *Raonailt's* bothy, with gen.sg. of the woman's name, fr. ON *Ragnhild* acc.f. Trad: this woman was from Callanais.

431 *Bothan Ciaran* NB1842 BOR {,bɔhan'k^hiðran} *Ciaran's* bothy, with gen.sg. of the man's name, fr. EIr. *cíar* adj. 'dark, black' + agent suffix.

This is the Irish saint, *Cíarán*, §11.11. *Bothan* m. is a dimin. of *both*.

432 *Bothan na Creige* NB1842 BOR {,bɔhannɔ'k^hðeg'ð} the bothy (of the crag).

+ Bothan Neil NB2345, see *Both Nèill*. With *creag* f. EIr. *creec*.

433 *Bràgair* NB2647 BRA {'bra:gðð} of the village and township. 1583

Bragairth 1630 Braiggarie 1600+ Braigarry 1695 Brago, Bragar, Bragir

1714 Brago 1718 Braygar 1726 Bragar 1753-66 Bragir 1789 Bragar 1791

Bragir 1807 Bragar 1832 South Bragor, North Bragor 1845 Bragar 1848

Bragir 1869 Bragor 1932 Bragar 1973 Bradhagar 1974 Bragar. Oftedal

(1954: 377) suggests ON *Brárgarðr* < *Brúargarðr* 'the farm of the bridge'

but there are certain problems here. As an alternative the name might

contain ON *brák* f. 'instrument for preparing hides' - the word is

found in the Faroes in the pn. *Bráka(r)steínur* (Matras 1933, *brák*) -

but an ON *Brák-garð* acc. or even *Brák-gerðá* obl. case would yield

medial -{^hk}- (/k/). However, there is a strong possibility that our

name has in fact developed from an ON *Brá-garð(i)* 'the farm of the

brow' (*garðr* could have its simple sense 'enclosure'), with the stem-

form of ON *brá* f. This element has been exempt from consideration

before because it is only attested meaning 'eyelash'; however, it seems probable the word originally had the sense 'brow', and it is with this sense (applied to hills) that ME *brā brȝ* (< ON *brá*) is used in pnn.; cf. also the Sw. pnn. Bråviken and Bråvalla (De Vries 1961: 51-52). In Norway, cf. the related form *brú* f., with similar meaning, but which is only attested in pnn., e.g. Bru (NG X, 267; see also XII, 371). Topographically, ON *Brá-garð(i)* is appropriate.

+ Bragar NB2647, see *Brågair*.

434 *Bràigh a' Chnuic* CN {,br̥a.jð'xr̥^hθ^h'k'} the uplands of *An Cnoc*, with *bràigh* f. 'neck, throat' EIr. *brága bráige*; contrast Ir. *brághad* with the sense 'gorge' in pnn. (Joyce 1913.I, 523).

435 *Bràigh Bhritheascleit* BRI {,br̥a.j'vði-a,skle^ht'} the uplands of BRI.

436 *Bràigh Cháillariais* CAL = 'xɔLa,nɪʃ} the uplands of CAL.

437 *Bràigh Chirbhig* CIR = 'çɪlðì,vɪk'} the uplands of CIR.

438 *Bràigh na Beirghe* NB2347 SD {,br̥a.jnð'b̥øðø-ɪ} the high ground of *A' Bheirghe*. 1848 -/na Beiride 1974 -/na Berie.

+ *Bràigh na Berie* NB2347, see *Bràigh na Beirghe*.

439 *Bràigh na Dùine* DUN = 'dũ:N'ð} the uplands of DUN.

440 *Bràigh Tholstaidh* TOL {,br̥a.j'hɔLð,staj} the uplands of TOL.

441 *Bratag* NB1842 BOR {'br̥a^htak} of a small point with sheer drop to sea; see below.

442 *Bratag* NB1843 BOR, as above; of a fishing-ledge on sheer cliff. 1848 1974 =; further, although it is not certain whether this location or the one at NB1842 (above) is being referred to, 1903 Brattaig 1932 Brataig 1934 {?} Bratta-vig. Cf. Rubha Brataig, U (MacIver 1934: 96), Airidh Brataig, BERN (OS 1848). The name seems to contain the ON adj. *brattr* 'steep'; if the form is an ON ln., however, there seems to be no solution for final {-ak}. An ON *Bratt-bakka* 'steep gradient' with stem-form of the adj. and obl. case of *bakki* m. would more likely yield *{'br̥a^htð,ba^hk}, although simplification of the ON medial cluster might occur. Certainly we do not have final -uík 'bay' here. I think that our form is in fact a Gaelic creation with a loan from the ON adj. + the G. suffix -ag: 'steep place' §7.6ii.

443 *Brataigea* NB2447 SD {'br̥a^htɪ,g'a} of a ravine and cove. 1848 Geodha Bhràtaige 1934 Bratagia 1974 Geodha Bratag. A ln. fr. ON *Brattugiô* 'the steep ravine' with acc.fem. of the wk. form of the adj. *brattr* 'steep' and acc. of *giô* f. F.etym: fr. G. *brat de dh' fheur* 'cover of grass'.

- 444 *Bratanais Bheag* NB2032 CAL {,bra^htə,nɪf'veg} lesser *B., of an island. 1848 Brátanish Bheag. With a ln. fr. ON *Brattanes* 'the steep promontory' with acc.sg.nt. of the wk. form of the adj. *brattr* 'steep' and acc.sg. of *nes* nt. Cf. *Brattanes*, in the Faroes (Matras 1933).
- 445 *Bratanais Mhòr* NB2032 CAL ='vo:r} greater *B., of an island. 1848 Bratanish Mhor 1903 Brathanish 1932 Bratanish 1934 Brata nish 1974 Bratanish Mór.
- + Bratanish Mór NB2032, see *Bratanais Mhòr*.
- + Breascleite NB2135, see *Britheascleit*.
- + Breascleite Park NB2234, see *Na Buailtean*.
- 446 *Brèibhig* NB2648 ST {'bðe:,vɪk'} of a ravine. 1848 Brèidhbhic 1932 Breibhig 1934 Breidhvik 1974 Brivig. Fr. ON *Breid-uík* 'broad bay' with stem-form of the adj. *breidr* and nom./acc. of *uík* f. Cf. *Breivig*, Stavanger, ON *Breidauík* (NG X, 218); in Lewis, NB4158 *Breibhig* (OS 1848).
- 447 *Breun Loch Airichean a' Mhullaich* NB2038 TOL {,bðĩã,Lɔx,a.ðɪçəndə'vũLɪç} the stagnant lake of A.; with a cpd. of *breun* adj., EIr. *brén*, and *loch*.
- 448 *Breun Loch Cleit na h-Eanaich* NB2038 TOL {,bðĩã,Lɔx,k^hle^htnə'hãɪç} also with lenited -{,xle^ht}- the stagnant lake of C.
- 449 *Breun Loch na Beinne* NB2643 SD {,bðĩã,Lɔxnə'bẽN'ə} the stagnant lake (of the mountain).
- + Breunloch na Leargain NB3039, 1848 Breaghloch na Leargain.
- 450 *Brigeidh* NB1743 BOR {'bðɪɪ,g'aj}, once -,g'ay} of a ravine and cove. 1848 Frith Ghedha. Possibly fr. ON *Bryggiugiǫ* 'the ravine of the pier' with gen. of *bryggia* f. and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f.; in this case the form in -{aj} must be a Gaelic dat. reflex. This would be the only example of such a reflex fr. ON *-giǫ*. Because of this a more satisfactory solution might be ON *Bryggiuþy* 'the promontory of the pier' with *þy* f. with the sense 'promontory'. *Bryggia* has a range of meanings from 'gang-plank' to 'landing-place' and 'quay'; 'promontory of the landing-place' may be applicable considering the ferrying of stock to and from the island *Cràgam* and other islands at the mouth of *Loch Ròg*. ON *Bryggiuþy* would regularly yield {'bðɪɪ,g'aj}; the variant pronunciation (received just the once) would then be by analogy with the many coastal names in final -{,g'ay}. Alias *Brigeidh Mhòr*.
- 451 *Brigeidh Chaol* NB1743 BOR {,bðɪɪ,g'aj'xɔ:L} narrow B., of a ravine.
- 452 *Brigeidh Mhòr* NB1743 BOR ='vo:r} broader B.; alias *Brigeidh*.
- 453 *Am Briost* NB1941 CIR {ə'mɪðɔst} of a slope, the breast of a mountain-

range. An Eng. ln. fr. Scots *brest brist*.

454 *Britheascleit* NB2135 BRI {'b̥ði-a,skle^ht'} of the village and township. 1583 Breasklet 1726 Breskell 1750 Briasclet 1789 Brasplet 1807 Briasklet 1832 Breasclet 1848 Breascleit 1869 Breasclet 1875 Briersclit 1934 Briascleit 1973 Breas Cleit 1974 Breasclete. It seems highly likely that this ON ln. represents *Breiðás-klett(i)* 'the hill of the broad ridge' with stem-form of *breiðr* adj. 'broad' and of *áss* m. 'ridge', and acc. or dat. of *kletttr* m. Outside BRI I have recorded {'b̥ðia,skle^ht'} also. The Norse creation will have originally applied to the hill *A' Bheinn Bheag*. (See Oftedal 1954: 382).

+ Brivig NB2648, see *Brèibhig*.

455 *Bròg an Eich* NB1845 GEARR {'br̥ɔg̊ð'N'eç} the shoe of the horse, with *bròg* f., fr. ON *brók* f., and gen.sg. of *each* m. A formation of rock in cliff, shaped like a horse-shoe, has given rise to this name. Trad: a horse jumped from one spur of land to another but fell, striking its hoof on the cliff-face. (The rock-formation is about fifteen feet across!)

+ Brunal Beag NB2747, see *Brunal Bheag*.

456 *Brunal Bheag* NB2747 BRA {'br̥n̥al'v̥ɔg̊} lesser *B., of a hill. 1848 -/Béag 1974 -/Beag. With a ln. very probably fr. ON *Brun-hól* acc. 'fire/burning-hill' with stem-form of *bruni* m., a derivative of the vb. *brenna* 'to burn', and acc. of *hóll* m. 'hill'; we have a Gaelic equivalent in *Cnoc Falasgair*.

457 *Brunal Mhòr* NB2747 BRA ='vo:r} greater *B. 1848 -/Mòr.

458 *Buail' a' Bhainne* NB2232 CAL {'bu̥ɪl̥ð'v̥ɔ̃N'ð} the enclosure of the milk, with *buaille* f. EIr. *búaille*, and gen. of *bainne* m. EIr. *bannae* later *bainne*.

459 *Buail' a' Chreagain* NB1944 GEARR ='x̥d̥egan} the enclosure (of the hillock).

460 *A' Bhuail' a' Deas* NB2135 BRI {'ð,v̥el̥ð'd̥'ɛs} the southern enclosure; with adjectival use of the adv. *a deas* EIr. *andess*.

461 *Buail' a' Ghobha* NB1940 DUN {'bu̥ɪl̥ð'ɣo-o} the enclosure of the smith. Alias *Buaille Neill*.

462 *Buail' a' Mhorghain* NB2547 SD ='v̥ɔ̃r̥ð̥ɣan} the enclosure of the gravel, with gen. of *morghán* m. 'coarse particles (of earth, peat), gravel, grit', fr. ON *morð* nt. 'crowd, large quantity, great amount' (cf. Sw. *mor(d)* 'crumbling mass' *molrik* (< *mord-*) 'stony, rocky') + a Gaelic suffix *-an* §7.6i.

463 *A' Bhuail' a' Tuath* NB1940 DUN {'ð,vu̥ɪl̥ð't^huð} the northern enclosure,

with adjectival use of the adv. *a tuath* EIr. *atuaid*.

- 464 *A' Bhuail' a Tuath* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- 465 *Buail' an Aodainn* NB2032 CAL {,b̥uø1ð'N(ɔ:ɔ̃N'} the enclosure (of the cliff-face), with gen.sg. of *aodann* m. EIr. *étan* 'front, brow, forehead'. 1848 *Buaile an Aòdain*.
- 466 *Buail' an Dannse* NB2145 DAIL ={'Nãũf} the enclosure of the dance, with gen. of *dannsa* m., fr. Eng. *dance*.
- 467 *Buail' an Tairbh* NB1740 DUN ={'N^høðøv} the enclosure of the bull.
- 468 *A' Bhuail' Ard* NB2749 BRA {ð,vuø'1a:ɔ̃} the upper enclosure.
- 469 *A' Bhuail' as Ioraich* NB2044 GEARR {ð,vø1ð 'siðr1ç} the lowermost enclosure, with pres.rel. of the copula vb. and comp. of the adj. *ìorach* 'lower'.
- 470 *A' Bhuail' Fhalach* NB1742 BOR {ð,vuø'1aLɔx} the hidden enclosure, with gen. of *falach* m. §7.4, EIr. *folach*. 1848 1974 *Buaile Fhalaich*. Alias *A' Bhuail' Fhalach Ard*. Cf. *Airidh Fhalach*, Skye (Forbes 1923: 29).
- 471 *A' Bhuail' Fhalach Ard* NB1742 BOR {ð,vuø,1aLɔx'a:ɔ̃} the upper B. Alias *A' Bhuail' Fhalach*.
- 472 *A' Bhuail' Fhalach Iosal* NB1742 BOR ={'iðsðL} the lower B., with *ìosal* adj. EIr. *ísel*.
- 473 *Buail' Fhalaich* NB1741 DUN {,b̥uø'1aL1ç} the hidden enclosure.
- 474 *Buail' Iain 'ic Aoidh* NB2446 SD {,b̥uø,1ãnd'kði} *Iain Mac Aoidh's* enclosure.
- 475 *A' Bhuail' Ioraich* NB1945 GEARR {ð,vuø'liðr1ç} the lower enclosure, §7.3i.
- + *Buailaval Beag* NB2040, see *Buaileabhal Bheag*.
- 476 *A' Bhuaile* NB2648 BRA {ð'vuø1ð} the enclosure.
- 477 *A' Bhuaile* NB2142 CARL, as above. Alias *A' Phàire*.
- 478 *A' Bhuaile Bheag* NB1940 DUN {ð,vuø1ð'veg} the small enclosure.
- 479 *Buaile Bheag Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* NB2331 GA {,b̥uø1ð'veg,ɔ̃'a.ŋð'hãĩnd} the small enclosure of G. 1974 *Buailebheag*.
- 480 *Buaile Bhrèibhig* NB2648 ST {,b̥uø1ð'vðe:,v1k'} the enclosure of B.
- 481 *A' Bhuaile Bhuidhe* NB1941 CARL {ð,vuø1ð'vu^ljð} the yellow enclosure.
- 482 *A' Bhuaile Bhuidhe* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
- 483 *A' Bhuaile Bhuidhe* NB2042 CN, as above.
- 484 *Buaile Chrìsgein* NB2446 SD {,b̥uø1ð'xði:fk'an} the enclosure of *Crìsgean*, ? a man's name.
- 485 *Buaile Chrombaidh* NB1940 DUN ={'xrõũmpaj} 1848 -/Crombaidh 1974 idem. The specific here presents a variety of problems. For a Gaelic

derivation, cf. Ir. *crompán* 'creek, inlet at the mouth of a small stream, or branching off from a river, lake or sea' (Joyce 1913 I, 261), and in Scotland the names Cromarty and Crombie (see Watson 1976: 124-25), which are all based on the adj. *crom* 'bent, crooked' EIr. *cromm*. In our name {p} (/b/) may be intrusive, but we are left without a solution for final {-aj} (whether it represents a rad. or obl. case-form). A form **Crom-bàgh*, gen. **Crom-bàigh* with non-lenition of *bàgh* m. 'bay' as final element of a cpd. is conceivable, but only if we accept that as an *ex nomine* unit it has been transferred a considerable way. Although *Loch na Dùine* lies relatively close to our location, I have no example of *bàgh* being used of a part of a fresh-water lake. For an ON source, there seems to be nothing to suggest unless we accept as before a considerable shift from the original location. In this case, we might consider ON *Krumm(a)þy* 'raven isle' or 'isle of the ravens' with the stem-form or gen.pl. of *krummi* m. and nom./acc. of *þy* f. 'island' - again with /b/ intrusive. For the question of transference, cf. *Allt Sgealasgro*. Where a name **Crom-bàgh* or *Krumm(a)þy* may have originated is unclear, but see the doc. under *Allt Bhritheascleit*.

- 486 A' *Bhuaile Chrotach* NB1937 TOL {ð, vuø1ð'xro^htɔx} the hunch-backed enclosure. Once -{'xro^htɔç} §7.3i.
- 487 *Buaile Chruaidh* NB2133 CAL {, buø1ð'xruðj} the hard enclosure, with the adj. *cruidh* EIr. *crúaid*.
- + *Buaile Crombaidh* NB1940, see *Buaile Chrombaidh*.
- 488 A' *Bhuaile Dhomhainn* NB1942 BOR {ð, vuø1ð'γō.-1N'} the deep enclosure, with the adj. *domhainn* EIr. *domain*.
- 489 *Buaile Dhòmhnail Miteil* NB2546 SD {, buø1ð, γō.-1L' 'm^ht'al} *Dòmhnail Miteal* 's (Mitchell's) enclosure. Alias *Buaile Shedrais*.
- 490 A' *Bhuaile Dhubh* NB2134 BRI {ð, vuø1ð'γ^hh} the black enclosure.
- 491 A' *Bhuaile Dhubh* NB1938 TOL, as above.
- 492 A' *Bhuaile Dhubh* NB2646 ST, as above.
- 493 A' *Bhuaile Dhubh* NB2345 DAIL, as above.
- + Am *Buaile Dubh* NB2233, see *Am Balla Dubh*.
- + *Buaile Fhalaich* NB1742, see *A' Bhuail' Fhalach (Ard)*.
- 494 *Buaile Gharsan* NB2448 SD {, buø1ð'γaʃðn} the enclosure of *G*.
- 495 A' *Bhuaile Ghlas* NB1843 BOR {ð, vuø1ð'γLas} the green enclosure.
- 496 *Buaile Ledid* NB1944 GEARR {, buø1ð'lc:d'} *Leòd*'s enclosure.
- 497 A' *Bhuaile Mholach* NB1944 GEARR {ð, vuø1ð'vɔLɔx} the coarse enclosure.
- 498 A' *Bhuaile Mhòr* NB1940 DUN ='vo:r} the large enclosure.

- 499 *Buaile na Beinne* NB2235 BRI {,bʉø1ðnð'pěN'ð} the enclosure of the mountain.
- 500 *Buaile na Cartach* NB1943 BOR ='k^h a_{st}çx} the enclosure of the water-lily, with gen. of *cairt* f.
- 501 *Buaile na Creige* NB1842 BOR ='k^h ðeg'ð} the enclosure of the crag.
- 502 *Buaile na Drèana* NB1940 DUN ='dr̥ç:nð} the enclosure of the drain, with gen.sg. of *drèana* f., fr. Eng. *drain*.
- 503 *Buaile na Fèith* NB2748 BRA ='fe:} the enclosure of the bog.
- 504 *Buaile na Gaimhne* NB2245 DAIL ='g̥ðĩnð} the enclosure of the stirk, with gen. of *gamhainn*, EIr. *gamuin*.
- 505 *Buaile na Mhìst* NB2546 SD{,bʉø1ðnð'mĩ:st'} the enclosure of *A' Mhìst*. 1848 --/Miàisd. Alias *A' Mhìst*.
- 506 *Buaile na h-Airde* NB1945 GEARR ='ha:ðð} the enclosure of the headland.
- 507 *Buaile nan Cobhanantars* NB1944 GEARR ='t̥^hʌvðnannt̥ðç} the enclosure of the Covenanters, with a loan fr. the Eng. pl. form.
- 508 *Buaile nan Laogh* NB2648 ST ='Lw:γ} the enclosure of the calves, with gen.pl. of *laogh* m. EIr. *lóeg*.
- 509 *Buaile nan Uan* NB1839 DUN ='Nũãñ} the enclosure of the lambs.
- 510 *Buaile Nèill* NB1940 DUN {,bʉø1ð'ně:L'} *Niall*'s enclosure.
- 511 *Buaile Nèill Bonaidh* NB1940 DUN {,bʉø1ð,ně.L'p̥õnɪ} the enclosure of *Niall Bonaidh* (see No. 2795).
- 512 *Buaile Raoinigeadh* NB1743 BOR {,bʉø1ð'rðĩnɪ,g'ay} the enclosure of *R.* 1848 -/Ruin a Geodha.
- 513 *A' Bhuaile Ruadh* NB2042 CN {ð,vuø1ð'ruðγ} the red enclosure. 1848 *Buaile Ruadh* 1974 idem.
- 514 *A' Bhuaile Ruadh* NB1938 TOL, as above.
- 515 *A' Bhuaile Ruadh* NB2245 DAIL, as above.
- 516 *Buaile Sheðrais* NB2546 SD {,bʉø1ð'hjç:rɪf} *Seðras*'s enclosure, with gen. of the man's name, cf. Fr. *Georges* (Lat. *Georgius*). Alias *Buaile Dhòmhmaill Miteil*.
- 517 *Buaileabhair* NB2446 SD {'bʉø1ð,vðð} of a ridge and its area. It seems most probable this name contains the G. word *buaile* 'enclosure' as a lw. in ON, plus ON *uqrðu* obl.f. 'cairn': ON **Búaile-uqrðu*, using the EIr. form. Certainly it is difficult to see how {uø} might otherwise derive from ON. See also No. 518, below. F.etym: fr. *Buaile Iomhair* 'Iomhar's enclosure'. Alias *Druim Bhuaileabhair* doc.
- 518 *Buaileabhal Bheag* NB2040 CIR {,bʉø1ð,vɔL'veg} lesser **B.*, of a mountain. 1848 *Buailabhal Bheag* 1974 *Buailaval Beag*. With a ln. most probably fr. ON **Búaile-fiall* 'enclosure mountain' with a lw. fr. EIr.

- búaille* + ON *fiall* nom./acc.nt. Cf. No. 517.
- 519 *Buaileabhal Mhòr* NB1940 CIR ={'vo:r} greater *B., of a mountain. 1848
Buailabhal Mhor 1974 *Buaileval Mór*.
 + *Buailebheag* NB2331, see *Buaile Bheag Geàrr' na h-Aibhne*.
 + *Buaileval Mór* NB1940, see *Buaileabhal Mhòr*.
- 520 *Na Buailtean* NB2234 BRI {nð'buøL't'ðn} the enclosures, with pl. of
buaile f. §7.5ii. 1974 Breasclete Park.
- 521 *Na Buailtean* NB2548 SD, as above.
- 522 *Buailtean a' Mhaoir* NB1940 DUN {,buøL't'ðnð'vð:ð} the enclosures of
 the ground officer, with gen.sg. of *maor* m. EIr. *maer* (Lat. *maior*).
- 523 *Buaim Beinn Chonnich* NB2842 BRA {,bũøm,bẽN'xõN'ıç} the slope of B.
- 524 *Buaim Beinn Feusaig* NB2742 ST {,bũøm,bẽN'fiasak'} the slope of B.
- 525 *Buistean* NB2548 SD {'bũ:¹,ft'ðn} of a reef. 1848 *Bùthistean* 1974
Buistean. This name is no longer well-known (its aliases are used as
 a rule). Most probably a ln. fr. ON *Bugsstein* 'the rock of the bay'
 with gen.sg. of *bugr* m. and acc. of *steinn* m. In Norway, cf. Bog,
 Rogaland, ON *Bugr* (NG X, 342). Alias *Am Bodha*, *Bodha Shiaboist*.
- 526 *Bun na h-Aibhne* NB2042 CN {,bũnnð'hãĩnð} the mouth of the river, with
bun m. EIr. *bun*, and gen.sg. of *abhainn* f.
- 527 *Am Bus* NB2446 SD {ð'mðs} the bus, of the location of the bus once
 used as a drinking bothy; with *bus* m., fr. Eng. *bus*.

C

- 528 A' *Chachaileith* NB1843 BOR {ð'xaxðlaj} the gate, where it used to be; with *cachaileith* f., prob. fr. EIr. **cáe-chléith* obl. case 'passage-hurdle', with metathesis (see also MacBain 1982: 61).
- 529 A' *Chachaileith Bhàn* NB2243 DAIL {ð,xaxðlaj'vã:n} the pale gate. Alias *An Geata*.
- 530 *Cailigeadh* NB2548 ST {'k^hall₁,g'ay} of a coastal ravine. 1903 Chali-gja 1934 Caliga. A ln. fr. ON *Kol-giǫ* 'coal or charcoal ravine' with stem-form of *kol* nt. and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f. Topographically this is fitting because of the black rocks of this ravine. In Norway, cf. Kolestrand, ON *Kolastrǫnd*, Rogaland (NG X, 45). Alias *Geodha Chailigeadh*.
- 531 *Callanais* NB2133 CAL {'k^halLa,nɪʃ} 1695 Classerniss 1726 Callarnish 1750 Calernis 1788 Callarnish 1791SM Calernish 1791 Calarnish 1795 Callernish 1807 Calernish 1832T Callernish 1832 Calarnish 1845 Callernish 1848 1869 idem 1875 Callarnish, Callanish 1934 idem 1973 Calanais 1974 Callanish. Of the village and township. A ln. fr. ON *Kallaðarnes* 'the promontory from where one would call for a ferry to cross the water', see Oftedal 1954: 382-83. The first element here is the gen.sg. of *kallaðr* m. 'caller', a derivative of the vb. *kalla* 'to call', and is well-attested in Norwegian pnn. (see, for example NG VI, 247). The generic is ON *nes* nt. There are two promontories here, either of which could have once borne the Norse form; the one now called *Srèimeanais* is the more likely considering settlement development at Linshader which lies opposite. Cf. the parallel Gaelic creation *Rubha na h-Eigheachd* NB1833 'the point of the calling or shouting'.
+ Callanish NB2133, see *Callanais*.
+ Cam Allt NB2241, see *An Cam Allt Mòr*.
- 532 *An Cam Allt Beag* NB2241 CARL {ð,ɪ^hã,malɪt'beɣ} the lesser (crooked stream).
- 533 *An Cam Allt Mòr* NB2241 CARL ='mo:r} the greater (crooked stream).
- 534 *Canas an Tòrr* NB2232 CAL {'k^hãmsð'N'ɔ:r} the bay (of the knoll); with *canas* (§7.6v) EIr. *camnas*, and gen.sg. of *tòrr* m. EIr. **torr*, cogn. with OW *turr* 'heap, pile' Corn. *tor* (in pnn.).
- 535 *Canas Osaig* NB2033 CAL {'k^hãms'ɔsæk'} the bay of the gust of wind, with gen. of *osaig* f., cf. EIr. *osnad* 'sigh'. 1934 Camus Ossaig.
- 536 *Campaidh* NB1442 {'k^hãmpaj} of an island. 1848 Càmpaidh 1934 = 1974 Campay. A ln. fr. ON *Kamp-øyy* 'the island of the overhang' with stem-form of *kampr* m. 'outstanding edge of cliff' and nom./acc. of *øyy* f.;

cf. Ice. *kampur* 'cliff, outstanding edge of', Far. *kampur* in pnn. 'steep cliff' e.g. in *Kampannagjógv* (Matras 1933, *kampur*).

However, MacAulay (1972: 330) gives the name as *Cambaigh*, inferring a pronunciation with medial *-/mb/-* *-{mp}-*, and derives the name from a form containing ON *kambr* m. 'ridge, comb'. ON *Kamp-øy* is topographically suitable, certainly, but whether the island-name was this or *Kamb-øy* depends upon which pronunciation is 'authentic'. The island was in the possession of DB, but is now rented by 3 individuals from DUN, CN and CIR.

+ Campay NB1442, see *Campaídh*.

537 *Caolas a' Mhill* NB2132 CAL {₁k^hω.Lðsð'veĩL'} the straits (of the mound), with gen.sg. of *meall* m. EIr. *mell*. 1848 *-/a Mhill*.

538 *Caolas an Amadain* NB1643 BOR ={'Nãmððan} the straits of the fool, with gen.sg. of *amadán* m. EIr. *ammattán*.

539 *Caolas an Eilein* NB2346 SD ={'N'elan} the straits (of the island), of the stretch of ground opposite the island in question; with gen.sg. of *eilean* m. EIr. *ailén* (dimin. of *ail* 'rock'). It is probable the form {'elan} is due to Norse influence, cf. EIr. *áirge* borrowed as ON *ǫrgi*; contrast Ir. *oileán*.

540 *Caolas an Eilein* NB1741 DUN, as above, of the land opposite the island, 1848 =.

541 *Caolas Bhúistean* NB2548 SD {₁k^hω.Lðs'və:l'ft'ðn} the straits of B.

542 *Caolas Chràgam* NB1742 BOR ={'xra:gam} the straits of C. 1848 *-/Chràigeam* 1875 the Sound of Cragum 1974 *-/Chraigeam*.

+ *Caolas Chraigeam* NB1742, see *Caolas Chràgam*.

543 *Caolas Chùl Chràgam* NB1643 BOR {₁k^hω.Lðs,xu.L'xra:gam} the straits of C.

544 *Car Ma Thom* NB1937 TOL {₁k^har,ma'hũũm} 'hãũm} lit. turn about a knoll, of an enclosure, §4.4. With *car* m. EIr. *cor*; the prep. *ma*, var. of *mu* EIr. *imm imb* (governing in the acc.); and *tom* m. EIr. *tom*.

545 *A' Charaidh* NB2042 CN {ð'xari} the fishing-weir, with *caraidh* f. EIr. *cor(a)id* dat.f. The element is not uncommon in Scottish pnn., e.g. *Achnacarry*, *Locheil* (Maxwell 1894: 133).

546 *A' Charaidh* NB1937 TOL, as above.

547 *Càrlabhaigh* NB2042 CARL {'k^hɑ:lð,vay} of the village and township; also, more generally, of the area and townships around *Loch Càrlabhaigh*. 1583 *Kadlowa Oc.* {see *Mullach Càrlabhaigh*} 1573 1583D 1595 *Radamach* 1600+ *Charluy* 1630 *Charlnay* 1750 *Carlowa* 1786 *Carloway* 1791 *Carlaway*

- 1800 Carloway 1807 Carlowa 1845 Carloway 1848 Carlobhaidh, Carloway 1869 1875 1885 Carloway 1895 Carlobhaidh, Carloway 1934 Carloway, (in Gaelic) Callavagh, Collobhagh 1973 Carlobhagh 1974 Carloway. The early form Radamach must be due to **severe** errors in copying and/or type-setting. MacIver (1934) has made his Gaelic forms up to suit his derivation fr. ON *kollr* m. 'rounded hill'. No doubt our name is fr. ON *Karlauág* 'Karli's bay' with gen. of the man's name and acc. of *uágr* m. (see Oftedal 1954: 378). MacBain's comments (1922: 115) on the development of final $\{-vay\}$ are nonsensical and not worth repeating here; suffice it to say that ON $\{-uág\}$ acc. would yield G. $\{-vay\}$ (which has a G. inflexional form $\{-vaj\}$) without difficulty - the loss of $\{-r\}$ in the ON form is no mystery as it is simply the nom.sg. ending of strong masc. nouns.
- 548 *Càrlaigin Bhàn* NB2346 SD $\{,k^h a. l̪ə, g' ɪn' vã:n\}$ the light-coloured *C., of a hillock. 1848 *Càrnagil Bhàn* 1974 *Carnagil Bhàn*. **Càrlaigin*, with metathesis of l and n (§9.liv) is possibly fr. ON *Korn-gil* 'the corn ravine' with stem-form of *korn* nt. and nom./acc. of *gil* nt. 'ravine'; cf. in Norway, Kornholmen (Hallaråker 1976: 71). There is also the possibility of ON *Kornagil* with gen. of the man's nickname, *Korni* m.; cf. in Norway, Konstad ON *Kornastadír* (NG XIV, 271). A derivation fr. ON *Kárnagil* with gen.pl. of *kárn* nt. 'type of crow' is phonetically possible, but the least likely solution as *kárn* is only attested in poetry. Var. form $\{,k^h a. l̪ə, g' ɪl\}$ - with f.etym. *carra a' ghille bhàin* 'the rock of the fair-haired youth'.
- + Carloway NB2042, see *Càrlabhagh*.
- + Carloway Bridge NB2042, see *Drochaid Chàrlabhaigh*.
- + Carloway River NB2042, see *Abhainn Chàrlabhaigh*.
- 549 *Càrn a' Bhàigh* NB2042 CN $\{,k^h a. n̪ə' va:j\}$ the cairn (of the bay), with gen.sg. of *bàgh* m., fr. ON *uág* acc.m.
- 550 *Càrn a' Bheannachaidh* NB1842 BOR = $\{v j̃ ã n̪ x ɪ\}$ the stone-pile of the blessing, with gen.sg. of *beannachadh* m., cf. EIr. *bennachaid* 'blesses' (Lat. *benedico*). Cf. NB5164 *Cnoc a' Bheannaich* (OS 1974). Associated with St. *Cíarán*, see *Bothan Ciaran*. Alias *Càrn a' Bheannaich*.
- 551 *Càrn a' Bheannaich* NB1842 BOR = $\{v j̃ ã n̪ ɪ ç\}$ as above, q.v.
- 552 *Càrn a' Chait* NB2748 BRA = $\{x e^h t'\}$ the cairn of the cat, with gen.sg. of *cat* m. EIr. *catt* (Lat. *cattus*).
- 553 *Càrn a' Chait* NB1942 CN, as above.
- 554 *Càrn a' Capaill* NB2441 CARL = $\{x a^h p ɪ l'\}$ the cairn of the horse.
- 555 *Càrn a' Mhairt* NB2038 TOL = $\{v a ç t̪\}$ the cairn of the cow, with gen.sg.

- of *mart* m. EIr. *mart* (? ultimately fr. Lat. *mortuus*, see RIA).
- 556 *Càrn an Fhithich* NB1943 GEARR =N'i-iç} the cairn of the raven, with gen.sg. of *fitheach* m. EIr. *fiäch*. 1848 *Càrn an Fhithich* 1875 {?} Raven's Cliff 1974 *Carnan an Fhithich*. Alias *Càrn an Fhithich A-muigh/A-staigh*.
- 557 *Càrn an Fhithich A-muigh* NB1943 GEARR {,k^ha.ŋ^hN'i-içð'mũj} the outer C. q.v.
- 558 *Càrn an Fhithich A-staigh* NB1943 GEARR ='støj} the inner C. q.v.
- 559 *Càrn an Tuill* NB2347 SD {,k^ha.ŋ^hN'^hðiL'} the cairn of the hole, with gen.sg. of *toll* m. EIr. *toll*. See *Geodh' an Tuill*.
- 560 *Càrn Aonghais Lidhir* NB1943 BOR {,k^ha.ŋ^hŋ^h'L'i-ið} *Aonghas Lidhir's* cairn; §11.4ii.
- 561 *Càrn na Cuartaig* NB2135 BRI {,k^ha.ŋ^hð'k^huðstæk'} with *càrn* EIr. *carn*, which has a number of applications. The commonest sense of the word is 'rocky knoll, cairn', but it also applies to larger rocky eminences, cf. the sense 'mountain' in Galloway and southern Scotland (MacAoidh 1978: 86); and in Aberdeenshire, *Cairntoul* and *Cairngorm* are both mountains over 4000 ft. high (Maxwell 1894: 154); and in Atholl, *Cairn-na-goibhre* is 3720 ft. (Robertson 1869: 215). *Càrn* may also indicate a 'man-made pile of stones'. As a 'natural heap of stones' it corresponds to the Corn. cogn. *carn* 'rock-pile' (equivalent to *tor* in Devon; Pool 1973: 16). Cf. *càrnan* m. The sense of *cuartaig* (< *cuairt* f. + suffix *-ag*) is not certain, but 'dell, hollow' may be appropriate: 'the rocky knoll of the hollow'.
- 562 *Càrn nam Beart* NB2037 TOL ='mjaçt} the cairn of the looms, with gen.pl. of *beart* f. EIr. *bert*. Of a hollow between two hills.
- 563 *Càrn Raineach* NB1942 BOR {,k^ha.ŋ^hRãnx} the ferny cairn, with gen.sg. of *raineach* (§7.4) EIr. *raithnech*.
- + *Carnagil Bhàn* NB2346, see *Càrlaigin Bhàn*.
- 564 *Na Càrnaichean Bàn* NB1938 TOL {nð,k^ha.ŋ^hiçðn'bã:n} the pale cairns, with pl. of *càrn* m.
- 565 *Na Càrnaichean Bàn*. NB1840 DUN, as above.
- 566 *Càrnaichean Bàn Eileastar* NB2238 CIR {,k^ha.ŋ^hiçðn,bã.n'ela,stðr} the pale cairns of E.
- + *Càrnaichean Talla Thabhish* NB1842, see *Càrnaichean Thala' Thàmhais*.
- 567 *Càrnaichean Thala' Thàmhais* NB1842 BOR {,k^ha.ŋ^hiçðn,haLð'hã:vɪf} the cairns (of the ground of *Tàmhas*), with *talamh* EIr. *talam*, and gen. of the man's name *Tàmhas*, var. of *Tòmas*, cf. *MacTavish*. F.etym: one informant compared the final element with a part of an expression used

- by his mother when the children were being mischievous: *Chan eil càil oirbh ach man na *tàmhais!* 'You can only be compared with wild creatures!' Cf. *amhas* 'wild, ungovernable person' (Dwelly 1977).
- + Na Carnain NB2440, 1848 idem.
- 568 *Na Càrnain* NB2631 CAL {nð'k^h a:ɲan} the cairns, with pl. of *càrnan* m. (< *càrn* m. + suffix -an), having broadly the same range of senses as *càrn* (§11.lix). 1848 1974 Carnan.
- 569 *An Càrnan* NB2547 ST {ð'ɲ^h a:ɲan} the cairn; of an extension of the village *Siabost a Tuath*. 1848 1974 Càrnan a Muigh.
- 570 *An Càrnan* NB2548 ST, as above. Alias *An Càrnan Mòr* doc.
- + Càrnan a Muigh NB2647, see *An Càrnan*.
- + Carnan a Stigh NB2648, see *Càrnan Spid*.
- 571 *Càrnan an Dùn* NB2444 SD {,k^h a.ɲan'Ně:n} §7.2ii, corruption of the alias *Càrnan Dùn* q.v.
- + Carnan an Fhithich NB1943, see *Càrn an Fhithich (A-muigh/A-staigh)*.
- 572 *Càrnann Beag* NB2044 GEARR {,k^h a.ɲan'ɸeg} the small cairn.
- 573 *An Càrnann Beag* NB1840 DUN {ð,ɲ^h a.ɲan'ɸeg} the small mountain. 1848 Càrnann Béag 1974 Carnan Beag.
- 574 *Càrnann Beinn Iomhair* NB2041 CN {,k^h a.ɲan,ɸě'N'íðvðð} the stone-pile of B.
- 575 *Càrnann Cnoc na Mónach* NB2245 DAIL {,k^h a.ɲan,k^h rō'knð'mō:nōx} the stone-pile of C.
- 576 *Càrnann Dhòmhnail Oig* NB2533 CAL {,k^h a.ɲan,γō-ɪL''ɔ:g'} *Dòmhnall Og's* cairn, with gen.sg.m. of the adj. *òg* 'young' EIr. *óc*. 1848 Carnan Dhomhnuill Oig 1974 idem.
- + Carnan Dhomhnuill Oig NB2533, see *Càrnann Dhòmhnail Oig*.
- + Carnan Dubhagan NB2244, 1848 Càrnann Dubhagan.
- 577 *Càrnann Dùn* NB2444 SD {,k^h a.ɲa'Ně:n} the cairn (of the cairn), with gen.sg. of a neut. u-stem *dùn* (cf. NB2947 *Cnoc an Dùna* OS 1974) 'cairn, rocky mound' EIr. *dún*. Corrupted to *Càrnann an Dùn* q.v.
- 578 *Càrnann Mhurchaidh* NB2748 BRA {,k^h a.ɲan'vurùxɪ} *Murchadh's* cairn. 1848 = 1974 Carnan Mhurchaidh.
- 579 *Càrnann Mòr* NB2044 DAIL ='mo:r} the large cairn. 1848 Càrnann Mór 1974 Carnan Mòr.
- 580 *An Càrnann Mòr* NB1939 DUN {ð,ɲ^h a.ɲan'mo:r} the large mountain. 1848 Carnan Mòr 1974 Càrnann Mòr.
- 581 *An Càrnann Mòr* NB2548 ST, as above, the large cairn. 1848 = 1974 Carnan Mór. Alias *An Càrnann*.
- 582 *Càrnann na Beinne* NB2643 ST {,k^h a.ɲannðbēn'ð} the stone-pile (of the

- mountain); with gen.sg. of *beinn* f.
- 583 *Càrnan na Craobhaig* NB1944 GEARR = 'k^h r(ɔ):væ k^h' the stone-pile of *A' Chraobhag*. Alias *Càrnan Slag nam Both*.
- 584 *Càrnan na h-Airde Mòire* NB1944 GEARR {,k^h a.ɲannə,ha.ɟə'mo:ð} the stone-pile of *An Aird Mhòr*. Alias *Càrnan nan Sapars*.
- 585 *Càrnan na h-Iolair* NB1944 GEARR {,k^h a.ɲannə'hjuLəð} the stone-pile of the eagle, with gen.sg. of *iolair* EIr. *ilar*.
- 586 *Càrnan nan Sapars* NB1944 GEARR = 'sa^h pəʒ} the stone-pile of the sappers, with a loan from the Eng. pl. form. This is beside a triangulation point (north-south alignment is shown by a pointer engraved in the stone). Trad: that once soldiers had a cloth over the pile for some reason or another. Alias *Càrnan na h-Airde Mòire*.
- + Carnan Park NB2647, English creation given to council housing-estate.
- 587 *Càrnan Slag nam Both* NB1944 GEARR {,k^h a.ɲan,sLagnə'mɔ^h} the stone-pile of *S*. Alias *Càrnan na Craobhaig*.
- 588 *Càrnan Spid* NB2648 ST {,k^h a.ɲan'spɪd'} the cairn (of the pointed hillock), with gen.sg. of *spìod* m. (or of a by-form *spìd*) < *bìod* m. §9.lvi. F.etym: that the second element is contained in the phrase {'spìd'at} used apparently when sending a dog after sheep: ?for **spìd iad* 'stir them' with a denom.vb. (2sg.impv.) fr. Scots *speed* and G. *iad* 3pl. (obj.) pron.; cf. *cuir spìd ort* 'bestir yourself' (Dwelly 1977, *spìd*).
- 589 *An Carra Dubh* NB1743 BOR {ð,ɪ^h aRə'du^h} the black rock, offshore; with *carra* m. EIr. *coirthe cairthe*. Cf. *Sròin a' Charr* (Watson 1976: 222).
- 590 *Carra Liath* NB2036 BRI {,k^h aRə'L'iə} the grey rock.
- 591 *Carra Liath* NB1742 BOR, as above.
- 592 *An Carra Liath* NB1938 TOL {ð,ɪ^h aRə'L'iə} as above. 1974 Carragh Liath.
- 593 *An Carra Liath* NB1841 DUN, as above, offshore.
- 594 *Carra Liath Beag* NB1941 CIR, seldom {,k^h aRəla'veg} 'bæg}, more commonly {,k^h a-əla'veg} 'bæg}, with metathesis §9.liv: {R} is substituted by zero, giving hiatus, and falls together with {l}, > {l}. Our forms are dative in origin, with lenition ({l} rather than {L'}) of the specific - by some, however, the modifier is given a rad. initial. 'The lesser (grey rock)', inland, with the adj. *liath* EIr. *liath*.
- 595 *Carra Liath Mòr* NB1941 CIR = 'vo:r}'mo:r}, with the same variation as above - the greater (grey rock). 1848 Carragh Liath Mòr 1934 An Carra Là 1974 Carragh Liath Mòr. MacIver (1934: 6) states 'probably an Gearraidh là is meant', but this is nonsense.

- 596 *Carra Liath Sgianailt* NB2036 TOL {,k^hɑRθ,L'iθ'sk'ĩũ,nɪL't'} the grey rock of *S.*, inland.
- + Carragh Liath NB1938, see *An Carra Liath*.
- + Carragh Liath Mor NB1941, see *Carra Liath Mòr*.
- 597 *Cèabhaidh* NB1935 {'k^he:,vaj},vaj} of an island. 1680 Cavay 1695 idem 1809 Calvay 1848 Ceàbhadh 1895 Eⁿ Ceabhadh 1934 Keiva 1974 Keava. It may be that this name derives from a form in final ON *-uðg* acc. 'bay'. I prefer, however, taking the first transcription as 'original', and the second as developing from this, as a rad. form, by analogy with names in *-{vaj}*. The early documented forms support this (1809 Calvay looks as if it is the result of willing a derivation from ON *kalf-øy* 'calf-island'). *C.* may be fr. an ON **Keif-øy* 'cross-set island' with an unattested adj. **keif* (stem-form), cf. NN *keiv* 'askew, crooked, wrong' etc., and which may occur in the Norwegian pnn. *Køyvingen* (Sandnes, Stemschaug 1980: 197) and *Keianes* (NG XVII, 123). There is an old graveyard on the island. Formerly of GA, now of the township of Linshader (U).
- 598 *Ceadraiseal* NB2137 TOL {'k^hɛðrɪ,ʃɑL} of a mountain-range with 4 peaks (collectively known as *Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal* q.v.). 1848 Ceadraishall 1934 Geadriseal 1974 Ceadraiseal. Probably ON *Ketilsfiáll* 'Ketill's mountain' with gen. of the man's name and nom./acc. of *fiáll* nt., with metathesis of *l*, becoming {r} after the dental. *Ketill* m. was such a common name that we could almost expect to find it attested in the nomenclature (see Kiddelsnes, Kjelsnes etc., GP 158-9).
- 599 *Ceadraiseal a' Chàrnain* NB2137 TOL {'k^hɛðrɪ,ʃɑLθ'xa:ŋan} *C.* (of the stone-pile); of a peak.
- 600 *Ceadraiseal a' Chùil* NB2137 TOL ='xu:l} *C.* (of the rear), of a peak.
- 601 *Ceadraiseal a' Ghàrraidh* NB2137 TOL ='ɣɑ:Rɪ} *C.* (of the dyke), of a peak. Alias *Ceadraiseal na Crìch*.
- 602 *Ceadraiseal na Crìch* NB2137 TOL {'k^hɛðrɪ,ʃɑLɲð'k^hði:ç} *C.* (of the boundary), of a peak. Alias *Ceadraiseal a' Ghàrraidh*.
- 603 *Ceadraiseal na h-Airigh* NB2137 TOL ='ha:ðɪ} *C.* (of the shieling), of a peak.
- 604 *Cealasaidh* NB1441 BERN {'k^hɑLθ,saj} 1549 (:1774 edn. Kealnsay 1961 edn. Keallasay) 1583 Kellasa 1680 Kialinsay 1695 Kialisay 1848 Cealasaidh 1932 idem 1974 Kealasang, of an island. MacKenzie (1932: 273) suggests 'Kellin's island' with an unattested persn. MacAulay (1972: 333) tentatively suggests ON *hjalls-oy*, i.e. *Hjallsøy*, with gen.sg. of *hiallr* m. and nom./acc. of *øy* f. 'island'. *Hiallr* MacAulay takes in its sense 'shed for drying fish', but the element is used in Norwegian pnn.

- with the meaning 'ledge, terrace' as well, e.g. Tjeltveid ON *Hiallþueit* (NG X, 323); cf. No. 605. This second meaning seems appropriate, although I have not visited the island. MacIver (1934: 31) has *Kiallasaigh*, deriving the first element fr. G. *ceall* f. 'cell, church'. With MacAulay, I favour an original ON element here, although we should be careful not to overlook the possibility of Norse creations containing Celtic *lww*.
- 605 *Na Ceallan* NB2042 CN {nð'k'^hαLðn} 1848 *Teallan* (§9.li) 1903 *Ceall-an*, na 1974 *Ceallan*; with pl. of **ceall* (probably masc.) 'ledge, terrace' fr. ON *hiall* acc. The road now runs along this.
- 606 *Na Ceallan Ard* NB1944 GEARR {nð,k'^hαLð'nɑ:ɔ̃} the upper ledges. 1848 *Téalán Ard* 1974 *Tealan Ard* (§9.li).
- 607 *Na Ceallan Iosal* NB1944 GEARR ={'niðsðL} the lower ledges.
+ *Ceann a' Ghàraodh* NB2232, see *Ceann a' Ghàrraidh*.
- 608 *Ceann a' Ghàrraidh* NB2232 CAL {,k'^hαNð'γɑ:Rɪ} the head (of the dyke). 1848 *-/a Ghàraidh* 1974 *-/a' Ghàraodh*.
- 609 *An Ceann A-muigh* NB2035 BRI {ð,ɪ̃^hαNð'mũj} the outer end of the village.
- 610 *Ceann A-muigh an Loch* NB1940 DUN {,k'^hαNð,mũjð'Lɔx} the outer end of the lake.
- 611 *An Ceann A-staigh* NB2447 SD {ð,ɪ̃^hαNð'støj} the inner end, of the village (nearest the shore).
- 612 *Ceann an Droma* NB1943 GEARR {,k'^hαNɲ'N̄r̄õmð} the head (of the ridge), with gen.sg. of *druim* m. EIr. *druim(m)*.
- 613 *Ceann an Tàib* NB2132 CAL ={'N^he:p(ð)} the head of the bay, with gen.sg. of *tòb* m., fr. ON *hōp* acc.m., cf. Norn *hoob*. Cf. No. 2377.
- 614 *Ceann Caol na Beinne* NB1843 BOR {,k'^hαN,k^hω.Lnð'p̄ɛN'ð} the narrow end (of the mountain).
- 615 *Ceann Caol Sgairdheiseal* NB2044 GEARR {,k'^hαN,k^hω.L'skøðø-ð,ʃαL} the narrow end of *S*.
+ *Ceann Hulavig* NB2230, see *Ceann Thùlabhaig*.
- 616 *Ceann Loch Shlodhaigh* NB2145 DAIL {,k'^hα(N),Lɔx'Lɔ-ɪ} the head (of the lake (of the place of sand)); with ?arch.obl. case (§7.4) of **slo dhach* *sloghach* 'sandy place', cf. Ir. (Don.) *sládh* m. 'soft, wet sand' (Dinneen 1947), ?fr. EIr. *slóg slúag* 'host, multitude' - for the semantic development, cf. *gredd* 'gravelly earth' also (Uist) a 'great number of small things' (Macdonald 1972: 146) fr. ON *griót* acc. 'stones', and *morgh(an)* 'grit, gravel' etc. fr. ON *morð* 'crowd, large

quantity, great amount' (see No. 462). Shortening of a long stressed vowel before hiatus is not uncommon.

617 *Ceann na Creige* NB2033 CAL {,k^hːˈɑːnˌnəˈk^hˌɛgˈɔ̃} the head of the crag. 1848 -/na Cràige.

+ *Ceann nam Muc* NB2035, see *Cnoc Chala Muc*.

618 *An Ceann Reamhar* NB2137 TOL {ðˌɾ̥ˈh̥ːˌɑːnˌr̥ˌɑːvˌɔ̃r} the thick or broad end - of a mountain range, with *reamhar* adj. EIr. *remor*. 1848 *Ceann Reamhar* 1975 *idem*.

619 *Ceann Thallabhat* NB2939 SD {,k^hːˈɑːnˌhɑːlˌðˌvɑːhˌt} the head of **Th*. With a ln. very probably from ON *Hall(a)uatn* 'slope-water' with stem-form or gen.pl. of *hallr* m. 'slope' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt.; equally, the loan might contain ON *hǫll* f. 'slope'.

620 *Ceann Thùlabhaig* NB2130 U = 'hu:ləˌvɪk' the head of **Th*. 1750 *Kenhulawick* 1813 *Kenlulawick* 1848 -/*Thùlabhig* 1934 *Kinhulavig* 1974 -/*Hulavig*. With a ln. from ON **Huglauík* 'bay of the hills' with gen.pl. of **hugl*, a word only attested in pnn. (e.g. *Huglo*, *Sandnes*, *Stemshaug* 1980: 163), cogn. with German *Hügel* m. 'hill' (also OE **hugl* 'hill', *Ekwall* 1936: 142-43), and nom./acc. of *uík* f. The bay likely to have borne this form is indeed surrounded by hills.

+ *Ceann Tiamister* NB1841, see *Sròin Thiamaistir*.

621 *Ceàrdach Chleite Dubha* NB2240 CARL {,k^hːˈɑːˌɕt̪ɔˌxˌxl̪eˈtˌðˌd̪uː-ə} the smithy of **Cleite Dubha* (the dark hills). With *ceàrdach* f. EIr. *cerdchae* (see *Oftedal* 1956: 137), and gen.pl. of *cleit* §7.5iv.

622 *Ceartaidh* NB1933 BERN {'k^hːˈɑːˌɕt̪aj} 1549 *Kirtay* 1583 {?} *Kirta* 1680 *Kiartay* 1750 *Kertay* 1807 I. *Kertay* 1832 *Kerta* 1848 *Eilean Cheartaidh* 1934 *Kiartaigh* 1974 *Eilean Kearstay*. A ln. no doubt fr. ON *Hiart-øy* 'deer-island' with stem-form of *hiqrtr* m. 'deer' and nom./acc. of *øy* f. In Norway, cf. *Hjorteland* ON *Hiqrtuland* with gen.sg. of *Hiarta* a river-name derived from *hiqrtr* (NG X, 366); and in Lewis, cf. NB3443 *Druim Kearstavat* (OS 1974) ON *Hiart(a)uatn*.

623 *Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal* NB2137 TOL {nˌðˌk^hːˈehiˌðˌˌɕeˌd̪r̪iˌˌsɑːl} the four Cs., of 4 peaks, see *Ceadraiseal a' Chàrnain* etc.; with the num.adj. *ceithir* EIr. *cethair*.

624 *An Cedsan* NB2547 SD {ðˌɾ̥ˈh̥ːˌɑːˌsɑːn} the place of the hollow, of part of the bed of *Loch Shiaboist*; with **ceds*, fr. ON *kiós* acc., + suffix §7.6i; cf. *Far. kjós* f. Is our location being referred to in *ulpagan cruaidhe Chedsain* (*Eilean Fraoich* 1982: 171)? Cf. the ln. *Keose*, on the east of Lewis: {kˌɔːs} (*Oftedal* 1954: 401).

625 *Ceum an Rathaid Mhòir* NB1841 DUN {,k^hːˈeːˌmˌðˌR̥ˌɑːˌd̪ˌˌvoːˌð} the path of

(i.e. to) the main road, with *ceum* m. EIr. *céim(m)*, and gen.sg. of *rathad* m. EIr. *roit*.

+ Choc Mhic Thomais NB2241, see *Cnoc Mhic Thòmais*.

626 *Cidhe* NB2035 BRI {'k^hi-i} the pier or quay, with *cidhe* m., fr. Eng. *quay*. Prob. an Eng. ln.

627 *An Cidhe* NB1942 BOR {ð'ĩ^hi-i} as above. Prob. an Eng. ln.

628 *Cidhe Shràimeanais* NB2132 CAL {,k^hi:rē:mð,nlʃ} the quay of *S*.

629 *Cirbhig* NB1941 CIR {'k^hlδl̥,vl̥k'} 1695 Kirvig 1718 Kiriwig 1726 Kerevig 1750 1789 1807 Keriwick 1848 Cirrabhig 1875 Kiriwig 1895 Cirrabhig 1932 idem 1934 Kirrivig 1973 Circ a Bhig 1974 Kirivick. Of the village and township. A ln. fr. ON *Kyruík* 'calm bay' with var. stem-form of the adj. *kyrr*, and nom./acc. of *uik* f. Cf. in Norway, Kjørvingen ON *Kyruík* (NG IX, 193).

630 *Ciste nam Bataichean* NB1839 DUN {,k^hlʃt'ʔnð'mā^htɪçðn} 'mā^htɔxðn} the pass of the sticks, with *ciste* f. 'chest' etc. EIr. *ciste* (AS *ciste*), and gen. pl. of *bata* m., ultimately from OFr. *batte*. The use of *ciste* in the nomenclature seems parallel or due to Norwegian usage of *kiste* ON *kista* f. (fr. AS *ciste*). 'pass, narrowing between two hills' (see NG V, 335).

+ Clach a' Bideach NB2546, 1848 Clach a Bideach.

631 *Clach a' Bhrithemh* NB2548 ST {,k^hlaxð'vði-u} the stone of the judge, with gen.sg. of *britheamh* m. EIr. *brithem*. A seat-shaped stone by *Cnoc a' Chrochaidh* q.v.

632 *Clach a' Pheacaich* NB1945 GEARR ={'fε^hkɪç} the stone of the sinner, with gen.sg. of *peacach* m. EIr. *pecthach* fr. *pec(c)ad* 'sin' (Lat. *peccatum*). A white dome-like stone.

633 *Clach an Linc* NB1942 BOR ={'L'ĩ^hg'k'} the stone of the link, with gen. of *linc* m., fr. Eng. *link*.

634 *Clach an Ròin* NB1942 CN ={'Rõ:N'} the stone of the seal, with gen.sg. of *ròn* m. EIr. *rón* (fr. AS *hrān*). A tidal rock.

635 *Clach an Sgàthain* NB1945 GEARR ={'ska:han} the stone of the mirror, with gen.sg. of *sgàthan* m. EIr. *scáthán*.

+ Clach an Strianaich NB2244, see *Clach an t-Srianaich*.

636 *Clach an Tuill* NB2748 BRA ={'N^hðiL'} the stone of the hole.

637 *Clach an Tursa* NB2042 CARL ={'N^huʃ} the stone (of the standing-stone), with gen.sg. of *tursa* m., fr. ON *þurs* acc.m. 'giant, troll'. There were 3 erect stones here in Martin's time (Martin 1934: 91), but only one still stands today.

- 638 *Clach an t-Seabhaig* NB1942 CN = 'N^hevæk'} the stone of the hawk, with gen.sg. of *seabhag* m. EIr. *sebac seboe* (fr. AS *heafoc*). 1848 = 1974 -/an t-Seabhaigh.
- + *Clach an t-Seabhaigh* NB1942, see *Clach an t-Seabhaig*.
- 639 *Clach an t-Srianaich* NB2244 DAIL = 'N^hrīðniç} the stone of the streak, with gen.sg. of *srianaich* m. 'streak' < 'bridle', cf. EIr. *srián* 'bridle' (Lat. *frenum*). A stone with quartzite veins through it.
- 640 *Clach Eilistean* NB1942 BOR {,k^hLax'elı,ft'ðn} the stone of *E., of a large stone on the shore. 1848 -/Eilistean 1934 {cf.} Rudha Eilastein. Certainly with an ON ln. in final *-stein* acc.m. 'rock, stone'. The first element is obscure unless we consider a Gaelic origin. EIr. *ail* 'rock, stone', or the derivative *ailén*, may have been borrowed by the Norse in the form of a name or as an appellative. For the phonetic development, cf. EIr. *áirge*, borrowed into ON as *ærgi*; the modern Gaelic *eilean* 'island' EIr. *ailén* may be due to ON influence. **Ail*-*stein* would then be tautologous, with a structure sg or (s)g 'the rock (of the rock)'. The element *ail* is otherwise absent from the nomenclature, although it is found on the mainland of Scotland, e.g. Ailbhinn (Elphin) and Ailneág in Banffshire (Watson 1926: 125, 449); for Ireland, see Hogan 1910. Cf. *Eileastar*.
- 641 *A' Chlach Ghlais* NB2446 BRA {ð,xLax'γLaf} §7.3i, the grey stone.
- 642 *Clach Iain Bhàin* NB1743 BOR {,k^hLax,ã'n'vã:N'} *Iain Bàn*'s stone. 1848 = 1974 --/Bhain.
- 643 *Clach Ma Ràin* NB1743 BOR {,k^hLax,ma'rã:N'} 'ra:L'} §9.li, the stone by (the cairn), with the prep. *ma mu* and acc.sg. of a fem. a-stem **ràn*, fr. ON *hraun* nt. 'heap of stones, stony hill' (cf. No. 274). MacKenzie (1903) derives *ròn* in Mullach na Ròn (L), and in Ròn Beag/Mòr (U), from ON *hraun* also. Trad: an old woman would stand on the stone shouting encouragement to the boatcrews as they came home (cf. the vb. *ràn* 'cry out, roar'); I have also heard 'stone of fortune' suggested in translation: ?based on *rath* m. 'fortune, prosperity'. MacIver (1934) gives *Clach-Mar-àinn*, along with an unconvincing explanation.
- 644 *Clach Mairead* NB1841 DUN {,k^hLax'mãĩðat} *Mairead*'s stone, with gen. of the woman's name, a syncopated form ultimately from Lat. *Margarita*, cf. Ir. *Máiréad*. 1848 Cloch Màirad 1974 =.
- 645 *Clach Mhòr Airigh Mhùscleit* NB2644 ST {,k^hLax'vo:r,a.ðı'vã:,skle^ht'} the large stone of A.
- 646 *Clach Mhòr Chleit na Cloich* NB2038 TOL {,k^hLax'vo:r,xle^htnð'k^hLa^lç} the large stone of C. Trad: a witch threw the stone from Suainaval

- (a hill in U).
- 647 *Clach Mhòr Thaorabotar* NB2644 ST {,k^hLax,vo.r'hw:rð,b^htðr} the large stone of *Th*.
- 648 *Clach na Caorra Mhiodhag* NB2746 BRA {,k^hLaxnð,k^hɔRð'βi-ak}, and presumably -'vi-ak} also, the stone of the bilberry; with gen.sg. of *caorra mhiodhag* f., a semantic cpd. consisting of *caorra* f. EIr. *cáer* and gen.pl. of *míodhag* f. 'intoxication, intoxicating one', fr. EIr. *míð* 'mead' + suffix. Cf. No. 2889; also NB4759 *Liana nan Caora Fiadhag* (OS 1848).
- 649 *Clach na Gruagaich* NB2447 SD {,k^hLaxnð'gruðgıç} the stone of the *gruagach*, with gen.sg. of *gruagach* f. (< EIr. *grúac* 'head of hair' + agent suffix), a mythical being, well attested in pnn., e.g. *Allt na Gruagaich*, Skye (Forbes 1923: 40). Trad: There is a mermaid (*sic*) sitting on the stone, and a youth passes by leading a cow and a calf. One beast resists so much that the boy barely manages to make any headway; the mermaid says: *Nam bitheadh lite biadh lurain, is mana bitheadh cruas arain, cha bhitheadh laogh neo bð gun chumail*. 'If porridge were a youth's food, and were it not hard bread, both cow and calf would be held.'
- 650 *Clach na Luinge* NB1945 GEARR {,k^hLaxnð'Lũjð} the stone of the ship, with gen.sg. of *long* f. EIr. *long* (Lat. (*navis*) *longa*). Trad: a ship was wrecked here and a Captain MacMaster buried above at *Beul na Geodha*. Alias *Sgeir na Luinge*.
- 651 *Clach na h-Ochanaich* NB ? DAIL {,k^hLaxnð'hoxaniç} the stone of the lamentation, with gen.sg. of *ochanach* f., cf. EIr. *uch* 'lamentation, sigh' and the dimin. *uchán*. Trad: the stone fell upon someone sleeping beneath it.
- 652 *Clach nan Con* NB2446 SD ='ɟ^hɔn} the stone of the dogs, with gen.pl. of *cù* m. Alias *Clach Tachdadh nan Con*.
- 653 *A' Chlach Sgoilte* NB2531 CAL {ð,xLax'skð^lL't'} the cloven stone, with the adj. *sgoilte*, part. of *sgóilt* 'cleave' etc., cf. EIr. *scoiltid* 'cleaves'.
- 654 *Clach Tachdadh nan Con* NB2446 SD {,k^hLax,t^ha^hkðnð'k^hɔN'} the stone of the choking of the dogs, with the vn. *tachdadh* m. EIr. *tachtad*, and rad. for gen.pl. of *cù* m. Seems to be a little known variant of *Clach nan Con*, possibly arising in explanation of the latter: i.e. dogs were put down by breaking their necks between two stones.
- 655 *Clach Thormoid* NB2144 DAIL {,k^hLax'haràmɔt'} the stone of *Tormod*. 1848

- 1974 idem.
- 656 *Clacha Briste* NB2141 CN {,k^hLaxð'p̥ðift'} the broken stones, with pl. of *clach* f. §7.5iv, and the adj. *briste*, part. of *bris* 'break', cf. EIr. *brisid* 'breaks'.
- 657 *Clacha Ruadh* NB2038 TOL = 'Ruðγ} the red stones.
- 658 *An Clachan* NB2547 ST {ð'ŋ^hLaxan} the stepping-stones, with *clachan* m., fr. *clach* f. + suffix *-an* §7.6i, cf. Ir. *clóchán* (Joyce 1913 I, 364).
- 659 *An Clachan* NB1937 TOL, as above; now a bridge.
- 660 *Clachan Cnoc Ladhraín* NB2346 SD {,k^hLaxðn,k^hrō'k'Lð:ran} the standing-stones of *C*. This stone circle is now documented (Ponting 1983).
- 661 *Clachan Iorach* NB2239 CN {,k^hLaxan'iðrɔx} the lower stepping-stones.
- 662 *Clachan na Ciste* NB2042 CN {,k^hLaxannð'k^h'ift'} the stepping-stones (of the pass or defile), with gen.sg. of *ciste* f.
- 663 *Na Clachan Sgoilte* NB2246 DAIL {nð,k^hLaxðn'skð^l'L't'} the cloven rocks, with pl. of *clach* f.; one rock has been split into 4 pieces.
- Cladach; once of a parish on the west side of Lewis. 1600+ 1630 Claddigh 1718 Claddach 1726 Cladach 1750 Clatach 1789 Cladoch. In 1718, the parish included the townships between TOL and Borve (in *Nis*) inclusive; by 1726 those between SD and Borve inclusive.
- 664 *Cladach Lèirigeadh* NB1840 DUN {,k^hLadɔx'le:ðl,g'ay} the shore of *L., of a stretch of coastline; with *cladach* m. EIr. idem. *L. probably represents ON *Leir-gið* 'clay-ravine' with stem-form of *leir* nt. (or *leirr* m.) 'clay' and nom./acc. of *gið* f.; or *Leiru-gið* with gen.sg. of *leira* f. (a derivative of *leirr*) 'clayey area'. See also *Druim Lèireabhat*.
- 665 *Cladach na Dùine* NB1841 DUN {,k^hLadɔxnð'd̥ũ:N'ð} the shore of *An Dùn*.
- 666 *An Cladh* NB1838 TOL {ð'ŋ^hLðγ} the graveyard, with *cladh* m. EIr. *clad clod* 'ditch, trench; dyke, rampart'.
- 667 *An Cladh* NB2145 DAIL, as above.
- 668 *Cladh nan Corrain* NB2134 CAL {,k^hLðγnð'ŋ^hɔRan} the graveyard of *Na Corrain*. + Cleibesgeir NB1841, see *Clìbisgeir*.
- 669 *A' Chleid* NB2344 DAIL {ð'xle:d'} without art. {k^hle:d'}, of a hillside. This name-form also occurs in Bayble on the east of Lewis, where it applies to a part of the village, although I am informed there is a slope in the vicinity (see MacIver 1934: 82). *Clèid* may ultimately be fr. EIr. *cliath* f. 'hurdle, phalanx, side' + a dental suffix (§7.6iv); cf. *cliathach* 'side (of body or hill)' with the suffix *-ach*, and Ir. *cliathán*, of similar meaning, with the suffix *-án*. Our form could represent an obl. case-form of earlier **cliad*, but why *{k^hliðd}

should arise where one would more likely expect *{k^hlið^ht} is difficult to say; there may be some limitation on the distribution of dentals following /ið/ or /e:/. See also *Loch Dubh Chlìd* and *A' Chliarach*.

- 670 *A' Chleit* NB2245DAIL {ð'xle^ht'} the hill, with *cleit* f., fr. ON *kletti* dat. or *klett* acc.; cf. Norn *klett*. Alias *Cleite Dhaile Beaga* doc.
- 671 *A' Chleit* NB2445 SD, as above; alias *Cleite Chèiligir* doc.
- 672 *A' Chleit* NB1942 BOR, as above. 1848 *Cleite Bhórraston*.
- 673 *Cleit a' Bhlàir* NB2039 DUN/TOL {,k^hle^ht'ð'vLa:ð} the hill (of the plain). F.etym: with *blàr* in the sense of 'battle'. Alias *Cleit a' Mhagha*.
- 674 *Cleit a Deas* NB2736 TOL ='d'εs} the southern hill. 1848 *Cleiteachean Béag* 1974 *Cleitichean Beag*.
- 675 *Cleit a' Mhagha* NB2039 DUN/TOL ='fðγð} 'vðγð} the hill (of the plain), with gen.sg. of *magh* m. EIr. *mag*. F.etym: specific has the sense 'slope, near summit, or steep slope' (this is merely descriptive of the hill in question), or 'weasel' (by confusion with ?*taghan* m.). Trad: when people were seen on this hill they were referred to as *luchd sgairt a' mhagha* 'the criers of the plain'. 1848 *Cleit a Mhéagha* 1903 *Cleit a Mhagha* 1934 idem 1974 *Cleit a' Mheagha*. Alias *Cleit a' Bhlàir*. *Magh* occurs in a few names in CR; also in Harris: Na Maghannan (MacLeod 1956: 71); in Argyllshire: *Magh Mòr* (Gillies 1906: 208).
- 676 *Cleit a Tuath* NB2637 TOL ='t^huð} the northern hill.
- 677 *Cleit Airigh Shèdras* NB2139 TOL {,k^hle^ht',aδl'hjɔ:rɪf} the hill (of *Sèdras*'s shieling).
- + *Cleit Alaghair* NB2040, see *Cleite Allghair*.
- 678 *Cleit Amhlaigh* NB2039 DUN {,k^hle^ht'~äLaj} the hill of *Amhlaigh*, with gen. of the man's name, EIr. *Am̃laiph*, fr. ON **Ǽleif* acc.m., with nasal *ǣ*. Classical ON *Áleifr Ólafr* nom. developed from Proto-Scand. **anulaiþaR*. The EIr. form was borrowed at a time when the nasal had begun to disappear, although it was detectable in the nasalisation of the preceding vowel, and before that vowel lengthened in compensation (Marstrander 1915: 61-62, Oftedal 1956: 92). The Norse name was borrowed into OE as *Anláf Onlaf*. 1848 -/Aulaidh 1974 idem.
- + *Cleit an Eoin* NB2538, 1848 idem.
- + *Cleit Aulaidh* NB2039, see *Cleit Amhlaigh*.
- + *Cleit Dalbeg* NB2445, see *A' Chleit*, *Cleite Dhaile Beaga*.

- + Cleit Dhubh NB2433, see *An Cleite Dubh*.
- + Cleit Eùdramair NB2042, see *Creag Eidearan*, also *Thaodramar*.
- + Cleit Fuharamair NB2437, see *Cleite Fotharamar*.
- + Cleit nan Creisag NB1942, see *Cnoc nan Cnàimhseag*.
- + Cleit nan Creisheag NB2245, see *Cleite nan Cnàimhseag*.
- + Cleit Ohal NB1941, see *Cleit Othal*.
- 679 *Cleit Othal* NB1941 CIR {,k^hle^ht^h'o-αL} the hill of *O. 1848 -/Óthail 1974 -/Ohal. With an ON ln. probably containing -*fiáll* acc.nt. or -*hól* acc.m. 'hill', but the first element remains obscure.
- 680 *Cleite Allghair* NB2040 DUN/CIR {,k^hle^ht^h'ð'jαLàγðð} §9.lv, the hill of *Allghar*, with gen. of the man's name, fr. ON *Hallgeir* acc.m.; cf. *Olghar* in Màiri Nighean Alasdair Ruaidh's *De Shliochd Olghair nan Lann* (Watson J., 1965: 66). ON *Hallgeirr* nom. is found in Lnb. and was common in the west of Norway (GP 113). Watson (1959: 305) equates *Olghar* with the *Olbhur* of classical poetry. The latter is possibly fr. ON *Qlvir* m. I do not find Henderson's (1910: 56) Norse form *Holger* attested; he may have modelled it upon ON *Hqłgi* m. found in trad.
- 681 *A' Chleite Bhuidhe* NB2239 CN {ð,xle^ht^h'ð'vu^ljð} the yellow hill. 1848 *Cleite Buidhe* 1974 idem.
- + *Cleite Buidhe* NB2239, see *A' Chleite Bhuidhe*.
- 682 *Cleite Chèiligir* NB2445 SD {,k^hle^ht^h'ð'çe:lɪ,g^g'ðð} the hill of *C. 1934 -/Cheiligeir. Alias *A' Chleit*.
- 683 *Cleite Dhaile Beaga* NB2245 DAIL {,k^hle^ht^h'ð'γalð'pøçð} the hill of DB. 1848 *Cleit Dhaile Beága* 1974 *Cleit Dalbeg*. Alias *A' Chleit*.
- + *Cleite Dubh* NB2240, 1848 idem; see No. 621.
- 684 *An Cleite Dubh* NB2433 CAL {ð,ɪ^hle^ht^h'ð'ɔ^h} the dark hill, with *cleite*, here masc. (as apparently in names at NB2530, 2128, 2327 OS1974). 1848 *Cleit Dhubh* 1974 idem.
- 685 *Cleite Fotharamar* NB2437 DUN {,k^hle^ht^h'ð'fɔ-ɔ,ramðr}ð} the hill of *F. 1848 -/Phutharamair 1903 (*Cleite*) *Puthur-hamarr* 1974 *Cleit Fuharamair*. With an ON ln. in final -*hamar* acc.m. 'rock, precipice'.
- 686 *Cleite Gleann Liosamar* NB2039 DUN {,k^hle^ht^h'ð'çlã'lɪ,samðr}ɔr} the hill of G.
- 687 *Cleite na Cloich* NB2038 TOL {,k^hle^ht^h'ð'nð^h'k^hLa^lç} the hill (of the stone). 1848 1974 =.
- 688 *Cleite na h-Eanaich* NB2038 TOL ={'hã^hç} the hill of the mat-grass, with gen. of *eanach* f. *nardus stricta* (Dwelly 1977), fr. EIr. *enech* 'moor, swamp, fen'; cf. *Tom-Eanaich* in L (MacIver 1934: 63, 'dried

- heather or grass'). 1848 1974 =.
- 689 *Cleite nan Cnàimhseag* NB2245 DAIL {,k^hle^ht'ðnð'^hř̃:řak} the hill of the bearberries, with gen.pl. of *cnàimhseag* f. *arctostaphylos uva-ursi*; cf. *Geodha-na-Cnuimhseag*, *Scalpaidh* (*Moireasdan* 1983: 226). Cameron (1900: 63) gives *gràinnseag*. Etymology uncertain. 1848 *Cleite nan Creisheag* 1974 *idem*.
- 690 *Cleite Rathailt* NB2443 SD {,k^hle^ht'ð'ra-aL't'} the hill of *R. 1848 -/*Ráthailt* 1974 =. With a ln. probably fr. ON *Rá-holti* dat. 'roe-hill' with stem-form of *rǫ* f. 'roe, female deer' and dat. of *holt* nt. 'hill, stony elevation'; *rǫ* possibly occurs in the name *Raerinish* (L) also, although Oftedal (1954: 398) cites only the meanings 'nook, corner; pole, rod; dividing-line'. Nearby *Loch nan Eilidean* (q.v.) lends support to a derivation from *rǫ* 'roe' however. Cf. No. 2272.
- 691 *Cleite Thanndramar* NB2437 DUN ={'hãũN, tramðr} the hill of *Th. 1848 *Fànndramir Mhor* 1974 *Fanndramair Mhór*. With an ON ln. most probably fr. *Tandrahamar* 'the crag of the fire' with gen.sg. of *tandri* m. 'fire' and acc. of *hamarr* m. *Tandri* occurs in a number of Norwegian pnn., e.g. *Tandrevold*, *Rogaland*, ON *Tandrauqlir* (NG X, 307). Alias *Cnoc Thanndramar* (see also *Cnuic Thanndramar*).
- 692 *Na Cleiteachan* NB 1839/40 DUN {nð'k^hle^ht'ðxðn} the hills, with pl. of *cleit(e)*. Of two hills.
- + *Cleitean Iorach* NB2239, 1848 *Cleitean Iaroch*; note *Gil na Clachan Ioraich*.
- 693 *Na Cleitichean* NB2736/2637 TOL {nð'k^hle^ht'ıçðn}, occasionally -t'ðxðn} the hills (*A' Chleit a Tuath/a Deas*). 1848 *Cleiteachean Béag* 1934 *Cleitichean Tholastaigh* 1974 *Cleitichean Beag*. Alias *Cleitichean Tholstaidh*.
- + *Cleitichean Beag* NB2736/2637, see *Na Cleitichean, Cleitichean Tholstaidh*.
- 694 *Cleitichean Tholstaidh* NB2736/2637 TOL {,k^hle^ht'ıçðn'hɔLð, staj} the hills of TOL. Alias *Na Cleitichean* *doc*.
- 695 *Cliacabhagh* NB2133 CAL {'k^hlia^hkð, vay} of an area, south of *Tòb na Fadhail*. 1848 *Clìacabhadh* 1934 *Kliacabha*. No doubt an ON ln. in final -uág acc. 'bay', but the initial part of the name remains obscure. F.etym: *glac a' bhàigh* 'the hollow of the bay'.
- 696 *A' Chliarach* NB2539 SD {ð'xliðrɔx} the place of the slope, with *cliarach* f., fr. EIr. *clíath* 'hurdle, side' etc. + suffices (§7.6iii & vi). Cf. *clèid* f., No. 669.
- 697 *Cliasam Creag* NB2040 CIR {'k^hliasðm, k^hðeg} of a hill. 1848 = 1934 *Cliason* (*Creag*) 1974 =. The name may be a Gaelic creation structured

- (s)g, and the absence of lenition in the second element could be seen to be due to the influence of Norse upon Gaelic morphology. On the other hand, there is little to prevent us interpreting our name as an ON ln., with a Celtic lw. as generic; here, the question of lenition does not arise. **Cliasam*(-) probably contains ON **kleifs*, gen. of **kleif* (as in *Cliasgro* etc.) 'hillside, usually with a path leading up or across it'. Medial -{ðm}- likely represents ON *holm* or *holma* acc.m. 'knoll or hill (usually by wet or marshy land)'. Both ON **Kleifsholm* and **Kleifsholmcreag* seem plausible. It seems probable that the names {'kr'eg'ðstrðm} (Oftedal 1980: 188) and Allt Mille Crag NB2844 (OS 1974) provide supporting evidence for supposing that G. *creag* was in fact borrowed by the Norse.
- 698 *Cliasgro* NB3328 ACH {'k^hliɑ,skro} of an area. 1934 Clisgro. See No. 130.
- 699 *Cliasproc* NB2546 SD {'k^hliɑ,sprɔ^hk} of an area. 1934 Clisparachd. A ln. fr. ON **Kleifsbrokku* 'the slope (of the slope with a track running up it)' with gen.sg. of **kleif* nt. (see No. 130) and obl. case of **brokka* f., var. of *brekka* f. 'slope (especially one between a lower and higher plain)'. A modern form *brokke* is still in use in parts of west and south-west Norway. ON **brokka*, rather than *brekka*, seems to have been the common, if not only, form in use in Lewis: cf. NB5362 Adabrock, NB4762 Dunasbroc (OS 1974).
- 700 A' *Chliath* NB1842 BOR {ð'xlið} of a slope, with *cliath* f. EIr. *clíath*. The modern senses of *cliath* are 'hurdle; harrows'. There was a dyke between *Laimiseadar* and this area (both under cultivation at one time) and it is possible a hurdle was in this dyke. However, the topography of the area suggests the name originally had the sense 'slope'; cf. the senses 'side, phalanx' of EIr. *clíath*. F.etym: 'the harrows'. Cf. A' *Chlèid*, A' *Chliarach*.
- 701 *Clìbisgeir* NB1841 DUN {'k^hli:βl,sk'ðð}, once -sk'ðð} of a skerry. Most likely fr. ON **Klýpusker* 'the skerry of the cleft' with gen.sg. of **klýpa* f., cf. BM *klype* 'clip, pinch; cleft, ravine' derived from the ON vb. *klýpa* 'pinch'; and nom./acc. of *sker* nt. Low-tide reveals a deep cleft between skerry and shore. 1848 Clèibesgeir 1974 Cleibesgeir. Watson's (1976: 271) derivation fr. ON *kleppr* m. 'lump' cannot be correct. Alias *Eilean Chlìbisgeir*.
- 702 *Cliosgro* NB1942 BOR {'k^hli,skro}, occ. {'k^hli:sk^ðro} of an area. Fr. ON *Klifsgróf* 'the stream of the steep rocky ascent' with gen.sg. of *klif* nt. 'steep, rocky ascent (especially with path)' and nom./acc. of

gróff. In Norway, cf. Klyvet, Eidfjord, ON *Klifit* (Helleland 1982: 137).

- 703 *An Clobhsa* NB1942 BOR {ð'ɲ^h Lɔus} the close, probably a ln.;fr. Scots *close*. Now of an area at the back of the ruined buildings by the quay.
- 704 *Cluais na Creige* NB2232 CAL {,k Luðfnð'k^h ðeg'} the corner (of the crag), with *cluais* f., fr. an obl. case of *cluas* 'ear' EIr. *cluas*.
- 705 *Cnap* NB1643 BOR {k^h rã^h p} the knob, with *enap* m., fr. ON *knapp* acc.m.; cf. Norn *knab*.
- 706 *An Cnap* NB2049 BRA {ð'ɲ^h rã^h p}, as above. Alias *Cnap Rudhalair*.
- 706 *Cnap an Stiogha* NB2145 DAIL {,k^h rã^h pð'st'ɪγð} the crag (of the cliff-path), with gen.sg. of *stiogha* m., fr. ON *stiga* acc.m. 'ladder; path up steep hill'; cf. Norn *stiggy* (but Far. *stíggjur* fr. ON *stígr* m., of similar meaning).
- 708 *Cnap Bealach nam Buaim* NB2743 ST {,k^h rã^h p, bɟaLɔxnð'müžm} the crag of B.
- 709 *Cnap Geodh' a' Mhaide* NB1844 BOR {,k^h rã^h p, g'ɔ-ð'vãð'ð} the knob of G., of a marine stack. 1848 *Staca Geodh' a' Mhaide*.
- 710 *Cnap Liath* NB2749 BRA {,k^h rã^h p'L'ið} the grey knob.
- 711 *Cnap Liath Chailigeadh* NB2547 ST {,k^h rã^h p, L'ið'xali, g'ay} the grey knob of C.
- 712 *Cnap nan Cnàmh* NB2244 DAIL {,k^h rã^h pnð'ɲ^h rã:v} the clump of the bones, area of broken stones and rocks at base of cliff; with gen.pl. of *cnàmh* m., which may be used figuratively here for rocks.
- 713 *An Cnap Riabhach* NB1944 GEARR {ð, ɲ^h rã^h p'Riðvɔx} the tawny knob.
- 714 *Cnap Rudhaileir* NB2649 BRA {,k^h rã^h pð'ru-u, lar}ð} the knob of *R., of a rocky promontory. *R. seems to contain ON *hrúgu* gen. of *hrúga* f. 'heap, lump' (see No. 61); and ON *-hlíðir*, pl. of *hlíð* 'slope, hillside' (cf. Nos. 850 and 1075).
- 715 *An Cnoc* NB2042 CN {ð'ɲ^h rɔ^h k} the hill, of the village and township, with *cnoc* m. EIr. *cnoc*. 1583 Knock, Knock illé (see §1.7i) 1832 Knock 1848 Cnoc Charlobhaidh 1875 Knock 1974 Knock Carloway. The hill in question may well be the one now called *Cnoc nan Taighean*.
- 716 *An Cnoc* NB2036 BRI, as above.
- 717 *Cnoc a' Bhealaich Ghuirm* NB2038 TOL {,k^h rɔ^h kð, vɟaLɪç'γwððm} the hill of *Am Bealach Gorm*.
- 718 *Cnoc a' Bhodaich* NB2648 BRA {,k^h rɔ^h kð'vɔðɪç} the hill of the old man, with gen.sg. of *bodach* m. EIr. *botach*. *Bodach* may reflect the shape of the feature, cf. *Sgeir a' Bhodaich*, or have referred to a person, cf. *Cnoc Fear an Taighe*; the sense 'spectre' is also possible. Alias

Creag a' Bhodaich.

+ Cnoc a' Bhoineid NB2038, see *Cnoc a' Bhoineid*.

719 *Cnoc a' Bhoineid* NB2038 TOL = 'võræt'} the hill of the bonnet, re. shape. 1848 -/a' Bhoineid 1974 idem.

720 *Cnoc a' Bhuailaidh* NB1841 DUN = 'vuðL^h} the hill of threshing, with gen.sg. of *bualadh* m. EIr. *búalad*. Trad: where grass and corn were dried.

+ Cnoc a' Chaisteil NB2142, see *Cnoc Chaidhsteil*.

721 *Cnoc a' Chapuill* NB2432 CAL = 'xa^hp^hL'} the hill of the horse. 1848 -/a' Chapuill 1974 idem.

+ Cnoc a' Chapuill NB2432, see *Cnoc a' Chapuill*.

722 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* NB2137 TOL = 'xɑ:ŋan} the hill (of the rocky hill).

723 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* NB1839 DUN, as above; the specific may indicate 'stone-pile' or 'rocky place' here. 1848 = 1974 -/a' Charnain.

724 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* NB2748 BRA, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/a' Charnain.

725 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* NB1943 CN, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/a' Charnain.

726 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* NB1742 BOR, as above. 1974 -/a' Charnain.

727 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain* NB2144 DAIL, as above; of a stone-pile.

+ Cnoc a' Charnain NB1939, 1848 Cnoc a' Chàrnain.

728 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain Bheag* NB2233 CAL {,k^hrō^hkð,xɑ.ŋan'veg} lesser *C*. 1848 -/a' Charnain Bhig 1974 -/a' Charnain Bhig.

+ Cnoc a' Charnain Bhig NB2233, see *Cnoc a' Chàrnain Bheag*.

729 *Cnoc a' Chàrnain Mhòr* NB2233 CAL = 'vo:r} greater *C*. 1848 -/a' Chàrnain Mhoir 1974 -/a' Charnain Mhóir.

+ Cnoc a' Charnain Mhóir NB2233, see *Cnoc a' Chàrnain Mhòr*.

730 *Cnoc a' Choilich* NB2142 CARL = 'xaltç} the hill of the cockerel; with gen.sg. of *coileach* m. EIr. *cailech*. 1848 -/a' Choilich 1974 -/a' Choillich.

+ Cnoc a' Choillich NB2142, see *Cnoc a' Choilich*.

731 *Cnoc a' Choin* NB2144 DAIL = 'xõN'} the hill of the dog. 1848 -/a' Choin 1974 =.

732 *Cnoc a' Chotain* NB2143 CARL = 'xɔ^htan} the hill (of the fold).

733 *Cnoc a' Chotain* NB2041 CIR, as above.

734 *Cnoc a' Chotain* NB1843 BOR, as above.

735 *Cnoc a' Chotain* NB1938 TOL, as above. Alias *Cnoc a' Chotain a Tuath*, *Cnoc a' Chotain a Deas*.

736 *Cnoc a' Chotain a Deas* NB1938 TOL {,k^hrō^hkð,xɔ^htanð'd'es} southern *C*. Alias *Cnoc a' Chotain*.

737 *Cnoc a' Chotain a Tuath* NB1938 TOL = 'tũð^h} northern *C*. Alias *Cnoc a' Chotain*.

- + Cnoc a' Chreagain NB2042, 1848 Cnoc a Chreagain.
- 738 *Cnoc a' Chrochaidh* NB2548 ST = 'xrɔxɪ} the hill of the hanging, with gen.sg. of *crochadh* m. EIr. *crochad* (fr. *croch* < Lat. *crux* 'cross, gallows'). Alias *Cnoc na Croich*.
- 739 *Cnoc a' Chromaidh* NB2137 TOL = 'xrɔ̃mɪ} the hill of the stooping, or inclination, with gen.sg. of *cromadh* m. EIr. *crommad*. Cf. the phrase *tha e cromadh* 'he's coming down, descending' (e.g. the stairs)'.
+ Cnoc a' Fhradhairc NB2039, see *Cnoc an Fhradhairc*.
+ Cnoc a' Fhraoich NB2336, see *Cnoc an Fhraoich*.
+ Cnoc a' Gèarraidh NB2139, 1848 Cnoc a Ghearraidh. See *Gèarraidh Fionnacleit*.
- 740 *Cnoc a' Ghàrraidh* NB2137 TOL = 'γa:Rɪ} the hill (of the dyke).
+ Cnoc a' Loch Shalaich NB2237, 1848 Cnoc a Loch Shallaich.
- 741 *Cnoc a' Mhàs Riabhaich* NB1943 BOR {,k^h rō^h kə,vã.s'riəvɪç} the hill of *Am Màs Riabhach*.
- 742 *Cnoc a' Mhèirlich* NB1940 DUN {,k^h rō^h kə'vja:lɪç} the hill of the thief. 1848 -/a Mheirlich 1974 =.
+ Cnoc a' Mhill NB2132, 1848 Cnoc a Mhill. See *Am Meall*.
- 743 *Cnoc a' Mhoil Mhdir* NB1838 TOL {,k^h rō^h kə,vɔ̃l'vo:δ} the hill of *Am Mol Mòr*.
- 744 *Cnoc a' Mhuilt* NB2041 CN {,k^h rō^h kə'vũL't'} the hillock of the wether, with gen.sg. of *mult* m. EIr. *molt*.
- 745 *Cnoc a' Phìobaire* NB2042 CN = 'fi:bəðδ} the knoll of the piper, with gen.sg. of *pìobaire* m., fr. EIr. *pípa* (ultimately fr. Lat. *pípa*) + agent suffix; see Thurneysen 1975 §269(a). 1848 -/a Phìobaire 1974 =.
+ Cnoc a' Phrionnsa NB2035, see *Cnoc Beinn Phrionnsa*.
- 746 *Cnoc a' Phuirnd* NB2346 SD = 'fðĩn't'} the hill (of the pound), with gen.sg. of *puirnd* m., fr. Scots *pund*.
- 747 *Cnoc a' Phuirrt* NB1841 DUN = 'fustɿ} the hill (of the landing-place), with gen.sg. of *port* m. EIr. *port* (fr. Lat. *portus*). 1848 1974 =.
- 748 *Cnoc a' Phuirrt* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- 749 *Cnoc a' Phuirrt* NB1842 BOR, as above.
+ Cnoc a' Radhairc NB2336, see *Cnoc an Fhradhairc*.
- 750 *Cnoc Acha' nan Geadh* NB1937 TOL {,k^h rō^h k,axəndə'ɿ'iaɿ} the hillock of A.
- 751 *Cnoc Ailein* NB1942 CN {,k^h rō^h k'alan} *Ailean's* hillock; 1848 -/Ailean.
- 752 *Cnoc Airigh Aonghais 'ic Fhionnlaidh* NB2744 BRA {,k^h rō^h k,a.δɪ,ũnũs 'k'ũũLaj} the hillock (of the shieling of *Aonghas Mac Fhionnlaidh*).

- 753 *Cnoc Airigh Barabail* NB1937 TOL {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δi'̄parab̄ðl} the hillock (of the shieling of *Barabail*), with gen. of the woman's name (anglicised as *Annabel*), of uncertain origin.
- 754 *Cnoc Airigh Dhòmhnail* NB1941 CIR ='γō-ιL'} the hill (of *Dòmhnall*'s shieling).
- 755 *Cnoc Airigh Dhuibhein* NB1941 CIR ='γυ^ljan} the hill (of the shieling (of ?the dark place)), with gen.sg. of *duibhean* m., see No. 36; alternatively *duibhean* may be a nickname.
- 756 *Cnoc Airigh Eòghainn* NB2447 SD ='jo.-ιN'} the hill (of the shieling of *Eòghann*), with gen. of the man's name, EIr. *Eogan*.
+ *Cnoc Airigh Glais* NB2237, 1848 *Cnoc Airidh Glais*.
- 757 *Cnoc Airigh 'ic a' Phearsain* NB2136 BRI {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δik'ð'fε̄san} the hill (of the shieling of *Mac a' Phearsain*), with gen. of the sept-name (MacPherson), with gen.sg. of *pearsan* m. 'parson', fr. ME *persone* (ultimately fr. Lat. *persōna*).
- 758 *Cnoc Airigh Màiri* NB2137 TOL {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δi'mā:δi} the knoll (of the shieling of *Màiri*); with gen. of the woman's name, fr. Eng. *Mary*.
+ *Cnoc Airigh Mhic Crishnidh* NB2445, see *Cnoc Airigh Mhic Risnidh*.
- 759 *Cnoc Airigh Mhic Risnidh* NB2445 SD {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δi,v^hkδi'fN'ι} the hill of A. 1848 -/Airidh Mhic Críshnidh 1934 ---/Rissaidh 1974 ---/Crishnidh.
- 760 *Cnoc Airigh Nèill* NB2236 BRI {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δi'nē:L'} the hill (of the shieling of *Niall*).
- 761 *Cnoc Airigh Nèill Bhiorach* NB2236 BRI {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δi,nē.L''vιrɔx} pointed A.
- 762 *Cnoc Airigh Seònaid* NB2137 TOL {_k^hrō^h_k,a.δi'fō:næ't'} the hill of A.
- 763 *Cnoc Amar Sìne* NB2237 TOL {_k^hrō^h_k,ãmð'ǣĩ:nð} the hillock of A.
- 764 *Cnoc an Allt* NB2447 SD ='Naułt} the hill (of the rocky knoll), with gen.sg. of *allt* m., fr. ON *holt* nt. 'knoll, hill (often stony and uneven)'. 1848 -/nan Allt 1974 idem (assuming the specific to be *allt* m. 'stream').
- 765 *Cnoc an Allt* NB2145 DAIL, as above. 1848 1974 *Cnoc an Uillt* (because of the sing. art., inflecting the noun as though it were gen.sg. of *allt* m. 'stream').
- 766 *Cnoc an Amhrain* NB1938 TOL {_k^hrō^h_kð'Nãũran} the knoll of the song, with gen.sg. of *amhran* (var. *òran*) m. EIr. *amrán*. Alias *Cnoc nan Amhran*.
- 767 *Cnoc an Aoil* NB2546 SD ='Nɔ:l} the knoll of the lime, with gen.sg. of *aol* m. EIr. *áel*. 1848 1974 =.
- 768 *Cnoc an Aoil* NB2647 ST, as above. 1848 = 1934 *Tom an eùl* 1974 =. Alias

Tom an Aoil.

- 769 *Cnoc an Aoil* NB1842 BOR, as above. 1848 Creag an Aoil.
- 770 *Cnoc an Arbh* NB1840 DUN ={'Naràv} the knoll of the corn, with gen.sg. of *arbhar* m. EIr. *arbar*. Cf. Knockinarrow, Dumfries and Galloway (Watson 1924: 27), and Ardnarff, Lochalsh (Watson 1976: 184). For the case-forms of this word, see Thurneysen 1975 §333,2. A gen. {'aràvðð} also occurs, modelled upon the rad.sg. form. Trad: used to dry grass here.
- 771 *Cnoc an Arbh* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
+ *Cnoc an Daimh* NB2240, 1848 *Cnoc an Daimh*.
- 772 *Cnoc an Deoghail* NB2144 DAIL ={'N'o-ðl} the knoll of the sucking, with gen.sg. of *deoghal* m., cf. EIr. *deól*. 1974 *Cnoc an Deothail*.
+ *Cnoc an Deothail* NB2144, see *Cnoc an Deoghail*.
- 773 *Cnoc an Eðin* NB2136 BRI ={'N'õ:N'} the hillock of the bird, with gen. sg. of *eun* m. EIr. *én*.
- 774 *Cnoc an Eðin* NB2332 CAL, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 775 *Cnoc an Eðin* NB1944 GEARR, as above. 1848 1974 -/an Eoin.
+ *Cnoc an Eoin* NB2141.
- 776 *Cnoc an Fhèidh* NB2143 CARL ={'N'e:j} the knoll of the deer, with gen.sg. of *fiadh* m. 1848 =.1974 -/an Fheidh.
- 777 *Cnoc an Fhèidh* NB1843 BOR, as above. 1974 -/an Fheidh'.
- 778 *Cnoc an Fhèidh* NB2137 TOL, as above.
- 779 *Cnoc an Fhèidh* NB2547 SD ={'N'o:ð} the knoll of the grass.
- 780 *Cnoc an Fhithich* NB2445 SD ={'N'i-ic} the hillock of the raven.
- 781 *Cnoc an Fhradhairc* NB2039 DUN ={'rð-ððk'} the hill of the prospect, with gen.sg. of *fradharc* m. EIr. *rodarc radarc*. 1848 -/a Fhradhairc 1974 -/a' Fhradhairc.
- 782 *Cnoc an Fhradhairc* NB2336 DUN, as above. 1848 -/a Radhairc 1974 -/a' Radhairc.
- 783 *Cnoc an Fhuarain* NB2447 SD ={'Nuðran} the hillock of the spring, with gen.sg. of *fuaran* m., fr. EIr. *úar fúar* adj. 'cold, cool' (as subst. 'cold thing') + suffix §7.6i. 1848 1974 =.
- 784 *Cnoc an Fhuarain* NB2139 CIR, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 785 *Cnoc an Fhuarain* NB1937 TOL, as above.
- 786 *Cnoc an Iasanaich* NB1941 CIR ={'N'iðsðniç} the hill of ?. 1848 -/an Iàsanaich 1974 Cnocan Iasanaich.
- 787 *Cnoc an Ime* NB2141 CARL ={'N'ĩmð} the hillock of the butter, with gen. of *ĩm* m. EIr. *imm imb*. 1848 -/an Imé 1974 =. Cf. Loch Glac-an-Ime, Scalpay (Forbes 1923: 313).

- + Cnoc an Leathaid NB1944, see *Cnoc nan Leathad*.
- 788 *Cnoc an Lighich* NB1941 CIR = 'l̥i-iç} the knoll of the doctor, with gen. sg. of *lighiche* m., ultimately fr. a disyllabic form of EIr. *l̥iaig*.
- 789 *Cnoc an Loch* NB1841 DUN = Lɔx} the hill (of the lake).
- 790 *Cnoc an Loch* NB1843 BOR, as above. 1848 -/a Loch 1974 =.
- 791 *Cnoc an Ois* NB2041 CN = 'Nɔ:f} the hillock (of the outlet), with gen. sg. of *òs* m. 1848 -/an Ois 1974 =. Alias *Cnoc an Ois Loch Fàsgrò*.
- 792 *Cnoc an Ois* NB1838 DUN, as above, the hillock of *An t-Os*. 1848 = 1974 Cnocan Ois.
- 793 *Cnoc an Ois* NB2140 CN, as above, the hillock (of the outlet). Alias *Cnoc an Ois Loch Bhorghastar* doc.
- 794 *Cnoc an Ois* NB2245 DAIL, as above. 1848 -/an Ois 1974 =.
- + Cnoc an Ois NB2239, see *Cnoc an Ois Chrògabhat*.
- + Cnoc an Ois Borasdale NB2140, see *Cnoc an Ois (Loch Bhorghastar)*.
- 795 *Cnoc an Ois Chrògabhat* NB2239 CN {,k^h r̥o^h kə, Nɔ.f'xɔ:çə, va^h t} the hillock of the outlet of *C*. 1848 -/an Ois 1974 -/an Ois.
- 796 *Cnoc an Ois Loch Bhorghastar* NB2140 CN {,k^h r̥o^h kə, Nɔ.f, Lɔx'vɔrçə, stəɾ} the hillock of the outlet of *L*. 1848 -/an Ois Borghastail 1974 Cnocan Ois Borasdale.
- 797 *Cnoc an Ois Loch Fàsgrò* NB2041 CN = 'fa:sk^ə r̥o} the hillock of the outlet of *L*. Alias *Cnoc an Ois* doc.
- + Cnoc an Rathaid NB3633, 1848 Cnoc an Raithaid.
- 798 *Cnoc an Rathaid* NB2645 ST {,k^h r̥o^h kə 'Rɔ:ç'} the hill of the road.
- 799 *Cnoc an Sgail* NB1942 CN = 'skal} the knoll of the ?echo, with gen.sg. of *sgail* m.; I do not know whether 'echo' is applicable or not here.
- 800 *Cnoc an Stiogha* NB1842 BOR = 'st'ɪçə} the hill (of the path).
- 801 *Cnoc an Taghain* NB2139 CIR = 'N^h çan} the hillock of the pine martin, with gen.sg. of *taghan* m. EIr. *togán*.
- 802 *Cnoc an Taigh* NB1840 DUN = 'N^h ε^h} the hill of the house, with gen.sg. of *taigh* m. EIr. *teg tech*. 1848 -/an Tighe.
- 803 *Cnoc an Taigh Stòir* NB1941 DUN {,k^h r̥o^h kə, N^h çj'stɔ:ç} the knoll (of the store-house, with gen.sg. of *stòr* m., fr. Eng. *store*).
- 804 *Cnoc an Talmhainn Fhuair* NB1938 TOL {,k^h r̥o^h kə, N^h əLàvɪ 'N'uəç} the hill (of the cold land) , with gen.sg. of *talamh* m. *An Talamh Fuar* is the Gaelic name for the district of Keewatin in Canada, west of Hudson Bay, but no trad. states whether there is any connection here.
- 805 *Cnoc an Tearbaidh* NB2237 TOL {,k^h r̥o^h kə 'N^h arəbɪ} the hillock of the separation, with gen.sg. of *tearbaidh* m. EIr. *terbadh*.
- 806 *Cnoc an Teine* NB2544 ST = 'N^h çnə} the hillock of the fire, with gen.sg. of *teine* m. EIr. *teine*. 1848 1974 =.
- 807 *Cnoc an Tionail* NB1938 TOL = 'N^h çnal} the hillock of the gathering,

- with gen.sg. of *tional* m. EIr. *tínól*; §11.11. In Ireland, cf. *Cnoc-a'-tionóil* (Joyce 1913 I, 207); in Inverness, *Cnoc an Tionail* (Watson 1930: 17).
- 808 *Cnoc an Tiongalairidh* NB1937 TOL = 'N^h $\{i\}k\theta, La\delta\}$, $\{Lar\}$ §7.2iii, the hillock of *T. With a ln. very probable from fr. ON *þinguǫll-ærgi* 'the milking-place of the *þinguǫllr* (the parliament or assembly-site)' with stem-form of *þing* nt. 'parliament, assembly, court' and of *uǫllr* m. 'field, meadow', and obl. case of *ærgi* nt. 'milking-place; (later) shieling', a loan fr. EIr. *áirge* (as in the pn. *Ásgrímsærgin*, of the Orkneyinga Saga). ON *þinguǫll* acc. has yielded Dingwall in Ross-shire, as well as Tinwald in Dumfriesshire.
- 809 *Cnoc an Tursa* NB2132 CAL = 'N^h $\{u\}s(\theta)\}$ the hill (of the standing-stone), with gen.sg. of *tursa* m. This is the hill upon which the well-known Callanish Stones stand. 1848 -/an *Túr*sa 1974 -/an *Túr*sa.
- 810 *Cnoc an Uain* NB2541 SD = 'N^h $\{u\}n\}$ the hill of the lamb. 1848 1974 =.
+ *Cnoc an Uillt* NB2145, see *Cnoc an Allt*.
- 811 *Cnoc an Uillt* NB2237 CIR = 'N^h $\{iL\}'t\}$ the hill (of the stream), with gen.sg. of *allt* m. 1848 1974 =.
- 812 *Cnoc an Urrdhaig* NB2546 SD = 'NuR^h $\{u\}r\}$ §7.2iii, the hill (of the place of the boulders); for *urrdhag*, see *An Urrdhag*.
+ *Cnoc an t-Seabhaig* NB2139, 1838 *Cnoc an t Seabhaig*.
+ *Cnoc an t-Seabhaig* NB2039, see *Cnoc an Taghain*.
- 813 *Cnoc an t-Seuthair* NB2346 SD = 'N^h $\{e-\theta r\}$ the hill of the chair, of rock formation; with gen.sg. of *seuthar* m., fr. Eng. *chair*.
+ *Cnoc an t-Sneachd* NB1938, see *Cnoc Creag an t-Sneachd*, *Creag an t-Sneachd*.
- 814 *Cnoc an t-Sradain* NB1937 TOL = 'N^h $\{ra\}dan\}$ the knoll of the ?; with gen. sg. of *sradan* m., ?masc.dimin.of *srad* f. 'spark' (cf. the fem.dimin. *sradag* 'spark; nettle'). Alias *C. na Tràigh*, *C. Tràigh Shanndaig*.
- 815 *Cnoc Aonghais* NB2437 TOL/BRI $\{,k^h r\tilde{o}^h k^h \{o\tilde{o}-\theta f\}$ *Aonghas*' hill.
- 816 *Cnoc Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL = 'a^h $\{tr\}_1, g^h i\}$ the hill of A. Alias *Atraigidh*.
- 817 *Cnoc Barbara* NB2141 CN = 'ba^h $\{ra\}$ *Barbara*'s knoll, with gen. of the woman's name, fr. Eng. *Barbara*.
+ *Cnoc Beag an Eoin* NB2141, see *Cnoc Biorach an Eòin*.
- 818 *Cnoc Beag an Lomaidh* NB1941 CIR $\{,k^h r\tilde{o}^h k^h \{b\}e\theta\}'L\tilde{o}m\}$ the lesser (hill of the shearing), with gen.sg. of *lomadh* m. EIr. *lommad*.
- 819 *Cnoc Beag Bhineabhair* NB2547 SD $\{,k^h r\tilde{o}^h k^h \{b\}o\theta'v\tilde{i}n\theta, v\theta\delta\}$ the lesser (hill of *Bh.). 1848 --/Bhínabhair. With a ln. fr. ON *Uin-uqrðu* 'meadow-cairn' with stem-form of *uin* f. 'meadow' and obl. case of *uarða* f. Cf. **Bhineasgro*.
+ *Cnoc Beag Geodha na Muic* NB2245, 1848 *Cnoc Béag Geodha na Muic*.
+ *Cnoc Beag nan Naomh* NB2043, see *Cnoc Beag Gille Naomh*.
- 820 *Cnoc Beag Gharsan* NB2448 SD = 'ga^h $\{s\}n\}$ the little hill of G.

- 821 *Cnoc Beag Gille Naomh* NB2043 GEARR/CARL {,k^h rō^h k'beg, g' ɪL'ə'Nð:v} §9.lix, the lesser (hill of *Gille nan Naomh*); with the persn. 'the servant of the saints' with gen.pl. of *naomh* m. EIr. *noib*. 1848 -/Béag Gille nan Naomh 1974 ---/nan Naomh.
- 822 *Cnoc Beag Leathainn* NB2645 ST {,k^h rō^h k'bəg'L'ehɪN'} the lesser (broad hill).
- 823 *Cnoc Beag na h-Aibhne* NB2140 CN {,k^h rō^h k'bəgnə'hāĩnə} the lesser (hill of the river). 1848 -/Béag na h-Aimhne 1974 =.
- 824 *Cnoc Beag nan Eilidean* NB2444 SD ='N'elɪd'ən} the lesser (hill of the hinds), with gen.pl. of *eilid* f. EIr. *elit ailit*. 1848 1974 =.
- 825 *An Cnoc Beárnach* NB2142 CN{ə,ɲ^h rō^h k'bjɑ:ɲɔx} the cleft hillock.
- 826 *Cnoc Beinn Phrinnse* NB2035 BRI {,k^h rō^h k,bēN''vðĩ:f} the hill (of the hill of the prince), with gen.sg. (§7.4) of EIr. *prinnsa*, fr. ME *prynce* (or AN). 1848 -/a Phríonnsa 1934 --/Veesh 1974 -/a' Phríonnsa. Alias *Cnocan Phrinnse*.
- 827 *Cnoc Beul Thðlaigea* NB2346 SD {,k^h rō^h k,bjɑL'hɔ:Lɪ,g'a} the hill (of the opening (of *Th.)). 1848 --/Thðlaige.
- 828 *Cnoc Bhileabhair* NB2232 CAL {,k^h rō^h k'vɪlə,vəð} the hill of *Bh. The specific here could be for -*{'vĩnə,vəð} (§9.li) fr. ON *Uin-uqrðu* (cf. No. 819); or it may contain *uil* nt./fem. or *uili* m. 'desire, wish, pleasure' used in a commendatory sense: ON *Uil-uqrðu* 'pleasant cairn'. In Norway, cf. Vilnes, Vilberg (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 343). Alias *Cnoc Bhileabhair Mhòr* doc.
- 829 *Cnoc Bhileabhair* NB1937 TOL, as above, and with final -{'ɪlə,vəð}. ?As under No. 828 above. Our two transcriptions can be reconciled: ON initial *u-* yields {*v*}- which is either (a) retained upon the creation of our name, or (b) devoiced to {*f*} (§9.liii) before yielding zero, by lenition, upon the creation of our name.
- 830 *Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag* NB2232 CAL {,k^h rō^h k'vɪlə,vəð'veg} lesser *C*. 1848 -/Fillibhir Bheag 1974 -/Fillibhir Bheag.
- 831 *Cnoc Bhileabhair Mhòr* NB2232 CAL ='vo:r} greater *C*. 1848 -/Fillibhir Mhor 1932 Filabhir 1934 Vilifir 1974 -/Fillibhir Mhòr. Alias *Cnoc Bh*.
- 832 *Cnoc Bhuailleabhair* NB2446 SD {,k^h rō^h k'vuølə,vəð} the hill of *B*.
- 833 *Cnoc Biorach an Eòin* NB2141 CN {,k^h rō^h k'bjɔɔxə'N'õ:N'} the pointed (hill of the bird), with *biorach* adj. EIr. *birach berach*. 1848 -/Béag an Eoin 1974 -/Beag an Eoin.
- 834 *Cnoc Biorach Buaille Feannaig* NB1740 DUN {,k^h rō^h k'bjɔɔx,buølə'fjũNEk'} the pointed hill (of the enclosure of the run-rig or crow), with gen.sg. of *feannag* f. 'lazy-bed' EIr. **fennóc*, cf. EIr. *fennaid* 'flays, skins; strips', or 'crow' EIr. *fennóc*. There are run-rigs here. 1848 1974 -/Buaille Fang. Alias *Cnoc Buaille Feannaig*. Cf. *Cnoc Feannaig*, Skye (Forbes 1923: 122).

- 835 *Cnoc Biorach Lochan Tioram* NB2645 SD {,k^hrō^hk^h'b^hirɔx,Lɔxa'N^hɪδəm} the pointed knoll of L. §7.3ii.
- 836 *Cnoc Biorach na Craobhaig* NB1838 TOL {,k^hrō^hk^h'b^hirɔxnə'k^hrɔ:væk'} the pointed hillock of A' Chraobhay.
- 837 *Cnoc Bòl Glas* NB1941 CIR {,k^hrō^hk^h,bɔ.L'gLas} the knoll (of the green animal couch); §7.3ii.
- 838 *Cnoc Both Raghnaill* NB1937 TOL {,k^hrō^hk^h,bɔ'rə:-ɪL'} the knoll (of Raghnaill's bothy), with gen. of the man's name, fr. ON *Rognuáld* acc.m. Trad: *Bhiodh seanchas aca uaireigin gu robh, anns an aimsir a chaidh seachad, gu robh balach beag anns a' bhoth sin, 's tha e ri spioladh cnàimh, 's gun dàinig dithis, agus bha iad a' dol ga mharbhadh. Is bha an dàrna fear ag ràdh ris an fhear eile gun a mharbhadh idir, is bha am fear eile ag ràdh gum marbhadh; agus thuirte am balach riutha, co-dhiùbh, fuireach gu spioladh e an cnàimh.* 'They used to have a tale once that, in the past, (that) there was a little boy in that bothy, and he's chewing a bone; and two men came, and they were going to kill him. And one was saying to the other not to kill him at all, and the other was saying that he would; and the boy said to them, anyway, to wait until he'd chewed the bone.' Set at time of feuding between the men of *Uig* and *Nis* (§11.11).
- + *Cnoc Bràigh Bratanish* NB2032, see *Creagan Bhratanais*.
- 839 *An Cnoc Breac* NB2141 CARL {ə,ɪ^hrō^hk^h'b^hɔe^hk} the variegated hillock, with the adj. *breac* EIr. *brecc*. 1848 1974 *Cnoc Breac*. Alias *Na Creagain Breac*.
- 840 *Cnoc Breac Raoinabhat* NB2446 SD {,k^hrō^hk^h,b^hɔe^hk^h'rɔ̃inə,və^ht} the variegated hill of R. 1848 *Creaganan Breac Raoinabhat* 1974 *Creaganan Breac Raoinavat*. Alias *Na Creagain Breac*.
- 841 *Cnoc Buail' a' Chaolais* NB2033 CAL {,k^hrō^hk^h,b^hɔləð'xɔ:Lɪs} the hill (of the enclosure (of the straits)). 1848 *Choc Buaille Chaolais*. 1974 =.
- 842 *Cnoc Buail' an Dà Rùisg* NB2232 CAL {,k^hrō^hk^h,b^hɔləð,Na.'ru:sk'} the hill (of the enclosure of the two strips or layers, i.e. of peat), with gen.(masc.) of the num.adj. *dà* EIr. *dá*, and gen.dual of *rùisg* m. EIr. *rúisc* 'bark'. 1848 1974 *Cnoc Buaille 'n Dà Ruisg*.
- + *Cnoc Buaille Chrisgean* NB2447, see *Cnoc Buaille Chrìsgein*.
- 843 *Cnoc Buaille Chrìsgein* NB2447 SD {,k^hrō^hk^h,b^hɔləð'xɔi:sk'an} the hill of B. 1848 --/Chrisgean 1974 --/Chrisgean. Alias *Cnoc Crìsgein*.
- + *Cnoc Buaille Dhonnachaidh* NB2135, see *Creagan Dhorinchaidh*.
- + *Cnoc Buaille Dhonnachaidh* NB1941, see *Cnoc Buaille Dhonnachaidh*.
- 844 *Cnoc Buaille Dhonnachaidh* NB1941 DUN = 'ɣũNũxɪ} the hill (of the enclosure of *Donnachadh*). 1848 = 1974 *Cnoc Buaille Dhonnachaidh*.
- + *Cnoc Buaille Fang* NB1740, see *Cnoc Buaille Feannaig, Cnoc Biorach Buaille Feannaig*.

- 845 *Cnoc Buaile Feannaig* NB1740 DUN ={'fjãNEk'} see the alias *Cnoc Biorach Buaile Feannaig* doc.
- 846 *Cnoc Buaile Fhliodha* NB2547 SD ={'l1γð} §7.3ii, the hill (of the enclosure of chickweed), with gen. of *fhliodha* m. *stellaria media* EIr. *flid*. 1848 -/na Buaile Fliogha 1974 -/na Buaile Fliodha.
- 847 *Cnoc Buaile Gharsan* NB2448 SD ={'γaʒn} the hill of B. 1848 1974 =.
+ *Cnoc Buaile 'n Dà Ruisg* NB2232, see *Cnoc Buail' an Dà Ruisg*.
- 848 *Cnoc Buaile na Tuathadh* NB1838 TOL {,k^h rō^h k, bəlɔnð't^h uðhðγ} the hillock (of the enclosure of the community or farm), with gen.sg. of *tuath* f. EIr. *túath*. Alias (really a corruption) *Creagan na Buail' a Tuath*.
+ *Cnoc Buaile Raicill* NB2033, see *Cnoc Buaile Rèiceil*.
- 849 *Cnoc Buaile Rèiceil* NB2033 CAL {,k^h rō^h k, buɔlð're:k'ðl} the hillock (of the enclosure of *R.). 1848 --/Ràicill 1934 Cnoch Buala Ràcail 1974 --/Raicill. With a ln. conceivably fr. ON *Rþyk-hól* with the stem-form of *rþykr* m. 'smoke, steam, haze' and acc. of *hól* m. 'hill, knoll'. In Norway, cf. *Rþyknes*, Vest-Agder (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 265). Less likely is a derivation from the rare persn. *Reikull* m.
- 850 *Cnoc Buaile Stangaileir* NB2043 CARL ={'stãŋkð, lað} the hill (of the enclosure of *S.). Cf. 1848 Buaile Stangro. With an ON ln. possibly fr. *Stang-hlíðir* 'the slopes of the protruding hill' with stem-form of *stŋg* f., often used of promontories or protruding hills in pnn., and acc.pl. of *hlíð* f. 'hillside, slope'. The common sense of the appellative *stŋg* was 'pole, rod', cf. the lw. in G.: Lewis {'stãŋ'k'} 'stone peg or step in wall'. In Norway, cf. *Stangelién*, *Stangefjeldet*, *Lister og Mandal* (NG X, 231).
- 851 *Cnoc Buaile Theastabhal* NB1840 DUN ={'hestð, vAl} the hillock (of the enclosure of *Th.). *Theastabhal* survives as an independent name at another location. Alias *Cnoc Theastabhal* doc.
- 852 *An Cnoc Buidhe* NB2748 BRA {ð, ɲ^h rō^h k, bu^l jð} the yellow hill. 1848 1974 *Cnoc Buidhe*. Alias *Cnoc Buidhe Mòr*.
- 853 *Cnoc Buidhe Beag* NB2748 BRA {ð, ɲ^h rō^h k, bu^l jð 'bɛg} the lesser C.
- 854 *Cnoc Buidhe Mòr* NB2748 BRA ={'mo:r} greater C. Alias *An Cnoc Buidhe* doc.
+ *Cnoc Caol* NB2238, 1848 *Cnoc Coal*.
- 855 *Cnoc Caol* NB2144 DAIL {,k^h rō^h k'k^h (w:L} the narrow hill. 1848 1974 =.
- 856 *Cnoc Caol* NB2445 SD, as above.
- 857 *An Cnoc Caol* NB1943 BOR {ð, ɲ^h rō^h k'k^h (w:L} as above.
- 858 *Cnoc Ceann a' Ghàrraidh* NB2232 CAL {,k^h rō^h k, k^h ãnð'γa:Rl} the hill (of the end (of the dyke)). 1848 --/a Ghàraidh.

- 859 *Cnoc Chaidhsteil* NB2142 CARL {,k^hrō^hkə'xaiʃt'al}L} the hillock of *C
1848 -/a Chaisteil 1974 -/a' Chaisteil. Despite the map forms, the
specific here cannot be G. *caisteal* m. 'fort, castle'; most likely
it is an ON, albeit obscure, ln.
- 860 *Cnoc Chala Muc* NB2232 CAL {,k^hrō^hk,xɑlɫə'mə^hk} the knoll (of the
bay of whales), with *cala* m. EIr. *calad*, and gen.pl. of *muc* f. EIr.
muc(c). 1848 Ceann na' Muc 1934 Cnoc-halla-muc 1974 Ceann nam Muc.
- 861 *Cnoc Chlacha Mòra* NB2346 SD {,k^hrō^hk,xLaxə'mo:rə} the knoll (of the
large stones), with plural of *clach* f. §7.5iv.
- 862 *Cnoc Chrothair* NB2042 CN {,k^hrō^hkə'xro-əð} §9.2ii, the hill of *C.
The specific must be from ON *Króar*, pl. of *kró* f., a lw. fr. EIr.
cró 'pen'; cf. *Croir* {kro-əð} BERN (Oftedal 1954: 379); see also No.
1295. 1848 -/Chróthair 1974 -/Croir. EIr. *cró* was also borrowed into
Ice. (*kró*) and Far. (*krógv*).
- 863 *Cnoc Ciarraig* NB1942 CN {,k^hrō^hk'k^hiəɾɾɔx'} the knoll (of the dark
place), or (of the dark one) - an old stream-name; with gen.sg. of
ciarag f., fr. the adj. *ciar* 'dark' + suffix §7.6ii. An alternative
derivation could be EIr. *ciaróe* 'beetle', cf. *Tom nan Daoilag*.
- 864 *An Cnoc Corrach* NB2445 SD {ə,ɟ^hrō^hk'k^hɔɾɔx} the projecting knoll,
with *corrach* adj. EIr. *corrach*.
- 865 *An Cnoc Corrach* NB2332 CAL, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 866 *Cnoc Creag an t-Sneachd* NB1838 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,k^həɟɟə'N^hraxk} the hill of
C. 1848 Cnoc an t-Sneachd 1974 idem.
- 867 *Cnoc Crisgein* NB2547 SD {,k^hrō^hk'k^həi:ʃk'an} the hill of *Crisgean*, ?a
persn. Alias *Cnoc Buaille Chrísgein* doc.
+ Cnoc Croir NB2042, see *Cnoc Chrothair*.
- 868 *An Cnoc Crotach* NB2243 DAIL {ə,ɟ^hrō^hk'k^hrə^htɔx} the hump-backed hillock.
1848 Cnocan Crotach 1974 Crocan Crotach.
- 869 *Cnoc Dhonnchaidh* NB2447 SD {,k^hrō^hk'ɣũNũxɪ} *Donnchadh's* hillock.
- 870 *Cnoc Dubh* NB1841 DUN =ɟ^hɸ^h} the black hill.
- 871 *An Cnoc Dubh* NB2245 DAIL {ə,ɟ^hrō^hk'ɟ^hɸ^h}, as above. Alias *Cleite nan*
Cnàimhseag doc.
- 872 *An Cnoc Dubh* NB2033 CAL, as above. 1848 1974 Cnoc Dubh.
- 873 *An Cnoc Dubh* NB2142 CARL, as above. 1848 Cnoc Dúbh 1974 Cnoc Dubh.
- 874 *An Cnoc Dubh* NB2646 ST, as above.
- 875 *An Cnoc Dubh* NB2638 SD, as above. 1848 Cnoc Dúbh 1974 Cnoc Dubh.
- 876 *Cnoc Dubh Airigh Fhionnlaidh* NB2038 TOL {,k^hrō^hk'ɟ^hɸ^h,a.əi'jũũLaj} the
black hillock of A.
- 877 *Cnoc Dubh Amar na h-Eit* NB2237 TOL {,k^hrō^hk'ɟ^hɸ^h,ãmɳəð'he:^ht'} the black

hillock of A.

- 878 *Cnoc Dubh Ghleadhairean* NB2442 CARL {,k^hrō^hk,ḍu'γlφγδδn} the black hill of G. 1848 --/Ghleádhairéan 1974 --/Gleaharan. Alias *Na Gleadhairean*.
- + Cnoc Dubh Gleaharan NB2442, see *Cnoc Dubh Ghleadhairean*.
- 879 *Cnoc Dubh na Creige Bãine* NB2038 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,ḍunḍ,k^hδeg'ḍ'pã:N'ḍ} the black hill (of the pale rock).
- 880 *Cnoc Dubh na h-Aoidhe* NB2546 SD {,k^hrō^hk,ḍunḍ'hḍ'jḍ} the black knoll (of the ford), with gen.sg. of *aoidh* f.
- + Cnoc Dubh nan Oirthéanán NB2039, 1848 Cnoc Dubh nan Oirthéanán.
- + Cnoc Eilaster NB2238, see (*Sithean*) *Eileastar*.
- + Cnoc Eirshader NB2042, see *Cnoc Theðraiseadar*.
- 881 *Cnoc Eusamaig* NB1940 DUN {,k^hrō^hk'e:sḍ,mik'} the hill of *E. 1848 -/Eùsmig 1974 -/Eusmig. With an obscure specific, probably an ON.ln.
- + Cnoc Eusmig NB1940, see *Cnoc Eusamaig*.
- 882 *Cnoc Fad' an Eich* NB2445 SD {,k^hrō^hk,fadN'N'eç} the long hill of the horse, with the adj. *fada* EIr. *fota*. 1848 -/Fad an Eich 1974 idem.
- 883 *Cnoc Fada Chuidhbhig* NB2346 SD {,k^hrō^hk,fadḍ'xḍi,vik'} the long hill of C.
- 883 *Cnoc Fada nan Drochaidean* NB2445 SD {,k^hrō^hk,fadḍnḍ'Nrxḍ'ḍ'ḍn} the long hill (of the bridges), with gen.pl. of *drochaid* f. EIr. *drochet*. 1848 1974 =.
- 885 *Cnoc Fàid* NB2139 CN {,k^hrō^hk'fa:ḍ'} with gen.sg. of *fàd* m. EIr. *fót* 'sod, clod; a spot of earth; soil, land, territory; lump, heap, mass' (RIA); it is difficult to assess what sense the specific may have had here; cf. *Druim an Fhàdairn*.
- + Cnoc Falasgair NB2433, see *Cnoc Fhalasgair*.
- 886 *Cnoc Falasgair* NB2244 DAIL =faLḍskḍḍ} the hill of moor-burning, with gen. of *falasgair* m., cf. EIr. *foloscad*. 1848 1974 =. Cf. No. 890.
- 887 *Cnoc Fàsgrò* NB2041 CN =fa:,skro} 'fa:sk^ḍro} the hill of *F. 1848 *Sithean Fàsgrò* 1974 *Sidhean Fasgrò*. With a ln. most probably fr. ON *Uaðsgróf* 'stream of the ford' with gen.sg. of *uaḍ* nt. 'ford' and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. In Norway, cf. *Vadfoss*, Telemarken (Sandnes, Stemschaug 1980: 331).
- 888 *Cnoc Feannag Saidhbh* NB1937 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,fjãNak'se:v} the hillock (of *Saidhbh*'s run-rig). Alias *Cnoc Glaic Saidhbh*.
- 889 *Cnoc Fear an Taighe* NB2549 ST {,k^hrō^hk,fḍḍḍ'N^hε^h} the knoll of the man of the house, with the semantic cpd. *fear* (EIr. *fer*) *an taighe*.
- + Cnoc Feoal NB1937, see *Cnoc Sheothal*.

- 890 *Cnoc Fhalasgair* NB2433 CAL {,k^hrō^hk'ɑLθskδδ} §7.3i, the hill of the moor-burning. 1848 1974 -/Falasgair. Cf. No. 886.
- 891 *Cnoc Geàrraidh a' Chùil* NB2036 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,g'a.R1-ð'xʉ:l} the hill (of the enclosure (of the rear)).
- 892 *Cnoc Geàrraidh Gruagaig as Fhaid' A-muigh* NB1843 BOR {,k^hrō^hk,g'a.R1'gruðgæk'ð,sad'ð'mũj} the outer (hill of **Geàrraidh Gruagaig*); with gen.sg. of *gruagag* f., dimin. of *gruag* 'hair of head, lock of hair; woman' EIr. *grúac* - the sense here may be 'hairy' i.e. 'heather-covered or grassy enclosure'. 1848 *Dà Chnoc Gearaidh Gruagaig* 1974 *Dà Chnoc Gèarraidh. As fhaide* (< pres.rel. of the copula vb. + comp. of *fada* adj. 'long') 'further' is used with *a-muigh* and *a-staigh* in the sense of 'outer; inner'.
- 893 *Cnoc Geàrraidh Gruagaig as Fhaid' A-staigh* NB1843 BOR ='støj} the inner (hill (of the heather-covered enclosure)), see No. 892.
- + *Cnoc Gèarraidh Nighean Choinnich* NB2234; note *Geàrraidh Ni' Choinnich*.
 - + *Cnoc Ghilleaspuig* NB2133, see *Cnoc Gill' Easbaig*.
 - + *Cnoc Ghleadhairean* NB1943, see *Cnocan Ghleadhairean*.
 - + *Cnoc Gil an Rainich* NB2830, see *Cnoc Gil Rainich*.
- 894 *Cnoc Gil Rainich* NB2830 LOCH {,k^hrō^hk,g'ɪlð'rãŋɔx} the hillock (of the ravine of fern), with *gil* f. (§9.2iii), fr. ON *gil* nt., cf. Norn *gil gill* Far. *gil*. 1848 *Cnoc Gille 'n Ronaich* 1974 --/an Rainich.
- 895 *Cnoc Gill' Easbaig* NB2133 CAL {,k^hrō^hk,g'ɪ'L'espɪk'} the knoll of *Gill' Easbaig*, with gen. of the persn. (with gen. of *easbaig* m. 'bishop' EIr. *espoc*, metathesised form of *escop* < *epscop*, fr. Lat. *episcopus*). 1848 -/Ghilleaspeig 1974 -/Ghilleaspuig.
- 896 *Cnoc Gille Chonaing* NB2747 BRA {,k^hrō^hk,g'ɪL'ð'xõnɪk'} the knoll of *Gille Chonaing*, with gen. of the persn. (with gen. of *Conaing* m.persn., EIr. *Con(a)ing* fr. AS *Kyning Cyning*; see Greene 1976: 75). 1848 -/Ille Chónic 1974 -/Ille Chòníc.
- 897 *Cnoc Gille Dhòmhnail Bheachd* NB1944 GEARR {,k^hrō^hk,g'ɪL'ð,γõ-ɪL' 'vjaxk} the knoll of *Gille Dhòmhnail Bheachd*, with ?*beachd* f. 'opinion' etc., as an epithet ?'opinionated, conceited'.
- 898 *Cnoc Gille Naomh* NB2043 CARL/GEARR {,k^hrō^hk,g'ɪL'ð'Nð:v} the hillock of *Gille nan Naomh*. Alias *Cnoc Mòr Gille Naomh*.
- 899 *An Cnoc Ginneach* NB1841 DUN {ð,ɟ^hrō^hk'g'ĩN'ɔx} the ?wedge-shaped hill, ?with a var. form of the adj. *geinneach*, fr. *geinn* 'wedge'. Topographically this seems applicable.
- 900 *Cnoc Glaiç Saidhbh* NB1938 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,gLa^hk' 'se:v} the hillock of G. Alias *Cnoc Fearnag Saidhbh*.

+ Cnoc Glas NB2239, 1848 idem.

+ Cnoc Glas NB2233.

901 *An Cnoc Glas* NB2042 CARL {ð,ŋ^h rō^h k'gLas} the green hill. 1848 Cnoc Glas.

902 *An Cnoc Glas* NB1741 DUN, as above.

903 *An Cnoc Glas* NB2331 GA, as above. 1848 1974 Cnoc Glas.

904 *An Cnoc Glas* NB2036 BRI, as above.

905 *An Cnoc Glas* NB2345 DAIL, as above. 1848 1974 Cnoc Glas.

906 *Cnoc Glas a' Chàrmain* NB1840 DUN {,k^h rō^h k'gLasð'xɑ:nan} the green hill (of the rocky hill). Alias *Cnoc Glas a' Chàrmain Bhig*.

907 *Cnoc Glas a' Chàrmain Bhig* NB1840 DUN {,k^h rō^h k'gLasð,xɑ.nan'vlg'} the green hill of *An Càrman Beag*. Alias *Cnoc Glas a' Chàrmain*.

908 *Cnoc Glas a' Chleit* NB2445 SD {,k^h rō^h k'gLasð'xle^h t'} the green hill (of the hill).

909 *An Cnoc Glas Beag* NB2234 CAL {ð,ŋ^h rō^h k'gLas'beɣ} the lesser (green hillock). 1848 Cnoc GLas 1974 Cnoc Glas Beag.

910 *Cnoc Glas Caolas an Eilein* NB2346 SD {,k^h rō^h k'gLas,k^h ω.Lɔsð'N'elan} the green hillock of *C*.

911 *An Cnoc Glas Mòr* NB2233 CAL {ð,ŋ^h rō^h k'gLas'mo:r} the greater (green hillock). 1848 Cnoc Glas 1974 Cnoc Glas Mòr.

912 *Cnoc Glas na Buaile* NB2446 SD {,k^h rō^h k'gLasnð'buɔlð} the green hill (of the enclosure). 1848 1974 =.

913 *Cnoc Glas nan Corran* NB2133 CAL = 'ŋ^h ɔRan} the green hill of *Na Corrain*. 1848 -/Glás nan Corran 1974 =.

914 *Cnoc Glas Tom na Diathad* NB2346 SD {,k^h rō^h k'gLas,t^h ɔmnð'd'ɪðhðt} the green hillock of *T*.

915 *Cnoc Glasair* NB1843 BOR {,k^h rō^h k'gLasðð} the hillock (of the green place), with gen. of *glasair* fr. *glas* adj. + suffix §7.6vi.

916 *Cnoc Iain Dònail* NB1943 GEARR {,k^h rō^h k,ãn'dõ:nɪL'} *Iain Dònail*'s hillock; ?fr. the Ir. surname Ó Dònail. F.etym: fr. *Cnoc Maoil Dònail* (by analogy with the m.persn. *Maoil Dòmhnai*ch, anglicised as *Louis*).

+ Cnoc Ille Chònic NB2747, see *Cnoc Gille Chonaing*.

917 *Cnoc Innseal* NB1938 TOL {,k^h rō^h k'ĩ:ɟal} the hill of *I. 1848 -/Iseal 1974 idem. With a ln. fr. ON *Innstfi*all 'inner(most) mountain' with superlative of *innri* 'inner', and nom./acc. of *fi*all nt. In Norway, cf. *Instefjord*, Bergenhus (NG XII, 192). F.etym: *ĩosal* (cf. the var. *ĩseal*) 'low'; but our name has {ĩ:}. Alias *Cnoc Innseal Mhòr*.

918 *Cnoc Innseal Bheag* NB1938 TOL {,k^h rō^h k,ĩ.,ɟal'veɣ} lesser *C*.

- 919 *Cnoc Innseal Mhòr* NB1938 TOL ={'vo:r} greater *C.* Alias *Cnoc Innseal* doc.
 + *Cnoc Iseal* NB1938, see *Cnoc Innseal (Mhòr)*.
- 920 *Cnoc Ladhraín* NB2346 SD {,k^hrō^hk'Lð:ran} the hill (of the place of the hoof), with gen.sg. of *ladhran*, fr. *ladhar* f. 'hoof' + suffix §7.6i, referring to the shape or mark of the stone-circle here (see *Clachan Cnoc Ladhraín*). 1848 -/Làoiran 1974 -/Laoiran.
 + *Cnoc Laoiran* NB2346, see *Cnoc Ladhraín*.
- 921 *Cnoc Laomainn* NB1942 BOR ={'Lð:m1N'} the hillock of the moth, with gen.sg. of *laomann* m., cf. EIr. *legam*, and the late form *lémann*.
- 922 *Cnoc Laomainn* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
- 923 *Cnoc Leathainn* NB2446 SD ={'L'eh1N'} the broad hill. 1848 = 1974 -/Leathann.
- 924 *Cnoc Leathainn* NB1943 GEARR, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/Leathann.
- 925 *Cnoc Leathainn* NB1944 GEARR, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/Leathann.
- 926 *An Cnoc Leathainn* NB2042 CN {ð,ŋ^hrō^hk'L'eh1N'} as above.
- 927 *An Cnoc Leathainn* NB2136 BRI, as above. 1848 *Cnoc Leathainn*.
- 928 *An Cnoc Leathainn* NB2038 TOL, as above. 1848 *Cnoc Leathainn*.
- 929 *An Cnoc Leathainn* NB1839 DUN, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 930 *Cnoc Leathainn a' Mhagha* NB2442 SD {,k^hrō^hk,L'eh1N'ð'vðγð} the broad hill (of the plain).
- 931 *Cnoc Leathainn an Eòin* NB2142 CN ={'N'õ:N'} the broad (hill of the bird). 1848 -/Mòr an Eoin 1974 -/Mór an Eoin. Alias *Cnoc Mòr an Eòin*.
- 932 *Cnoc Leathainn na Liana Bàine* NB1944 GEARR {,k^hrō^hk'L'eh1N'nð,L'ãñð'pã:N'ð} the broad hill (of *An Liana Bhàn*).
- 933 *Cnoc Leathainn Raoineabhat* NB2446 SD {,k^hrō^hk,L'eh1N'rðĩñð,va^ht} and -{,L'ehð'rðĩñð,va^ht} the broad hill of *R.* 1848 --/Raoinabhat 1974 -/Leathann Raoinavat.
 + *Cnoc Leathann Raoinavat* NB2446, see *Cnoc Leathainn Raoineabhat*.
- 934 *Cnoc Liana na Dubhcha* NB2042 CN {,k^hrō^hk,L'ãñðñð'ðux} the hill of *L.* 1848 --/na Dúch 1974 --/na Dubhach.
 + *Cnoc Liana na Fola* NB2040, 1848 idem.
- 935 *Cnoc Loch a' Chuilein* NB1838 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,Loxð'xalan} the hillock of *L.*
- 936 *An Cnoc Loisgte* NB2038 TOL {ð,ŋ^hrō^hk'Lwst'} the burnt hillock. 1848 1974 *Cnocan Loisg*.
- 937 *Cnoc Màiri* NB1839 DUN {,k^hrō^hk'mã:ð1} *Màiri's* hill.
- 938 *Cnoc Maoil* NB2547 ST ={'mð:l} the bare hillock.
- 939 *Cnoc Mhic an Lighich* NB1838 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,vĩ^hk'ð'L'i-ig} the hillock of *Mac an Lighich*.

- 940 *Cnoc Mhic an Lighich Bheag* NB1838 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,vī^hk'ð,L'i-iç'veg} the lesser C.
- 941 *Cnoc Mhic Iain Bhàin* NB1840 DUN {,k^hrō^hk,vī^h,kãñ'vã:N'} the hillock of *Mac Iain Bhàin*.
- 942 *Cnoc Mhic Iain Deirg* NB2233 CAL ={'d'εδÈk'} the hillock of *Mac Iain Deirg*, with gen. of *dearg* adj. 'red', probably used substantivally here as a family nickname (as it still is, for example, in ST). 1848 1974 =.
- 943 *Cnoc Mhic Thòmais* NB2241 CARL {,k^hrō^hk,vī^h'k^hō:maf} the hillock of *Mac Thòmais*. 1848 --/Thomais 1974 Choc Mhic Thomais.
+ *Cnoc Mhic Thomais* NB2538, 1848 *Cnoc Mhic Thomais*.
- 944 *Cnoc Mhurchaidh* NB2433 CAL {,k^hrō^hk'vuRùxı} *Murchadh's* hillock. 1848 1974 =.
- 945 *Cnoc Mhurchaidh* NB1937 TOL, as above.
- 946 *Cnoc Mhurchaidh Mhòir* NB2438 CN {,k^hrō^hk,vuRùxı'vo:δ} *Murchadh Mòr's* hillock. 1848 --/Mhoir 1974 --/Mhóir.
- 947 *Cnoc Mòr* NB2542 ST {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r} the large hill; one of *Na Cnoea Mòra*.
- 948 *Cnoc Mòr* NB2143 CARL, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 949 *An Cnoc Mòr* NB2135 BRI {ð,ı^hrō^hk'mo:r} as above. 1848 Creag a Rúbaidh 1974 Creag a' Rubaidh.
- 950 *Cnoc Mòr a' Phuinn* NB2445 SD {,k^hrō^hk,mo.rð'fðĩN't'} the large hill (of the pound).
- 951 *Cnoc Mòr an Eòin* NB2141 CN ={'N'õ:N'} the large hill of the bird. Alias *Cnoc Leathainn an Eòin* doc.
- 952 *Cnoc Mòr an Lomaidh* NB1941 CIR ={'Lõmı} the large hill of the shearing.
- 953 *Cnoc Mòr an Rathaid* NB2546 SD ={'Rõ:d'} the large hill of the road.
- 954 *Cnoc Mòr Atha* NB2432 CAL {,k^hrō^hk,mo.r'a-a} the large hill (of the isthmus), with gen.sg. of *àth* m. EIr. *àth*.
- 955 *Cnoc Mòr Bhineabhair* SD ={'vĩnð,vðδ} the large hill of **Bh*. 1848 -/Mor *Bhìnabhair*.
+ *Cnoc Mór Ceann a' Loch* NB2445, see *Cnoc Mòr Ceann an Loch*.
- 956 *Cnoc Mòr Ceann an Loch* NB2445 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r,k'^hãNð'Lox} the large hill (of the head (of the lake)). 1848 -/Mor Ceann a Loch 1974 -/Mór Ceann a' Loch.
- 957 *Cnoc Mòr Chuidhbhig* NB2346 SD {,k^hrō^hk,mo.r'xði,vık'} the large hill of C.
- 958 *Cnoc Mòr Gearraidh an t-Sliabh* NB2345 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r,g'a.Rı-ð'N^hriðv} the large hill of G.
- 959 *Cnoc Mòr Gille Naomh* NB2043 CARL/GEARR {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r,g'ıL'ð'Nõ:v} the

- greater (hill of *Gille nan Naomh*). Alias *Cnoc Gille Naomh*.
- + Cnoc Mór Hinich NB2240, see *Cnoc Mór na h-Aibhne*.
- 960 *Cnoc Mór Leathainn* NB2645 ST {,k^hrō^hk'mo.r'L'eh1N'} the greater (broad hill).
- + Cnoc Mór Liana Bandalum NB2345, see *Cnoc Mór Liana Bhandalum*.
- 961 *Cnoc Mór Liana Bhandalum* NB2345 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r,L'ãnd'vãũNtðLum} the large hill of L. 1848 -/Mor Liana Bhandalum 1974 -/Mór Liana Bandalum.
- 962 *Cnoc Mór na Buaile* NB1838 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,mo.ŋð'buø1ð} the large hill (of the enclosure). 1848 -/na Buaile 1974 idem.
- 963 *Cnoc Mór na Cartach* NB2244 DAIL ='k^hɑstɔx} the greater C. 1848 = 1974 -/Mór na Cartach.
- 964 *Cnoc Mór na h-Aibhne* NB2240 CN ='hãĩnð} the greater (hill (of the river)). 1848 --/Thinich 1974 -/Mór Hinich.
- 965 *Cnoc Mór nam Fèithichean Dubha* NB2445 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo:ŋð,fe-ıçðn'du-u} the large hill (of the black rills), with gen.pl. of *fèith* f. EIr. *féith*. 1848 -/Mor nam Feidhichean Dúbha 1974 -/Mór nam Féithichean Dubha.
- 966 *Cnoc Mór nan Eilidean* NB2444 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo.ŋð'N'elıd'ðn} the greater (hill of the hinds). 1848 -/Mor nan Eilidean 1974 -/Mór nan Eilidean.
- 967 *Cnoc Mór Rubh' an Dùnain* NB2448 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r,Ru-ð'Nã:nan} the large hill of R.
- 968 *Cnoc Mór Rubha Faolisgeir* NB2346 SD {,k^hrō^hk'mo:r,Ru'fð:lı,sk'ðð} the large hill of R.
- 969 *Cnoc Mór Shiothaileir* NB2547 ST {,k^hrō^hk,mo.r'hi-ðlað}r} the large hill of *Sh. Alias *Cnoc Shiothaileir* doc.
- 970 *Cnoc na Bà Cluasaich* NB2041 CIR {,k^hrō^hknð,ba.'k^hLudæək'}ak} the hill of the floppy-eared cow, with gen.sg. of *bð* f. EIr. *bó*, and of *cluasag* f. 'pillow' (see trad.) for *cluasach* adj. 'floppy-eared'. Trad: a cow became ill here and was given a blanket and pillow. 1848 -/na Bà Chùasaich 1974 =.
- 971 *Cnoc na Bà Riabhaich* NB1842 BOR ='Rıðvıç} the hillock of the tawny cow.
- 972 *Cnoc na Beirghe* NB1743 BOR {,k^hrō^hknð'bøðø-ı} the hillock (of the peninsula).
- + Cnoc na Beist NB1940, see *Cnoc na Mònach*.
- 973 *Cnoc na Bèist* NB2037 TOL ='be:ft'} the hillock of the otter, with gen.sg. of *biast bèist* f. EIr. *bíast béist* (fr. Lat. *bestia*).
- 974 *Cnoc na Bèist* NB2747 ST, as above.

- 975 *Cnoc na Buail' Airde* NB2547 SD {,k^hrō^hknə,bə'la:q̃ə} the hillock (of the high enclosure).
- 976 *Cnoc na Buaille* NB1742 BOR {,k^hrō^hknə'buəɫə} the hillock (of the enclosure). 1974 =.
- + *Cnoc na Buaille* NB1840, 1848 idem.
- + *Cnoc na Buaille* NB1838, see *Cnoc Mòr na Buaille*.
- 977 *Cnoc na Buaille Cruaidhe* NB2133 CAL {,k^hrō^hknə,bəɫə'k^hruəj} the hillock (of the hard enclosure).
- 978 *Cnoc na Buaille Duinne* NB1941 CIR {,k^hrō^hknə,buəɫə'd̪iːn'ə} the hill (of the brown enclosure). 1848 --/Dúinne 1974 =.
- + *Cnoc na Buaille Fliodha* NB2547, see *Cnoc Buaille Fhliodha*.
- + *Cnoc na Buaille Mora* NB1838, see *Cnoc na h-Uaghairn*.
- 979 *Cnoc na Cachailleith* NB1843 BOR {,k^hrō^hknə'k^haxɫaj} the hillock (of the gate). Alias *Cnoc na Cachailleith Mòire*.
- 980 *Cnoc na Cachailleith* NB2233 CAL, as above. 1848 -/na Cachalaidh 1974 idem.
- 981 *Cnoc na Cachailleith Mòire* NB1843 BOR {,k^hrō^hknə,k^haxɫaj'mo:δ} the hillock (of the large gate). Alias *Cnoc na Cachailleith*.
- + *Cnoc na Cachalaidh* NB2233, see *Cnoc na Cachailleith*.
- 982 *Cnoc na Caillich* NB1937 TOL {,k^hrō^hknə'k^haL'ɫ̪} the hillock of the old woman or hag, with gen.sg. of *cailleach* f. EIr. *caillech* < *caille* 'veil' (fr. Lat. *pallium*) + suffix. 1974 =.
- 983 *Cnoc na Caillich* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- 984 *Cnoc na Cartach* NB2244 DAIL = 'k^haʃt̪ɔx} the hillock of the water-lily. 1848 1974 =.
- 985 *Cnoc na Cartach* NB2341 CARL, as above. 1848 -/na Cairt 1974 =.
- 986 *Cnoc na Ceàrdaich* NB2446 SD = 'k^ha:ʃt̪ɫ̪} the hillock (of the smithy).
- 987 *Cnoc na Ceil* NB1939 DUN = 'k^hel} the hill of ?. 1848 -/na Ceile 1974 -/na Ceile. Alias *Cnoc na Ceil Mhòr*.
- 988 *Cnoc na Ceil Bheag* NB1939 DUN {,k^hrō^hknə,k^hel'veg} the lesser *C*.
- 989 *Cnoc na Ceil Mhòr* NB1939 DUN = 'vo:r} the greater *C*. Alias *Cnoc na Ceil*.
- + *Cnoc na Ceile* NB1939, see *Cnoc na Ceil (Mhòr)*.
- 990 *Cnoc na Cleith* NB1941 CIR = 'k^hle^h} the hillock of the ?stake, with gen.sg. of *cleith* f. EIr. *cleth*.
- 991 *Cnoc na Cloich* NB2241 CARL = 'k^hLa^lɫ̪} the hillock (of the stone). 1848 1974 =.
- 992 *Cnoc na Cloich* NB2033 CAL, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/na Cloiche.
- + *Cnoc na Cloiche* NB2033, see *Cnoc na Cloich*.

- 993 *Cnoc na Cloiche Mòire* NB2044 GEARR {_hk^h r^h ò^h knð, k^h La^h l^h çð 'mo:ð} the hill (of the large stone). 1848 -/na Cloiche Móire 1974 idem.
- 994 *Cnoc na Cloiche Mòire* NB2446 SD, as above.
- 995 *Cnoc na Cloiche Mòire* NB2041 CN, as above.
- 996 *Cnoc na Comhalaich* NB2034 CAL = 'k^h ò^h-ðLlç} the hill of the assembly, with gen.sg. of *comhalach* f., fr. *comhal* EIr. *comal* + suffix. Cf. Clach na Comhalach, Lochbroom (Watson 1976: 258).
- 997 *Cnoc na Connlaich* NB2546 SD = 'k^h ò^hüLlç} the hill of the straw, with gen. sg. of *connlach* f. EIr. *connlach* (ultimately fr. Lat. *cannula*). 1848 Cnocan na Conlaich 1974 idem.
- 998 *Cnoc na Creige Bàine* NB2038 TOL {_hk^h r^h ò^h knð, k^h ðeg'ð'bã:N'} the hill (of the light-coloured rock).
- 999 *Cnoc na Creige Ruaidhe* NB2037 TOL = 'Ruðjð} the hill (of the red rock).
- 1000 *Cnoc na Crìch* NB1941 DUN = 'k^h ði:ç} the knoll (of the boundary). 1848 -/na Crìche 1974 =.
- 1001 *Cnoc na Crìch* NB2036 BRI, as above.
- 1002 *Cnoc na Crìch* NB1943 GEARR, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 1003 *Cnoc na Crodhadh* NB1838 TOL = 'k^h r^h ò-ðγ} the hill (of the pen), with gen.sg. of *crò* f.
- 1004 *Cnoc na Crodhaidh* NB1945 GEARR = 'k^h r^h ò-1} the hillock (of the pen), with gen.sg. (originally a dat. form) of *crò* f.
- 1005 *Cnoc na Croich* NB2647 SD = 'k^h r^h ò^h l^h ç} the hill of the gallows, with gen.sg. of *croich* f. EIr. *croich* (Lat. *crux*, Thurneysen 1975: 575). Alias *Cnoc a' Chrochaidh*.
- 1006 *Cnoc na Crois* NB1942 BOR = 'k^h r^h òf} the knoll (of the peninsula), with gen.sg. of *crois* f. EIr. *crois* obl. case (Lat. *crux*, Thurneysen 1975: 575). *Crois* has the meanings 'cross' and 'hindrance' and it is from the latter that the sense 'hindering point' has developed in the onomasticon. 1848 -/na Cróis 1974 =.
- 1007 *Cnoc na Cùirt* NB2243 DAIL = 'k^h u:st} the hill of A' Chùirt, with gen.sg. of *cùirt* f. 'court' (ultimately fr. Lat. *corti*), the nickname of a woman who used to do her courting here. Alias *Creagan na Cùirt*.
- + *Cnoc na Foirean* NB2638, see *Cnoc na Foireim*.
- 1008 *Cnoc na Foireim* NB2638 SD = 'f^h çððm} the hill of the ?hubbub or noise, with gen. of ?*foiream faram* f. (otherwise masc.) EIr. *fothromm*. 1848 -/na Fóirean 1974 -/na Foirean. The map-forms do not seem to support a derivation from *faram*, unless a form direct from EIr. *fothronn* (> *fothromm*) is intended.
- + *Cnoc na Fola* NB2039, 1848 idem.

- 1009 *Cnoc na Gaimhne* NB2542 ST = 'g̃ĩñð} the hill of the calf.
 + *Cnoc na Glaica Bige* NB2244, see *Cnoc na Glaice Bige*.
 + *Cnoc na Glaica Móire* NB2244, see *Cnoc na Glaice Móire*.
- 1010 *Cnoc na Glaice Bige* NB2244 DAIL {,k^hr̃o^hkñð,g̃La^l h^hk'ð'p̃l̃g'ð} the lesser (hill (of the hollow)). 1848 -/na *Glaica Bige* 1974 idem.
- 1011 *Cnoc na Glaice Móire* NB2244 DAIL = 'mo:δ(ð)} the greater (hill (of the hollow)). 1848 -/na *Glaica Móire* 1974 -/na *Glaica Móire*.
- 1012 *Cnoc na Glaice Móire* NB1843 BOR, as above, the hill (of the large hollow).
- 1013 *Cnoc na Grèine* NB1837 TOL {,k^hr̃o^hkñð'g̃δ̃ē:ñð} the knoll of the sun, with gen.sg. of *grían* f. EIr. *grían*.
- 1014 *Cnoc na Guailne* NB2543 ST = 'g̃uðL'ð} the hill of the shoulder, with gen.sg. of *gualaim* f. EIr. *gúalainn* obl. case.
 + *Cnoc na Gualainn* NB2543, see *Cnoc na Guailne*.
- 1015 *Cnoc na Gualainn* NB2444 SD = 'g̃uðL̃N' }, as above.
 + *Cnoc na Hula* NB2238.
- 1016 *Cnoc na Laighe* NB2244 DAIL = 'La^lj̃ð} the hill of the lying, with gen. of *laighe* EIr. *lige*. Trad: where the cows would lie out on the pasture.
- 1017 *Cnoc na Leðba Ruaidhe* NB2447 SD {,k^hr̃o^hk(ñð),L'ap̃ð'Ruðj̃ð} the knoll (of the red patch of ground), with gen.sg. of *leðb* f. EIr. *leðb*. 1848 -/na *Lìbe Ruaidhe* 1974 idem.
 + *Cnoc na Lìbe Ruaidhe*.NB2447, see *Cnoc na Leðba Ruaidhe*.
- 1018 *Cnoc na Lèbraich* NB2640 SD = 'L̃o:br̃iç} the hillock (of the quagmire), with gen.sg. of *lèbrach* f., fr. EIr. *láp* + suffices §7.6vi. 1848 -/na *Lèpraich* 1974 idem. *Lèbraich* is listed by MacDonald (1946: 4) with the senses 'morass, stretch of marshy land, swamp'.
- 1019 *Cnoc na Lèbraich* NB2042 CARL, as above.
- 1020 *Cnoc na Lèbraich* NB2042 CN {,k^hr̃o^hkð'L̃o:br̃iç} as above. Alias *Cnoc nan Taighean*. §9.ix.
 + *Cnoc na Lèpraich* NB2640, see *Cnoc na Lèbraich*.
 + *Cnoc na Mòine* NB2245, see *Cnoc na Mònach*.
- 1021 *Cnoc na Mònach* NB2245 DAIL {,k^hr̃o^hkñð'm̃õ:ñɔx} the hill of the peat. 1848 -/na *Moine* 1974 -/na *Mòine*.
- 1022 *Cnoc na Mònach* NB1940 DUN, as above. 1848 -/na *Beist* 1974 idem.
- 1023 *Cnoc na Mònach* NB1839 DUN, as above.
- 1024 *Cnoc na Muilne* NB2547 ST = 'mũĩL'ð} the hillock (of the mill). 1848 1974 =.
- 1025 *Cnoc na Nathrach* NB1938 TOL = 'Nar̃ɔx} the hill of the snake, with gen. sg. of *nathair* f. EIr. *nathir*. 1848 1974 =.

- 1026 *Cnoc na Nathrach Beag* NB1938 TOL {,k^hrō^hknð,Narɔx'βeg} the lesser *C*.
- 1027 *Cnoc na Rainich* NB2144 DAIL {,k^hrō^hknð'Rānɪç} the hill of the fern.
- 1028 *Cnoc na Sean Iodhlainn* NB1937 TOL {,k^hrō^hknð'fē,nuLɪN'} the hillock (of the old stack-yard), with gen.sg. of *iodhlainn* f. EIr. *ithlaind* obl. case.
- 1029 *Cnoc na Seann Chloich* NB ? DAIL ='fāũ(N),xLa^lç} the hill (of the old stone), with the adj. *sean seann* EIr. *sen*.
- 1030 *Cnoc na Seann Chroit* NB2546 ST ='fāũ(N),xrɔ^{lh}t'} the hillock (of the old croft), with gen.sg. of *croit* f. (fr. Eng. *croft*). Alias *Cnocan na Sean Chroit*.
- + *Cnoc na Sgiathain* NB2647, see *Cnoc nan Sgiathan*.
- 1031 *Cnoc na Tràigh* NB1937 TOL ='t^hra:ɟ} the hillock (of the beach), with gen.sg. of *tràigh* f. EIr. *tráig*. Alias *Cnoc Tràigh Shanndaig*, *Cnoc an t-Sradain*.
- 1032 *Cnoc na Tràthach* NB1937 TOL ='t^hra:hɔx} the knoll of the hay, with gen. of *tràthach* f., cf. EIr. *tráigid* 'ebbs, dries up'.
- 1033 *Cnoc na h-Aeroplane* NB2346 SD ='hɛ:rð,p^hle.n} the hillock of the aeroplane, with a lw. from the Eng. *aeroplane*. Trad: Wellington bomber crashed here 1940. Alias *Creagan a' Ghlas Allt*.
- + *Cnoc na h-Airde* NB1838, 1848 idem.
- 1034 *Cnoc na h-Airde* NB1743 BOR ='ha:q̄ð} the hill (of the headland).
- 1035 *Cnoc na h-Aon Chloich* NB2331 GA ='hǽnð̃,xLa^lç} the hill (of the single stone), of a standing-stone. 1848 *Druim na h Aon Chloich* 1974 *Druim na h-Aon Chloich*. Alias *Druim na h-Aon Chloich*.
- 1036 *Cnoc na h-Athadh* NB1937 TOL ='ha:ðɔɣ} the hillock (of the kiln), with gen.sg. of *àth* f.
- 1037 *Cnoc na h-Ighme Ruaidhe* NB2035 BRI {,k^hrō^hknð,hĩN'ð'Ruðjð} the hill of the red-haired/complexioned girl, with gen.sg. of *nighean* (EIr. *ingen*, gen. *ingine*). 1848 -/na h-Inghinn a Ruaidha 1974 -/na h-Inghinn a' Ruaidha.
- + *Cnoc na h-Inghinn a' Ruaidha* NB2035, see *Cnoc na h-Ighme Ruaidhe*.
- + *Cnoc na h-Oisg* NB2241, see *Creagan na h-Othaisg*.
- 1038 *Cnoc na h-Uagha* NB1838 TOL ='hũãɣð} the hill (of the cave), with gen.sg. of *uagh* f. EIr. *úam*. Alias *Cnoc na h-Uamhaig/na h-Uaghainn*.
- 1039 *Cnoc na h-Uaghach* NB1842 BOR ='hũã(h)ɔx}, as above. 1974 -/na h-Uathach. For the inflexion here, cf. *Na h-Uamhachan* (Gillies 1906: 219).
- 1040 *Cnoc na h-Uaghainn* NB1838 TOL ='ũãɣɪN'}, as above. Alias *Cnoc na h-Uagha/na h-Uamhaig*.
- 1041 *Cnoc na h-Uaghainn* NB2344 DAIL, as above.

- 1042 *Cnoc na h-Uamhaig* NB1838 TOL ={'hũãvæk'}, as above, with gen.sg. of *uamhag* f., dimin. of *uamh uagh* f. Alias *Cnoc na h-Uagha/na h-Uaghainn*.
- + *Cnoc na h-Uathach* NB1842, see *Cnoc na h-Uaghach*.
- + *Cnoc nam Breac* NB2237, 1848 idem.
- 1043 *Cnoc nam Peithir* NB2044 GEARR ={'m^heh1δ} the hill of the thunderbolts or rifts, with gen. pl. of *peithir* m. EIr. *beithir*. Alias *Cnoc nam Peithirean* doc.
- 1044 *Cnoc nam Peithirean* NB2044 GEARR ={'m^heh1δðn}, as above. 1848 1974 =. Alias *Cnoc nam Peithir*.
- + *Cnoc nan Allt* NB2447, see *Cnoc an Allt*.
- 1045 *Cnoc nan Amhran* NB1938 TOL ={'Nãũran} the hillock of the songs. Alias *Cnoc an Amhrain*.
- 1046 *Cnoc nan Calg* NB2333 CAL ={'l̥^hal̥ak} the hillock of the ?, with gen.pl. of *calg* m. 'awn; prickle, point; sting; beard of corn' etc. (Dwelly 1977) EIr. *calg*. 1848 1974 =.
- 1047 *Cnoc nan Caorach* NB2036 TOL ={'l̥^harɔx} the hillock of the sheep, with gen.pl. of *caora* f. EIr. *cáera*.
- 1048 *Cnoc nan Ceapan* NB2447 SD ={'l̥^hæpan} the hillock of the stakes, with gen.pl. of *ceapan* m., dimin. of *ceap* EIr. *cepp*.
- 1049 *Cnoc nan Cnàimhseag* NB1942 BOR ={'l̥^hr̥e:ʃak} the hill of the bearberries. 1848 *Cleit nan Crèishag* 1974 *Cleit nan Creisag*.
- 1050 *Cnoc nan Cnàimhseag* NB1740 BOR, as above.
- 1051 *Cnoc nan Cnàmh* NB2546 ST ={'l̥^hr̥ã:v} the hillock of the bones. 1848 1974 *Creag nan Cnàmh*. Trad: where slain from a battle between men from *Uig* and *Nis* were buried.
- 1052 *Cnoc nan Cnàmh* NB2133 CAL, as above. 1848 -/nan *Cnamh* 1974 =.
- 1053 *Cnoc nan Cotan* NB2235 BRI ={'l̥^hɔ^htan} the hillock of the folds.
- 1054 *Cnoc nan Cròitean* NB2233 CAL ={'l̥^hrɔ:ht'ðn} the hill of the pens, with gen.pl. of *crò* f. 1848 -/na *Cròitean*.
- 1055 *Cnoc nan Damh* NB2137 TOL ={'Nãv} the hillock of the oxen, with gen.pl. of *damh* m. EIr. *dam*.
- 1056 *Cnoc nan Leathad* NB1944 GEARR ={'L'i-at} the hill (of the slopes). 1848 -/a *Leathaid* 1974 -/an *Leathaid*.
- 1057 *Cnoc nan Sgiathan* NB2647 ST ={'sk'iðhan} the knoll of the ?bats, with gen.pl. of *sgiathan* (fr. *sgiath* 'wing' EIr. *sciath*). 1848 -/a *Sgiathan* 1974 -/na *Sgiathain*.
- 1058 *Cnoc nan Sgoran* NB2445 SD ={'skɔrðn} the hillock (of the clefts or niches), with gen.pl. of *sgor* m., fr. ON *skor* f.

- 1059 *Cnoc nan Taighean* NB2042 CN = 'N^hchðn} the hillock of the houses, with gen.pl. of *taigh* m. 1848 -/Charlobhaidh.
- 1060 *Cnoc nan Tarbh* NB1843 BOR = 'N^haràv} the hill of the bulls. 1974 =.
- 1061 *Cnoc nan Uan* NB2541 SD = 'N^huã} the hill of the lambs. 1848 -/an Uain 1974 idem.
- 1062 *Cnoc Nic Dhòmhnail* 'ic Fhearchair NB2445 SD {,k^hr^hõk,n^hk',γõ-ıL'l^h'k^hεxδδ} the knoll of the daughter of *Dòmhnail*, the son of *Fearchar*, with *nic* < *nighean* + *mhic*, gen. of *mac* (MacBain 1982: 262-63), and gen. of the man's name *Fearchar* EIr. *Ferchar*.
- 1063 *Cnoc O Dòmòd* NB2647 ST {,k^hr^hõk,o'ðĩ:mɔt} the knoll of *O Dòmòd* (the descendents of **Tòmòd*), with gen.pl. (eclipsing, as in Ir. pnn., see Joyce 1913 III, 10) of *ò ogha* EIr. *úa óa ó*, and (eclipsed) gen. of the man's name **Tòmòd* m. u-stem, fr. ON *Hámund* acc.m. *Hámundr* was in use from early times in Iceland, but is unattested in Norway (GP 115); it is attested in Ireland, however, in the persn. *Mac Amáind* AUL103 (Marstrander 1915: 48). 1848 1974 =.
- 1064 *Cnoc Os na Creige Ruaidhe* NB2037 TOL {,k^hr^hõk,ɔ.snð,k^hδeg'ð'Ruðjð} the hillock (of the outlet (of the red rock)).
- 1065 *Cnoc Raineach* NB1842 BOR {,k^hr^hõk'Rãñɔx} the fern-covered hill §7.4.
- 1066 *Cnoc Raineach* NB1942 CN; as above. 1848 1974 -/Rainich.
+ *Cnoc Rainich* NB1942, see *Cnoc Raineach*.
- 1067 *Cnoc Riabhach* NB1844 GEARR = 'Riðvɔx} the tawny hillock.
- 1068 *Cnoc Riabhach* NB1842 BOR, as above.
- 1069 *An Cnoc Riabhach* NB1841 DUN {ð,ɹ^hr^hõk'Riðvɔx} as above. Alias *Cnoc Buaile Dhonnchaidh* doc.
- 1070 *Cnoc Riabhach nam Feithichean Mòra* NB2445 SD {,k^hr^hõk'Riðvɔxnð,fe-ıçðn 'mo:rð} the tawny hill (of the large rills).
- 1071 *Cnoc Sgeir na h-Aoidhe* NB2233 CAL {,k^hr^hõk,sk'øðnð'həjð} the hill (of the rock (of the ford)), with *sgeir* f., fr. ON *sker* nt. 1848 1974 --/na h-Uidhe. F.etym: with *sg̃ire* 'parish, district' (this is understandable perhaps, since the element *sgeir* is otherwise found only in connection with sea-water, §11.lvii). The rock in question probably constituted part of the ford that must have existed here before the road was built.
+ *Cnoc Sgeir na h-Uidhe* NB2233, see *Cnoc Sgeir na h-Aoidhe*.
- 1072 *Cnoc Shanndaig* NB1937 TOL {,k^hr^hõk'hãũntık'} the hillock of **S.* (see No. 2564). Alias *Cnoc Tràigh Shanndaig*.
- 1073 *Cnoc Sheonaidh* NB2437 DUN = 'hjõnı} *Seonaidh*'s hill. Trad: *Seonaidh*,

- whose father, *Seog Beag*, came to DUN from Pabbay in U c.1830, raped a woman at a shieling here; he was subsequently tried at Tain.
- 1074 *Cnoc Sheothal* NB1937 TOL ={'hjɔ-ɔL}qL} the hill of *S. With a ln. fr. ON *Sió-hól* 'sea-hill' with stem-form of *siór* m. (var. of *sær* m.) 'sea' and acc. of *hóll* m. 1974 -/Feoal. F.etym: with *feothail* 'fresh, breezy' (hence the map-form).
- 1075 *Cnoc Shiothaileir* NB2547 ST ={'hi-ðlað}r} the hill of *S(h). With a ln. in final ON *-hlíðir*, cf. **Stangaileir* and **Rudhaileir*. 1848 -/Shíthallair 1934 -/Shiothalair 1974 -/Shithealair. Alias *Cnoc Mòr Shiothaileir*.
- + *Cnoc Speireag* NB2437, see *Cnoc Sprumhaig*.
- 1076 *Cnoc Sprumhaig* NB2437 DUN ={'sprũ-æk'} the hill of ?the thicket, with gen.sg. of *sprumhag* f., cf. EIr. *bruän* > G. *spruan sprudhan* (MacBain 1982: 341); but this not not account for the nasal vowel. 1848 -/Speireig 1974 -/Speireag.
- 1077 *Cnoc Talamh Ridheas* NB1841 DUN {,k^hrō^hk,t^hqLu'ri-as} the hill of T.
- 1078 *Cnoc Thannndramar* NB2437 DUN ={'hãũN,tramðr} the hill of *T. Alias *Cleite Thannndramar* doc., *Cnuic Thannndramar*.
- 1079 *Cnoc Theastabhal* NB2743 BRA ={'hestð,vqL} the hill of *Th. Cf. *Theastabhal*.
- 1080 *Cnoc Theastabhal* NB1840 DUN, as above. 1848 -/Théstabhal. Alias *Cnoc Buaile Theastabhal*.
- 1081 *Cnoc Theðraiseadar* NB2042 CN ={'hjɔ:r₁,faððr}ð} the hill of *Th. With a ln. fr. ON *þiðrasætr* 'the farm or shieling of the bulls' with gen. pl. of *þiðrr* m. 'bull' and nom./acc. of *sætr* nt. 1848 -/Eírshader 1903 Fjori-shader 1932 Fiorishader 1974 -/Eirshader. If we assume the 1848 form is in error for -*Eðrshader, the documentation may infer a pronunciation (len.) *{'jɔ:r(1),faððr}, (rad.) *{'fjɔ:r(1),faððr}. For the documentary forms in initial f-, this seems to be for the convenience of a derivation from ON *fiara* f. 'ebb-tide; foreshore' (although this is out of the question because of the quantity of the stressed vowel). I have heard {'fɔ:r₁,faððr} as a rad. form, but this does not occur as an independent name (an equally logical rad. form would be *{'t^hjɔ:r₁,faððr}). Only once did I hear {'fjɔ:r₁,faððr} (offered as the rad. form), but in this instance it could be explained as being due to analogy with the name *Fedirlig*, *An Fhedirlig*.
- 1082 *Cnoc Tràigh Shanndaig* NB1937 TOL {,k^hrō^hk,tra.j'hãũNtɪk'} the hill of T. Alias *Cnoc Shanndaig*.

- + Cnoc Tuamister NB2645, see *Cnoc Uamaistean*.
- 1083 *Cnoc Uamaistean* NB2645 ST {,k^hrō^hk'ũām₁,ft'ðn} the hillock of *U. With a ln. fr. ON *Huammsstein* 'the rock of the valley' with gen.sg. of *huammr* m. 'little hollow or valley' (frequent in pnn., e.g. Kvammen, NG X, 356) and acc. of *steinn* m. Cf. also, Uamis, BERN (MacAulay 1972: 330). 1848 -/Thûamister 1974 -/Tuamister.
- 1084 *Cnoc Uisdeam* NB2132 CAL ={'əft'am} the hill of *U. 1848 Cnoc Iúdeam.
- 1085 *Cnoca Dubha* NB2339 CARL {,k^hrō^hkð'du-u} the black hills, with pl. of *cnoc* m. §7.5iv. 1848 Cnocan Dúbh 1974 Cnocan Dubh.
- 1086 *Cnoca Mòra* NB2542 ST ={'mo:r} the large hills; individually *An Cnoc Mòr*.
- 1087 *Na Cnocain Breac* NB2142 CARL {nð,k^hrō^hkan'pðe^hk} the variegated hillocks, with pl. of *cnocan* m., dimin. of *cnoc* m.
- 1088 *Cnocan Anart* NB2135 BRI {,k^hrō^hka'nãnt₁'nãnt₁} linen hillock, i.e. where it was spread; with gen.sg. (fr. *anarta*, by metathesis and syncope §9.liv) of *anart* m. u-stem EIr. *anart* nt. o-stem.
- 1089 *Cnocan Ball Dubh* NB1939 DUN {,k^hrō^hkan'baL,ða^h} the hillock (of the black streak), with *ball* m. EIr. *ball* (§7.3ii); for the stress pattern, see §6. 1848 --/Dúbh 1974 =. The 1848 form suggests full-stress upon the final element. Alias *Creagan Ball Dubh*.
- + Cnocan Breac NB2343, see *Creagan Breac*.
- 1090 *Cnocan Cruinn* NB2547 ST {,k^hrō^hkan'k^hrō^hín'} the round hillock, with the adj. *cruinn* EIr. *cruind*. 1848 1974 =.
- + Cnocan Dubh NB2339, see *Cnoca Dubha*.
- 1091 *Cnocan Ghleadhairean* NB2241 CARL ={'lɔ̃ɣðððn} the hill of G. 1848 -/Chleadhairean.
- 1092 *Cnocan Ghleadhairean* NB1943 GEARR, as above. 1848 Cnoc Ghleadhairean.
- + Cnocan Iasanaich NB1941, see *Cnoc an Iasanaich*.
- + Cnocan Loisg NB2038, see *An Cnoc Loisgte*.
- 1093 *Cnocan Ma Lèig* NB2135 BRI {,k^hrō^hkan,ma'le:g'} the hillock by (the brook), with acc. of *lèig* f., fr. ON *lǽk* acc.m.
- + Cnocan na Conlaich NB2546, see *Cnoc na Connlaich*.
- 1094 *Cnocan na Sean Chroit* NB2546 ST {,k^hrō^hkannð'fðnð^h,xro^ht'} the hillock (of the old croft). Alias *Cnoc na Seann Chroit*.
- + Cnocan Ois NB1838, see *Cnoc an Ois*.
- 1095 *Cnocan Phrinnse* NB2035 BRI {,k^hrō^hkan'fðí:f} 'vðí:f} a corruption of the alias *Cnoc Beinn Phrinnse*.
- 1096 *Cnocan Thèidir* NB1842 BOR {,k^hrō^hkan'he:ð'ðð} the hillock of *Th. The specific is obscure, though likely of ON origin.
- 1097 *Cnuic a' Chàrmain* NB2446 SD {,k^hrō^hk'ð'xɑ:ŋan} the hillock (of the

- hillock).
- + Cnuic a' Ghearraidh NB2145, cf. *An Geàrraidh, Taobh a' Gheàrraidh*.
- 1098 *Cnuic a' Ghlas Allt Bhig* NB2445 SD {,k^hr^hk'^hð,γLa;saL̥tð'vɪg'} the hillocks (of the lesser (green stream)).
- 1099 *Cnuic a' Fhraoich* NB2336 DUN {,k^hr^hk'^hð'r^hω:l̥ç} the hillocks of the heather. 1848 Cnoc a Fhraoich 1974 Cnoc a' Fhaoich.
- 1100 *Cnuic Chuidhbhig* NB2346 SD/DAIL {,k^hr^hk'^h'xði,vɪk'} the hillocks of *C*.
- 1101 *Na Cnuic Dhubha* NB2245 DAIL {nð,k^hr^hk'^h'γu-u} the black hills.
- 1102 *Cnuic Lochan Tioram* NB2545 SD {,k^hr^hk'^h,Lɔxa'N^hl̥ðm} the hillocks of *L.*, §7.3ii. Alias *Creagan Lochan Tioram*.
- 1103 *Cnuic ThannDRAMAR* NB2437 DUN {,k^hr^hk'^h'hãũN,tramðr} the hills of **T*. Alias *Cleite ThannDRAMAR* doc., *Cnoc ThannDRAMAR*.
- 1104 *Na Coilich* NB1743 BOR {nð'k^hall̥ç} of a group of skerries, with pl. of *coileach* m. in the sense 'crest, crest of water'. One of this group is known as *Bodha na Dubh Sgeir*.
- 1105 *A' Choille Ghiuthais* NB1944 GEARR {ð,xðL'ð'jɥ-l̥f} the pine wood, with *coille* f. EIr. *cailli caille* obl. case, and gen. of *giuthas* m. EIr. *gius*. Part of *Loch nan Geàrrannan*, where at low tide the roots of pine trees can be seen in the sea-bed. Cf. NB2822 *Cleite Loch a' Ghiubhais* (OS 1974).
- 1106 *An Coire Dubh* NB2139 CN {ð,ɟ^hɔðð'da^h} the black corrie, with *coire* m. EIr. *coire*. Trad: 'the black kettle', where the MacAulays devoured their spoil of cattle on their return from raids upon *Nis*; *Leac Pronnadh nan Cnàmh* (q.v.) was the spot on which the carcasses were cut up.
- 1107 *Coire nan Fiadh* NB3234 S {,k^hɔððnð'fiðɣ} the corrie of the deer (pl.).
- 1108 *Na Coireachan* NB2044 GEARR/DAIL {nð'k^hɔðɔxðn} the corries, with pl. of *coire* m.
- 1109 *Conadal* NB1742 BOR {,k^hɔnð,ððL} of an area and point. Possibly fr. ON *Kanadal* acc., with gen.sg. of *kani* m., and acc. of *dalr* m. 'valley'. *Kani* 'bowl with handles on both sides' (cf. Ice. *kani* 'container for wood', Far. *kana* 'ship-stem') is found in a few pnn. in Norway, e.g. Kanafetmyrene (NG V, 140). Viewed from the south side of *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*, a flat-bottomed valley is bound to the east and west by rising hillsides. Alias *Sròin Dubh, Sròin Dubh Chonadal*.
- + Corra Chnoc NB2438, 1848 Corrá Chnoc.
- 1110 *Na Corrain* NB2134 CAL {nð'k^hɔRan} the rounded headlands, with pl. of *corran* m. 'hooked instrument; point of land like a sickle' EIr. *corrán*. Cf. *An Corran*, Skye (Forbes 1923: 140). 1934 *Na Corrainn*.

- 1111 *Corran Bhlianais* NB1937 TOL {,k^hɔRan'vliã,nɪʃ} the point of B.
- 1112 *Cotan a' Bhanntreach* NB2445 SD {,k^hɔ^htanð'vãũ(N)trɪç} the fold of the widower, with gen.sg. of *banntreach* m. EIr. *baintrebthach*.
- 1113 *Cotan Choinnich* NB2044 GEARR {,k^hɔ^htan'xõN'ɪç} *Coinneach's* fold. 1848 =.
- 1114 *Cotan Fhionnlaidh* NB2545 SD ='jõũLaj} *Fionnladh's* fold.
- 1115 *Cotan Iain Mhic Coinnich* NB2044 GEARR {,k^hɔ^htan,ĩ-a,vĩ'k^hõN'ɪç} *Iain Mac Coinneach's* fold.
- 1116 *Cotan Iain Ruaidh* NB1840 DUN {,k^hɔ^htan,ĩ-a'ruðj} *Iain Ruadh's* fold.
- 1117 *Cotan Nèill* NB2445 SD {,k^hɔ^htan'nẽ:L'} *Niall's* fold.
- 1118 *Cotan Ruairidh* NB2445 SD ='ruððɪ} *Ruairidh's* fold.
- + *Craeg Gheal* NB2142, see *Craeg Gheal*.
- 1119 *Cràgam* NB1643 BOR {'k^hra:gam} of an island. Fr. ON *Krāk-holm(a)* 'crow-island' with stem-form of *kráka* f. 'crow' and acc. of *holmr* m. (or *holmi* m.). Cf. in Norway, *Kråkøya* (Hovda 1961: 322). A form with gen.sg. *krǫku-* or gen.pl. *krák(n)a-* is also possible. 1848 Craigeam 1895 1974 idem 1982 *Cràgam*.
- + *Craigeam* NB1643, see *Cràgam*.
- 1120 *Craobhag* NB1942 BOR {'k^hrɔ:vak} the copse, with *craobhag* f., fr. *craobh* f. EIr. *cráeb* 'tree' + suffix §7.6ii. 1848 =.
- 1121 *Craobhag* NB1842 BOR, as above.
- 1122 *A' Chraobhag* NB1838 TOL {ð'xrɔ:vak} as above. 1848 *Craobhag* 1974 *Cravag*.
- 1123 *A' Chraobhag* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
- + *Cravag* NB1838, see *A' Chraobhag*.
- 1124 *Creag a' Bhacain* NB1941 DUN {,k^hðegð'va^hkan} the rock of the stake, with gen.sg. of *bacan* m. EIr. *baccán*.
- 1125 *Creag a' Bhodaich* NB1939 DUN ='vɔðɪç} the crag of the spectre. Trad: the remains of a man were found here when the road was made; the ghost (of an old drover) is seen here.
- 1126 *Creag a' Bhodaich* NB2648 BRA, as above. ?Referring to shape. Alias *Cnoc a' Bhodaich*.
- 1127 *Creag a' Chait* NB2447 SD ='xɛ^ht'} the knoll of the cat. 1848 -/a *Chaoich* 1974 -/a' *Chaothaich*. Alias *Creag a' Chait A-muigh*.
- 1128 *Creag a' Chait* NB2346 SD, as above. 1848 -/a *Chait* 1974 -/a' *Chait*.
- 1129 *Creag a' Chait A-muigh* NB2447 SD {,k^hðegð,xɛ^ht'ð'mũj} the outer *C*. Alias *Creag a' Chait* doc.
- 1130 *Creag a' Chait A-staigh* NB2447 SD ='støj} the inner *C*.
- 1131 *Creag a' Chala* NB2045 GEARR ='xɪLð} the crag (of the bay). Trad: with

- gen. of *call* m. 'loss, damage' etc.; stock were unable to turn about at this point and would fall down the cliff to the bay.
- + *Creag a' Chaorthaich* NB2447, see *Creag a' Chait (A-muigh)*.
- 1132 *Creag a' Chìobair* NB2243 DAIL = 'çi:bað}ðð} the knoll of the shepherd, with gen.sg. of *cìobaire* m., fr. Eng. *keeper*.
- 1133 *Creag a' Chreamhainn* NB2139 DUN = 'xðēvɪN'} the crag of the ?wild garlic, with gen.sg. of ?**creamhainn* *creamhann*, fr. EIr. *crem* (as an n-stem), cf. G. *creamh* m. F.etym: *creabhair* 'horsefly' was suggested.
- 1134 *Creag a' Chreamhainn A-muigh* NB2445 SD {,k^hðegð,xðēvɪN'ð'mũj} the outer *C*.
- 1135 *Creag a' Chreamhainn A-staigh* NB2445 SD = 'støj} the inner *C*.
- 1136 *Creag a Deas* NB2347 SD = 'd'æs} the southern (fishing) rock.
- + *Creag a na Cùile* NB2132, see *Creagan a' Chùil*.
- + *Creag a' Rubaidh* NB2135, see *An Cnoc Mòr*.
- 1137 *Creag a Tuath* NB2447 SD = 't^huð} the northern (fishing) rock.
- 1138 *Creag Aidheal* NB2042 CN {,k^hðøç'a:jaL} the rock of *A. With an obscure ON ln. 1848 *Cnoc Aidhoil*.
- 1139 *Creag Airigh Steinn Bheinn* NB2142 CARL {,k^hðøç,a.ðɪ,ft'a'veĩN'} the knoll of A. Alias *Creagan Airigh Steinn Bheinn*.
- 1140 *Creag Amar Sìne* NB2237 TOL {,k^hðøç,ãm'ð'çĩ:nð} the crag of A. 1848 --/Sine.
- 1141 *Creag Amhlaigh* NB2135 BRI {,k^hðøç'ãũLaj} *Amhlaigh's* crag.
- + *Creag an Aon Bhealaich* NB2233, see *Creag an t-Sean Bhealaich*.
- 1142 *Creag an Eich* NB2042 CN {,k^hðegð'N'eç} the crag of the horse.
- 1143 *Creag an Eich* NB1843 BOR, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 1144 *Creag an Fhèidh* NB3033 BRI = 'N'e:j} the crag of the deer. 1848 -/na'm Fiadh. Alias *Tom an Fhèidh*, *Creagan an Fhèidh*.
- 1145 *Creag an Fhèidh* NB2831 CAL, as above. 1848 -/na'm Fiadh 1974 -/nam Fiadh.
- 1146 *Creag an Fhèidh* NB2544 SD/ST, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/an Fheidh.
- 1147 *Creag an Fhèdir* NB2238 CN = 'N'ç:ð} the crag of the grass.
- 1148 *Creag an Fhèdir* NB1741 DUN, as above.
- 1149 *Creag an Fheulainn* NB1945 GEARR = 'N'iaLɪN'} the crag of the ?honey-suckle, with gen.sg. of *feulainn* 'honeysuckle' (but given as fem. by Dwelly, 1977). I have only recorded *leum-chrann* for this plant in CR.
- 1150 *Creag an Fhodair* NB2648 BRA = 'Nçððr} the crag of the straw or fodder, with gen. of *fodar* m., fr. Eng. *fodder*.

- 1151 *Creag an Fhraoich* NB2444 SD =r(ɔ:l^hç) the crag of the heather.
- 1152 *Creag an Ruisc as Fhaid' A-muigh* NB1842 BOR {,k^hðegð'Raʃk'ð,sad'ð'mũj} the outer (crag of the ?prospect), with gen.sg. of *ros* m. 'eye; vision, sight' EIr. *ros*.
- 1153 *Creag an Ruisc as Fhaid' A-staigh* NB1842 BOR ='støj} the inner (crag of the prospect).
- + *Creag an Taghain* NB2245, 1848 idem.
- 1154 *Creag an Taghain* NB2234 CAL ='N^hðʎan} the crag of the pine martin. 1848 -/an Tàghain 1934 = ('wild cat') 1974 -/an Tàghain.
- 1155 *Creag an Taghain* NB2236 BRI, as above. Alias *Creagan an Taghain*.
- 1156 *Creag an Tèid* NB2749 BRA ='N^he:ð'} the crag of the rope, with gen.sg. of *teud* m. EIr. *tét*.
- 1157 *Creag an Teine* NB1841 DUN ='N^hænð} the crag of the fire.
- 1158 *Creag an Tùil Mhòir* NB1741 DUN {,k^hðegð,N^hu.l'vo:ð}r} the crag of *An Tùil Mòr*. 1848 -/Mhor 1974 -/Mhór. Alias *Creag Mhòr an Tùil*, *A' Chreag Mhòr*.
- 1159 *Creag an t-Sagairt* NB2144 DAIL {,k^hðegð'N^hagʌt} the crag of the priest, with gen.sg. of *sagart* m. EIr. *sacart* (Lat. *sacerdos*).
- 1160 *Creag an t-Sean Bhealaich* NB2233 CAL {,k^hðegð'N^hænð,vjaLɔx} §7.3, the crag of *An t-Sean Bhealach*. 1848 1974 -/an Aon Bhealaich.
- 1161 *Creag an t-Seasgaich* NB1943 CN ='N^heskɪç} the crag of the dry cow, with gen.sg. of *seasgach* m. EIr. *sescach*. 1848 *Creagan Sheasgair*.
- 1162 *Creag an t-Sneachd* NB1838 TOL ='N^hraxk} §9.lii, the crag of the snow, with gen. of *sneachd* m. EIr. *snechta*.
- + *Creag Ard* NB1839, 1848 idem.
- 1163 *Creag Ard* NB1842 BOR {,k^hðøç'a:d} the high crag.
- 1164 *A' Chreag Ard* NB1945 GEARR {ð,xðeg'a:d} as above.
- 1165 *A' Chreag Ard* NB1937 TOL, as above.
- 1166 *Creag Ard Mhòr* NB2346 SD {,k^hðøç'a:d'vo:r} the upper large crag.
- + *Creag Bealach a' Sgail* NB2040, 1848 *Creag Beachacha Scail*.
- 1167 *Creag Bhàn* NB1840 DUN {,k^hðeg'vã:n} the fair rock.
- 1168 *A' Chreag Bhàn* NB2038 TOL {ð,xðeg'vã:n} as above.
- 1169 *A' Chreag Bhàn* NB2335 BRI, as above.
- 1170 *A' Chreag Bheag* NB2232 CAL {(ð),xðegð'veç} §9.2ii, the little crag.
- 1171 *Creag Calmaistean* NB2140 CN {,k^hðøç'k^halãm,ʃt'ðn} the crag of *C. 1848 1974 =. With an ON ln. fr. *Kalmanstein* 'the rock of Kalman' with gen. of the man's name, fr. EIr. *Colmán*, and acc. of *steinn* m. The persn. was borrowed fairly early, and is found in *Inb.* and in the sagas.

- 1172 *Creag Càrman Uisdein* NB2042 CN {,k^hδeg,k^ha.ŋan'ʉ:ft'an} the crag (of *Uisdean's* stone-pile), with gen. of the man's name, fr. early ON **Aystein* acc. (> ON *Øystein*); cf. EIr. *Ōistin* (Marstrander 1915: 72).
- 1173 A' *Chreag Chas* NB2132 CAL {ð,xδeg'xas} the steep crag, with the adj. *cas* EIr. *cass*.
- 1174 *Creag Chùbagach* NB2042 CN {,k^hδøg'xu:baɔɔx} of a tiny clump of rock on croftland. The specific may consist either of *cùb* f. 'pannier, box-cart' etc. (fr. Scots *coop coup*, MacBain 1982: 113), or the verbal stem *cùb* 'crouch' etc. (cf. EIr. *cùbaid* 'crouches'; Lat. *cubo*) + the suffices *-ag-ach*: 'the box-like or crouching rock'.
- 1175 *Creag Dhubh* NB2546 SD {,k^hδøg'ɣa^h} the black crag.
- 1176 A' *Chreag Dhubh* NB2041 CN {ð,xδøg'ɣa^h} as above.
- 1177 *Creag Dhubh an t-Sìogainn* NB2641 SD {,k^hδøg,ɣa-ð'N'i:gɪN'} with {N'} for {N^h}, the black rock of *An Sìogainn*. 1848 Tom Dubh an Iògain 1974 Tom Dubh an Iògain.
- 1178 *Creag Dhubh Bhineasgro* NB2544 SD {,k^hδøg,ɣa'vĩna,skro} the black rock of **Bh*.
- 1179 *Creag Dhubh Mhurchaidh* NB2144 DAIL ={'vuRuxɪ} the black crag of *Murchadh*.
- 1180 *Creag Eidearan* NB2042 CN {,kδeg'e:d'ðran} the crag of **E*. 1848 Cleit Eùdramair (see *Thaodramar*) 1934 = 1974 Cleit Eùdramair. With an obscure ON ln. as specific.
- 1181 *Creag Feannaig* NB2144 DAIL ={'fjãnek'} the crag of the crow or lazy-bed. 1848 1974 =.
- 1182 *Creag Garsan* NB2648 ST ={'gɑsðn} the (fishing) rock of *G*.
- 1183 *Creag Gheal* NB2142 CARL {,k^hδøg'jɑL} the white rock. 1848 = 1974 *Craeg Gheal*; with the adj. *geal* EIr. *gel*.
- 1184 *Creag Gheal* NB1942 CN, as above. Alias *Creaga Geala* doc.
- 1185 A' *Chreag Ghlas* NB2038 TOL {ð,xδeg'ɣLas} the grey rock.
- 1186 A' *Chreag Ghlas* NB1938 TOL, as above.
- 1187 *Creag Gille Bhrìghde* NB2037 TOL {,k^hδeg,g'ɪL'ð'vði:d'ð} the crag of *Gille Brìghde*, with gen. of the female saint's name, *Brìghde* EIr. *Brìgde* gen. (nom. *Brigit*).
- 1188 *Creag Gorm* NB2334 CAL {,k^hδeg'gɔrðm} the dark crag. 1848 *Creagan Gorm* 1974 *idem*.
- 1189 *Creag Iosal Mhòr* NB2346 SD {,k^hδeg'iðsðL'vo:r} the lower large crag.
- 1190 *Creag Isbeil* NB2037 TOL {,k^hδeg'is^(ð)bal} *Isbeal's* crag, with gen. of

- the woman's name, fr. Eng. *Isabel(la)*.
- + Creag Leathann NB2744.
- 1191 *Creag Mhic Thorcaill* NB2648 SD {,k^hδøg_gvĩ^h'kɔɾkiL'} the crag of *Mac Thorcaill*, with gen. of the man's name, *Torcaill* m., fr. ON *þorkel* acc.m. (< *þorketil*). Coastal.
- 1192 *Creag Mhòr* NB2547 SD {,k^hδøg_g'vo:r} the large crag.
+ *Creag Mhór* NB1741, see *An Tùil Mòr*.
- 1193 *A' Chreag Mhòr* NB1941 DUN {ð,xðeg_g'vo:r} as above.
- 1194 *A' Chreag Mhòr* NB1741 DUN, as above. Alias *Creag an Tùil Mhòir* doc., *Creag Mhòr an Tùil*.
- 1195 *Creag Mhòr an Tùil* NB1741 DUN {,k^hðeg_gvo.rð'N^hu:l} the large crag (of the crag), with gen.sg. of *tùil* m., fr. ON **hugl* (see No. 620). ?Cf. *Tòl Beag* NB3551 (OS 1974). Alias *Creag an Tùil Mhòir* doc., *A' Chreag Mhòr*.
- 1196 *Creag Mhòr Dhòmhnail Iain Bhàin* NB2546 SD {,k^hδøg_g'vo:r,γõ-1L',ĩ-an 'vã:N'} the large crag of *Dòmhnall* (the son) of *Iain Bàn*.
- 1197 *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag* NB2445 SD {,k^hδøg_g'vo:r,ũ^hkð'fa:lak} §9.lix, the large crag of rosehips. *Muc fàileag* f., here gen.pl. §7.5iv, is identical in meaning to *mucag* f. 'dog-rosehip'; MacBain (1982: 159) equates *fàileag* with *mucag* in meaning. Cameron (1900: 29) lists *preas nam mucag* 'the hip-bush', and suggests the use of *muc* (fr. *muc* f. 'pig, sow') is 'from the resemblance of the seeds to pigs, being bristly'. More probably, *muc mucag* simply have the sense 'little fat or chubby one'. *Fàileag* is conceivably for *fàireag* f. 'lump, gland'. Alternatively, it may be that *fàileag* derives from *àile* 'scent, smell', later *fàile(adh)* with prosthetic *f-*, + an agent suffix: 'scented one'. 1848 -/Mhor na' Mucan Phaileag 1974 -/Mhór na Mucan Faileag.
- 1198 *Creag Mhòr na Craobhaig* NB1942 BOR {,k^hðeg_gvo.ŋð'k^hrw:væk'} the large crag of *A' Chraobhag*.
+ *Creag Mhór na Mucan Faileag* NB2445, see *Creag Mhòr Mhuca Fàileag*.
- 1199 *Creag Mhòr Rathaigeadh* NB1942 BOR {,k^hðeg_gvo.r'ra-1,g'ay} the large crag of *R*.
- 1200 *Creag Mhurchaidh Mhòir* NB1841 DUN {,k^hδøg_gvuRùx1'vo:ð} the crag of *Murchadh Mòr*. 1848 --/Mhoir 1974 idem.
- 1201 *Creag na Bà Glais* NB1942 CIR {,k^hδøg_gŋð,ba.'gLaʃ} the crag of the grey cow. 1848 -/na Bá Glais 1974 =.
- 1202 *Creag na Bèist* NB2437 DUN {,k^hðeg_gŋð'be:st'} the crag of the otter. 1848 1974 =.

- 1203 *Creag na Caora Dhubh* NB2038 TOL {₁k^hδegnð, k^h_ω.rð'γu^h} the crag of the black sheep, §7.4.
- 1204 *Creag na Caorrcha Meille* NB2444 SD {₁k^hδøgnð, k^h_ωRàxð'mĩL'ð} the crag of the wild liquorice, with gen. of *caorra mille* f., fr. *caorra* f. with the sense 'globular mass' and as a guttural stem + ?gen.sg. of EIr. **meille* m. io-stem 'ball; protruberance, swelling', cf. EIr. *mell* m. o-stem with the same meanings (cf. also the adj. *meillech mellach* 'bulging' etc.). Cf. Cnoc na Carrachan 'hill of the wild liquorice' (Watson 1976: 155).
- 1205 *Creag na Muilne* NB2036 BRI {₁k^hδegnð'mũĩL'ð} the crag (of the mill). 1848 -/na Muil'ne 1974 =.
- 1206 *Creag na Starrraig* NB1841 DUN ='stqRæk'} the crag of the hooded-crow, with gen.sg. of *starrag* f. (cf. the sense 'stiff-neck, wry-neck'), fr. ON *starr* adj. 'hard, obstinate, stiff' or *starrí* m. (cf. NN *starre* 'hardhead, stubborn person') + suffix -ag.
- 1207 *Creag na h-Iolair* NB2245 DAIL ='hjuLðð} the crag of the eagle.
- 1208 *Creag nam Beart* NB2043 CARL ='m̥jɑst̥} the crag of the looms. 1848
Creagan nam Beairtean 1974 idem.
 + *Creag nam Breac* NB2238, 1848 idem.
 + *Creag nam Fiadh* NB2831, see *Creag an Fhèidh*.
 + *Creag nan Cnamh* NB2546, see *Cnoc nan Cnàmh*.
 + *Creag nan Each* NB2238, 1848 idem.
- 1209 *Creag Raineach* NB2042 CN {₁k^hδøg'rãnx} §7.4, the fern-covered crag. 1974 -/Rannoch.
 + *Creag Rannoch* NB2042, see *Creag Raineach*.
- 1210 *Creag Ruadh* NB1838 TOL ='ruðγ} the red crag. 1848 1974 =.
- 1211 *Creag Ruadh* NB1840 DUN, as above.
- 1212 *A' Chreag Ruadh* NB2446 SD {ð, xδøg'ruðγ} as above.
- 1213 *Creag Ruadh an t-Sìogainn* NB2740 ST {₁k^hδøg, ruðγð'N'i:g̥1N'} with {N'} for {N^h}, the red rock of *An Sìogainn*.
- 1214 *Creag Ruadh an t-Srath* NB2744 BRA ='N^hra^h} the red crag of *An t-Srath*.
- 1215 *Creag Ruadh na Craobhaig* NB1942 BOR {₁k^hδeg, ruðγnð'k^h_ω:væk'} the red crag of *A' Chraobhag*.
- 1216 *Creag Ruadh na Glaiç* NB1843 BOR ='gLa^{lh}k'} the red crag of *A' Ghlaiç*.
- 1217 *Creag Sìtheig* NB1842 BOR {₁k^hδøg'fi:hæk'} *Sìtheag*'s crag, with gen.sg. of the name of a mythical being, fr. *sìth* EIr. *sìd sìth* 'fairy, supernatural being' + agent suffix -ag. Cf. *Crò Sìtheig*, BERN (MacAulay 1972: 327).

- 1218 *Creag Slug* NB1841 DUN {,k^hδeg'sLug} the crag of the gully, with *slug*, cf. EIr. *slucud slocud* 'swallowing, engulfing'. In Perthshire, cf. *Slug* (Meikle 1925: 156). Cf. *Slugaid*.
+ *Creag Speireag* NB2337, see *Creag Speireig (Mhòr)*.
- 1219 *Creag Speireig* NB2337 DUN ='speðæk'} the crag of the sparrow-hawk, with gen.sg. of *speireag*, fr. ME *speerhawk* (RIA). 1974 -/Speireag. Alias *Creag Speireig Mhòr*.
- 1220 *Creag Speireig Bheag* NB2337 DUN {,k^hδeg,speðæk''veg} the lesser C.
- 1221 *Creag Speireig Mhòr* NB2337 DUN ='vo:r} the greater C. Alias C. *Speireig*.
+ *Creag Tamuir* NB1941, see *Creag Thamar*.
- 1222 *Creag Thamar* NB1941 CIR ='hãðr}or} the crag of *Th. With a ln. fr. ON *Hamar* acc.m. 'the crag'. 1848 *Creag Tamuir* 1974 -/Tamuir. In Norway, cf. *Hammer*, Rogaland (NG X, 218).
- 1223 *Creag Thiamaistean* NB1843 BOR ='hĩðm₁,ft'ðn} the crag of *Th. With a ln. fr. ON *Heim(s)stein* 'the crag of the residence' with stem-form or gen.sg. of *heimr* m. 'home, residence' and acc. of *steinn* m. In Norway, cf. *Heimsnes*, Nord-Trøndelag (NG XV, 390). Cf. **Thiamaistir*.
- 1224 *Creag Thideabac* NB2042 CN/CARL ='h₁ð'ð,ð^hk} the crag of Th.
- 1225 *Na Creaga Beaga* NB1942 CIR {nð,k^hδegð'b₁egð} the small crags, with pl. of *creag* f. §7.5iv.
- 1226 *Na Creaga Beaga* NB2042 CN, as above.
- 1227 *Creaga Geala* NB1942 CN {,k^hδegð'g'αLð} the white crags. 1848 -/Creag *Gheal* 1974 idem. Alias *Creag Gheal*.
- 1228 *Creaga Gorma* NB2142 CARL ='g₁rðmð} the dark crags. 1848 *Creagan Gorm* 1974 *Creaganan Gorm*.
- 1229 *Creaga Gorma* NB1943 BOR/GEARR, as above.
- 1230 *Na Creagain* NB2234 CAL {nð'k^hδegan} the crags, with pl. of *creagan* m., fr. *creag* f. + suffix §7.6i. 1848 *Creagan a Ghearraidh Rèisg*.
- 1231 *Na Creagain* NB2346 SD, as above.
- 1232 *Na Creagain* NB1843 BOR, as above.
- 1233 *Na Creagain Biorach* NB2036 BRI {nð,k^hδegan'b₁rɔx} the pointed crags. 1848 *Creagan a chinn a Muigh* 1974 *Creagan a' Chinn a Muigh*.
- 1234 *Na Creagain Breac* NB2141 CARL {nð,k^hδegan'b₁ðe^hk} the variegated crags. Alias *An Cnoc Breac* doc.
- 1235 *Na Creagain Breac* NB2044 GEARR, as above.
- 1236 *Na Creagain Breac* NB2446 SD, as above. Alias *Cnoc Breac Raoinabhat* doc.
- 1237 *Na Creagain Breac* NB2546 SD, as above. 1848 *Creaganan Breac* 1974 *Creagan Breac*.
- 1238 *Na Creagain Dubh* NB1941 CIR ='ðu^h} the dark crags.

- 1239 *Creagan a' Bhrèidein* NB2141 CN {₁k^hδegənd'vδe:ð'an} the hillock of the patch or rag, with gen.sg. of *brèidean*, dimin. of *brèid* m. EIr. *bréit*. *Brèidean* occurs as a nickname in TS.
- 1240 *Creagan a' Bhuachaille* NB2035 BRI = 'vuðxɪL'} the hillock of the herdsman, with gen.sg. of *buachaille* m. EIr. *búachaille*. 1848 *Creagan nam Buachailean* 1974 -/nam Buachailean. Alias *Creagan nam Buachaillean*.
- 1241 *Creagan a' Chabhaille* NB2035 BRI = 'xafɪL'} the hillock of the seine, with gen.sg. of *cabhall* m. 'net with circular mouth tied across stream', fr. ON *kafla* obl. case m. 'float on seine or trawl-net' (a derivation phonetically sounder than ME *cawel* (*cawl*) suggested by MacBain, 1982: 61; cf. G. *cabhadh* 'heavy fall of snow' {'k^hafðɣ} fr. ON **kafa* nt., wk. form of *kaf* nt.).
- + *Creagan a' Chait* NB2141, 1848 *Creagan a' Chàit*.
- 1242 *Creagan a' Chidhir* NB1844 GEARR = 'çi-ið} the hill of the ?. F.etym: *creagan an eich chèir* 'the hillock of the dark horse'.
- + *Creagan a' Chinn a Muigh* NB2036, see *Na Creagain Biorach*.
- + *Creagan a' Chleite Dhuibh* NB2239.
- 1243 *Creagan a' Chùil* NB2132 CAL = 'xu:l} the hillock (of the rear). 1848 *Creag a na Cùile*.
- + *Creagan a' Gheàrraidh* NB2234.
- 1244 *Creagan a' Gheòidh* NB2346 SD = 'jo:j} the hillock of the goose, with gen.sg. of *geadh* m. 1848 -/a *Gheoidh* 1974 =.
- 1245 *Creagan a' Ghlas Allt* NB2546 SD = 'ɣLa,saLɪt} the hillock (of the green stream). Alias *Cnoc na h-Aeroplane*.
- + *Creagan a' Mhaide* NB2245, 1848 *Creagan a Mhaide*.
- 1246 *Creagan a' Mhàs Riabhach* NB1943 BOR {₁k^hδegənd,va.s'riðvɪç} the hillock of *Am Màs Riabhach*.
- 1247 *Creagan a' Mhoil* NB1944 GEARR = 'vũl} the hillock of *Am Mòl*. 1848 -/a *Mhoil* 1974 =.
- 1248 *Creagan a' Phòladh* NB2547 SD = 'fɔ:Lð(ɣ)} the hillock of the pole, with gen.sg. of *pòla* m., fr. Eng. *pole*.
- 1249 *Creagan a' Phuinnnd* NB2142 CARL = 'fðĩN't'} the hillock (of the pound).
- 1250 *Creagan a' Phuinnnd* NB2233 CAL, as above. 1848 -/a *Phuinnnd* 1974 =.
- 1251 *Creagan a' Phuirte* NB1842 BOR = 'fuɣt} the hillock of the landing-place. Alias *Creagan Beag Phort Laimiseadar*.
- 1252 *Creagan Airigh Mhic Aonghais* NB1942 CN {₁k^hδegənd,a.ðɪ,vĩ^h'kũnũ-ðf} the hillock (of the shieling of *Mac Aonghais*).
- 1253 *Creagan Airigh Steinn Bheinn* NB2142 CARL {₁k^hδegənd,a.ðɪ,ft'a'veĩN'} the hillock of A. Alias *Creag Airigh Steinn Bheinn*.

- 1254 *Creagan an Aodaich* NB1942 CN {,k^hδegənð'Nw:ðɪç} the hillock of the clothing, with gen.sg. of *aodach* m. EIr. *étach*.
- 1255 *Creagan an Dorais* NB1938 TOL ='N̄arɪʃ} 'N̄ɔrɪʃ} the hillock of the doorway, with gen.sg. of *doras* m. EIr. *dorus*.
- 1256 *Creagan an Eich* NB1938 TOL ='N'eç} the hillock of the horse.
- 1257 *Creagan an Fheadain Chaim* NB2633 CAL {,k^hδegənð,N'ɛðən'xãĩm} the hillock of *Am Feadan Cam*. 1848 -/na Uillt Chaim 1974 =.
- 1258 *Creagan an Fhèidh* NB3033 CAL {,k^hδegənð'N'e:j} the hillock of the deer. Alias *Creagan Fhèidh* doc., *Tom an Fhèidh*.
- 1259 *Creagan an Fhèidh* NB1841 DUN ='N'ɔ:ð} the hillock of the grass. Trad: grass dried here.
- 1260 *Creagan an Laoigh* NB1838 TOL ='Lɔi} the hillock of the calf, with gen.sg. of *laogh* m. EIr. *lóg*.
- 1261 *Creagan an Loch*. NB1843 GEARR ='Lɔx} the hillock (of the lake). 1848 Cnoc a Loch 1974 Cnoc an Loch.
- 1262 *Creagan an Ois* NB1838 TOL ='Nɔ:ʃ} the hillock of *An t-Os*.
+ *Creagan an Rathaid Mhóir* NB2344, 1848 *Creagan a Rathaid Mhoir*.
- 1263 *Creagan an Stalla* NB2447 SD ='stɔLɔ} the hillock of the ledge, with gen.sg. of *stalla*, fr. ON *stalla* acc.m.
- 1264 *Creagan an Taghain* NB2236 BRI ='N̄^hðɣən} the hillock of the pine martin. Alias *Creagan Taghain*.
- 1265 *Creagan an Teine* NB2143 CARL ='N̄^hæ̃nð} the hillock of the fire. Trad: thought to be where standing-stones at *Clach an Tursa* came from.
- 1266 *Creagan an Tiongalairidh* NB1937 TOL ='N̄^hɪ̃kəð,Ləðɪ} the hillock of *T.
- 1267 *Creagan an Troid* NB2445 SD ='N̄^hrɔð'} the hillock of the quarrel, with gen.sg. of *trod* m. EIr. *trot*.
- 1268 *Creagan Anna Ruaidhe* NB2141 CN {,k^hδegən,ãNð'Ruðj} the hillock of *Anna Ruadh*, with gen.sg. of the woman's name, fr. Eng. *Anna*, *Ann(e)*.
- 1269 *Creagan an t-Saoir* NB2133 CAL ='N̄^hω:ð} the hillock of the carpenter.
- 1270 *Creagan an t-Seuthair* NB2142 CARL ='N̄^hɛ-ðr} the hillock of the chair. Trad: when road built, blasting left a chair-shaped rock.
- 1271 *Creagan Aonghais Dhonnchaidh* NB2235 BRI {,k^hδegən,ãN̄^hɔʃ'ɣũNũxɪ} the hillock of *Aonghas* (the son) of *Donnchadh*.
- 1272 *Creagan Ball Dubh* NB1939 DUN {,k^hδegən'bɔL,ðu^h} the hillock (of the black streak). Alias *Cnocan Ball Dubh*.
- 1273 *Creagan Beag Cheadraiseal* NB2036 TOL {,k^hδegən ,bɛg'çɛðrɪ,ʃɔL} the little hillock of C.
- 1274 *Creagan Beag Phort Laimiseadar* NB1842 BOR {,k^hδegən'bɛg,fɔʃt'Lãĩmi,ʃɔðr} the little hillock of P.

- 1275 *Creagan Beinn Bhorghaston* NB1842 BOR {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃ɛN'vorð-ð,ston} the hillock of B. 1848 --/Bhórraston 1974 -/Ben Borrowston.
- 1276 *Creagan Beinn Uidealum* NB2345 SD ='œð'ð,Lum} the crag of B. 1848 --/Ghuidamol 1974 -/Ben Guidamol. For variant forms, see No. 359.
+ *Creagan Ben Borrowston* NB1842, see *Creagan Beinn Bhorghaston*.
+ *Creagan Ben Guidamol* NB2345, see *Creagan Beinn Uidealum*.
- 1277 *Creagan Bhotagro* NB2645 ST {,k^hδeg̃an'vɔ^htð,gro} the hillock of *B.
- 1278 *Creagan Bhratanais* NB2033 CAL ='vra^htð,nɪf} the hillock of *B.
1848 Cnoc Braighe Bhratanish 1974 Cnoc Bràigh Bratanish.
- 1279 *An Creagan Biorach* NB1843 BOR {ð,ɪ̃^hδeg̃an'β̃ɪrɔx} the pointed hillock.
- 1280 *An Creagan Biorach* NB2547 SD, as above.
- 1281 *Creagan Biorach a' Ghàrraidh* NB2745 ST/BRA {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃ɪrɔxð'ɣa:Rɪ} the pointed hillock (of the dyke). Alias *Tom Biorach a' Ghàrraidh*.
- 1282 *Creagan Biorach Amar na h-Eit* NB2137 TOL {,k^hδeg̃an'β̃ɪrɔx,ãm̃ñð'he:^ht'} the pointed hillock of A.
- 1283 *Creagan Biorach an Fhèidh* NB2240 CN {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃ɪrɔxð'N'e:j} the pointed hillock of the deer.
- 1284 *Creagan Biorach Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃ɪrɔx'a:^htrɪ,g'i} the pointed hillock of A.
- 1285 *Creagan Biorach na Cailliche Mòire* NB2444 SD {,k^hδeg̃an'β̃ɪrɔxnð ,k^haL'ɪçð'mo:ðð} the pointed hillock of the large old woman or hag.
- 1286 *Creagan Breac* NB1843 BOR {,k^hδeg̃an'β̃ðe^hk} the variegated hillock.
1848 *Creaganan Breac* 1974 idem.
+ *Creagan Breac* NB2546, see *Na Creagain Breac*.
- 1287 *Creagan Breac* NB2343 DAIL, as No. 1286. 1848 *Cnocan Breac* 1974 idem.
+ *Creagan Breac* NB2335, 1848 idem.
- 1288 *Creagan Breac a' Mhoil* NB2036 TOL {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃ðe^hkð'ṽɪl} 'ṽɪl} the variegated hillock (of the shingle-beach).
- 1289 *Creagan Buail' an Tuim* NB2547 SD {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃uɔlð'N^hðĩm} the hillock (of the enclosure (of the hillock)). 1848 -/Buaille an Tuim 1974 -/Buaille 'n Tuim.
- 1290 *Creagan Buaille Mhic Dhonnchaidh* NB1938 TOL {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃uɔlð,vĩ^hk' 'ɣũNũxɪ} the hillock (of the enclosure of *Mac Dhonnchaidh*).
- 1291 *Creagan Buaille Mhurchaidh* NB1942 GEARR {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃uɔlð'vuRũxɪ} the hillock (of the enclosure of *Murchadh*).
+ *Creagan Buaille 'n Tuim* NB2547, see *Creagan Buail' an Tuim*.
- 1292 *Creagan Buaille na h-Airde* NB1945 GEARR {,k^hδeg̃an,β̃uɔlðnð'ha:çð} the hillock of B.
- 1293 *Creagan Buaille nam Beart* NB2232 CAL ='m̃jaçt} the hillock (of the

- enclosure of the looms).
- 1294 *Creagan Chlìbisgeir* NB1841 DUN {,k^hδegan'xli:bɪ,ʃk'ðð} the hill of *C*.
- 1295 *Creagan Chrodhair* NB2749 BRA = 'xrc-ðð} the hillock of **C*.
- 1296 *Creagan Clann Choinnich* NB1939 DUN {,k^hδegan,k^hLǎN'xǎN'ɪç} the hillock of the descendents of *Coinneach*, with *clann* f. EIr. idem. (Lat. *planta*).
- 1297 *Creagan Còinneach* NB2141 CN {,k^hδegan'k^hç:N'ɔx} the mossy hillock, §7.4.
- 1298 *Creagan Dhìobadail* NB2034 CAL = 'ji:bð,ððl} the hillock of **D*. With a ln. fr. ON *Diúpadal* 'the deep valley' with acc.sg.m. of the wk.. form of the adj. *diúpr* 'deep' and acc. of *dalr* m. Cf. NB4661 Cladach Dhibadail (OS 1848); in Skye, Dìbìdal (Forbes 1923: 153); in the Faroes, Djúpidalur (Matras 1933, under *dalur*). 1934 *Creagan dhjupadail*.
- 1299 *Creagan Dhòmhnail Mhic Iain* NB2142 CARL {,k^hδegan,γõ-ɪL',vĩ^h'k'ĩ-an'} the hillock of *Dòmhnall Mac Iain*. 1848 -/Nighean Dhomhnuill Mhic Iain 1974 idem.
- 1300 *Creagan Dhòmhnail Ruaidh* NB1942 CN {,k^hδegan,γõ-ɪL''ruðj} the hillock of *Dòmhnall Ruadh*.
- 1301 *Creagan Dhonnchaidh* NB2135 BRI {,k^hδegan'γũNũxɪ} *Donnchadh's* hillock. 1848 Cnoc Buaille Dhonnchaidh 1974 Cnoc Buaille Dhonnachaidh.
- 1302 *Creagan Dubh* NB1938 TOL = 'ða^h} the dark hillock.
- 1303 *An Creagan Dubh* NB {ð,ɪ^hδegan'ða^h} as above.
- 1304 *Creagan Dubh an t-Srath* NB2240 CN {,k^hδegan,ða-ð^h'N^hra^h} the dark hillock of *An t-Srath*.
- 1305 *Creagan Eachainn* NB2643 ST {,k^hδegan'(j)æxɪN'} the hillock of *Eachainn Eachann*, with gen.sg. of the man's name, EIr. **Echdonn* (see MacBain 1982: 402); Ó Corráin and Maguire (1981: 82) derive the name fr. ON *Hakon* (sic) i.e. *Hákon* m. (in fact yielding *Agonn* AU847, see Marstrander 1915: 53, 99).
- 1306 *Creagan Eileastar* NB2238 CIR = 'ela,stðr} the hillock of *E*.
- 1307 *Creagan Geodh' a' Mhaide* NB1843 BOR {,k^hδegan,ɣ'ɔ-ð'vãð'ð} the hillock of *G*.
- 1308 *Creagan Geodh' an t-Sruthain* NB2447 SD = 'N^hruhan} the hillock of *G*.
- 1309 *Creagan Ghreòid* NB1938 TOL {,k^hδegan'γðɔ:ð'} the hillock of coarse earth, §7.3i; with gen. of *greòd* coll. '(good) coarse earth', fr. ON *griót* nt.coll. 'stones', cf. the meaning in Uist: 'great number of small things' (MacDonald 1972: 145). Not the same word as G. *grùd* 'dregs, sediment' fr. ON *grút* acc.m. ON *griót* may occur in the name Grotavig NB5865 (OS 1974; OS 1848 Greòdabhigh).

- 1310 *Creagan Ghreòid* NB2133 CAL, as above. 1848 -/Greòid 1974 -/Greoid.
- 1311 *Creagan Glainne* NB2044 GEARR = 'gLãN'ð} the hillock of glass, i.e. ?glistening, with gen.sg. of *glainne* EIr. *gloine glaine*.
- 1312 *Creagan Glas an Tuim* NB2536 TOL {,k^hðegan,gLasð'N^hðim} the green hillock of *An Tom*.
- 1313 *Creagan Glas Bhealach Shèabhal* NB2140 CN {,k^hðegan'gLas,vjuLɔx'he:,vɔL} the green hillock of *B*.
- 1314 *Creagan Glas na Glaic* NB1843 BOR {,k^hðegan,gLasnð'gLa^hk'} the green hillock of *A' Ghlaic*.
- 1315 *Creagan Gorm* NB2244 DAIL {,k^hðegan'gɔrðm} the dark hillock.
+ *Creagan Gorm* NB2334, see *Creag Gorm*.
- 1316 *Creagan Iain Ghil* NB2036 BRI {,k^hðegan,ã'n'jil} the hillock of *Iain Geal* (fair haired or complexioned *Iain*).
- 1317 *Creagan Iain Ruaidh* NB2241 CARL {,k^hðega,N'ĩ-a'ruðj} the hillock of *Iain Ruadh*. Trad: his mother was returning from the shieling and gave birth to *I.R.* here.
- 1318 *Creagan Isbeil* NB1743 BOR {,k^hðegan'ispa} the hillock of *Isbeal*.
- 1319 *Creagan Leathach Slighe* NB2240 CARL {,k^hðegan,L'e-ɔx'fL'i-i} the half-way hillock, with adjectival use of the expression *leathach* (adj., EIr. *lethach*) *slighe* f. EIr. *slige*.
- 1320 *Creagan Leathainn* NB2033 CAL {,k^hðegan'L'eh1N'} the broad hillock.
- 1321 *Creagan Loch an Iarainn* NB2346 SD {,k^hðegan,Lɔxð'N'iðR1N'} the hillock of *L*. 1848 --/an Iarainn 1974 idem. Alias *Na Creagain*.
+ *Creagan Loch Grinnavat* NB2446, see *Grinneabhat Mhòr/Bheag*.
- 1322 *Creagan Lochan Tioram* NB2445 SD {,k^hðegan,Lɔxa'N^h1ððm} §7.3ii, the hillock of *L*. Alias *Cnuic Lochan Tioram*.
- 1323 *Creagan Màiri* NB2446 SD {,k^hðegan'mã:ð1} *Màiri*'s hillock.
- 1324 *Creagan Màiri Buidhe* NB2142 CARL {,k^hðegan,mã.ð1'bu^ljð} the hillock of *Màiri Buidhe* (fair-haired or complexioned *Màiri*).
- 1325 *Creagan Mhic Fheatrais* NB2043 CARL {,k^hðegan,vĩ^h'k'e^ht^(ð)rɪf}, must contain a gen. form of Scots *MacPhetrish MacFetridge*, with len. of *f-* to zero and *-/tr/-* rather than *-/dr/-*, and not G. *MacPheadrais* (Lat. *Petrus*).
- 1326 *Creagan na Bà Duinne* NB2137 TOL {,k^hðegannð,bə.'ðĩN'ð} the hillock of the brown cow.
- 1327 *Creagan na Bà Glais* NB2132 CAL = 'gLaɪf} the hillock of the grey cow.
1848 --/Gluis 1974 =.
+ *Creagan na Bà Móire* NB2834, 1848 *Creagan na Ba Moire*.
+ *Creagan na Beinne Cloich* NB2544, 1848 idem.

- 1328 *Creagan na Bothaig* NB1843 BOR {,k^hδegannð'bʰæk'} the hillock (of the bothy).
- 1329 *Creagan na Buail' a Tuath* NB1838 TOL {,k^hδegannð,belð't^huð} the hillock (of the northern enclosure). A corruption of the alias *Cnoc Buaille na Tuathadh* it seems.
- 1330 *Creagan na Buail' Airde* NB2042 CARL {,k^hδegannð,bə'lɑ:ð} the hillock (of the high enclosure). 1848 1974 --/Ard.
+ *Creagan na Buail' Ard* NB2042, see *Creagan na Buail' Airde*.
- 1331 *Creagan na Buaille* NB2446 SD {,k^hδegannð'buølð} the hillock (of the enclosure).
- 1332 *Creagan na Buaille Buidhe* NB1941 DUN {,k^hδegannð,buølð'bu^ljð} the hillock (of the yellow enclosure).
- 1333 *Creagan na Buaille Coirc* NB2133 CAL ='k^hɔðk'} the hillock (of the enclosure of oats), with gen. of *coirc* m. EIr. *coirce corca*. 1848 --/Coire.
- 1334 *Creagan na Caillich* NB2040 DUN {,k^hδegannð'k^hal'ɪç} the hillock of the old woman or hag.
- 1335 *Creagan na Ceàrdaich* NB2133 CAL ='k^hɑ:çtɪç} the hillock of the smithy.
- 1336 *Creagan na Cist* NB1944 GEARR ='k^hɪft'} the hillock (of the opening). 1848 -/na Ciste 1974 =.
- 1337 *Creagan na Cleit* NB2245 DAIL ='k^hle^ht'} the hillock of *A' Chleit*.
- 1338 *Creagan na Crìch* NB2036 TOL ='k^hɔi:ç} the hillock (of the boundary).
+ *Creagan na Criche* NB2735, 1848 idem.
- 1339 *Creagan na Cùirt* NB2243 DAIL ='k^hu:çt}, see the alias *Cnoc na Cùirt*.
- 1340 *Creagan na Faing* NB2447 SD ='fã^lŋk'} the hillock (of the fank), with gen.sg. of *faing* f., an obl. case-form of *fang*, fr. ON *fang* nt. (not attested with the specific sense of 'sheep-pen') fr. the verb *fang* 'to catch, entrap'.
- 1341 *Creagan na Faing* NB1840 DUN, as above.
- 1342 *Creagan na Fedladh* NB1943 GEARR ='fjɔ:Lðɣ} the hillock of the meat, with gen.sg. of *fedil* EIr. *feùil feòil*.
- 1343 *Creagan na Geodha Leathainn* NB1740 DUN {,k^hδegannð,g^hɔ.'L'ehɪN'} the hillock of *G*.
+ *Creagan na Heit* NB2237, 1848 *Creagan na Thèit*.
- 1344 *Creagan na Lèig* NB1840 DUN {,k^hδegannð'L'e:g'} the hillock (of the brook).
- 1345 *Creagan na Liana Liùdh* NB2138 TOL {,k^hδegannð,L'ãð'L'u:} the hillock (of the meadow of ?/of the ? meadow); the final element is obscure -

- it cannot be *liùgh* f. 'lythe' as the location is far from the sea.
- 1346 *Creagan na Mìst* NB2546 SD {,k^hδegannð'mĩ:st'} the hillock of A' *Mhìst*. 1848 -/na Miàisd.
- 1347 *Creagan na Nathrach* NB1938 TOL ='Nãrɔx} the hillock of the snake.
- 1348 *Creagan na Sròin* NB2135 BRI ='strɔ̃:N'} the hillock (of the point). 1848 -/na Sròna.
- 1349 *Creagan na h-Analach* NB2232 CAL ='hãnãLɔx} the hillock of the rest or 'breather', with gen.sg. of *anaíl* f. 'breath' EIr. *anáil* obl. case. Cf. NB5361 Feithe Mhor Lag na h-Analach (OS 1848), and *Creagan na h-ànalach* (MacIver 1934: 4).
- 1350 *Creagan na h-Athadh* NB2042 CARL ='ha:hðɣ} the hillock (of the kiln), with gen.sg. of *àth* f.
- 1351 *Creagan na h-Othaisg* NB2241 CARL ='hɔ-ɔʃk'} the hillock of the one year-old ewe, with gen.sg. of *othaisg* f., cf. EIr. *óisc* (see MacBain 1982: 268). 1848 Cnoc na h Oisg 1974 Cnoc na h-Oisg.
- 1352 *Creagan na h-Ulaidh* NB2744 ST ='huLɪ} the hillock of the treasure, with gen.sg. of *ulaidh* f. EIr. *ulaid* obl. case. Trad: *Tha creagan eile nis ann an shin, se Creagan na h-Ulaidh a bhios ac' air. Bha ' supposed gun deach airgead no òr a thiodhlaigeadh ann an shin aig cuideigin a bh' ann bho chionn fhada. Is bha tè à Siabost a' nursaigeadh ann an Glaschu, is chunnaic i aisling air an àite sin agus, ma b' fhìor, fad {= far} a robh an t-airgead. Is thàinig i dhachaigh - 'eil fhios a'ad, dh' aithnich i an t-àite originally nuair a bha i òg - thàinig i dhachaigh, is fair fad a fac' i an aisling, fhuair i dhà no trì dhaoine, is bha 'ad a' cladhach ann an shin, ach cha do lorg 'ad càil. 'Now there's another hillock there, they call it *Creagan na h-Ulaidh*. Silver {or money} or gold was supposed to have been buried there by someone who was around a long time ago. And there was {this} woman from *Siabost* nursing in Glasgow, and she had a dream about that place and, as it were, where the money was. And she came home - she'd known the place originally when she was young, you realise - she came home, and just at the place shè'd dreamt of, she got two or three people, and they dug away there, but didn't find anything.'*
- + *Creagan nam Beairtean* NB2043, see *Creag nam Beart, Creagan nam Beart*.
- 1353 *Creagan nam Beart* NB2043 GEARR ='mĩjãst} the hillock of the looms. 1848 1974 -/nam Beairtean. Alias *Creag nam Beart*.
- + *Creagan nam Buachailean* NB2035, see *Creagan a' Bhuachail, Creagan nam Buachaillean*.

- 1354 *Creagan nam Buachaillean* NB2035 BRI ={'mùðxɪL'ðn} the hillock of the shepherds. Alias *Creagan a' Bhuachail* doc.
- 1355 *Creagan nam Feusgan* NB2531 CAL ={'fiaskan} the hillock of the mussels, with gen.pl. of *feusgan*, cf. Ir. *féascán*, ?fr. EIr. *fésóc* 'beard' + suffix §7.6i (cf. *fiasgag nan creag* 'rock lichen', CG VI, 72).
- 1356 *Creagan nan Amhran* NB1938 TOL ={'Nãũran} the hillock of the songs.
- 1357 *Creagan nan Calman* NB1937 TOL ={'ɲ^halàman} the hillock of the doves, with gen.pl. of *calman* m. EIr. *colmán*.
- 1358 *Creagan nan Caorach* NB2042 CARL ={'ɲ^hω:rox} the hillock of the sheep.
- 1359 *Creagan nan Caorach* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
- 1360 *Creagan nan Ceap* NB1941 CIR ={'ɲ^hæp} the hillock of the stakes, with gen.pl. of *ceap* m. EIr. *cepp*.
- 1361 *Creagan nan Cùlaistean* NB2140 CN ={'ɲ^hu:Laft'ðn} the hillock of the recesses, with gen.pl. of *cùlaist* f. (< *cùl* 'rear' + *àite* 'place').
- 1362 *Creagan nan Daolag* NB2744 ST ={'Nð:Lak} the hillock of the beetles, with gen.pl. of *daolag* f. EIr. **doélóe* dimin. of *doél*.
- 1363 *Creagan nan Drochaidean* NB2037 TOL ={'Nroxɪd'ðn} the hillock of the bridges.
- 1364 *Creagan nan Sīg* NB1944 GEARR ={'si:g'}, also -{'si:d'} §9.1i, the hillock of the haystacks, with gen.pl. of *sīg* EIr. *síc*.
- 1365 *Creagan nan Snioghan* NB1943 CN {,k^hðeganð'fN'ĩyan} the hillock of the ants, with gen.pl. of *snioghan* m. EIr. *sengán* §9.liv.
+ *Creagan Nighean Dhomhnuill Mhic Iain* NB2142, see *Creagan Dhòmhnail* *Mhic Iain*.
- 1366 *Creagan Nùb* NB2643 ST {,k^hðegan'Nã:b} the rocks of *N*.
- 1367 *Creagan Ruairidh* NB1944 GEARR ={'ruððɪ} *Ruairidh*'s hillock.
+ *Creagan Sheasgair* NB1943, see *Creag an t-Seasgairich*.
- 1368 *Creagan Stob* NB2043 GEARR ={'stɔp} *Stob*'s hillock, with the nickname of a woman who used to have her peat-stack here.
+ *Creagan Thormaid Shronaich* NB2347, see *Creagan Thormoid Shrònaich*.
- 1369 *Creagan Thormoid Dhòmhnail* NB2036 BRI {,k^hðegan,haràmɔt'γõ-ɪL'} the hillock of *Tormod* (the son) of *Dòmhnall*.
- 1370 *Creagan Tormoid Phàraig* NB1943 CN ={'fa:rɪk'} the hillock of *Tormod* (the son) of *Pàraig*, with gen.sg. of the man's name *Pàraig*, var. of *Pàdraig* (fr. Lat. *Patricius*). Trad: he broke his leg here.
- 1371 *Creagan Thormoid Shrònaich* NB2347 SD ={'rõ:nɪç} the hillock of nosey or long-nosed *Tormod*, with gen.m.sg. of the adj. *srònach*, fr. *sròn sròin* f. 'nose'. 1848 -/Thormaid Shrònaich 1974 -/Thormaid Shronaich.

- 1372 *Creagan Uilleim Mhic Nèill* NB2346 SD {,k^hδegan, aL'am, vī^h'kδē:L'}
the hillock of *Uilleam Mac Nèill*.
+ *Creaganan Breac* NB1843, see *Creagan Breac*.
+ *Creaganan Breac Raoinavat* NB2446, see *Cnoc Breac Raoineabhat*.
+ *Creaganan Gorm* NB2142, see *Creaga Gorma*.
- 1373 *Creagannan Buaille Bhoth Tastabhat* NB2446 SD {,k^hδegðNðn, puβlð, vɔ
't^hastð, va^ht} the rocks (of the enclosure (of the bothy of *T.)),
with pl. of *creag* f. §7.5iv. With an ON ln. in final *-uatn*; for the
initial element there are several possibilities. Firstly, ON
Hattsuatn 'lake of the round hill' with gen.sg. of *hattr* m. '(hat),
round hill or summit'; in Norway, cf. Hatten (Sandnes, Stemshaug
1980: 144); here, *-tts-* > G. */ts/, and by metathesis /sd/. Secondly,
ON **þostauatn* 'lake of the thirst' with gen. of **þosti* m., var. of
þorsti m. (cf. mod.dial. *tosta*, and ON *þoskr* 'cod' besides *þorskr* m.);
here, *o* yielding {a} is acceptable. Thirdly, ON *Taskuatn* 'lake of
the sack' (re shape) with gen.sg. of *taska* f. 'sack, bag'; with /sg/
~ /sd/ alternation. Fourthly, ON *Tostauatn* '*Tosti*'s lake' with gen.
of *Tosti* m., hypocoristic form of *þorsteinn* (GP 264). Fifthly, ON
Tastuatn with gen. of *tasta* f., an obscure element found in a few
Norwegian pnn., e.g. *Tasta* in Rogaland (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 312).
The above are all plausible phonetically; the first two also since
G. *both* earlier had final *-{θ}* (Thurneysen 1975: §122), which would
cause the following initials to be delenited (§§7.liv, 9.lx).
- 1374 *Crìoch a' Bhaile Thall* NB2544 SD/ST {,k^hδiɔxð, valð'hauL} the boundary
of *Am Baile Thall*.
- 1375 *Crìoch Bhritheascleit* NB2036 TOL/BRI {,k^hδiɔx'vði-a, skle^ht'} the
boundary of B.
- 1376 *Crìoch Dhaile Beaga* NB2345 SD/DAIL {,k^hδiɔx, γalð'bøgð} the boundary
of DB. Divisible into 3 sections according to the aliases *An Gàrradh
Dubh*, *An Gàrradh Geal*, *Gàrradh na Lùib*.
+ *Cro nan Gabhar* NB2142; see *Crò nan Gobhar*.
- 1377 *Crò nan Gobhar* NB2142 CARL {,k^hrɔ.nð'ŋo-ðr} the pen of the goats,
with gen.pl. of *gobhar* m. EIr. *gabor*. 1848 *-/nan Gabhar* 1974 *idem*.
- 1378 *Crò nan Uan* NB2143 CARL ='Nũãñ} the pen of the lambs. Alias *Rubha
na Faing*.
- 1379 *Crò nan Uan* NB1843 DUN, as above.
+ *Crocán Crotach* NB2243, see *An Cnoc Crotach*.
- 1380 *A' Chrodhaidh Ard* NB2233 CAL {ð,xrɔ-ɪ'a.ɔ} the high pen, with an
originally dat. form of *crò* f.

- 1381 *A' Chrodhaidh Iosal* NB2233 CAL = 'iðsðL} the low pen.
- 1382 *Crodhair Bheag* NB2749 BRA {,k^hrɔ-ðð'vøg} lesser *C. 1848 *Cróthair Bheag* 1974 idem. Of a coastal ravine.
- 1383 *Crodhair Mhòr* NB2749 BRA = 'vo:r} greater *C. 1848 *Cróthair Mhor* 1974 *Cróthair Mhór*. Of a coastal ravine.
- 1384 *Crògabhat* NB2239 CN {'k^hrɔ:gð,va^ht} of an area. 1848 *Crogabhat* 1974 *Crogavat*. Fr. ON *Krōkauatn* 'lake of the curves' with gen.pl. of *krókr* m., or *Krōkauatn* 'lake of the crow' with gen.sg. of *kráka* f. Cf. NB3726 *Loch Crogavat*, {'k^hrɔ:gðvaht}, Oftedal 1972.
- + *Crogavat* NB2239, see *Crògabhat*.
- 1385 *A' Chroit* NB2135 BRI {ð'xrɔ^ht'} the croft.
- + *Croite Ban* NB2447, see *Croite Bàna*.
- 1386 *Croite Bàna* NB2447 SD {,k^hrɔ^ht'ð'pã:nð} the fair knolls, with pl. of *croit* EIr. *croitt* obl. case. 1848 *Croita Ban* 1974 *Croite Ban*.
- + *Cróthair Bheag* NB2749, see *Crodhair Bheag*.
- + *Cróthair Mhór* NB2749, see *Crodhair Mhòr*.
- 1387 *A' Chùbainn* NB1944 GEARR {ð'xu:bɪN'} the pulpit, of rock formation; with *cùbainn* f., Lewis dial. for *cùbaid*.
- 1388 *Cuideastar* NB1939 DUN {'k^hu:d'a,stðr} of an area. 1848 *Goidaster* 1974 *Geóidaster*. An obscure ON ln.; though for the final element, see under *Amhastar*.
- 1389 *Cuidhbhig* NB2246 SD {'k^hði,vɪk'} of a cove; also used by fishermen of the stretch of coast between DB and *Rubha na Beirghe* (SD). 1848 *Cuibhig* 1934 *Caoidhvik*. Fr. ON *Kuí-uík* 'enclosure-bay' with stem-form of *kií* f. 'fold, enclosure' and nom./acc. of *uík* f. Cf. NB5458 *Cuiashader* (OS 1974).
- 1390 *Cuilean na Dubh Sgeir* NB1743 BOR {,k^hulannð'ðu,sk'ðð} the whelp of *An Dubh Sgeir*, of a skerry; with *cuilean* m. EIr. *culén*. Alias *An Dubh Sgeir Bheag* doc.
- 1391 *An Cùl* NB2547 SD {ð'ɲ^hu:L} the back part.
- 1392 *Cùl a' Bhaile* NB1938 TOL {,k^hu.Lð'valð} the rear of the village.
- 1393 *Cùl a' Chnoc Bhiorach* NB1740 DUN {,k^hu.Lð,xrɔ^hk'vɪrɔx} §7.3ii, the rear of *An Cnoc Biorach* (= *Cnoc Biorach Buaille Feannaig*).
- 1394 *Cùl a' Gheàrraidh Bhig* NB1944 GEARR {,k^hu.Lð,jɑ.Rɪ'vɪg'} the rear (of the small enclosure).
- 1395 *Cùl a' Mhoil* NB1937 TOL {,k^hu.Lð'vũl} the rear (of the shingle-beach).
- 1396 *An Cùl Beag* NB1845 GEARR {ð,ɲ^hu.L'pøg} the small rear part.
- + *Cùl Beannan* NB2038, see *Cùl Bheannain*.
- 1397 *Cùl Bheannain* NB2038 TOL {,k^hu.L'vjãNan} the rear of *B*. 1848 -/Beannan 1974 idem.

- 1398 *Cùl Champaidh* NB1443 = 'xãũmpaj} the rear of *C.*, of an island.
- 1399 *Cùl Chràgam* NB1643 BOR = 'xra:gam} the rear of *C.*, of an islet. 1848
-/*Chràigeam* 1974 -/*Chraigeam*.
+ *Cùl Chraigeam* NB1643, see *Cùl Chràgam*.
- 1400 *Cùl Chùl Chràgam* NB1743 BOR {,k^hu.L,x u.L'xra:gam} the rear of *C.*,
of a skerry. 1848 *Sgeir Dhearg Cul Chraigeam*. Alias *Sgeir Dhearg*.
- 1401 *An Cùl Mòr* NB1844 GEARR {ð,ɲ^hu.L'mo:r} the large rear part. Alias
A' Bheirghe doc.
- 1402 *Cùl na Beinne Bige* NB1742 BOR {,k^hu.Lnð,bẽN'ð'bɪg'ð} the rear of
A' Bheinn Bheag.
- 1403 *Cùl na Beinne Mòire* NB1742 BOR = 'mo:ð} the rear of *A' Bheinn Mhòr*.
- 1404 *Cùl na h-Iodhlainn* NB1942 BOR {,k^hu.Lnð'hjuLɪN'} the rear (of the
stack-yard).
- 1405 *An Cùl Phort* NB2132 CAL {ð'ɲ^hu:L,fɔʃt} (the rear) landing-place. Cf.
. *Coùlport*, *Dumbartonshire* (Irving 1928).
- 1406 *Cùl Teànnraigir Mhòr* NB1839 DUN {,k^hu.L,t'ã.Rɪg'ðð'vo:r}ð} the rear
of *T*.

D

- + Dà Chnoc Gèarraidh NB1743, see *Cnoc Gèarraidh Gruagaig as Fhaid' A-muigh/A-staigh*.
- 1407 *Dail Geannain* NB2036 BRI {,ḍal'g'ãNan} the wedge-shaped valley, with *dail* m. fr. ON *dali* dat.m., and gen.sg. of *geannan* m. (< *geinn* 'wedge' + suffix *-an*). *Geannan* is possibly an *ex nomine* unit here: 'wedge-shaped place'. Cf. in Lewis, *Dail Bho Thuath* (MacDonald 1972a).
- 1408 *Daile Beag* NB2346 {,ḍalð'bøg}'bøg}, gen. {,ḍalð'bøgð}'bøgð} of a hamlet in DAIL. 1583 Dall, Dallenillé 1654 Dalenille 1718 Dalbeg 1726 Delbeg 1750 Dolbeg 1789 idem 1848 Daile Béaga 1869 Dellbeg 1875 Dalebeg, Dalbeg 1934 Daile Beag 1973 Dail Beag 1974 Dalbeg. The name-form has developed from **daile beaga* pl. 'the small valleys' with pl. of *dail* m. (§7.5iv); the final *-a* of the specific is dropped in the rad. form as if the name were singular; cf. the development in *Daile Mòr* below.
- 1409 *Daile Mòr* NB2145 {,ḍalð'mo:r}, gen. {,ḍalð'mo:ð(ð)} of a hamlet in DAIL. 1583 1654 (see under *Daile Beaga*) 1718 Dellmore 1726 Delinore 1750 Delmore 1789 Dolmore 1807 Dalmore 1832 idem 1832T Dellmore 1848 Daile Mòr 1869 Dellmore 1895 Dail 1934 Daile Mor 1973 Dail MÓr 1974 Dalmore. Fr. **daile mòra* 'the large valleys' with pl. of *dail* m. (§7.5iv); here, not only has final *-a* of the specific been dropped in the rad. form (cf. *Daile Beag*), but the adj. in the gen. has been given a (fem.) sing. form. Oftedal (1954: 374, 377) has taken *Daile-* as an ON ln., but in doing so it is impossible to reconcile the lenition and inflexion of the specific in rad. and gen. forms. Probably the names *Daile Beag* and *Daile Mòr* arose in the following way: **Daile* (pl.) 'the valleys' was used of the whole area first of all; the two parts of this area were distinguished by use of the adj.: **Daile Mòra*, **Daile Beaga* 'the large/small valleys'; subsequently, a later pl. form was used to refer to these two parts collectively: *Na Dailean* q.v.
- 1410 *Na Dailean* {nð'ḍalðn} of the township, and DB and DM collectively; with pl. of *dail* m. Cf. in Lewis, *Na Dailean* (MacDonald 1972a).
- 1411 *An Daireag* NB1842 BOR {ð'Nãðak} the copse, with *daireag* f. fr. EIr. *daire doire* 'grove, thicket' + the suffix *-ag* §7.6ii.
- + Dalbeg NB2346, see *Daile Beag*.
- + Dalbeg Bay NB2246, 1848 Bagh Dhaile Béaga 1895 Bagh Dhaile Beaga.

- + Dalbeg Burn NB2344, see *Allt Dhaile Beaga*.
- + Dalmore NB2145, see *Daile Mòr*.
- + Dalmore Bay NB2145, 1848 Bagh Dhaile Mòra.
- + Dalmore Burn NB2144, see *Allt Dhaile Mòire*.
- + Delmore Church NB2144, see *Eaglais Dhaile Mòire*.
- 1413 *Doca Ruadh* NB2445 SD {,dɔ^hkə'Ruəɣ} the red pit, with *doca* m. fr. ON *dɔkk* f.
- 1412 *Doca Mhurchaidh Leòbhhdh* NB1939 DUN {,dɔ^hkə,vuRùxə'ləu} the pit of *Murchadh Leòbhhdh*; trad: children used to be terrified of simple-minded but harmless *Murchadh*. Alias *Slag Mhurchaidh Leòbhhdh, Sloc-*.
- + Doune Carlway NB1941, see *An Dùn*.
- 1414 *An Drèana* NB1944 GEARR {ə'Nr̥ɛ:nə} the drain; with *drèana* f. fr. Eng. *drain*.
- 1415 *An Drèana* NB1840 DUN, as above; of a stream. Alias *An Abhainn*.
- 1416 *Drèana Bodaich nan Geàrrannan* NB1841 DUN {,d̥r̥ɛ̃.nə,bɔd̥iɔnə'n̥'ɔ:RəNəN} the drain of the old men (i.e. chaps, lads) of *Na Geàrrannan*; with pl. of *bodach* m. Forms first part of *Allt Gleann a' Phuirt*. Trad: built by them.
- 1417 *Drèana Mhòr* NB2133 CAL {,d̥r̥ɛ̃.nə'vo:r} the large drain.
- 1418 *Drèana Mhòr Chàrlabhaigh* NB2042 CN {,d̥r̥ɛ̃.nə,vo.r'xɑ:l̥ə,vaj} the large drain of C.
- 1419 *An Drèana Tharsainn* NB1843 BOR {ə'Nr̥ɛ̃.nə'hɑs̥iN'} the cross-set drain, with adjectival use of *tarsainn* 'across' EIr. *tarsna*. Cf. *Allt Tarsuinn*, Skye (Forbes 1923: 43); *Beinn Tarsuinn*, Rosskeen (Watson 1976: 74).
- 1420 *Drochaid Abhainn Ghrìoda* NB3234 S {,d̥rɔx̥i't',ãv̥iN'ɣ̥ði:d̥ə} the bridge of A.
- 1421 *Drochaid Abhainn Othagro* NB2438 CN/CARL = 'ɔ-ɔ,gr̥o} the bridge of A.
- 1422 *Drochaid Allt a' Chècair* NB3334 S {,d̥rɔx̥i't',ɑl̥t̥ə'xɔ:k̥əδ} the bridge of A.
- 1423 *Drochaid an Ròigh* NB1740 DUN {,d̥rɔx̥i't'ə'Rɔ:j} the bridge of *An Ròigh*; of natural arch, now fallen.
- 1424 *Drochaid Chàrlabhaigh* NB2042 CN/CARL {,d̥rɔx̥i't''xɑ:l̥ə,vaj} the bridge of C. 1974 Carlway Bridge.
- 1425 *Na Dromannan* NB2234 CAL {nə'd̥r̥ɔ̃m̥əNəN} the ridges, with pl. of *druim* 1848 *Druim nan Eun* 1974 *Na Druimeanan*. Trad: thought that standing-stones quarried here.
- 1426 *Dromannan nan Sìthean* NB2338 DUN {,d̥r̥ɔ̃m̥əNəNə'fi:han} the ridges (of

- the knolls). 1848 Druim Airigh nan Sithean 1974 Druim Airigh nan Sìdhean. Alias *Druim Dubh Airigh nan Sìthean, Druim nan Sìthean*.
- 1427 *Druidigeadh* NB1843 BOR {'d̪r̪uð'ɫ, g'ay} of a coastal ravine. An ON ln. in final *-giǫ* f. 'ravine'; the first element is obscure, unless it be from G. *druid* EIr. *truit druid* 'starling'; cf. NB4657 Feadan Dhruidnaspotair (OS 1848). 1848 *Druide Geodha Mhor* 1974 *Druidigeo*. Alias *Druidigeadh Mhòr*.
- 1428 *Druidigeadh Chaol* NB1843 BOR {,d̪r̪uð'ɫ, g'ay'xɔ:L} narrow *D.*, of a ravine. 1848 *Druide Geodha Chaol*.
- 1429 *Druidigeadh Mhòr* NB1843 BOR ='vo:r} greater *D.* Alias *Druidigeadh doc*.
- + *Druidigeo* NB1843, see *Druidigeadh, Druidigeadh Mhòr*.
- 1430 *Druim a' Bhoth Chlach* NB3038 BRA/ST {,d̪r̪ðmð, vɔ'xLax} the ridge of *Am Both Clach*. 1848 *Druim a Bhotha Chlach* 1974 *Druim a' Bhotha Chlach*.
- 1431 *Druim a' Chòcair* NB3334 S {,d̪r̪ðmð'xɔ:hkðð} the ridge of the cook.
- 1432 *Druim a' Chrotail* NB1841 DUN ='xɔ^htðl} the ridge of the lichen, with gen.sg. of *crotal* m. EIr. *crottball*. Alias *Druim a' Chrotail Mhòr* doc.
- 1433 *Druim a' Chrotail Bheag* NB1841 DUN {,d̪r̪ðmð, xɔ^htðl'veg} the lesser *D.*
- 1434 *Druim a' Chrotail Mhòr* NB1841 DUN ='vo:r} the greater *D.* 1848 *-/a Chrotail* 1974 *-/a' Chrotail*.
- 1435 *Druim a' Ghlinne Domhainn* NB2143 CARL {,d̪r̪ðmð, ɣlĩN'ð'dõ.-ɪN'} the ridge of *An Gleann Domhainn*; §7.1ii.
- 1436 *Druim a' Ghrianain* NB2340 GEARR {,d̪r̪ðmð'ɣðĩðnan} the ridge (of the sunny place), with gen.sg. of *grianan* m. fr. *grian* f. 'sun' + suffix *-an*, §7.6i. 1848 *-/a Ghrianain* 1974 =. Cf. *Meall a' Ghrianain* (Watson 1976: 102).
- 1437 *Druim Airigh a' Chnocain* NB2435 BRI {,d̪r̪ðm, a.ðɪ-ð'xɔ^hkan} the ridge (of the shieling (of the hillock)). 1848 *-/a Chnocain* 1934 *--/a Chnocain* 1974 =.
- 1438 *Druim Airigh Dhòmhnail* NB2340 CARL {,d̪r̪ðm, a.ðɪ'ɣõ-ɪL'} the ridge (of the shieling of *D.*).
- 1439 *Druim Airigh Ledid* NB2337 DUN ='lɔ:d'} the ridge of *A.* 1848 *-/Airidh Leoid* 1974 =.
- 1440 *Druim Airigh Mhic Amhlaigh* NB2746 BRA {,d̪r̪ðm, a.ðɪ, vĩ^h'k'ãũLaj} the ridge (of the shieling of *Mac Amhlaigh*); 1848 *-/Airidh Mhic Aulaidh* 1974 *---/Aulaidh*.
- + *Druim Airigh Mhic Aulaidh* NB2746, see *Druim Airigh Mhic Amhlaigh*.

- + Druim Airigh nan Sidhean NB2338, see *Druim nan Sìthean*,
Dromannan nan Sìthean, *Druim Dubh Airigh nan Sìthean*.
- + Druim Airigh nan Sidhean NB2637, 1848 Druim Airidh nan Sìthean.
- + Druim Airigh Uilleam, see *Druim Airigh Uilleim*.
- 1441 *Druim Airigh Uilleim* NB2641 SD {,ḍrðm,a.δ1'ul'am} the ridge (of *Uilleam*'s shieling). 1848 -/Airidh Uilleam 1974 --/Uilleam.
- 1442 *Druim Amhastar* NB2336 BRI {,ḍrðm'ãva,stðr} the ridge of *A*.
+ Druim an Aodain NB2641, see *Druim an Fhàdain*.
- 1443 *Druim an Fhàdain* NB2641 SD {,ḍrðmð'Na:ðan} the ridge of ?; with gen. sg. of *fàdan* (< *fàd* + suffix *-an* §7.6i), possibly either with the sense 'little peat' (? i.e. 'black peat', which is brittle and reduces greatly in size when dry) or 'peaty place'. 1848 -/an Fhàdam 1974 -/an Aodain.
- 1444 *Druim an Lodain* NB1937 TOL {,ḍrðmð'Loðan} the ridge of *An Lodan*.
- 1445 *Druim an Ois* NB2447 SD {,ḍrðmð'Nɔ:f} the ridge of *An t-Os*. 1848 = 1974 -/an Ois.
- 1446 *Druim an t-Sìogainn* NB2640 SD = 'N' ^(h) i:g1N' } the ridge of *An Sìogainn*.
- 1447 *Druim Beag Riabhach* NB2744 ST {,ḍrðm,bøg'Riðvɔx} the lesser (tawny ridge). 1848 -/Riabhach Beag 1974 idem.
- 1448 *Druim Bhrataigea* NB2347 SD {,ḍrðm'vra^ht1,g'a} the ridge of *B*. 1848 -/Bhràtaige 1974 -/Bratag.
- 1449 *Druim Bhuailabhair* NB2446 SD {,ḍrðm'vuø1ð,vðð} the ridge of *B*. 1848 -/Bhuailabhair. Alias *Buailabhair*.
+ Druim Bratag NB2347, see *Druim Bhrataigea*.
+ Druim Breivat NB2747, see *Druim Rèabhat*.
- 1450 *Druim Chliaspoc* NB2545 SD = 'xlia,sprɔ^hk} the ridge of *C*. 1848 -/Chlíasgro 1974 -/Cliasbrock.
- 1451 *Druim Chliosgro* NB1942 BOR = 'xli,skro} the ridge of *C*. 1848 -/Chliaspoc 1974 -/Cliaspoc.
- + Druim Chrimain NB2437, see *Druim Chruimein*.
- 1452 *Druim Chruimein* NB2437 DUN = 'xrðman} the ridge of *Cruimean*; ? with gen.sg. of the personal-name. The development of this persn. if it ultimately derives fr. ON *Hrómundr* < *Hróðmundr* as MacBain suggests (1982: 405) is not clear. The ON persn. gave EIr. *Ruamand* with the diphthong *úa* fr. *ō* on the analogy of EIr. *rúad* adj. 'red' (Marstrander 1915: 65); but a Manx form *Rumun*, attested only in a runic inscription (Moore 1890: 114, Marstrander op.cit., ibid.). Cf. the form *Rumann* AU 979. Certainly our form cannot derive directly from {EIr. *mac* +}

- the ON persn. (in Lnb., *Hrómundr*). Given a medieval Mx. form *Rūmun*, our final *-{an}* must be due to the influence of names such as *Cailean*, *Ciaran* etc. 1848 *-/Chrimain* 1974 *idem*.
- + *Druim Clach Ruadh* NB2038; note *Clacha Ruadh*.
 - + *Druim Cliasbrock* NB2545, see *Druim Chliasproc*.
 - + *Druim Cliasgro* NB1942, see *Druim Chliosgro*.
 - + *Druim Cruachan* NB2435, 1848 *idem*.
- 1453 *Druim Cruaidh* NB2144 DAIL = 'k^h ruðj} the firm ridge. Trad: good firm ground for cattle in wet weather. Alias *Druim Riabhach*.
- 1454 *Druim Dearg* NB2042 CN = 'd̥æ r̥æk} the red ridge. 1974 =. Alias *Druim Dearg an t-Sruthain*.
- 1455 *Druim Dearg an t-Sruthain* NB2042 CN {,d̥r̥ðm, d̥æ r̥ækð 'N^h ruhan} the red ridge (of the streamlet); with gen.sg. of *sruthan* m., dimin. of *sruth* m. Alias *Druim Dearg* doc.
- 1456 *Druim Dubh* NB2345 DAIL {,d̥r̥ðm 'd̥u^h} the dark ridge. 1848 *-/Dúbh* 1974 =.
- 1457 *Druim Dubh* NB2134 BRI, as above. 1848 *-/Dúbh* 1974 =.
- 1458 *An Druim Dubh* NB2636 TOL {ð, N̥r̥ðm 'd̥u^h} as above.
- 1459 *Druim Dubh Airigh nan Sīthean* NB2337 DUN {,d̥r̥ðm 'd̥u, a.ðinð 'si:han} the dark ridge (of the shieling (of the knolls)). Alias *Druim nan Sīthean*, *Dromannan nan Sīthean* doc.
- + *Druim Dubh Loch Earraid* NB2339, 1848 *Druim Dúbh Loch Thorrad*.
- 1460 *Druim Dubh na Buaimé* NB3039 BRA {,d̥r̥ðm, d̥anð 'b̥u̯ðmð} the dark ridge (of the slope). 1848 *-/Mòr na Boime*.
- 1461 *Druim Fada* NB2644 ST {,d̥r̥ðm 'faðð} the long ridge. 1848 1974 =.
- 1462 *An Druim Fada* NB2734 BRI {ð, N̥r̥ðm 'faðð} as above. Also = 'aðð} §7.3i.
- 1463 *Druim Falasgair* NB2144 GEARR/CARL {,d̥r̥ðm 'faLðskðð} the ridge of moor-burning. 1848 1974 =.
- + *Druim Garenin* NB1943, see *Druim nan Geàrrannan*.
- 1464 *Druim Gil Speireig* NB3331 S {,d̥r̥ðm, g' 11 'speðæk'} the ridge (of the ravine of the sparrow-hawk). 1848 *-/Gille Speireig* 1974 =.
- 1465 *Druim Ileigir* NB2648 ST {,d̥r̥ðm 'i:11, g' ðð} the ridge of *I. 1848 *-/Ìleigir* 1974 =. With an ON ln. most probably fr. *Ílugerði* 'the enclosure of the spring' with gen.sg. of *íla* f. and nom. of *gerði* nt. In Norway cf. *Ilebekk* (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 170; see also Rygh 59).
- 1466 *An Druim Leac* NB1842 BOR {ð, N̥r̥ðm 'Læ^h k} the ridge of flagstones. §7.1i, para 8.
- 1467 *Druim Leaca Bàna* NB2339 CARL {,d̥r̥ðm, Læ^h kð 'bã:nð} the ridge (of the pale flagstones). 1848 *-/Leig a Baine* 1974 *-/Leig a' Bhainne*.

- + Druim Leig a' Bhainne NB2339, see *Druim Leaca Bàna*.
- 1468 *Druim Lèireabhat* NB2341 GEARR {,ḍrðm'le:ðð,va^ht} the ridge of *L*.
 With an ON ln. fr. *Leir-uatn* 'the clay-lake' with stem-form of *leir* nt. or *leirr* m. and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt.; or fr. ON *Leiru-uatn* 'the lake of *Leira* (the clayey one)' with gen.sg. of *leira* f., a derivative of *leir(r)*, applied to a watercourse. ON *leir leirr*, and the derivative *leira* are well-attested in Norwegian pnn., e.g. Lerbrekke, Rogaland, ON Leirbrekka (NG X, 115). *Leir* etc. usually indicate 'clay, clayey soil' but occ. 'sand' (Hovda 1961:87); it is possible the element's use was also extended to 'mud'. Cf. *Cladach Lèirigeadh*, also, in BERN, {'L'e:ð,hɔp} NB1934 Leur Thòb (OS 1974).
- 1469 *Druim Loch an Fhedir* NB2333 CAL {,ḍrðm,Lɔxð'N'ɔ:ð} the ridge of *L*.
 + Druim Loch an Fhraoich NB2838, 1848 Druim Loch a Fhraoich.
- 1470 *Druim Loch an Laoigh* NB2334 CAL ='Lði} the ridge of *L*.
- 1471 *Druim Loch Ciamh* NB2635 BRI {,ḍrðm,Lɔx'k'^hiðv} the ridge of *L*.
- 1472 *Druim Loch Mhurchaidh* NB2332 CAL ='vuRùxɪ} the ridge of *L*.
 + Druim Loch na Moineach NB2938, see *Druim Loch na Mònach*.
- 1473 *Druim Loch na Mònach* NB2938 ST {,ḍrðm,Lɔxnð'mõ:nɔx} the ridge of *L*.
 1848 --/na Moineach 1974 idem.
- 1474 *Druim Loch nam Breac* NB2737 TOL ='mðe^hk} the ridge of *L*.
- 1475 *Druim Mioraig* NB2531 CAL {,ḍrðm'miɾæk'} the ridge (of the brow).
 1848 -/Mireig 1974 idem. With gen.sg. of *miorag* f., fr. *mir* m. 'top, summit' (Dwelly 1977) + suffix §7.6ii.
 + Druim Mireig NB2531, see *Druim Mioraig*.
- 1476 *An Druim Mòr* NB2044 GEARR {ð,Nrðm'mo:r} the large ridge.
- 1477 *An Druim Mòr* NB2638 SD, as above. 1848 = 1974 -/Mór. Alias *Druim Mòr Airigh Saidhbh*.
- 1478 *Druim Mòr Airigh Saidhbh* NB2638 SD {,ḍrðm'mo:r,a.ðɪ'se:v} the large ridge of *A*. Alias *An Druim Mòr* doc.
 + Druim Mór Laxavat NB2538, 1848 Druim Mòr Lácsabhat.
 + Druim Mòr na Boime NB3039, see *Druim Dubh na Buaim*.
- 1479 *Druim Mòr Riabhach* NB2744 ST {,ḍrðm'mo:r'Riðvɔx} the greater (tawny ridge). 1848 -/Riabhach Mor 1974 -/Riabhach Mór. Alias *Druim Riabhach*.
 + Druim na Bà NB2243, 1848 idem. One informant stated that he had heard the name, but that it was out of use.
- 1480 *Druim na Bèist* NB2447 SD {,ḍrðmnð'bɛ:ft'} the ridge of the otter; alias *Druim nam Biast* doc.
- 1481 *Druim na Bèist* NB2537 TOL, as above. 1848 1974 -/na Bèiste.

- + Druim na Bèiste NB2537, see *Druim na Bèist*.
- 1482 *Druim na Bràist* NB2537 TOL = 'br̥e:st'} the ridge of the brooch, with gen.sg. of *bràist* f. (Eng. *brooch*). 1848 -/Loch na Bràisde 1974 -/na Bràiste.
- + Druim na Bràiste NB2537, see *Druim na Bràist*.
- 1483 *Druim na Buaille* NB2136 BRI = 'b̥uəɫ̪} the ridge (of the enclosure).
- 1484 *Druim na Cartach* NB2243 DAIL = 'k̪^haɣ̪t̪ox} the ridge of the water-lily, with gen.sg. of *cairt* f.
- + Druim na Diothaid NB2346, 1848 Druim na Dithaid.
- 1485 *Druim na Lic* NB2645 ST = 'L'i^hk'} the ridge (of the flagstone), with gen.sg. of *leac* f. 1848 -/na Lice 1974 =.
- 1486 *Druim na Lic* NB2142 CARL, as above. 1848 1974 -/nan Leac.
- 1487 *Druim na Mnà* NB2232 CAL/GA = 'mr̥ä:] the ridge of the woman, with gen.sg. of *bean* f. Trad: c.200 years ago, a tinker woman was buried here - the grave is marked by two stones. 1848 -/na Mna 1974 =.
- 1488 *Druim na Muilne* NB2447 SD = 'mũĩL'ð} the ridge (of the mill). 1848 1974 =.
- 1489 *Druim na Muilne* NB2345 DAIL, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- + Druim na Rilleig NB2337, 1848 idem.
- 1490 *Druim na h-Airde* NB1838 TOL = 'ha:ɣ̪ð} the ridge (of the headland).
- 1491 *Druim na h-Airigh Riabhaich* NB2639 SD {,ɖr̥m̪n̪ə.ħa.ði'Riðv̪iç} the ridge of A.
- 1492 *Druim na h-Aon Chloich* NB2331 GEARR {,ɖr̥m̪n̪ə'h̪õ:,xLac} the ridge of the single stone; see alias *Cnoc na h-Aon Chloich*.
- + Druim na h-Aon Choich NB2331, see *Cnoc na h-Aon Chloich*, *Druim na h-Aon Chloich*.
- 1493 *Druim nan Biast* NB2447 SD {,ɖr̥m̪n̪ə'miðst} the ridge of the otter, with gen.pl. of *bèist* f. 1848 1974 =. Alias *Druim na Bèist*.
- 1494 *Druim nan Feannag* NB2447 SD = 'fjũNak} the ridge (of the lazy-beds), with gen.pl. of *feannag* f. 1848 = 1974 -/nan Feannaig.
- 1495 *Druim nan Caorach* NB3035 BRI = 'ɲ̪^hω:rox} the ridge of the sheep, with gen.pl. of *caora* f.
- 1496 *Druim nan Caorach* NB2644 ST, as above. 1848 -/nan Càorach 1974 =.
- 1497 *Druim nan Caorach* NB2043 GEARR, as above, 1848 1974 =.
- 1498 *Druim nan Càrn* NB1941 CIR = 'ɲ̪^ha:ɲ̪} the ridge (of the cairns). 1848 -/nan Carn 1974 =.
- 1499 *Druim nan Cnàmh* NB2934 BRI = 'ɲ̪^hrã:v} the ridge of the bones.
- + Druim nan Cnàmh NB2338, 1848 idem.

- + Druim nan Curracag NB2133, see *Druim nan Curracag*.
- 1500 *Druim nan Curracag* NB2133 CAL ={'ɣ^huRũgak} the ridge of the lapwings, with gen.pl. of *curracag* f. fr. EIr. *cuirce* m. 'crest, tuft' + -ag 'the crested one'; see Borgstrøm (1940: 213) who also cites a further Lewis usage 'stack of barley'.
- 1501 *Druim nan Eilidean* NB2343 SD ={'N'elid'ðn} the ridge of the hinds. 1848 = 1934 -/nan Eileadan 1974 =.
- 1502 *Druim nan Geàrrannan* NB1943 GEARR ={'ɣ'a:RðNðn} the ridge of *Na Geàrrannan*. 1848 -/nan Gèarrannan 1974 -/Garenin.
- + Druim nan Leac NB2142, see *Druim na Lic*.
- 1503 *Druim nan Sìthean* NB2338 DUN ={'si:han} the ridge (of the knolls). Alias *Druim Dubh Airigh nan Sìthean*, *Dromannan nan Sìthean* doc.
- 1504 *Druim nan Uan* NB2041 CN ={'Nũã} the ridge of the lambs.
- 1505 *Druim Neadabhat* NB2343 DAIL {,drðm'næðð,va^ht} the ridge of *N*. 1848 -/Néadabhat 1974 -/Neadavat.
- + Druim Neadavat NB2343, see *Druim Neadabhat*.
- 1506 *Druim Phluic* NB2446SD ={'fLu^hk'} the ridge (of the clod or lump), with gen.sg. of *ploc* m., ultimately fr. ME *blok*. 1848 1974 =. Cf. *Am Pluc* 'the lump', Kintyre (KAS 1945: 3); *Am Pluc*, Applecross (Watson 1976: 211).
- 1507 *Druim Rèabhat* NB2747 ST ={'re:,va^ht} the ridge of *R. 1848 -/Bhrèidhbhat 1903 -/Breidh-vat 1974 -/Breivat. The ON ln. here has been interpreted as including initial *breið-* adj. 'broad'. More probable than supposing a lost {b}- or {v}- (by len.) is a derivation from ON *Rþyðr-uatn* 'char-lake' with stem-form of *rþyðr* f. 'char' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt.; medial *r* (belonging to the stem, and so not a nom. marker) would easily disappear between two consonants before *ð* was lost.
- 1508 *Druim Riabhach* NB2144 DAIL ={'Riðvɔx} the tawny ridge. Alias *Druim Cruaidh*.
- 1509 *Druim Riabhach* NB2744 ST, as above. Alias *Druim Mòr Riabhach* doc.
- 1510 *Druim Rìosard* NB2342 CARL ={'ri:,sət} the ridge of *R. 1934 -/Ruidhisat. Probably **Rìosard* contains initial ON *hr̥is* nt. 'scrub, thicket, brushwood'; the final element remains obscure.
- 1511 *Druim Rostal* NB2830 LOCH ={'rɔ,staL} the ridge of *R.; see *Tom Rostal*.
- 1512 *Druim Ruadh* NB2135 BRI ={'Ruðɣ} the red ridge.
- + Druim Tangavir NB1941, see *Druim Thangabhair*.
- + Druim Teanraigir NB1839, see *Druim Theànnraigir*.

- 1513 *Druim Thangabhair* NB1941 CIR ={'hãŋkð,vðð}, once -{'hãŋkð,ððv} §9.liv, occ. -{'hãŋkð,va^ht} the ridge of *T. 1848 -/Thangabhair 1934 -/Thangavair 1974 -/Tangavir. With a ln. fr. ON *Tangauqrðu* 'the cairn of the tongue of land' with gen.sg. of *tangi* m. 'tongue (of land)' and acc. of *uarða* f. *Tangi* is a common element in Norwegian pnn., e.g. Tangen, Rogaland (NG X, 143, 224, 380). In Lewis, cf. Tanganais BERN (MacAulay 1972: 330). The form in final -{va^ht} must be by analogy with the numerous names in *-bhat*, for there is no fresh-water lake to which reference could have been made here.
- 1514 *Druim Theannraigir* NB1839 DUN ={'hjã:Rl,g'ðð} the ridge of T. 1848 -/Theannraigir 1974 -/Teanraigir.
- 1515 *Druim Thðlaigea* NB2346 SD ={'hɔ:Ll,g'a} the ridge of *Th. With a ln. fr. ON *Hðlagiǫ* 'the ravine of the hills' with gen.pl. of *hðll* m. 'hill' and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f.
- 1516 *Druim Thorraig* NB2043 CARL ={'hɔRlk'} the ridge of *Th. 1848 = 1934 = 1974 -/Torraig. **Thorraig* probably contains final ON *hrygg* acc.m. 'back, ridge'; the initial element may be *tor-*, a prefix with the sense 'hard, difficult' or 'melancholy, gloomy'. Although **Thorrghal* lies nearby, because of the lack of svarabhakti in our name, any similarity with it is probably fortuitous. Cf. NB3648 *Druim Thorruig* (OS 1974).
- 1517 *Druim Thortamair* NB2646 ST ={'hɔstð,mðð} the ridge of *Th. 1848 -/Thortomair 1974 -/Tortomar. With a ln. with final ON *mýri* acc. of *mýrr* f. 'bog, swamp, marsh'; the first element remains uncertain.
- + *Druim Torraig* NB2043, see *Druim Thorraig*.
- + *Druim Tortomar* NB2646, see *Druim Thortamair*.
- 1518 *Druim Ucsabhat* NB3134 BRI ={'u^hksð,va^ht} the ridge of *U. 1848 1934 =. With a ln. fr. ON *Uxauatn Uksauatn* 'the lake of the ox' with gen. sg. of *uxi uksi* m. 'ox' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. However, the element *uxi* is frequently applied to hills in Norwegian pnn. and it is quite plausible to interpret our name as (s)g: 'the lake of *Uxi*, or *Uxinn* (with the suffixed art.)'; see Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 241, Oksen. F.etym: with *ucas* m. 'coal-fish'.
- + Na Druimeanan NB2234, see *Na Dromannan*.
- + *Dubh Sgeir* NB1945, 1848 *Dúbh Sgeir*.
- 1519 *Dubh Sgeir* NB1743 BOR {'ðu,ʃk'ðð} the black skerry. 1848 *Dúbh Sgeir* 1895 = 1974 *Dubhsgeir*. Alias *Sgeir nan Stob*.
- 1520 *An Dubh Sgeir* NB2448 ST {'ð'Nu,ʃk'ðð} as above. 1848 *Dúbh Sgeir*

Leiniger 1974 Dubh Sgeir Leiniger.

1521 *Dubh Sgeir Aird a' Ghobhann* NB2045 GEARR {,d̥u,sk'əδ,a.ɟ̥ə'ɣo-əN} the black skerry of A. 1848 Dúbh Sgeir Aird Ghoudhann 1974 ---/Gouham.

+ Dubh Sgeir Aird Gouham NB2045, see *Dubh Sgeir Aird a' Ghobhann*.

1522 *An Dubh Sgeir Bheag* NB1743 BOR {ə'N̥u,sk'əδ'veg} the lesser black skerry. 1848 Dúbh Sgeir Bheag 1974 =. Alias *Cuilean na Dubh Sgeir*.

+ Dubh Sgeir Leiniger NB2448, see *An Dubh Sgeir*.

+ Dubh Sgeirean Geodha na Grèine NB2347, see *Sgeir Dhubh*.

1523 *An Dump* NB2445 SD {ə'N̥ɔmp} 'N̥ɔmp} the dump. An Eng. ln.

1524 *An Dùn* NB1941 DUN {ə'N̥u:n} gen. {nə'd̥u:N' (ə)}, occ. {ə'N̥u:N'}, the fort.

The first of the gen. forms shows a neut. s-stem, cf. NB4257 Blàr na Dùine (OS 1848). 1841 Dun Charloway 1848 Dùn 1895 Dur Charlobhaidh 1932 Dun Charloway 1934 Carloway Dun 1974 Dùn Carloway. Of the broch.

1525 *An Dùn* NB1941 DUN, as above; of the village and township. 1750 Down 1789 Down, Down Sandwick 1832T Down 1832 Down Sandwick 1848 Dùn Charlobhaidh 1875 Dune Carloway 1974 Doune Carloway.

1526 *Dùn Atha* NB2432 CAL {,d̥u.'na-a} the mound of the isthmus, with gen.sg. of *àth* m. 1848 Tonn 1934 Dunátha 1974 Tom.

+ Dùn Carloway NB1941, see *An Dùn* (No. 1524).

1527 *An Dùnan* NB1942 BOR {ə'N̥u:nan} the fortlet, of area of quay (once site of fort). 1848 Dùnan 1875 the Dunan 1934 Dùnan 1974 Dun (site of).

1528 *Dùnan Chrodhair* NB2749 BRA {,d̥u.nan'xɾɔ-əδ} the mound of *C. 1848 -/Chróthair 1974 -/Croir.

+ Dùnan Croir NB2749, see *Dùnan Chrodhair*.

E

- 1529 *Eadar Dhà Loch* NB2133 CAL {ædð,ra.'Lox} between two lakes, of a tongue of land between two stretches of (salt) water; with the prep. *eadar* EIr *eter etir* 'between', acc.m.num.adj. *dà* EIr. *dá*, len. after the prep., and acc. dual of *loch* m. Cf. NB3851 *Eadar-dha Loch* (OS 1974); for *Ardroil*, *Eadar Dha Fhadhail*, see Oftedal 1972. For other exx. of names with *eadar*, see Watson (1911: 71-73) and, in Ireland, Joyce (1913 I, 251-52).
- 1530 *Eaglais Dhàile Mòire* NB2144 DAIL {,egLɪf{,ðgɪf,ɣalð'mo:ð} the church of DM, in ruins. 1848 --/Mora, Delmore Church 1895 Delmore Church. With *eaglais* f. EIr. *eclais* (Lat. *eccles-*). Noted by Muir (1885: 41).
- 1531 *An Earra Dheas* NB2446 SD {ð,N'a.Rð'æs} the southern enclosure. Originally a dat. form, viz. **A' Gheàrrraidh Dheas*, rad. **An Geàrrraidh Deas*; a rad. fem. art. has been imposed §7.2ii. Alias *Pàircean a' Gheàrrraidh Dheas*, which may have had an influence on the development of our name. F.etym: *an ear-dheas* 'the south-east'.
- 1532 *An t-Eas Dubh* NB2334 BRI {ð,N'^hesð'du^h} the black waterfall, with *eas* m. EIr. *ess*.
- 1533 *An t-Eas Geal* NB2334 BRI = 'g'ɑL} the white waterfall.
- 1534 *Eilean an Fhèidh* NB2338 CN {,elanN'N'e:j} the island of the deer, in fresh water. Alias *Eilean Còinneach* doc.
- 1535 *Eilean an Taigh* NB2346 SD = 'N^hε^h} the island of the house, in fresh water. Trad: *Niall MacLèid* used to live here (see *Both Neill*); traces of habitation found.
- 1536 *Eilean an Tuim* NB2345 SD = 'N^hðim} the island of the knoll, in fresh water.
- + *Eilean Ard* NB2537, 1848 idem.
- 1537 *Eilean Bhiondalam* NB1741 DUN {,elan'vĩNtð,Lam}, 'fĩNtð,Lam} §9.liii, 'fĩŋkð,Lam} §9.li; final {-ðm} also occurs. The island of **Bh*. 1848 -/Bhìndaleim 1895 Eⁿ Bhinndaleim 1934 -/Vindealin 1974 Bindalein Island. With a ln. fr. ON *Uind-holm* 'windy island' with stem-form of *uindr* m. 'wind' and acc. of *holmr* m. In Norway, cf. Vindholmen, Telemark (NG VIII, 38).
- 1538 *Eilean Bhlianais* NB1937 TOL = 'vlĩã,nɪf} the island of B. 1848 -/Bhliadhnaish 1974 -/Blianish.
- + *Eilean Blianish* NB1937, see *Eilean Bhlianais*.
- 1539 *Eilean Chlìbisgeir* NB1841 DUN = 'xli:bɪ,fk'ðð} the island of C. Alias *Clìbisgeir* doc.
- + *Eilean Choinnich* NB2338, see *Eilean Còinneach*, *Eilean an Fhèidh*.

- 1540 *Eilean Clann an t-Saoir* NB2339 CN {,elan,k^hLANN'N^h(w):δ} the island of the children/descendants of *An Saor* (the carpenter). 1848 1974 -/Cleit Surraidh. Trad: *An Saor* refers to the same person as in *Airigh an t-Saoir* q.v.; his two sons swam to the island to retrieve a deer they saw there, but found nothing when they arrived.
+ *Eilean Cleit Surraidh* NB2339, see *Eilean Clann an t-Saoir*.
- 1541 *Eilean Còinneach* NB2338 CN {,elan'k^hõ:N'ox} the mossy island, in fresh water. 1848 1974 -/Choinnich. Alias *Eilean an Fhèidh*.
- 1542 *An t-Eilean Cruinn* NB1938 TOL {ð,N^h'elan'k^hrðĩN'} the round island, in fresh water.
+ *Eilean Dubh* NB2438.
- 1543 *An t-Eilean Dubh* NB1938 TOL = 'dũ^h} the black island, in fresh water.
- 1544 *An t-Eilean Fada* NB1938 TOL = 'faðð} the long island, in fresh water.
- 1545 *An t-Eilean Glas* NB1942 CN = 'gLas} the green island, in bay. 1848 1974 *Eilean Glas*.
- 1546 *An t-Eilean Gorm* NB2134 BRI = 'gɔrðm} the dark island. Alias *Sgeir Ghlais*, *Sgeir an Eòin* doc.
- 1547 *An t-Eilean Leathainn* NB2345 SD = 'L'ehıN'} the broad island, of a stretch of land along the bank of a lake (cf. *Caolas an Eilein*).
- 1548 *Eilean Loch Mharabhat* NB2233 CAL {,elan,Lox'varð,va^ht} the island of *L*.
- 1549 *Eilean Loch Shiadar* NB1838 TOL = 'hiaððr} the island of *L*.
- 1550 *Eilean Loch Uamaistean* NB2645 ST = 'ũãmı,ft'ðn} the island of *L*.
- 1551 *Eilean na Cachailleith* NB2438 CN {,elannð'k^haxðlaj} 'kahðlaj} the island (of the gate). 1848 *Eilean na Cáchlaidh* 1974 *Eilean na Cachlaidh*.
+ *Eilean na Cachlaidh* NB2438, see *Eilean na Cachailleith*.
- 1552 *Eilean na h-Imeachd* NB2346 SD = 'hĩ:moxk} the island of the ?walking, in fresh water. There are stepping-stones below the water level out to this island (the water level is higher than it once was), and our name may contain *imeachd* f. 'walking' etc. with lengthening of the nasalised stress vowel (Oftedal 1956: 67).
+ *Eilean na h-Iolaire* NB2338, see *Eilean nan Iolair*.
- 1553 *Eilean nan Iolair* NB2338 CN {,elannð'N'uLðð} the island of the eagles. 1848 1974 -/na h-Iolaire.
+ *Eilean Ohagro* NB2438, 1848 *Eilean O'thagro*.
- 1554 *Eilean Orasaidh* NB2132 {,elan'ɔrð,saj} the island of *O. 1848 -/Orásaidh 1895 Eⁿ Orasaidh 1934 Orrasai 1974 Orasay Island. With a ln. fr. ON *Orfirisþy* 'the tidal island' with gen. of *orfiri* nt. 'area of seabed, dry at low-tide' (var. of *ðrfiri*). In Iceland, cf. *ðrfirisey* (Heggstad 1975: 513); in Norway, *Offersøy*, fr. ON *ór-* (Sandnes,

- Stemshaug 1980: 240). See also, Oftedal 1956: 70.
- + Eileanan Dubh NB2638, see *Na h-Eileanan Dubha*.
- 1555 *Na h-Eileanan Dubha* NB2638 SD {nð,helandn'ðu-u} 'ðu^h} the dark islands, with pl. of *eilean* m. 1848 Eileanan Dubh 1974 Eileanan Dubh. In fresh water.
- 1556 *Na h-Eileanan Flannach* NA7246 {nð,helandn'flãnx} the islands associated with St. *Flann* or *Flannán*, with an adjectival form of the persn. 1549 Iles of Flavian 1680 Isles of Sant Flannan 1703 the Flannan-Islands, North-hunters 1750 The Flannin Islands 1791 The Flannan Isles 1807 Flannan Islands 1832 Flannan Isles 1869 idem, Seven Hunters 1974 Flannan Isles.
- 1557 *Eileastar* NB2238 CIR {'ela,stðr} of a hilly area. 1848 Cnoc Eilaster 1934 Eilastar 1974 Cnoc Eilaster. An ON ln. which seems to contain a loan fr. EIr. *ail* 'rock', cf. *Clach Eilistean*... For the final element, cf. *Amhastar*.
- 1558 *Eimisgeir* NB2231 CAL {'ẽ:ml,fk'ðð} of an islet. 1848 1974 =. A ln. probably fr. ON *Eim-skær* 'smoke or vapour skerry' with stem-form of *eimr* m. 'smoke, steam, vapour' and nom./acc. of *skær* nt. In Norway, cf. the island-name Eime (Hovda 1961: 326).
- 1559 *Eitseal* NB3030 ACH {'e:^htʃal} of a mountain. 1583 Bin Etisfeald 1832 Eachal 1848 Eitshal 1869 Eachal 1895 Eitshal 1932 Eitshall 1934 Eidshal 1974 Eitshal. A ln. fr. ON *Eiðsfjall* 'the mountain of the isthmus' with gen.sg. of *eið* nt. 'isthmus, ford' and nom./acc. of *fjall* nt. See Oftedal 1956: 63. In Norway, Eidsberg is a parallel name (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 97). Alias *Eitseal Mhòr*.
- 1560 *Eitseal Bheag* NB2833 CAL {,e.^htʃal'veg} lesser E., of a mountain. 1848 Eitshal Bheag 1974 Eitseal Bheag. The lnn. here and under No. 1559 probably derive from identical but separate ON names.
- 1561 *Eitseal Mhòr* NB3030 ACH {,e.^htʃal'vo:r} greater E. Alias *Eitseal*.
+ Eitshal NB3030, see *Eitseal (Mhòr)*.

F

- 1562 *An Fhadhail* NB2133 CAL {ð 'Nð-ð1} the ford, with *fadhail* f. fr. ON *uadil* acc.m. §9.liii. Alias *An Fhadhail Ard*,
- 1563 *Fadhail an Fhàideil* NB2232 CAL {,fð-ð1ð'Na:d'al} the ford of *An Fhàideal*.
- 1564 *An Fhadhail Ard* NB2133 CAL {ð,Nð-ð'la:d} the high ford. Alias *An Fhadhail*.
- 1565 *An Fhadhail Iosal* NB2133 CAL ='liðsðL} the low ford.
- 1566 *An Fhàideal* NB2232 CAL {ð'Na:d'al} ?the strip of land; a dat. form of **Am Fàideal*, fr. **fðidean* < EIr. *fót* 'clod, soil, land' (for the palatalisation of the dental, cf. *sgðidean* < *sgðd*, No. 1832) + suffix -*an* §7.6i. The name now refers to a part of a bay (an extension of *Tòb nan Leòdbag*), but there is a long narrow and low-lying peninsula to the west of the bay to which our name would have originally been applied.
- 1567 *Faing a' Phuinn* NB1939 DUN {,fã^lᵐ'k'ð'fðĩN't'} the fank of *Am Punnd*.
- 1568 *An Fhaing Chaoil* NB1937 TOL {ð,Nã^lᵐ'k''xɔ:L} the narrow fank, of a coastal point.
- 1569 *Faing Mheadhanach* NB2132 CAL {,fã^lᵐ'k''vĩ-anɔx} the middle fank, a coastal point. 1848 -/*Mheadhonach*.
- 1570 *Faing Mhòr* NB2132 CAL ='vo:r} the large fank, a coastal point. 1848 -/*Mhor*.
- 1571 *An Fhaing Mhòr* NB1937 TOL {ð,Nã^lᵐ'k''vo:r} the large fank.
- 1572 *Faing Rèabhat* NB1943 GEARR {,fã^lᵐ'k''re:,va^ht} the fank of **R*. 1848 -/*Bhrèidhbhat*.
- + *Fanndramair Bheag* NB2437, see below.
- + *Fanndramair Mhór* NB2437, see *Cleite Thannndramair, Cnoc Thannndramair, Cnuic Thannndramair*.
- 1573 *An Fhaoilinn* NB1937 TOL {ð'Nð:lɪN'} the foreshore, with *faoilinn* f., ? fr. a syncopated form of ON *uadilinn*, acc. of *uadill* m. (see No. 1562) + suffixed art.
- 1574 *An Fhaoilinn* NB2547 SD/ST, as above.
- 1575 *Am Fàs Allt* NB2141 CN {ð'fa:s,alɪt} the withering stream, with *fàs* adj. EIr. *fàs* 'empty, vacant' etc. 1848 1974 *Fas Allt*. Also {ð'Na:,sɪL't'} §7.3i.
- 1576 *Feadan a' Ghlas Allt* NB2346 SD {,fæðand'ɣLa,salɪt} the brook of *An Glas Allt* 1848 -/*a Ghlas Allt* 1974 =. Alias *An Glas Allt*.
- 1577 *Feadan an Fhraoich Ghairbh* NB2344 DAIL {,fæðand,rɔ.ɟ'ɣarəv} §7.4, the brook of the coarse heather.

- 1578 *Feadan an Oir* NB2537 TOL {,fɛɖanə'Nɔ:ð} the brook of the gold, with gen.sg. of òr m. EIr. ór (Lat. *aurum*).
- 1579 *Feadan Bealach nam Buaim* NB2744 ST {,fæɖan,bjɑLɔxnə'miũʒm} the brook of B. 1848 1974 =.
- 1580 *Feadan Bhotagro* NB2645 ST {,fæɖan'vɔ^htə,grɔ} the brook of *B. 1848 -/Bhotogro. With a ln. fr. ON *Botn-gróf* 'the stream of the valley-head or lake-head' with stem-form of *botn* m. 'valley-, lake-head' and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. In Norway, cf. *Botn*, Rogaland (NG X, 471); in the Faroes, *Botnagjógv* (Matras 1933, *botn*); in Lewis, *Botagro* NB4456 (OS 1974). For *feadan* (< *fead* + suffix) cf. *feadag* (No. 2065).
- 1581 *Feadan Cam* NB2633 CAL {,fɛɖan'k^häüm} the crooked brook. 1848 Allt Cam 1934 a' feadan cam 1974 =.
- 1582 *Feadan Cnoca Mòra* NB2542 ST {,fæɖan,k^hrɔ^hkə'mo:rə} -,xrɔ^hkə'mo:rə} the brook of C.
- 1583 *Feadan Creag an Fhèidh* NB2544 SD/ST {,fæɖan,k^hðøɖə'N'e:j} the brook of C.
- 1584 *Feadan Crò Niogair* NB2345 SD {,fæɖan,k^hrɔ'nivðð} -'nĩɖðð} the brook (of the pen (of *N.)). *N. seems to be of Norse origin; but the variant pronunciations present a problem. Possibly the two forms derive from one, perhaps ON *Nykr-uqrðu* 'water-sprite cairn' with stem-form of *nykr* m. 'water-sprite' and acc. of *uqrða* f.; cf. *Niocsabhat* ON *Nykrsuatn* (MacAulay 1972: 334). F.etym: *feadan crò Nic Iomhair*.
- + *Feadan Domhain* NB2741, 1848 idem.
- 1585 *Feadan Druim an Fhàdair* NB2641 SD {,fæɖan,ɖrɔ̃mə'Na:ðan} the brook of D.
- 1586 *Feadan Dubh* NB2635 BRI {,fɛɖan'ɖu^h} the black brook. 1848 1974 Allt Loch an Laoigh.
- 1587 *Am Feadan Dubh* NB2636 TOL {ə,fɛɖan'ɖu^h} as above. 1848 Allt Mhic Ille Chètheir 1974 Allt Mhic Ille Chetheir (see *Feadan Mhic Gille Chèir*).
- + *Feadan Gil Rahacleit* NB2641, see *Feadan Gil Rathacleit*.
- 1588 *Feadan Gil Rathacleit* NB2542 ST {,fæɖan,g'ɪl'ra-a,kle^ht'} the brook of G. 1848 --/Rathagleit 1974 --/Rahacleit (misplaced).
- 1589 *Feadan Gorm Nùb* NB2643 ST {,fæɖan,gɔrɔ̃mNü:b} the dark brook of N. 1848 1974 --/Nupe.
- + *Feadan Gorm Nupe* NB2643, see *Feadan Gorm Nùb*.
- 1590 *Feadan Liana Dhòmhnaiill Bhàin* NB2543 SD {,fæɖan,L'ãnd,γõ-ɪL'vã:n} §7.4, the brook of L. 1848 -/Lianagroil Bhàin 1974 --/Dhomhnuill Bhàin.
- + *Feadan Liana Dhomhnuill Bhàin* NB2543, see *Feadan Liana Dhòmhnaiill Bhàin*.

- 1591 *Feadan Loch an Fhraoich* NB2939 ST {,fæðan,Loxð'ru:l̥} the brook of L. 1848 --/a Fhraoich.
- 1592 *Feadan Loch Bacabhat* NB2747 BRA {,fæðan,Lox'ba^hkð,va^ht} the brook of L. 1848 --/Bácabhat 1974 --/Bacavat.
+ *Feadan Loch Bacavat* NB2747, see *Feadan Loch Bacabhat*.
- 1593 *Feadan Loch Ceann Thallabhat* NB 3827 SD {,fæðan,Lox,k'^hãN'haLð,va^ht} the brook of L. 1848 Allt Loch Ceann Állabhat 1973 Allt Loch Ceann Allavat. Alias *Allt Loch Ceann Thallabhat*.
+ *Feadan Loch na Moineach* NB2938, see *Feadan Loch na Mònach*.
- 1594 *Feadan Loch na Mònach* NB2938 ST {,fæðan,Loxnð'mõ:nɔx} the brook of L. 1848 1974 --/na Moineach.
- 1595 *Feadan Loch nam Breac* NB2836 SD ='mõe^hk} the brook of L.
+ *Feadan Loch nan Càorach* NB2737, 1848 *Feadan Loch nan Caòrach*.
- 1596 *Feadan Mhic Gille Chèir* NB2836 TOL {,fæðan,(v)ĩ^hk',g'ılL'ð'çe:ð} the brook of *Mac Gille Chèir*. 1934 *Feadan-mhic-ille-chèir* (OS maps have misplaced this name, see under *Am Feadan Dubh* NB2636). With gen. of *ciar* adj. 'dark' EIr. *ciar* (for exx. of the use of adj. in persnn., see Calder 1972: 149).
- 1597 *Feadan Molach* NB2632 CAL {,fæðan'mõLox} the coarse-banked brook. 1848 1974 =.
- 1598 *Feadan Mòr Airigh Saidhbh* NB2638 SD {,fæðan'mo:r,a.ðı'se:v} the large brook of A. 1832 ? Fattan more arrie serie.
- 1599 *Feadan na Bà Bàine* NB2739 ST {,fæðannð,ba.'bã:N'ð} the brook of the light-coloured cow.
- 1600 *Feadan na Buaim* NB2939 ST {,fæðannð'bũõm} the brook (of the slope). 1848 -/Boime Loch a Fhraoich.
- 1601 *Feadan na Fèith* NB2748 BRA {,fæðannð'fe:} the brook (of the bog).
- 1602 *Feadan na Gile* NB2440 SD ='g'ılł} the brook (of the ravine). 1848 1974 =.
- 1603 *Feadan na Lobraich* NB2640 SD ='Lɔ:brıç} the brook (of the bog). 1848 1974 -/na Lopraich.
- 1604 *Feadan na Trĩ Meòir* ?NB2841 ST/BRA {,fæðannð,tri.'mjɔ:ð} the brook of the three tributaries (lit. fingers), with gen.pl. of *meur* EIr. *mér*, and the num.adj. *trĩ* EIr. *trĩ*.?Alias *Gil na Trĩ Allt*.
+ *Feadan na h-Airigh Riabhach* NB2539, see *Feadan na h-Airigh Riabhaich*.
- 1605 *Feadan na h-Airigh Riabhaich* NB2539 SD {,fæðannð,ha.ðı'Rıðvıç} the brook of A. 1848 -/na h-Airidh Riabhaich 1974 --/Riabhach.
- 1606 *Feadan nan Cràmh* NB2537 CN {,fæðannð'ĩ^hrã:v} the brook of the bones.

- 1607 *Feadan nan Cruimhean* NB2537 CN = 'f^hɔ̃jðn} the brook of the maggots, with gen.pl. of *cruimh* f. EIr. *cruim cruim*.
- 1608 *Feadan nan Luch* NB2639 SD = 'Lux} the brook of the mice, with gen.pl. of *luch* f. EIr. *luch*. 1848 1974 =.
- 1609 *Feadan Nùb* NB2643 ST {,fæðan'Nũ:ɔ̃} the brook of N.
- 1610 *Feadan Riabhach* NB2445 SD = 'Riðvɔ̃x} the tawny-banked brook.
+ *Feadan Stibhinn* NB2641, see *Feadan Uiste Bheinn*.
- 1611 *Am Feadan Uarach* NB2542 SD {ð,fæðan'uðrɔ̃x} the upper brook.
- 1612 *Feadan Uiste Bhàididh* NB2641 SD {,fæðan,ʊst'ð'va:ð'ɪ} the brook of ?Bàididh's shieling. *Uiste* seems to be a lw. fr. ON *uist* f. 'temporary residence'; the final element is possibly a woman's name fr. ON *Bótey* (Lnb), although final -{aj} would normally be expected. If this solution is correct, the lenition of the persn. would indicate that *uiste* was fem. Cf. No. 2931/2.
- 1613 *Feadan Uiste Bheinn* NB2641 ST = 'vẽĩN'} the brook of U. 1848 1974 *Feadan Stibhinn*.
- 1614 *Feannag nam Fiadh* NB1937 TOL {,fjãNaknð'fiðɣ} the lazy-bed of the deer, of an area.
- 1615 *Na Feannagan Glas* NB1843 BOR {nð,fjãNagðn'gLas} the green lazy-beds, with pl. of *feannag*.
+ *Feath Loch Gleaharan* NB2441, see *An Fheur Loch (Mhòr)*.
+ *Féith Loch Rahacleit* NB2541, see *An Fheur Loch Bheag*.
- 1616 *An Fhèith' Mhòr* NB2545 SD {ð,N'e.'vo:r} the large bog.
- 1617 *Na Fèithichean* NB1943 GEARR {nð'fe-ɪçðn} the rents, with pl. of *fèith*.
- 1618 *An Fhedirlig* NB1942 BOR {ð'N'ɔ:lɪk'} the farthing-land, of an area. With *fedirlig* f. EIr. *feòirling*, possibly fr. an ON dial. **fiórðling* acc. (with cpd. suffix -*ilingr*), cf. ON *fiórðungr* m. 'a fourth part', if not ultimately fr. AS *fēorþling*, var. of *fēorþing*.
- 1619 *An Fheur Loch* NB2441 GEARR {ð'N'ɑ,Lɔ̃x} §7.3i, the grassy lake. 1848 *Feath Loch Ghleadhairean* 1895 *Feath Loch Ghleádhairéan* 1974 *Feath Loch Gleaharan*. Alias *An Fheur Loch Mhòr*. Cf. *Feurloch, Feurlochán, Ross* (Watson 1913: 244).
- 1620 *An Fheur Loch Bheag* NB2541 SD {ð,N'ɑLɔ̃x'vø̃g} -bø̃g} the lesser grassy lake; *beag* modifies an originally dat. form. 1848 *Feath Loch Rathagleit* 1974 *Féith Loch Rahacleit*.
- 1621 *An Fheur Loch Mhòr* NB2441 GEARR = 'vo:r} the greater grassy lake. Alias *An Fheur Loch* doc.
- 1622 *Am Fiar Allt* NB2630 CAL {ð'N'ĩð,rɑ̃lt} §7.3i {ð'fið,rɑ̃lt} the winding

stream; with *fiar* adj. EIr. *fiar*. 1848 Fiar Allt 1895 idem 1934 = 1974 Fiar Allt. MacIver (1934: 11) gives the meaning 'crossing-burn', from *fiar*'s sense 'oblique' and the fact (presumably) that the stream crosses under the road between ACH and GA; but there is no certainty that there was even a track along this point when our name was created.

1623 *Fíbhig* NB2648 BRA {'fi:,vik'} of a bay, and hamlet. 1750 Vivig 1789 idem 1807 Fivig 1832 Vivig 1832T Vivich 1848 Fibhig 1869 Vivich 1895 Fibhig 1974 Fivig. A ln. fr. ON *Uíð-uík* 'wood-bay' with stem-form of *uíðr* m. 'wood' and nom./acc. of *uík* f.; this seems more likely than *Uíð-uík* 'wide bay' with stem-form of the adj. *uíðr* 'wide'. In the Faroes, cf. *Viðvík* (Matras 1933).

1624 *Fíbhig* NB1945 GEARR, as above, of a bay and its area.

1625 *Fíbhig Bheag* NB1945 GEARR {,fi.,vik'vøq} lesser *F, of fishing rock. Here, **Fíbhig* will have been the earlier name for either *A' Gheodha Ruadh* or *Loch nan Geàrrannan*.

1626 *An Fhideach* NB2042 CN {ð'N'iq'ox}, but frequently without art: {'fid'ox} the water-lea. 1848 Fideach 1903 1974 idem. Fr. **fid* (< ON *fit* f.) + suffix §7.6iii. Cf. NB3854 *Loch Fideach* (OS 1848); also the form in *Camas na Fidean* NB2130 (OS 1974). ON *fit* evidently survives in several lnn., e.g. *Fidigro*, *Fidigarry* (MacKenzie 1932: 297, 306), *Fidigidh* (Oftedal 1980: 187).

1627 *Am Fionn Allt Beag* NB2836 TOL {ð,fjũ,NaLt'beq} the lesser white stream, with *fionn* adj. EIr. *find*. 1848 1974 *Fionn Allt Beag*.

1628 *Am Fionn Allt Mór* NB2935 TOL ='mo:r} the greater white stream. 1848 *Fionn Allt Mór* 1903 *Fionn Allt Mór* 1934 *A fionallt* 1974 *Fionn Allt Mór*.

1629 *Na Fionn Alltan* NB3542 BRA {nð'fjũ,NaLtðn} 'fĩ,NaLtðn} the white streams.

+ *Fivig* NB2648, see *Fíbhig*.

+ *Fivig Burn* NB1944, see *Allt Fhíbhig*.

1630 *Flodabhat* NB2732 CAL {'fLoðð,va^ht} 'fLaðð,va^ht} of an area. 1848 *Floda Bhat* 1934 idem 1974 *Flodavat*. A ln. fr. ON *Fløttuavatn* 'the lake of the plain' with gen.sg. of *flata* f., by-form of *fløtt* f. 'plain', and nom./acc. of *uavatn* nt. In Norway, cf. *Flaatenes* (NG X, 367), *Storefloten* (Helleland 1982: 136).

+ *Flodavat* NB2732, see *Flodabhat*.

1631 *Fuaran Airigh Chùil Làimhe* NB2642 ST {,fuðran,a.ðoxu'Lãivð} the spring

of A.

- 1632 *Fuaran Bhalabhair* NB2044 GEARR {,fuðran'vɑlɔ,vðð} the spring of B.
For trad., see No. 414.
- 1633 *Fuaran Buaile Leòid* NB1944 GEARR {,fuðran,belə'lɔ:d'ɔ'} the spring of B.
- 1634 *Fuaran Cìaran* NB1842 BOR {,fuðran'k^hiðran} *Cìaran's* spring. One informant gave -'k^hiðræk'} but this must be due to confusion with *Cnoc Cìaraig* q.v. See *Bothan Cìaran*.
- + *Fuaran Garson* NB2448, see *Fuaran Gharsan*.
- 1635 *Fuaran Gharsan* NB2448 SD ='γɑsðn} the spring of G. 1848 -/Gharson
1974 -/Garson.
- 1636 *Fuaran Poll a' Mhèirlich* NB1944 GEARR {,fuðran,p^hɔlɔ'vja:lɪç} the
spring of P.

G

- + Gàradh Dubh NB2543, see *An Gàrradh Dubh*.
- + Garadh Shiadair NB1939, see *Gàrradh Shiadar*.
- + Gàradh Teanraigir NB1840, see *Gàrradh Theannraigir*.
- 1637 *An Garbh Allt* NB2832 CAL {ð'ɲ̥arà,vəL} the fierce stream. 1848
Garbh Allt 1895 Gharbh Allt 1932 1974 Garbh Allt.
- + Garenin NB1944, see *Na Gearrannan*.
- 1638 *Gàrradh a' Bhaile* NB2447 SD {,g̥a.Rðɣð'valð} the dyke of the village.
Alias *Gàrradh an Arbhair*.
- 1639 *Gàrradh an Arbhair*. NB2447 SD ='Narəvðð} the dyke of the corn; with
gen.sg. of *arbhar* m. (see No. 770). Alias *Gàrradh a' Bhaile*.
- 1640 *Gàrradh an t-Sliabh* NB2345 SD ='N^hliðv} 'N^hriðv} §9.1ii, the dyke
of the hillside or hill-pasture, with gen.sg. of *sliabh* m. EIr. *sliab*.
Sliabh is not common in the lexicon; one informant defined it as
talamh nach robh a-riamh an àiteach 'land that was never under
cultivation'. Alias *Gearraidh an t-Sliabh*.
- 1641 *Gàrradh Buaille nan Uan* NB1839 DUN {,g̥a.Rðɣ,ɸelðnð'Nũän} the dyke of B.
- 1642 *An Gàrradh Droma* NB2240 CARL {ð,ɲ̥a.Rð(ɣ)'ðrðmð} the ridge-dyke; with
gen.sg. of *druim* m.
- 1643 *An Gàrradh Droma* NB2240 CN, as above.
- 1644 *An Gàrradh Droma* NB2543 SD/ST, as above. 1848 Gàradh Dúbh 1974 Gàradh
Dubh (misplaced, see *An Gàrradh Dubh* NB2443).
- 1645 *Gàrradh Druim an Ois* NB2547 SD {,g̥a.Rðɣ,ðrðmð'Nɔ:f} the dyke of D.
- 1646 *An Gàrradh Dubh* NB2443 SD/DAIL {ð,ɲ̥a.Rðɣ'ðu^h} the black dyke. Part
of *Crìoch Dhaile Beaga*.
- 1647 *Gàrradh Fhìbhig* NB2746 ST/BRA {,g̥a.Rðɣ'i:,vɪk'} the dyke of F. The
boundary between ST and BRA.
- 1648 *An Gàrradh Geal* NB2346 SD/DAIL {ð,ɲ̥a.Rðɣ'g'əL} the white dyke. Part
of *Crìoch Dhaile Beaga*. Trad: the grandfather of one informant in SD
was paid one shilling (*tasdan*) per year for maintenance work: his
job entailed replacing any one fallen stone in the year.
- 1649 *An Gàrradh Geal* NB2645 ST, as above.
- 1650 *Gàrradh Mheireabhal* NB1840 DUN {,g̥a.Rðɣ'veðð,vəL} the dyke of M.
- 1651 *An Gàrradh Mòr* NB2042 CARL {ð,ɲ̥a.Rð'mo:r} the large ?dyke. MacAulay
(1984: 9) appears to take 'garden' as the sense here; which would imply
a late date for the creation of our name.
- 1652 *Gàrradh na Buaille* NB1838 TOL {,g̥a.Rðɣnð'ɸuɸlð} the dyke of the
enclosure.
- 1653 *Gàrradh na Gobharmaid* NB1944 GEARR {,g̥a.Rðnð'gɔ:rmat'} the dyke of

- the government. ?For *-'gɔ-ɔRmat'}; or I may have misheard the name.
With an Eng. lw.
- 1654 *Gàrradh na Lùib* NB2442 SD/DAIL {,gɑ.Rðɣnð'Lðib} the dyke of the bend,
with gen.sg. of *lùib* f. EIr. *lùib* obl. case. Part of *Crìoch Dhaile Beaga*.
- 1655 *Gàrradh na Sgeir Glais* NB2135 BRI {,gɑ.Rðɣnð,sk'eð'gIaʃ} the dyke of
An Sgeir Ghlais.
- 1656 *Gàrradh nam Faoileag* NB2648 BRA {,gɑ.Rðnð'f(ɔ:lak} the dyke of the
gulls, with gen.pl. of *faoileag* f., cf. EIr. *faileann*; for final -ag
see §7.6ii.
- 1657 *Gàrradh nan Each* NB2543 ST/SD ='N'æx} the dyke of the horses. Alias
Gàrradh Nùb.
- 1658 *Gàrradh Nùb* NB2543 ST/SD {,gɑ.Rðɣ'Nũ:b} the dyke of *N*. Alias *Gàrradh nan Each*.
- 1659 *Gàrradh Shiadar* NB1939 TOL ='hiaððr} the dyke of *S*. 1848 *Garadh Sheader* 1974 *Garadh Shiadair*. Part of the boundary between TOL and DUN.
- 1660 *Gàrradh Theðmraigir* NB1840 DUN ='hjã:Rɪ,g'ðð} the dyke of *T*.
- 1661 *Gàrradh Thèisgeir* NB1842 BOR ='he:ʃk'ðð} the dyke of *Th*.
+ Garry Gleaharan NB2342, see *Geàrrraidh Ghleadhaircan*.
- 1662 *Gàrsamair* NB1840 DUN {,gɑ:ʒð,mðð} 'mað} of a hill, and its area.
Possibly from ON *Gásarhamar* or *-hamri* 'the rock of the goose'
(with syncope and metathesis of *s* and *r*) with gen.sg. of *gás* f.
'goose' and acc. or dat. of *hamarr* m. However *{'gɑ:ʒamðr} or} would be a more likely result. A derivation fr. *Gásarmýr* 'the marsh of the goose' with acc. of *mýrr* m. 'bog, swamp, marsh' and metathesis of *r* is preferable. MacKenzie (1903, see doc. under alias) and Watson (1976: 267) opt for the first solution. In the Faroes, cf. *Gásamýri*, with gen.pl. of *gás* f. (Matras 1933, *gás*). Alias *Gàrsamair Mhòr*.
- 1663 *Gàrsamair Bheag* NB1840 DUN {gɑ.ʒð,mðð'vøg} lesser *G*. 1848 1974 *Gàusamir Bheag*.
- 1664 *Gàrsamair Mhòr* NB1840 DUN ='vo:r} greater *G*. 1848 *Gàusamir Mhor* 1903 *Gàshamurr* 1977 *Gàusamir Mhor*. Alias *Gàrsamair*.
- 1665 *Garsan* NB2545 SD {'gɑʒðn} of a cove. 1848 *Geodha Gharson* 1974 *Geo Garson*. Possibly fr. ON *Garðssund* 'the sound of the dyke' with gen. sg. of *garðr* m. and nom./acc. of *sund* nt. *Garðr* may refer to a fishing-weir (G. *caraidh*) but this seems unlikely considering the type

of bay here. A difficulty concerning *sund* is that neither this bay nor the one with the same name in ST (see below) could be conceived of as a 'sound'. It is certainly very possible that *Loch Shiaboist* originally bore this name and that, through time, the name was transferred to two separate features (in this matter, see also *Loch Sgriachabhaig*). In Lewis, cf. Galson (Oftedal 1954: 374) and Tobson (Oftedal op.cit., 380). An alternative solution, however, may be ON *Garðsenda* 'the end or head of the dyke' with obl. case of *endi* m. Our name and the one below would then have been created individually, and the two indicate an encircling dyke around the settlement here. In the Faroes, cf. *Garðsendi* (Matras 1933). Note also in Skye, Cnoc Garsin (Forbes 1923: 122).

1666 *Garsan* NB2648 ST, as above. 1848 1974 Garson.

1667 *Garsan Mòr* NB2545 SD {,gɑ.ʃɒn'mo:r} greater G., of a cove. Alias *Garsan* doc., *Geodha Gharsan*.

+ Garson NB2648, see *Garsan*.

+ Garson Point NB2448, see *Rubha Gharsan*.

+ Garynahine NB2331, see *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne*.

1668 *An Gasan* NB1838 TOL {ð'ɣ̥asan} ?the thicket, with *gasan* m. < EIr. *gas* 'shoot, twig' + suffix *-an* §7.6i. In Lorne, cf. Cruach na Gaise Caoile (Gillies 1906: 204).

+ Gausamir Bheag NB1840, see *Gàrsamair Bheag*.

+ Gausamir Mhor NB1840, see *Gàrsamair (Mhòr)*.

1669 *Gead Ghorm* NB2043 GEARR {,g'æð'ɣɔrðm} the dark plot or piece of land, of an area and housing-estate; with *gead* f., Ir. idem. In Skye, *Gead-a-chlaidheamh* (Forbes 1923: 196, translating *gead* as 'arable land').

1670 *Gead Ghorm* NB2141 CARL, as above, of area. 1848 1974 -/Gorm.

+ *Gead Gorm* NB2141, see *Gead Ghorm*.

+ *Gearacha Beaga* NB1843, see *Geàrracha Beaga*.

1671 *Geàrr' na h-Aibhne* NB2331 GA {,g'a.ɲð'hãĩnð} the enclosure (of the river), with gen.sg. of *abhainn* f. 1832T Garri-na kine, Garri na hine 1848 Gearaidh na hAimhne 1869 Garrinakine 1875 Garynahine 1895 idem 1973 Gearraidh na h-Aibhne 1974 Garynahine. Of the village and township.

1672 *Geàrracha Beaga* NB1843 GEARR {,g'ɑɔxð'pøgð} the small enclosures, with pl. of *geàrraidh* m. § 7.5iv. 1974 *Gearacha Beaga*.

- 1673 *Geàrrachan Eileastar* NB2238 CIR {,g'a.Rɔxðn'ela,stðr} the enclosures of *E.* Alias *Geàrraidh Mòr Eileastar.*
- 1674 *Geàrrachan Mhàthair* NB2338 CN ='vã:hað} the enclosures (of the cairn).
- 1675 *Geàrrachan Othagro* NB2538 CARL ='ɔ-ɔ,gro} the enclosures of *O.* Alias *Geàrraidh Othagro.*
- 1676 *An Geàrraidh* NB2145 DAIL {ð'ɪ̃'a:Rɪ} the enclosure. Trad: (in explanation of this deserted hamlet) man stayed only one night as frightened off by ghosts.
- 1677 *Geàrraidh a' Chleite Dhuibh* NB2433 CAL {,g'a.Rɪ-ð,xle^ht'ð'ɣɔj} the enclosure of *An Cleite Dubh.*
- 1678 *Geàrraidh a' Choin* NB2133 CAL {,g'a.Rɪ-ð'xɔ̃N'} the enclosure of the dog, with gen.sg. of *cù* m.
- 1679 *Geàrraidh a' Mhurt* NB2932 CAL ='vũstɥ} the enclosure of the murder, with gen.sg. of *murt* m. EIr. *mart.*
- + *Gearraidh Allaghair* NB2042, see *Geàrraidh Allghair.*
- 1680 *Geàrraidh Allghair* NB2042 CARL {,g'a.Rɪ'a.Rãɣðl} §9.liv, the enclosure of *Allghar*, who, according to trad., was *mac nighean an t-Sagairt Oig* (the son of the daughter of the young priest) from *Beàrnaraidh Bheag*, whose father gave him this area. 1848 *Gearraidh Allaghair* 1974 *idem.*
- 1681 *Geàrraidh Amhastar* NB2435 BRI ='ãva,stðr} the enclosure of *A.* 1848 1895 *Airidh Amhaster* 1974 *Airigh Amhastar.*
- 1682 *Geàrraidh an Taigh* NB1937 TOL {,g'a.Rɪ-ð'N^he^h} the enclosure of the house.
- 1683 *Geàrraidh an t-Sagairt* NB1937 TOL ='N^hagʌtɥ} the enclosure of the priest.
- 1684 *Geàrraidh an t-Sliabh* NB2345 SD ='N^hriðv} §9.lii, the enclosure of the hill-side or hill-pasture. Alias *Gàrradh an t-Sliabh.*
- 1685 *Geàrraidh an t-Srath* NB2744 BRA ='N^hra^h} the enclosure of the strath.
- 1686 *An Geàrraidh Beag* NB2035 BRI {ð,ɪ̃'a.Rð'ɸeg} the small enclosure.
- 1687 *Geàrraidh Buidhe* NB2647 ST {,g'a.Rð'ɸu^ljð} the yellow enclosure, part of *Siabost a Tuath.*
- 1688 *Geàrraidh Chliacabhaigh* NB2730 LOCH {,g'a.Rɪ'xlia^hkð,vaj} the enclosure of *C.* Trad: shieling once here belonged to people fr. *C.*
- 1689 *Geàrraidh Chliasproc* NB2545 SD ='xlia,spro^hk} (also -'xlia,spro} from confusion with **Clasgro*), the enclosure of *C.* 1848 *Aireachan Druim Chliasbroc* 1974 *Airighean Druim Cliasbrock.*
- 1690 *Geàrraidh Choinnich* NB2843 BRA ='xɔ̃N'ɪç} *Coinneach's* enclosure. 1848

- 1934 1974 Gearraidh Choinnich. Alias *Airigh Choinnich*.
- 1691 *Geàrraidh Chàideastar* NB1939 DUN = 'xə:ð'a, stər} the enclosure of C.
+ An Geàrraidh Deas, see *An Earra Dheas*.
- 1692 *Geàrraidh Dhòmhnail Odhair* NB2546 SD {,g'a.R1,γō-1L'o-ðð} the enclosure of *Dòmhnail Odhar*; with gen.sg.m. of *odhar* adj. 'dun' EIr. *odar*. 1974 -/Dhomhnuill Odhar.
+ Geàrraidh Dhomhnuill Odhar NB2546, see *Geàrraidh Dhòmhnail Odhair*.
- 1693 *Geàrraidh Dhòmhnail Oig* NB2533 CAL = 'ɔ:g'} the enclosure of *Dòmhnail Og*.
+ Gearraidh Eileaster NB2238, see *Geàrrachan Eileastar, Geàrraidh Mòr Eileastar*.
- 1694 *Geàrraidh Fionnacleit* NB2139 CN {,g'a.R1'fjũNð,kle^ht'} the enclosure of *F. 1848 Cnoc a Ghearraidh 1974 Cnoc a' Geàrraidh. With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Finnaklett* with gen.pl. of *finnr* 'Lapp, Finn; one of uncertain pre-Scandinavian races in Norway, perhaps of Fino-Ugric origin'. The Norse form need not imply non-Norse settlers accompanying the Norse to the Western Isles; *finnr* may have been used by the Norse of indigenous but non-Gaelic inhabitants of the islands. An alternative solution may be ON **Finn-klett* with stem-form of **finn-*, NN *finn* 'mat-grass' *nardus stricta*, cf. *Cleite na h-Eanaich*.
- 1695 *Geàrraidh Ghille Chalum* NB2135 BRI {,g'a.R1,j1L'ð'xalðm} the enclosure of *Gille Chalum*.
- 1696 *Geàrraidh Ghleadhairean* NB2342 DAIL {,g'a.R1'γlφγðððn} the enclosure of *Na Gleadhairan*. 1848 Gearraidh Ghleádhairan 1974 Garry Gleaharan.
+ Geàrraidh Ghréinaval NB2533, see *Geàrraidh Ghréineabhal*.
- 1697 *Geàrraidh Ghréineabhal* NB2533 CAL = 'γðē:nð,vL} the enclosure of G. 1848 Gearraidh Ghréinabhall 1974 Geàrraidh Ghréinaval.
- 1698 *Geàrraidh Glas Chléid* NB2344 DAIL {,g'a.R1,gLas'xle:ð'} the green enclosure of A' *Chléid*.
+ Geàrraidh Hestaval NB2139, see *Geàrraidh Theastabhal* (NB2140).
- 1699 *Geàrraidh Loch Gainmhich* NB2834 BRI {,g'a.R1,ɔxð'gãñv1ç} §9.2ii, the enclosure of L. 1848 Airidh a Loch a Ghainmhich 1974 Airigh a' Loch a' Ghainmheich.
- 1700 *Geàrraidh Mhaoilein* NB2642 ST {,g'a.R1'vð:lan} the enclosure of M. 1848 Gearraidh Mhàolan 1974 idem.
+ Gearraidh Mhàolan NB2642, see *Geàrraidh Mhaoilein*.
- 1701 *Geàrraidh Mhic Chomhghail* NB2137 TOL {,g'a.R1,vĩ^h'k'ɔ-1L'} the enclosure of *Mac Comhghail*, with gen.sg. of the m.persn., EIr.

- Comgall* 1848 Gearraidh Mhic Cóthail 1974 Gèarraidh Mhic Cothail.
+ Gèarraidh Mhic Cothail NB2137, see *Gèarraidh Mhic Comhghaill*.
- 1702 *Gèarraidh Mhic Leòid* NB2433 CAL ={'klɔ:ɖ'} the enclosure of *Mac Leòid*.
1974 Airigh Mhic Leod.
- 1703 *Gèarraidh Mhurchaidh Mhuireasdain* NB2731 CAL {'g'a.Rɪ,vuRùxɪ'wóððstan}
the enclosure of *Murchadh Muireasdan* (Morrison). The name-forms
Muireasdan Moireasdan are fr. EIr. **Muirgesán* with intrusive -t-.
- 1704 *An Gèarraidh Mòr* NB2546 SD {'ð,ŋ'a.Rð'mo:r} the large enclosure. 1848
Gearraidh Mòr 1974 Gèarraidh Mòr.
- 1705 *An Gèarraidh Mòr* NB2534 CAL, as above. 1848 Airidh Mhòr Thoma Dubha
1974 Airigh Mhòr Thoma Dubha.
- 1706 *Gèarraidh Mòr Eileastar* NB2238 CIR {'g'a.Rɪ,mo.r'ela,stðr} the large
enclosure of *E*. 1848 1974 Gearraidh Eilaster. Alias *Gèarrachan*
Eileastar.
- 1707 *Gèarraidh Ni' Choinnich* NB2234 BRI {'g'a.Rɪ,nɪ'xɔ̃N'ɪç} the enclosure
of *Coinneach's* daughter, or of *MacKenzie*. 1848 Cnoc Gearraidh Nighean
Choinnich 1974 Cnoc Gèarraidh Nighean Choinnich.
- 1708 *Gèarraidh Othagro* NB2538 GEARR {'g'a.Rɪ'ɔ-ɔ,gro} the enclosure of *O*.
Alias *Gèarrachan Othagro*.
+ Gearraidh Rahacleit NB2541, see *Gèarraidh Rathacleit*.
- 1709 *Gèarraidh Rathacleit* NB2541 ST ={'ra-a,kle^ht'} the enclosure of **R*.
1848 1895 Gearraidh Rathagleit 1974 Gearraidh Rahacleit.
- 1710 *Gèarraidh Rèisg* NB2135 BRI {'g'a.Rɪ're:ʃk'} the enclosure of peat; §7.3i.
- 1711 *Gèarraidh Theastabhal* NB2140 CN ={'hestð,vəl} the enclosure of *Th*. 1848
Gearraidh Thestabhal, Airidh Thestabhal 1974 Gèarraidh Hestaval,
Airigh Hestaval.
- 1712 *Gèarraidh Uamaistean* NB2645 ST ={'ũãmɪ,ʃt'ðn} the enclosure of **U*.
- 1713 *Na Gèarrannan* NB1944 GEARR {'nð'g'a:RðNðn} the enclosures, with pl. of
gèarraidh, §7.5vi. 1583 Ghearen vÿg ?1695 Garien (see §11.10) 1750
Gairenin 1753 Garinin 1789 Garnin 1807 Garnan 1848 Gearranan 1869
Garriain 1875 Garnin 1895 Gearranan 1974 Garenin. of the village and
township.
- 1714 *An Geata* NB2243 DAIL {'ð'ŋ'ɛ^ht} the gate, with *geata* m. fr. the Eng.,
if this is not in fact an Eng. ln. Alias *A' Chachaileith Bhàn*.
- 1715 *An Geata Mòr* NB1842 BOR {'ð,ŋ'ɛ^htð'mo:r} the wide gate.
- 1716 *Gèidearam* NB1841 DUN {'g'e:ɖ'ðrðm} of a hill. 1848 Gèidramer 1974
Geidramer. A ln. fr. ON *geit-hamar* 'goat-crag' with stem-form of
geit f. 'she-goat' and acc. of *hamarr* m. Cf. the common Norwegian

- name Geit(e)ryggen (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 124). §9.liv.
- + Geidramer NB1841, see *Gèidearam*.
- + Geo Gharson NB2448, see *Garsan, Garsan Mòr, Geodha Gharsan*.
- 1717 *Geodh' a' Bhacain* NB2347 SD {,g'ɔ-ð'va^hkan} the ravine of the stake.
1848 1934 *Geodha Bhacain* 1974 =.
- 1718 *Geodh' a' Bhacain* NB1743 BOR, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 1719 *Geodh' a' Chaisteil* NB2045 GEARR = 'xast'al} the ravine of the castle,
with gen.sg. of *caisteal* m. EIr. *caistéil* (ultimately fr. Lat. *castellum*). 1848-/a *Chaisteil* 1974 =.
- 1720 *Geodh' a' Charra* NB1842 BOR = 'xQRð} the ravine of the rock. 1974 =.
- 1721 *Geodh' a' Choin* NB1839 DUN = 'xǾN'} the ravine of the dog. 1848-/a
Choin 1974 =.
- + *Geodh' a' Ghàraidh* NB2145, see *Geodh' a' Ghàrraidh*.
- 1722 *Geodh' a' Ghàrraidh* NB2145 DAIL = 'γa:Rɪ} the ravine of the dyke.
1848 *Geodha Ghàraidh* 1974 -/a' *Ghàraidh*.
- + *Geodh' a' Lighiche* NB1843, see *Geodh' an Lighich*.
- 1723 *Geodh' a' Mhaide* NB1844 GEARR = 'vǻð'ð} the ravine of the timber,
with gen.sg. of *maide* m. EIr. idem. 1848 *Geodha Mhór a' Mhaide* 1974
=.
- 1724 *Geodh' a' Mhaide* NB1840 DUN, as above. 1848 *Geodha Mhaide* 1974.
- 1725 *Geodh' a' Phrionnse* NB2347 SD = 'fðǾǿf} the ravine of the prince; the
prince being a stack (see *Stac a' Phrionnse, Prionnsa Ghruthaigea*).
Alias *Gruthaigea, Geodha Ghruthaigea* doc.
- 1726 *Geodh' Allt na Muilne* NB2036 BRI {,g'ɔ,αLɪtnð'mũlL'ð} the ravine of A.
- 1727 *Geodh' an Ara* NB1743 BOR {,g'ɔ-ð'Na:rð} the ravine of the ladder,
with gen.sg. of *àra* EIr. *árad*. 1848 *Geodh an Fháradh*.
- + *Geodh' an Dubh Sgeir* NB1945, see *Geodh' an Uisge*.
- + *Geodh' an Eubhaich* NB1844, see *Geodha na h-Eigheachd*.
- 1728 *Geodh' an Fhedir* NB1741 DUN = 'N'ɔ:ð} the ravine of the grass.
- 1729 *Geodh' an Fhithich* NB2448 SD = 'N'i-ic} the ravine of the raven.
- 1730 *Geodh' an Fhoirtheidh* NB1841 DUN = 'Nɔðaj} the ravine of the payment
§11.7ii, with gen.sg. of *foirtheadh forthadh* m. EIr. **for-thugad*
'covering; protection'. Cf. Ir. *fortódh* 'securing, hiring; wages'
(Dinnenn 1947).
- 1731 *Geodh' an Fhuarain* NB2749 BRA = 'Nuðran} the ravine of the spring,
alias *Taraigea*.
- 1732 *Geodh' an Iarainn* NB2447 SD = 'N'iðRɪN'} the ravine of the iron, with
gen.sg. of *iaram* m. EIr. *íarn*. 1848 -/an *Iaruinn* 1974 idem.

- 1733 *Geodh' an Iasanaich* NB2447 SD = 'N' iðsðn iç } the ravine of the ?.
- 1734 *Geodh' an Lighich* NB1843 BOR = 'Li-iç } the ravine of the physician.
1848 -/a Lighiche.
+ *Geodh' an Linne* NB1839, see *Geodha Lingeam*.
- 1735 *Geodh' an Ròigh* NB1740 DUN = 'Rɔ:j } the ravine of *An Rògh*. Alias
An Rògh.
- 1736 *Geodh' an Sgàdain* NB1842 GEARR = 'skaðan } the ravine of the herring,
with gen.sg. of *sgadan* m. EIr. *scatán* < **scat* + suffix §7.6i, fr. ON
skadd acc.m., cf. NN *skadd* 'gwyniad' Eng. dial. (Cornwall) *scad*
'horse-mackerel'. W. *ysgadan* 'herring' must be borrowed fr. the Irish
form.
- 1737 *Geodh' an Sgridhe* NB2045 GEARR = 'skði-i } the ravine of the scree.
Alias *Geodha Mhòr an Sgridhe* doc.
- 1738 *Geodh' an Spòrain* NB2146 DAIL = 'spòran } the ravine of the purse,
re: shape. With gen.sg. of *sporan* m. *Sporan* EIr. *sparán* is linked
with Eng. *purse*, Lat. *bursa* (RIA; MacBain 1982); it is phonetically
sounder to associate EIr. *sparán* with ON *spar-* adj. 'stingy, sparing'
and *spara* 'to save, spare' (AS *sparian*). 1848 *Geodha Spòrain*.
+ *Geodh' an Stiogha* NB1742, see *Geodha na Stiogha*.
- 1739 *Geodh' an Taigh Staile* NB1741 DUN { ,g'ɔ-ð, N^h øj' stalð } the ravine of
the distillery; with gen.sg. of *stail* f. fr. Scots *stell*.
- 1740 *Geodh' an Tairbh* NB1840 DUN { 'g'ɔ-ð, N^h øðv } the ravine of the bull.
1848 1974 =.
- 1741 *Geodh' an Tairbh* NB1740 DUN, as above. 1848 =.
- 1742 *Geodh' an Teadhraidh* NB1841 DUN = 'N^h ð:r i } 'N^h ð:ð i } the ravine of
the tethering, with gen.sg. of *teadhradh* m.; fr. *teadhair* 'tether'
fr. ME *tether*.
- 1743 *Geodh' an Tuill* NB2447 SD = 'N^h ðiL' } the ravine (of the hole).
- 1744 *Geodh' an Uain* NB2849 BRA = 'Nüã } the ravine of the lamb.
- 1745 *Geodh' an Uillt* NB2145 DAIL = 'NøiL't' } the ravine of the stream.
1848 = 1974 *Geodha an Uillt*.
- 1746 *Geodh' an Uillt* NB1741 DUN, as above.
- 1747 *Geodh' an Uisge* NB1945 GEARR = 'Nøf'k' } the ravine of the water.
1848 -/an Dùbh Sgeir 1974 -/an Dùbh Sgeir.
- 1748 *Geodh' an t-Sasannaich* NB2037 TOL = 'N^h asðn iç } the ravine of the
Englishman, with gen.sg. of *Sasannach* m. EIr. *Saxanach*, fr. Lat.
Saxon- + agent suffix. Trad: an English sailor's body was washed
ashore here.

- + Geodh' an t-Seabhaig NB1844, see *Geodha na h-Eigheachd*.
- 1749 *Geodh' an t-Seabhaig* NB1945 GEARR = 'N^hævæk'} the ravine of the hawk.
- + Geodh' an t-Seabhaig NB1945, see *Geodha Mhòr na Beirghe*.
- 1750 *Geodh' an t-Sèdmair* NB2849 BRA = 'N^hõ:mar} the ravine of the room.
1974 =.
- 1751 *Geodh' an t-Sìlich* NB2145 DAIL = 'N^hi:lɪç} the ravine of *An Sìlich*.
1848 1974 -/ an t-Siliche.
- + Geodh' an t-Siliche NB2145, see *Geodh' an t-Sìlich*.
- 1752 *Geodh' an t-Sruthain* NB1843 BOR = 'N^hruhan} the ravine of the
streamlet. 1848 1974 =.
- 1753 *Geodh' an t-Sruthain* NB2447 SD, as above. 1848 -/an t-Srúthain
1974 =.
- 1754 *Geodh' an t-Sruthain* NB2749 BRA, as above. 1848 -/an t-Srúthain 1974
=.
- 1755 *Geodh' an t-Sruthain* NB1842 BOR, as above. 1848 -/an t-Srúthain.
- 1756 *A' Gheodh' Fhalach* NB2448 SD {ð,jɔ.'ɑlɔx} §7.4, the hidden ravine.
1848 *Geodha Fháileachd* 1974 *Geodha Fhaileachd*.
- + Geodh' na Muic NB2245, see *Geodha na Muic, Geodha nam Muic*.
- + Geodh' na Muice NB2749, see *Geodha na Muic, Geodha nam Muic*.
- + Geodh' na Tairbhe NB2749.
- 1757 *A' Gheodh' Uisge* NB1841 DUN = 'ʔsfk'} the ravine of water.
- 1758 *A' Gheodha* NB2036 BRI {ð'jɔ:} the ravine.
+ Geodha an Uillt NB2145, see *Geodh' an Uillt*.
- 1759 *Geodha Bhàn Bun a' Ghàrraidh* NB2648 ST {,g'ɔ.'vã:n,bũnd'ɣɑ:Rɪ} the
fair ravine (of the foot (of the dyke)). One of *Geodhachan Bàn Bun*
a' Ghàrraidh.
- 1760 *A' Gheodha Bheag* NB2548 ST {ð,jɔ.'veg} the little ravine.
- 1761 *Geodha Bheag an Sgridhe* NB2045 GEARR {,g'ɔ.,vegð'skði-i} the lesser
G. 1848 --/a Sgridhe 1974 -/Beag a' Sgridhe.
- + Geodha Bràighe na h-Airde Móire NB2749, see *Geodha nam Bràigheachan*.
- + Geodha Bratag NB2347, see *Brataigea*.
- + Geodha Caol na Ribh Uarach NB2347, see *Geodha Chaol an Rubh' Uarach*.
- 1762 *Geodha Chailigeadh* NB2548 ST {,g'ɔ.'xalɪ,g'ay} the ravine of C.
Alias *Cailigeadh* doc.
- 1763 *A' Gheodha Chaol* NB1842 BOR {ð,jɔ.'xɔ:L} the narrow ravine. 1974
Geodha Chaol.
- 1764 *Geodha Chaol an Rubh' Uarach* NB2347 SD {,g'ɔ.'xɔ:Lð,Ru'uðrɔx} the
narrow ravine (of the upper point). 1848 --/na Ribh Uarach 1974

-/Caol na Ribh Uarach.

- 1765 *Geodha Chaol Chròiteig* NB2448 SD {,g'ɔ.,xɔ.L'xɔ:ʰt'æx'} the narrow ravine of *C. 1848 --/Chroiteag 1974 --/Chroiteag. might be fr. *crò* 'pen, fold' + suffix *-ag* §7.6ii, 'small pen, place of the pen'; with intrusive *-t-*, cf. *cròitean*, pl. of *crò*. **Cròiteag* may conceivably have been descriptive of the ravine here.
- 1766 *Geodha Chaol Ghlas* NB2447 SD ={'γLas} the narrow (grey ravine).
- 1767 *Geodha Chaol Rubh' Uig* NB1843 BOR {,g'ɔ.'xɔ:L,Ru'ɥ:g'} the narrow ravine of R. 1848 --/Rudha Thaoig.
- 1768 *A' Gheodha Chlabach* NB1844 GEARR {ð,jɔ.'xLapɔx} 'xLapɔɕ} §7.3i, the gaping ravine, with *clabach* adj. EIr. *clapach*. 1848 *Geodha Chlabach* 1974 *Geodha Clabach*.
- 1769 *Geodha Chormaic* NB2648 ST {,g'ɔ.'xarəmɪk'} *Cormag's* ravine; although the pronunciation {,g'ɔ-ɪ'xarəmɪk'} suggests an original **Geodha Mhic Chormaic*.
- 1770 *Geodha Chrodhair* NB2749 BRA ={'xɔ-ðð} the ravine of *C. 1974 =.
+ *Geodha Clabach* NB1844, see *A' Gheodha Chlabach*.
- 1771 *Geodha Dail Geannain* NB2036 BRI {,g'ɔ.,ɖal'g'ãNan} the ravine of D.
- 1772 *Geodha Dhubh* NB2749 BRA {,g'ɔ.'ɣɥ^h} the black ravine.
- 1773 *A' Gheodha Domhainn* NB2447 SD {ð,jɔ.'dõ-ɪN'} the deep ravine; ? with *geodha* originally masc., see §7.1ii, No. 374).
+ *Geodha Fhaileachd* NB2448, see *A' Gheodh' Fhalach*.
- 1774 *Geodha Gharsan* NB2448 SD {,g'ɔ.'ɣaʒðn} the ravine of G. 1848 -/
Gharson 1974 *Geo Garson*. Alias *Garsan*, *Garsan Mòr*.
- 1775 *Geodha Gharsan Bhàn* NB2448 SD {,g'ɔ.,ɣaʒðn'vã:n} the light-coloured G.
+ *Geodha Ghlas* NB2447, see *Geodha Mhòr Ghlas*, *Geodha Chaol Ghlas*.
- 1776 *A' Gheodha Ghlas* NB1842 BOR {ð,jɔ.'γLas} the grey ravine.
- 1777 *A' Gheodha Ghorm* NB1844 GEARR ={'ɣɔrðm} the dark ravine, of area of deep water.
+ *Geodha Ghroisge* NB2447, see *Groisigea*.
- 1778 *Geodha Ghruthaigea* NB2347 SD {,g'ɔ.'ɣɾɥ-ɪ,g'a} the ravine of G. 1848 -/
Ghrúthaige. Alias *Geodh' a' Phrionnse*, *Gruthaigea*.
- 1779 *Geodha Gun Fheum* NB2648 ST {,g'ɔ.,gɥ'ně:m} the useless ravine, with prep. *gun* 'without' EIr. *cen*, and len. *fheum* 'need, use' EIr. *feidm*. The prep. is found in names elsewhere in Scotland, e.g. *Sròn gun aran*, *Kincardine* (Watson 1976: 14).
- 1780 *A' Gheodha Leathainn* NB1740 DUN {ð,jɔ.'lehɪN'} the broad ravine.

- 1781 *A' Gheodha Leathainn* NB1842 BOR, as above. 1974 *Geodha Leathann*.
+ *Geodha Leathann* NB1842, see *A' Gheodha Leathainn*.
- 1782 *Geodha Lingeam* NB1839 DUN {,g'ɔ'liŋ'k'am} the ravine of *L. 1848
Geodh' an Linne 1974 *Geodh' an Linne*. With a ln. probably fr. ON
Lyng-holm 'heather knoll' with stem-form of *lyng* nt. and acc. of
holmr m. 'knoll, hillock'.
- 1783 *Geodha Mhòr* NB1643 BOR ='vo:r} the large ravine. 1848 -/Mhor 1974
-/Mór.
+ *Geodha Mhór a' Mhaide* NB1844, see *Geodh' a' Mhaide*.
- 1784 *Geodha Mhòr Aird Mheadhanach* NB1945 GEARR {,g'ɔ.'vo:r,a.ɟ'vĩ-anɔx}
the large ravine of A., §7.3ii. 1848 -/Mhòr Aird Mheadhonach 1974
-/Mór Aird Mheadhonach.
- 1785 *Geodha Mhòr Ghlas* NB2447 SD {,g'ɔ.'vo.r'ɣlas} the greater (grey
ravine). 1848 -/Ghlas 1974 idem.
- 1786 *Geodha Mhòr na Beirghe* NB1845 GEARR {,g'ɔ.,vo. n̩ð'p̩ðð-ɪ} the
large ravine of *A' Bheirghe*. Alias *Geodha na Beirghe*.
+ *Geodha Mór* NB1843, see *Geodha Mhòr*.
+ *Geodha Mór a' Sgridhe* NB2045, see *Geodha Mhòr an Sgridhe*.
+ *Geodha Mór Aird Mheadhonach* NB1945, see *Geodha Mhòr Aird Mheadhanach*.
- 1787 *Geodha na Bà Bàine* NB1843 BOR {,g'ɔn̩ð.ɓa.'p̩ã:N'ð} the ravine of the
light-coloured cow. 1848 -/na Bà Buidhe.
- 1788 *Geodha na Beirghe* NB1743 BOR {,g'ɔ.n̩ð'p̩ðð-ɪ} the ravine of *A' Bheirghe*.
Alias *Beirghsgéadh doc.*, *Beirghsgéadh Mhòr*.
- 1789 *Geodha na Beirghe* NB1845 GEARR, as above. Alias *Geodha Mhòr na Beirghe*.
- 1790 *Geodha na Buaille* NB2749 BRA ='ɓuɔl̩ð} the ravine (of the enclosure).
1848 1974 =.
- 1791 *Geodha na Crodhaidh* NB1742 BOR ='k^hrɔ-ɪ} the ravine (of the fold);
with an orig. dat. form of *crð* f. 1848 = 1974 -/na Cròtha.
+ *Geodha na Cròtha* NB1742, see *Geodha na Crodhaidh*.
- 1792 *Geodha na Glainne* NB1939 DUN ='gɪl̩n̩'ð} the ravine of the glass. 1848
-/na Glaine.
- 1793 *Geodha na Grèine* NB2347 SD ='g̩ðẽ:N' (ð)} the ravine of the sun.
- 1794 *Geodha na Làireadh* NB2648 ST ='La:rðɣ} the ravine of the mare, with
gen.sg. of *làir* EIr. *láir*.
- 1795 *Geodha na Làiridh* NB2448 SD ='La:ðɪ}, as above; 1848 -/na Làireadh
1974 -/na Làire.
- 1796 *Geodha na Mnà* NB2346 SD ='mr̩ã:} the ravine of the woman, with gen.sg.
of *bean* f. 1848 -/na Mna 1974 =. Trad: *Tha duilich faighinn innte*.

Co-dhiùbh, fhuair an duine-sa innte, agus sann às dèidh fiodh chladaich a bha e; is bha fear eile (chunnaic e gu robh fiodh ann) anns a'.gheodha: bha e fhèin a' miannachadh gu faigheadh e e. Ach tha col'ach gu robh a nàbaidh aig an àite reimhe. Nuair a ràinig an leithid seo dhuine, bha an nàbaidh a' dol sìos dhan gheodha. (Agus an seòrsa gheodha a bh' ann, bha i duilich faighinn innte; bha i cas - tha i siud chun an latha an-diugh) Cha robh fhios aige dè dhèanadh e. Chaidh e, agus chrùb e sìos, gu àite freagarrach, agus thòisich e 'g èigheachd: "Geodha na Mhà, 's Iain Bàn a' dol leatha!" ({,sã'n'pã:nð,ðo'la:}) Iain Bàn a bh' air an duine bha dol a dh' fhaighinn an fhiodh chladaich, 'eil fhios agad. Agus nuair a chuala Iain Bàn seo, mach à seo! Is dh' fhàg e am fiodh; dh' fhàg e am fiodh is cha robh sgeul air. Fhuair an fhear eile am fiodh nuair a dh' fhalbh e. 'It's difficult to get into. Anyway, this man got into it, and he was after drift-wood; and there was another man (he had seen that there was wood) in the ravine: he himself wanted to get it. But it seems his neighbour was at the spot before him. When this particular man arrived, the neighbour was going down to the ravine. (And the sort of ravine it was, it was difficult to get into; it was steep - it's there to this day) He didn't know what he would do. He went, and crouched down, to a suitable place, and began shouting: "Geodha na Mhà, and Iain Bàn's falling!" Iain Bàn was the name of the person who was going to get the drift-wood, you know. And when Iain Bàn heard this, off he went! And he left the wood; he left the wood and there was no sign of him. The other man got the wood when he left.'

- 1797 *Geodha na Muic* NB1839 DUN ={'mã^{l h}'k'} the ravine of the whale; with gen.sg. of *muc* f.
- 1798 *Geodha na Muic* NB2749 BRA, as above. 1974 *Geodh' na Muice*. Alias *Geodha nam Muc*.
- 1799 *Geodha na Muic* NB2245 DAIL, as above. 1848 *Geodh' na Muic* 1974 -/na *Muice*. Alias *Geodha nam Muc*.
- 1800 *Geodha na Muilne* NB2145 DAIL ={'mũl'ð'} the ravine of the mill. 1848 1974 =.
- 1801 *Geodha na Sgeir Glais* NB2134 BRI {,g'ɔ.nð,sk'eð'gLaʃ} the ravine of *An Sgeir Ghlais*.
- 1802 *Geodha na Stiogha* NB1742 BOR {,g'ɔ.nð'ʃt'ɪγð} the ravine (of the steep path). 1848 *Geodh' a Stiogha* 1974 *Geodh' an Stiogha*. It would be

consistent with the gender of *stiogha* elsewhere to interpret the name as *Geodha nan Stiogha* 'the ravine of the paths', but this is not convincing topographically.

- 1803 *Geodha na Tobrach* NB1842 BOR = 't^hΛ^ðrɔx} 't^hΛ^ððδ} the ravine of the well, with gen.sg. of *tobair tobar* f. EIr. *topar*. 1974 =.
- 1804 *Geodha na h-Eigheachd* NB1844 GEARR = 'he:vɔxk} the ravine of the calling, with gen.sg. of *èigheachd*, vn. of *èigh*; cf. EIr. *éigid* 'cries out'. 1848 *Geodh' an t-Seabhaig* 1974 *Geodh' an Eubhaich*.
- 1805 *Geodha nan Bràigheachan* NB2749 BRA = 'm̃ra:jɔxðn} the ravine of the uplands, with gen.pl. of *bràigh*, a late obl. form fr. EIr. *brága(e)*. 1848 *-/Braighe na h-Airde Bige* 1974 *-/Bràighe na h-Airde Móire*.
- 1806 *Geodha nan Muc* NB2749 BRA = 'm̃^hk} the ravine of the whales. Alias *Geodha na Muic* doc.
- 1807 *Geodha nan Muc* NB2245 DAIL, as above. Alias *Geodha na Muic* doc.
- 1808 *Geodha nan Aighean* NB2749 BRA = 'Ne-ðn} the ravine of the heifers. Alias *Geodha nan Gaimhne*.
- 1809 *Geodha nan Arspag* NB2649 BRA = 'Naʒpak} the ravine of the black-backed gulls, with gen.pl. of *arspag* f. *Larus marinus*, fr. ON *swart-bak* acc.m. (cf. the form in *Rubh' Sharspag*). Norn *swabie swartback*. ON *-rtb-* would almost immediately yield *-{ʒp}-* (*-/Rsb/-*), through a potential intermediate stage *-*{ʒtp}-* (*-*/Rsd/-*).
- 1810 *Geodha nan Calman* NB2448 SD = 'ʒ^hαLàman} the ravine of the doves. 1848 1974 =.
- 1811 *Geodha nan Calman* NB2649 BRA, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 1812 *Geodha nan Calman* NB1741 DUN, as above. 1848 =.
- 1813 *Geodha nan Caorach* NB1742 BOR = 'ʒ^hω:rɔx} the ravine of the sheep.
- 1814 *Geodha nan Càrnaichean* NB1742 BOR = 'ʒ^hα:ɲlɔðn} 'ʒ^hα:ɲɔxðn} the ravine of the cairns. 1848 = 1974 *-/nan Carnaichean*. Alias *Geodha nan Càrnaichean A-muigh*.
- 1815 *Geodha nan Càrnaichean A-muigh* NB1742 BOR {,g'ɔ.nð,ʒ^hα.ɲlɔðnð'mũj} the outer G. 1858 *--/a Muigh* (misplaced) 1974 *-/nan Carnaichean*. Alias *Geodha nan Càrnaichean*.
- 1816 *Geodha nan Càrnaichean A-staigh* NB1742 BOR = 'stɔj} the inner G. 1848 *--/a stigh* 1974 *-/nan Carnaichean a' Stigh* (misplaced).
+ *Geodha nan Carnaichean a' Stigh* NB1742, see *Geodha nan Càrnaichean A-staigh*.
- 1817 *Geodha nan Cearc* NB1839 DUN = 'ʒ^hærk} the ravine of the hens.
- 1818 *Geodha nan Con* NB1945 GEARR = 'ʒ^hɔn} the ravine of the dogs. 1848

Geodh' a Choin.

- 1819 *Geodha nan Gaimhne* NB2548 SD ={'ḡ'c̄. 'nē: , d' a l t} the ravine of the stirks, with gen.pl. of *ganhairn* f. 1848 = (misplaced).
- 1820 *Geodha nan Gaimhne* NB2749 ST, as above. 1848 1974 =. Alias *Geodha nan Aighean*.
- 1821 *Geodha nan Sgalag* NB1845 GEARR ={'skaLak} the ravine of the labourers. 1848 -/nan Scallag 1974 =.
- + *Geodha Neidalt* NB2548, see *Geodha Nèidealt*.
- 1822 *Geodha Nèidealt* NB2548 SD { , ḡ' c̄ . ' n ē : , d' a l t } the ravine of *N. 1848 -/Neidallt 1974 -/Neidalt. With a ln. fr. ON *Nøyt-holt 'cattle-hill' with final -holt m. 'stony eminence'; the first element, the stem-form of *nøyti nt., is a by-form of naut nt. 'head of cattle', as attested in ON cpdd. such as *kínøyti* 'milch cattle'; cf. Far. *neyt*. *Naut* is well-attested in Norwegian pnn., e.g. *Nautøy*, Rogaland (NG X, 482).
- 1823 *Geodha Ramraigeadh* NB1838 TOL ={'rāmār₁ , ḡ' a γ} 'rāmāδ₁ , ḡ' a γ} the ravine of *R. 1848 -/Rámaraige 1974 Ramarageo. Alias A' *Gheodha Ruadh*.
- 1824 *Geodha Ruadh* NB2447 SD ={'ruðγ} the red ravine. 1848 =.
- 1825 *Geodha Ruadh* NB2145 DAIL, as above. 1848 1974 =. Alias *Geodha Ruadh a' Gheàrraidh*.
- 1826 A' *Gheodha Ruadh* NB1844 GEARR {ð , j c̄ . ' r u ð γ } as above. 1848 *Geodha Ruadh* 1895 *Groda Ruadh* 1974 *Geodha Ruadh*. Trad: Russian schooner wrecked here 1906, see *Uagha na Geodha Ruaidhe*.
- 1827 A' *Gheodha Ruadh* NB1945 GEARR, as above.
- 1828 A' *Gheodha Ruadh* NB1838 TOL, as above. Alias *Geodha Ramraigeadh*.
- 1829 A' *Gheodha Ruadh* NB1741 DUN, as above. 1848 1974 *Geodha Ruadh*.
- 1830 *Geodha Ruadh a' Gheàrraidh* NB2045 DAIL { , ḡ' c̄ . , r u ð γ ð ' j a : R ₁ } the red ravine of *An Geàrraidh*. Alias *Geodha Ruadh*.
- 1831 *Geodha Ruadh nan Sniomh* NB2045 GEARR { , ḡ' c̄ . , r u ð γ ð ' / N ' ĩ ð v (ð n) } the red ravine of *Na Sniomhan*, with gen.pl. of *sniomh* m., EIr. *sñim*, 'twist, zig-zag'. 1848 --/an Sniomha. In Lewis, cf. *Creag-an-t-sniomh* (MacIver 1934: 18).
- 1832 *Geodha Sgòidein* NB2346 SD { , ḡ' c̄ . ' s k c̄ : d ' a n } the ravine (of the sail-like place), with gen.sg. of *sgòidean* m., fr. *sgòd* m. 'sail-corner' (a lw. fr. ON *skaut* nt., cf. Ir. *scót*; Greene 1976: 79) + the suffix -an §7.6i. There is a wafer-thin point here which can be likened to the corner of a sail. 1848 1974 -/Sgòidean.
- 1833 *Geodha Sheileastar* NB1942 BOR ={'helðstðr} the ravine of yellow-flag,

- with gen.sg. of *seileasdar* m. *iris pseudacorus*, EIr. *ailestar eilestar*.
- 1834 *Geodha Thairigeadh* NB1841 DUN ={'haδ₁,g'aγ} the ravine of *T*. Alias *Tairigeadh* doc.
- 1835 *Geodha Thòlaigea* NB2346 SD ={'hɔ:L₁,g'a} the ravine of **Th*. Alias *Geodha Thòlaigea Mhòr* doc., *Tòlaigea Mhòr*.
- 1836 *Geodha Thòlaigea Bheag* NB2346 SD {,g'ɔ.,hɔ.L₁,g'a'veg} the lesser *G*. Alias *Tòlaigea Bheag*.
- 1837 *Geodha Thòlaigea Mhòr* NB2346 SD ={'vo:r} the greater *G*. 1848 -/
Thòlaige Mhor 1974 -/Tolaig Mór. Alias *Geodha Thòlaigea*, *Tòlaigea Mhòr*.
- + *Geodha Tolaig Mór* NB2346, see *Geodha Thòlaigea*, *Geodha Thòlaigea Mhòr*, *Tòlaigea Mhòr*.
- 1838 *Geodhacha Caola* NB2447 SD {,g'ɔ-ɔxð^h'k(ɔ:Lð)} the narrow ravines. 1848 1974 =. With pl. of *geodha* §7.5v.
- + *Geodhachan a Tuath* NB1741, see *Geodhaichean a Tuath*.
- 1839 *Geodhachan Bàn Bun a' Ghàrraidh* NB2648 ST {,g'ɔ-ɔxðn'pã:n,bũnd'ɣa:R₁} the fair ravines (of the end (of the dyke)), with pl. of *geodha*.
- 1840 *Na Geodhachan Bàna* NB2649 BRA {nð,g'ɔ-ɔxðn'pã:nð} the fair ravines.
- 1841 *Geodhachan Beaga Nic Dhonnchaidh* NB2547 ST {,g'ɔ-ɔxðn,begð,nĩ^h'k'ɣũNũx₁} the little ravines of *Donnchadh's* daughter/descendent. ?Alias, see below.
- 1842 *Geodhachan Beaga Nic Fhionnlaidh* NB2547 ST =,nĩ^h'k'ũLaj} the little ravines of *Fionnladh's* daughter/descendent. ?Alias *Geodhachan Beaga Nic Dhonnchaidh*.
- 1843 *Geodhaichean a' Chaisteil* NB2045 GEARR {,g'ɔ-ɪçðnð'xast'al} the ravines (of the castle), with pl. of *geodha*. Of area of sea out from *Geodh' a' Chaisteil*.
- 1844 *Geodhaichean a Tuath* NB1741 DUN ={'t^huð} the northern ravines. 1848 1974 *Geodhachan a Tuath*.
- + *Geóidaster* NB1939, see *Cuideastar*.
- 1845 *Gil a' Chàrnain Mhòir* NB1939 DUN {,g'ɪlð,xɑ.nɑn'vo:ð} the ravine of *An Càrnain Mòr*.
- 1846 *Gil Ath a' Chreagain* NB2646 ST {,g'ɪl,a.-ð'xðøɣɑn} the ravine (of the ford (of the knoll)). 1934 -/Àth a Chreagain.
- 1847 *Gil Dhòmhnail Ruaidh* NB1841 DUN {,g'ɪl,ɣõ-ɪL''ruðj} the ravine of *Dòmhnail Ruadh*.
- 1848 *Gil Fheubais* NB3233 S {,g'ɪ'le:,baf} the ravine of **F*. 1848 Gillebish 1934 +/-Haebais 1974 Gillebish. With a loan fr. an ON form in final

- bási* dat. of *báss* m. 'place for keeping something in' also 'device for capturing wild animals' (NG IX, 292). The first element is conceivably *fé* nt. 'stock'; thus ON *Fé-bási* dat. 'the stock pen or fank'. The ravine here is suitable for the purpose of rounding up stock.
- 1849 *Gil na Bà Buidhe* NB2732 CAL {,g' 1lnð,ba.'bu¹jð} the ravine of the yellow cow.
- 1850 *Gil na Gead Guirm* NB2141 CARL {,g' 1l(ð)nð,g'ed'g'odðm} the ravine of A' Ghead Ghorm.
- 1851 *Gil na Trí Allt* ?NB2841 ST/BRA {,g' 1lnð,tri.'au¹t} §7.2ii, the ravine of the three streams. ?Alias *Feadan na Trí Medir*.
- 1852 *Gil Núb* NB2643 ST {,g' 1l'Nũ:b} the ravine of N.
+ *Gil Rahacleit* NB2641, see *Gil Rathacleit*.
- 1853 *Gil Rainich* NB2830 ACH {,g' 1lð'rã¹ç} §9.2ii, the ravine of bracken.
Note 1974 Allt Gil an Rainich.
- 1854 *Gil Rathacleit* NB2641 ST {,g' 1l'ra-a,kle^ht'} the ravine of R. 1974 -/Rahacleit.
- 1855 *A' Ghil Thioram* NB2730 CAL/LOCH {ð,j1l'h1ððm} the dry ravine, with *tioram* adj. EIr. *tirim tírim*. 1974 Allt na Gile Tioram.
- 1856 *Gilean a' Chlachain Ioraich* NB2239 CN {,g' 1lðnð,xLaxð'niðr1ç} the ravines of An Clachan Iorach, with pl. of *gil* f.
- 1857 *Gilean Allt a' Bhaile* NB2342 CARL {,g' 1lðn,a¹Ltð'valð} the ravines of A.
+ Gill Fasgro NB2041, see *Allt Loch Fàsgró*.
+ Gillebish NB3233, see *Gil Fheubais*.
- 1858 *A' Ghlaic* NB1843 BOR {ð'γLa^{1h}k'} the hollow, with *glaic* f. EIr. *glaic(c)* obl. case.
- 1859 *A' Ghlaic* NB1843 BOR, as above.
- 1860 *Glaic Saidhbh* NB1938 TOL {,gLa^{1h}k''se:v} *Saidhbh*'s hollow.
- 1861 *Glas Allt* NB2346 SD {'gLa,sq¹t} the green stream. Alias *Feadan a' Ghlas Allt* doc.
- 1862 *An Glas Allt* NB2445 DAIL {ð'ḡLa,sq¹t} as above. Alias *An Glas Allt Mòr*, *An t-Allt Glas*. 1848 *Glas Allt*.
- 1863 *An Glas Allt* NB2041 CIR, as above. 1848 Allt Loch Bealach a Scail
1974 Allt Loch Bealach a' Sgail.
- 1864 *An Glas Allt* NB2235 BRI, as above. 1848 1974 Allt Glas. Alias *Allt a' Ghlas Allt*.
- 1865 *An Glas Allt* NB2645 ST, as above.

- 1866 *An Glas Allt Beag* NB2445 DAIL {ð,ŋ̊La,saL̥tð'ɸøɣ} the lesser G.
- 1867 *An Glas Allt Mòr* NB2445 DAIL ='mo:r} the greater G.
- 1868 *Gleadhairéan* NB2234 CAL {'gleyðððn} the slopes, with pl. of **gleadhar* 'slope' fr. *gleadh* 'onset, attack' + suffix §7.6vi. For the development of the sense 'slope' cf. the elements *buaim*, *maidhm*. Some commentators have considered our name to have originated fr. ON *gliúfr* (Watson 1976: 267, so Henderson 1910: 348); see, however, No. 115. 1848 1934 1974 =. Also in Lewis, *Cnocan Gleaharan* NB2241 (OS 1974).
- 1869 *Na Gleadhairéan* NB2441 DAIL {nð'g̊lɸyðððn} as above. Alias *Cnoc Dubh Ghleadhairéan* doc.
- 1870 *An Gleann* NB1937 TOL {ð'ŋ̊lãũN} the valley, with *gleann* m. EIr. *glend*.
- 1871 *An Gleann* NB2242 CARL, as above.
- + *Gleann an Iògain* NB2640, see *Gleann an t-Sìogainn*.
- 1872 *Gleann an Taigh Staile* NB1741 DUN {,g̊lãũNŋ, N^høj'stalð} the valley of the distillery.
- 1873 *Gleann an t-Sìogainn* NB2640 SD/ST {,g̊lãũNŋ'N^h'(h) i:g̊1N'} the valley of *An Sìogainn*. 1848 -/an Iògain 1895 idem 1974 -/an Iògain.
- 1874 *Gleann an t-Srath* NB2743 ST/BRA ='N^hra^h} the valley of *An t-Srath*. 1848 1974 =.
- 1875 *Gleann Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,g̊lã'Na:^htri,g̊'i} the valley of A.
- 1876 *Gleann Bot an Aighe* NB1940 DUN {,g̊lãN,bɔ^htN'^hNe-ð} the valley (of the lake-head of the heifer).
- 1877 *Gleann Creag a' Chait* NB2240 CARL {,g̊lãN,k^hðagð'xε^ht'} the valley (of the rock of the cat). 1848 --/a Chait 1974 -/Greag a Chait.
- 1878 *Gleann Dhaile Mòire* NB2144 DAIL {,g̊lãN,ɣalð'mo:ð} the valley of DM.
- 1879 *Gleann Domhainn* NB1838 TOL {,g̊lãN'ðõ-1N'} the deep valley.
- 1880 *An Gleann Domhainn* NB2142 CARL {ð,ŋ̊lãN'ðõ-1N'} as above.
- 1881 *An Gleann Dorch* NB1937 TOL ='ðorðx} the dark valley, with *dorch* adj. EIr. *dorchae*.
- 1882 *An Gleann Dubhcha* NB1944 GEARR ='ðux} the valley of *dubhach* (used for dye §11.3ii); with gen.sg. of *dubhach* f. (< *dubh* adj. 'black' + suffix).
- + *Gleann Eiracleit* NB2638, see *Gleann Eireacleit*.
- 1883 *Gleann Eireacleit* NB2638 SD ='e:ðð,kle^ht'} the valley of *E. 1848 -/Eiracleit 1974 idem. With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Ær-klett* 'the hill of the ewes' with gen.pl. of *ærf* f. 'ewe' and acc. of *klettr* m.
- 1884 *Gleann Fàsgrò* NB2041 CN ='fa:sk^ðro} §9.2ii, the valley of *F. 1974

-/Fasgro.

- 1885 *Gleann Fhíbhig* NB1944 GEARR {,gl̥ã'Ni:,vɪk'} the valley of *F*.
+ *Gleann Fhanndramair* NB2436, see *Gleann Thannndramar*.
- 1886 *Gleann Fiadaig* NB1841 DUN {,gl̥ãN'fia,ɖɪk'} the valley of **F*. With an ON ln. most probably fr. *þueit-uík* 'farm-bay' with stem-form of *þueit* f. 'piece of (cultivated) land' and nom./acc. of *uík* f. In Norway, cf. *Tveite*, *Tveitesjøen* (NG X, 335). Cf. **Bhèitir* (No. 2908).
- 1887 *Gleann Ghleadhairean* NB2334 CAL = 'ɣleyðððn} the valley of *G*.
- 1888 *An Gleann Glas* NB2135 BRI {,g̥l̥ãN'gLas} the green valley.
- 1889 *Gleann Ledid* NB2337 TOL {,gl̥ã(N)'lɔ:d'} §9.lix, the valley of *Ledd*.
1848 -/Leoid, -/Leioid 1974 =.
- 1890 *Gleann Liosamar* NB2039 DUN {,gl̥ãN'lɪ,samɔr} the valley of **L*. Also -'lɪsðrðm} §9.liv. With an ON ln. in final -*hamar* acc. 'crag'. The first element of the ln. is not so clear. It could conceivably be ON *lyfs* gen.sg. of *lyf* nt. 'remedy, cure'. It is also possible the element is a lw. fr. EIr. *les lis*, CR *leas* 'enclosure'. F.etym: *lios mhòr* 'large enclosure'.
- 1891 *An Gleann Mòr* NB2644 SD/ST {,g̥l̥ãN'mo:r} the large valley, Alias *Gleann Mòr Shiaboist* doc.
- 1892 *Gleann Mòr Shiaboist* NB2644 SD/ST {,gl̥ãN,mo.r'hia,ɔʃt'} the large valley of *S*. 1848 -/Mor Shiaboist 1895 = 1974 Glen Mòr Shawbost. Alias *An Gleann Mòr*.
- 1893 *Gleann na Muilne* NB2647 ST {,gl̥ãN(n)ð'mũĩL'ð} the valley (of the mill).
- 1894 *Gleann Sgairdheiseal* NB2044 GEARR/DAIL {,gl̥ãN'skøðð-ð,ʃaL} the valley of *S*.
- 1895 *Gleann Shanndaig* NB1937 TOL = 'hãũNtɪk'} the valley of *S*.
- 1896 *Gleann Shanndaig* NB1940 DUN, as above.
- 1897 *Gleann Sheonaidh* NB2437 TOL = 'hjõnɪ} *Seonaidh*'s valley.
- 1898 *Gleann Spillidh* NB1841 DUN = 'spɪL'ɪ}; the specific is obscure, perhaps a nickname.
- 1899 *Gleann Thàgro* NB2746 ST = 'ha:g̥^ðro} §9.2ii, the valley of **Th*. 1848 -/Thagaro, -/Thàgro 1934 Há gro 1974 Glen Hagaro. With a ln. fr. ON *Hágróf* 'high (i.e. upper) stream' with stem-form or contracted acc. sg.fem. and wk. form of the adj. *hár*, and acc. of *gróf* f. 'stream'.
- 1900 *Gleann Thannndramar* NB2436 TOL = 'hãũN,tramðr} the valley of **Th*. 1848 -/Fhanndramair 1974 idem.
+ Glen Hagaro NB2746, see *Gleann Thàgro*.

- + Glen Mor Shawbost NB2644, see *An Gleann Mòr, Gleann Mòr Shiaboist*.
- 1901 *An Glodhar* NB2744 ST {ð'ŋLo-ðr} the ravine. Alias *An Glodhar Mòr*.
- 1902 *An Glodhar Beag* NB2744 ST {ð,ŋLo-ðr'beg} the little ravine. 1934 Glóar beag.
- 1903 *An Glodhar Mor* NB2744 ST ='mo:r} the large ravine. Alias *An Glodhar*.
- 1904 *An Glomair* NB1742 BOR {ð'ŋLõmðð} the ravine, with *glomair* m. 'ravine; smith's vice', apparently ultimately fr. ON *klõmbr* f. 'smith's vice'. Cf. NB1736 Allt Glamair na Muilne (OS 1848).
- 1905 *Na Glupaiçhean* NB2039 DUN {nð'gLu^hp1çðn} the holes, where land has subsided due to underground stream. With pl. of *glup(a)* fr. ON *gloppa gluppa* f. 'hole, cleft; steep drop in ground', NN *gloppa* f.; in Norway, cf. Gloppen (NG XII, 455), see also Rygh 51. Henderson (1910: 210) gives *gluip* 'chasm', as in Poll a' Ghluip, Handa; MacIver (1934: 44) has An Glupa of a wet hollow in Scarpa.
- 1906 *A' Ghnùig* NB2542 SD {ð'γrã:g'} the slope, with *gnùig* f. 'scowl, surly expression' - of a slope with such an aspect - EIr. *grúic* obl. case 'displeasure, anger' etc. (after *grúis* 'face, aspect' etc.).
- 1907 *Na Gnùigean* NB2638 SD {nð'grã:g'ðn} the slopes. 1848 =. In Lewis, cf. *Grùigean* NB5160 *Airighean nan Grùigean* NB5459 (OS 1974).
- 1908 *Gob a' Chlamhain* NB1842 BOR {,gʌbð'xLävan} the point of the buzzard, with gen.sg. of *clamhan* m., cf. Ir. *clamhán*, fr. EIr. *clam* adj. 'mangy' + agent suffix,
- 1909 *Gob a' Chùil* NB1845 GEARR ='xu:l} the point of *An Cùl*. 1848 -/a Chùthail 1974 -/a' Chuthail.
- + *Gob a' Chuthail* NB1845, see *Gob a' Chùil*.
- 1910 *Gob an Rubha* NB1741 DUN ='Ru-u} the point of the promontory.
- 1911 *Gob Geodh' an Sporain* NB2146 DAIL {,gʌb,g'ɔ-ð'sporan} the point of *G*. 1848 -/Geodha Sporain 1974 idem.
- + *Gob Geodha Sporain* NB2146, see *Gob Geodh' an Sporain*.
- 1912 *Gob na Crois* NB1842 BOR {,gʌbðnð'k^hrɔʃ} the point (of the hindering peninsula). 1848 -/na Cróis 1974 =.
- 1913 *Goban* NB1941 DUN {'gʌbən} the little point or place of the point, with *gob* m. + suffix §7.6i. 1848 Goban 1974 =.
- 1914 *Gobhal na Caillich* NB1842 BOR {,gɔ-ðLnð'k^haL'iq} the old woman's crutch, of a round niche in rock-face. With *gobhal* f. EIr. *gabul*.
- 1915 *Golaigeadh* NB1742 BOR {'gɔL1,g'a} of a ravine. 1848 Goula Geodha. A ln. likely fr. ON *Golügið* acc. 'the yellow ravine' with acc.sg.fem. of the wk. form of the adj. **golr* 'yellow' or with *goll-*, stem-form

- of *goll* (gull) nt. 'gold', and acc. of *giǫ* f. In Norway, cf. Gulebleikja, Guleholmen, Bremnes (Hallaråker 1976: 65).
- + Great Bernera NB1635, see *Beàrmaraidh, Beàrmaraidh Mhòr*.
- + Greta River NB3333, see *Abhainn Ghrìoda*.
- 1916 *Grèineabhal* NB2534 CAL {'gðē:nð,vqL} of a mountain, and its area. A ln. fr. ON *Grønafiall* 'the green mountain' with acc.sg.nt. of the wk. form of the adj. *grønn* + acc. of *fiall* nt. *Grønn* is common in Norwegian pnn., e.g. Grønhaug ON *Grøn(a)haug* acc., Rogaland (NG X, 419). Alias *Beinn Ghrèineabhal* doc.
- 1917 *Grèineam* NB1935 BRI {'gðē:nam} of an island. 1680 Grenam 1695 Grenim 1848 Grèinam 1895 Greinam 1932 Grèinam 1934 Greinam 1974 Grèinam. Fr. ON *Grøn-holm* acc. 'the green isle' with stem-form of the adj. *grønn* and acc. of *holmr* m. In Scalpay, Greinam (Moireasdan 1983: 226).
- 1918 *Grèinir* NB2i35 BRI {'gðē:nðð} part of village of *Britheascleit*. 1934 Greinir. Possibly fr. ON *Grøn-uqrðu* acc. 'the green cairn' with stem-form of the adj. *grønn* and acc. of *uarda* f.
- 1919 *Na Grianain* NB2637 TOL {nð'gðīðnan} the sunny places, with pl. of *grianan* m. (See *An Grianan Beag/Mòr*) 1848 Grianan 1974 idem. Trad: a battle was fought here between the MacAulays of *Uig* and the Morrisons of *Nis*.
- + Grianan NB2637, see *Na Grianain, An Grianan Beag/Mòr*.
- 1920 *An Grianan Beag* NB2637 TOL {ð,ḡðīðnan'beg} the lesser *G*.
- 1921 *An Grianan Mòr* NB2637 TOL ='mo:r} the greater *G*.
- 1922 *Grinneabhat* NB2546 SD {'gðīN'ð,vah^ht} of an area. A ln. just possibly fr. ON *Greniauatn* 'the lake of the lairs' with gen.pl. of *gren* nt. and acc. of *uatn* nt. In Lewis, cf. Loch Grinneabhat, BERN - here MacAulay (1972: 330) derives the specific fr. ON *grynnri-vatn* 'the loch of the shallows', but the form would be *Grunnauatn*.
- 1923 *Grinneabhat Bheag* NB2446 SD {,gðīN'ð,vah^ht'veg} lesser *G*., of a hillock. 1848 Creaganan Loch Grinnabhat 1974 Creagan Loch Grinnavat.
- 1924 *Grinneabhat Mhòr* NB2446 SD ='vo:r} greater *G*., of a hillock. See No. 1923 for doc.
- 1925 *Groisigea* NB2447 SD {'grɔʃɪ,g'a} of a ravine. 1848 Geodha Ghroisge 1934 Grosika. A ln. most probably fr. ON *Gras-giǫ* 'grass ravine' with stem-form of *gras* nt. 'grass' and acc. of *giǫ* f. In Norway, cf. Grasberget, Grasholmen (Hovda 1961: 55, 119).
- 1926 *Groislig* NB1937 TOL {'grɔʃL'ik'} of a point, and area. An ON ln.

probably with *gras* nt. 'grass' in initial position. The remainder is obscure, unless it be *hrygg* acc. 'ridge': ON *Gras-hrygg* 'grass-ridge' with {L'} for {ð} /r'/ in the resulting medial cluster, §9.lii. Alias *Rinn Ghroislig*.

1927 *Ghruthaigea* NB2347 SD {'gru-₁,g'a} of a ravine. An ON ln. in final -*giǫ* f. 'ravine'. The first element is not certain. It might be *grúa-* gen.sg. of *grúi* m. 'heap, dung-heap'; or *gryfiu-* gen.sg. of *gryfia* f. 'hollow, cave'. A further possibility is *gróf-*, with the stem-form of *gróf* f. 'stream'; here, we must assume the development of an intrusive -{ǫ}- before the loss of *f*; *ó* has been shortened before hiatus, and raised in anticipation of {ǫ}. In Norway, cf. Grovfjorden, Tromsøy (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 134). Alias *Geodha Ghruthaigea* doc., *Geodh' a' Phrionnse*. A still was situated at the stream here, see *Taigh Staile Ghruthaigea*.

+ *Gurrabhur* NB2235, see *Gurrbhair*.

1928 *Gurrbhair* NB2235 BRI {'guRù,vðð} of a hillock. 1848 *Gurabheir* 1932 *Gurabhir* 1934 *Gurrafir* 1974 *Gurrabhur*. A ln. possibly fr. ON *Guðrúnarvörðu* acc. '*Guðrún*'s cairn' with gen.sg. of the woman's name *Guðrún* f., as in the Norwegian pn. *Guradalen* (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980; 136), and acc. of *varða* f.

H

+ Heidagul River NB2142, see *Abhaim Theideagal*.

- 1929 *An Innse Mhòr* NB1843 BOR {ð,N'ĩ.fð'vo:r} the large pasture; with *innse* EIr. *insí* obl. case 'island' (Watson 1907: 239ff).
- 1930 *Innse nam Ban* NB1938 TOL {,ĩ.fðnð'mēn}'mēn} the pasture of the women; with gen.pl. of *bean*.
- 1931 *Innse nam Ban* NB1941 CIR, as above.
- 1932 *An Iodhlainn* NB1838 TOL {ð'N'uLlN'} the stack-yard; with *iodhlainn* f. Alias *Iodhlainn Atraigidh*.
- 1933 *Iodhlainn Aird na Mònadh* NB1937 TOL {,juLlN',a.ǫ(ŋ)ð'mõ:nðʏ} the stack-yard of A.
- 1934 *An Iodhlainn Ard* NB1840 DUN {ð,N'uLl'N'a:ǫ} the high stack-yard.
- 1935 *An Iodhlainn Ard* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
- 1936 *An Iodhlainn Ard* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- 1937 *Iodhlainn Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,juLlN' 'a:^htrl,g'i} the stack-yard of A. Alias *An Iodhlainn*.
- 1938 *Iodhlainn Fhiomhlaidh* NB1842 BOR {,juLl'N'ũLaj} F.'s stack-yard.
1848 Iodhlann Laimshader.
- 1939 *An Iodhlainn Mhòr* NB1942 CN {ð,N'uLlN' 'vo:r} the large stack-yard.
- 1940 *An Iodhlainn Mhòr* NB2042 CARL, as above. 1848 Iodhlann Mhor.
- 1941 *An Iodhlainn Mhòr* NB1942 CN, as above.
- 1942 *An Iol Loisgte* NB2035 Bri {ð,N'u'lɔst'} lit. the burnt ledge, of a fishing rock; with *iola*, also found with the sense 'fishing-ground'. However, it seems two separate ON forms yield the one Gaelic form: (i) *iola* 'ledge, rock' fr. ON **hylla*, Norw. *hylle* Swed. *hylla* 'ledge, shelf'; (ii) *iola* 'fishing-ground' fr. ON *hyl*, acc. of *hylr* m. 'pool, under-water hole, deep place in water' (Hovda 1961: 78).
- 1943 *An Iola* NB1937 TOL {ð'N'uLð} the ledge, of a fishing rock.
- 1944 *Iolairean* NB1939 DUN {'juLðððn} the ledges; fr. *iola* + suffix *ar* + pl. termination §7.6vi. 1848 Iolairean 1974 Iolairean.

K

- + Keava NB1935, see *Cèabhaidh*.
- + Kirivick NB1941, see *Cirbhig*.
- + Knock Carloway NB2042, see *An Cnoc*.
- + Knockan Fivig NB1944, 1848 Cnocan Fhibhig.

L

- 1945 *Làbost* NB2749 BRA {'Lã:,bɔst} of a hamlet of the village *Bràgair*. 1848 = .1895 *Labost* 1932 1974 *idem*. A ln. fr. ON; obviously ending in *-bólstað* acc. 'farm'. Stressed {ã:} presupposes a lost nasal consonant, and ON *Lamb-bólstað* 'lamb-farm' with stem-form of *lamb* nt. seems a probable solution.
- 1946 *Lacsabhat* NB2538 CN {'La^hksə,və^ht} of an area. 1848 *Lácsabhat* 1974 *Laxavat*. Fr. ON *Laxauatn* 'lake of the salmon' with gen.pl. of *lax* m. and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. In Norway, cf. *Laksevåg*, Bergen (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 199). See also, *Laxay* (Oftedal 1954: 401).
- 1947 *Làdair* NB2547 ST {'La:dðð} of area in crofting land. 1848 1974 *Lader*. Possibly fr. ON *Látr* nt. 'lying place for animals' (particularly seals, in some dialects - Oftedal 1984, notes). In Norway, cf. *Laatren*, Nord-Trøndelag (NG XV, 237). However, the name may have originally been applied to some feature on the coast. In this context, ON **Látari* 'the resounding one' is a plausible derivation; the form is based on the verb **láta*, cf. mod. Norwegian *lâte* 'to resound, sound', + agent suffix).
- + *Lader* NB2547, see *Làdair*.
- 1948 *An Lag* NB1840 DUN {'Lag} the hollow, with *lag* f. EIr. *loc*. 1848 *Lag Shanndig* 1974 *Lag Sandig*.
- 1949 *Lag an Ròigh* NB1840 DUN {'Lagə'Rɔ:j} the hollow of *An Rògh*.
- 1950 *Lag Bhileabhair* NB1937 TOL {'Lag'ɪlð,vðð} the hollow of **Bh*. See No. 829.
- 1951 *Lag Innseal* NB1937 TOL ={'ĩ:,ʃaL} the hollow of **I*.
- + *Lag nam Buinneag* NB2638, see *Slag nam Buinneag*.
- + *Lag Sandig* NB1840, see *An Lag*.
- 1952 *Lagairgh* NB2745 ST {'Lagɪ} the hollow, of a hill. With dat. of **lagach* 'place of the hollow' (< *lag* f. + suffix §7.6iii). In *Applecross*, cf. *An Lagaidh Dhubh* (Watson 1976: 212).
- + *Laimhrig na Mòine* NB1839, see *Laimhrig na Mònach*.
- 1953 *Laimiseadar* NB1842 BOR {'Lãĩmɪ,ʃaððr} of area, with deserted hamlet. 1695 *Lianishader* 1750 *Lameshader* 1750M *Limeshader* 1789 *idem* 1848 *Laimishader* 1875 *Limshider* 1932 *Laimishader* 1934 *Laimasaider* 1974 *Laimishader*. A ln. fr. ON *Lamb-sætr* 'lamb-shieling' with stem-form of *lamb* nt. and nom./acc. of *sætr* nt.
- + *Laimishader* NB1842, see *Laimiseadar*.

- 1954 *Laimrig na Mònach* NB1839 DUN {,Lãmäðik'nð'mõ:nɔx} the landing-place or clear-passage of the peat. 1848 *Laimhrig na Moine* 1974 *Laimhrig na Mòine*. MacBain (1982: 222) derives *laimrig* f. fr. ON *hlað-hamarr* 'loading-rock', and this is the derivation commonly given by others. Along with the form *laimrig*, cf. *laimhrig lanraig* (MacLennan 1925) *làimhrig làimrig* (Dwelly 1977). It is difficult to reconcile any of these forms with the above derivation however; in Lewis, this ON form would be expected to yield something like *{'La(h)amðr}ɔr}. I suggest *laimrig* etc. are in fact from Pict. **lanere* 'clear space, glade', cf. W. *llanerch* f. 'glade, open space, plain' (for the retention of original -*re* in Pict., see Jackson 1980: 164). Basically, we have two resulting forms. Firstly, *laimhrig làimhrig*: after metathesis of *r* in the original lw. (> **lanrec*), a nasalised diphthong {ã} arises before 'disappearing n'+ *r* (cf. the pn. Lanark, G. Lannraig, fr. Pict. **lanere* - see Watson 1926: 356); but {ã} before palatalised /r/. Secondly, *laimrig lanraig* (and Dwelly's *làimrig* =? *laimrig*): after metathesis of *r* in the original lw., the nasal consonant is retained but dissimilated to *m* before *r*, with the resulting svarabhakti group (Oftedal 1956: 140-43). As for the semantic development, the key sense of 'clear, open' is retained in both senses of the CR form: 'landing-place; clear passage through water'.
- 1955 *An Lanaig* NB1938 TOL {ð'Lãnik'} the passage. With *lanaig* f. 'passage (held in common) for stock through village and crofting land', fr. Scots *loaning* (Campbell, Thomson 1963: 166; MacDonald 1946: 6). Alias *An Rathad Mòr*.
- 1956 *Lanaig na Dùine* NB1841 DUN {,Lãnik'nð'dũ:N'ð} the passage of *An Dùn*. + Laxavat NB2538, see *Lacsabhat*.
- 1957 *Leabaidh na h-Aon Ighne* NB2346 SD {,L'æb̥iɲð'hðñð-ɪN'} the bed of the solitary girl, of a cliff-edge. With *leabaidh* f. EIr. *lepaid*. A formation of rock gives rise to this name, authenticated by the following anecdote:- The story goes that a girl was jilted by her lover. Wanting, in her grief, to be alone, she went to sit upon a small ledge on top of the high cliffs above *Geodha Thòlaigea*. But in the night, either turning or with the ledge giving way, she fell to her death. And from a nearby point, the image of the young girl in her night-gown can still be seen in the cliff-face. The same white rock prompted a fishing crew, sighting it while at sea during the Second World War, to report it to the authorities, thinking it was a sign or signal of some sort for the enemy.

- 1958 *Leac a' Phuirte* NB1937 TOL {,L'æ^hkə'fuɣt̪} the flagstone (of the landing-place).
- + *Leac an Duine* NB2531, possibly *A' Chlach Sgoilte* q.v.
- 1959 *Leac an Iomairtiche* NB2144 DAIL = 'N'ĩmət̪ɪç} the flagstone of the player, with gen.sg. of *iomairtiche* m., cf. EIr. *imbertach*. Trad: Children were playing beneath this stone one Sunday, when it fell upon them; the children are still buried beneath it.
- 1960 *Leac an t-Slighe* NB2643 ST = 'N^hri-i} §9.lii, the flagstone of the track.
- 1961 *Leac Bhàn* NB1944 GEARR {,L'æ^hk'vã:n} the light-coloured flagstone.
- 1962 *Leac Bhlianais* NB1937 TOL = 'vliã,nɪf} the flagstone of B.
- 1963 *Leac Bhuidhe* NB1837 TOL {,L'æ^hkə'vu^ljə} the yellow slab. Alias *Leaca Buidhe*.
- 1964 *Leac Crodhair Bheag* NB2749 BRA {,L'æ^hk,k^hrɔ-əð'veg} the slab of L.
- 1965 *Leac Crodhair Mhòr* NB2749 BRA = 'vo:r} the slab of L.
- 1966 *Leac Dhubh* NB1944 GEARR {,L'æ^hk'ɣu^h} the black slab.
- 1967 *Leac Dhubh* NB1843 BOR, as above. 1848 -/Dhúbh 1974=.
- 1968 *Leac Gorm* NB1842 BOR = 'gɔrəm} the dark slab. 1848 1974 =.
- 1969 *Leac Gormail* NB1838 TOL = 'gɔrəməɪ} *Gormail's* slab, of a fishing-rock; with gen. of the woman's name *Gormail*, cf. EIr. *Gormlath* f., anglicised as *Gormelia*.
- 1970 *Leac Mhic Aonghais* NB1743 BOR {,L'æ^hk,vɪ^h'k'wĩw̃-əf} the slab of *Mac Aonghais*. Alias *Leacan Mhic Aonghais*.
- 1971 *Leac na Sgait* NB1742 BOR {,L'æ^hknə'skɛ^ht'} the slab of the skate, with gen.sg. of *sgait* f., fr. Eng. *skate* (not ON *skata* f. after Henderson 1910: 121).
- 1972 *Leac nam Mult* NB1643 BOR = 'mũɫt̪} the slab of the wethers. 1848 1974 =.
- 1973 *Leac Pronnadh nan Cnàmh* NB2139 CN {,L'æ^hk,p^hrɔ̃nəɣnə'ɲ^hrã:v} the slab of the grinding of the bones, with *pronnadh* m., ?fr. EIr. *bronnad* 'destroying, damaging' and influenced by *proinn pronn* (fr. Lat. *prandium*) 'food; meal, bran'. Trad: the name arises from the practice of giving fish bones, made brittle in fire, to cattle. See also under *An Coire Dubh*.
- 1974 *Leaca Bàn* NB2646 ST {,L'æ^hkə'pã:n} the light-coloured slabs.
- 1975 *Leaca Buidhe* NB1837 TOL = 'pu^ljə} the yellow slabs. Alias *Leac Bhuidhe*.
- 1976 *Leaca Geala* NB2037 TOL = 'g'ɑL(ə)} the white slabs. Trad: there is a formation of rock in the shape of a horse-shoe here; a horse is said to have jumped from the mountain *Suainaval* (NB0730, OS 1974) in U and landed here.

- 1977 *Leaca Rèidh* NB2447 SD = 'Re:} the flat slabs.
- 1978 *Leacan Mhic Aonghais* NB1743 BOR {,L'æ^hkəŋ,vi^h'k'ŃŃ-əf} the slabs of *Mac Aonghais*. Alias *Leac Mhic Aonghais*.
- 1979 *Leanntaigean Boga* NB2346 SD {,L'ãũŃtɪg'əŋ'pogə} the soft meadows, with pl. of *leanntag* f., dimin. of *liana* f. (§9.lvii).
- 1980 *Leas Alastair* NB2648 BRA {,L'æs'aLəstəð} *Alastair's* enclosure, with *leas* m. EIr. *les*.
- 1981 *Leas Mhurchaidh* NB1942 GEARR = 'vuRùxɪ} *Murchadh's* enclosure.
- 1982 *An Leasachadh* NB2547 SD {ə'L'æsəxəð} the extension, with *leasachadh* m., vn. of *leasaich* 'improve, increase' etc., a denom.vb. from *leas* m. EIr. *les* 'benefit, advantage'.
- 1983 *Leasan a' Ghreusaich* NB1937 TOL {,L'æsəŋə'ɣðiasɪç} the enclosures of the cobbler, with pl. of *leas* m., and gen.sg. of *greusaich* m., fr. EIr. *grés* 'handicraft' + agent suffix.
- 1984 *Na Leasan Beaga* NB1842 BOR {ŋə,L'æsəŋ'pəgə} the small enclosures.
- 1985 *Na Leasan Mòr* NB1842 BOR = 'mo:r} the large enclosures.
- 1986 *Leathad a' Bhiod* NB1743 BOR {,L'i-atə'vɪd} the slope of *Am Bìod*, with *leathad* m. EIr. *leithet* 'breadth, expanse'.
- 1987 *Leathad a' Bhriost* NB1941 CIR = 'vðəst} the slope of *Am Briost*.
- 1988 *Leathad a' Chàrnain* NB2648 ST = 'xɑ:nən} the slope of *An Càrnan*. 1848 -/a *Chàrnain* 1974 =.
- 1989 *Leathad a' Ghlinne* NB1944 GEARR = 'ɣlĩN'ə} the slope (of the valley).
- 1990 *Leathad a' Mhagh Bhuidhe* NB2740 ST {,L'i-atə,vðɣ'vu^ljə} the slope of *Am Magh Buidhe*. 1848 -/a *Bheagh Bhuidhe* 1974 -/Bheagh Bhuidhe.
- 1991 *Leathad a' Phuirte* NB1944 GEARR {,L'i-atəfuɪt} the slope (of the landing-place).
- 1992 *Leathad an Droma* NB2545 SD = 'NɪŃmə} the slope (of the ridge).
- 1993 *Leathad an Droma* NB2638 SD, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 1994 *Leathad an Fhuarain* NB2838 SD {,L'i-atŃ'Nuðran} the slope (of the spring). 1848 -/an *Uirnain* 1974 idem.
- 1995 *Leathad an Fhuarain* NB2035 BRI, as above.
- 1996 *Leathad an Teatha* NB2246 DAIL = 'N^he-e} the slope of the tea, with gen. of *teatha* f., fr. Eng. *tea*; *na teatha*, however, is expected (our name may be a corruption of **Leathad an Taighe* - there was a house here). Trad: a ship was wrecked here and lost its cargo of tea. 1848 *Leathad Dhaile Béaga* 1875 *The Teafield* 1974 *Leathad Dalbeg*.
+ *Leathad an Uirnain* NB2838, see *Leathad an Fhuarain*.
- 1997 *Leathad an t-Srianaich* NB2245 DAIL = 'N^hrĩŃnɪç} the slope of the streak;

- + *Leathad Bheagh Bhuidhe* NB2740, see *Leathad a' Mhagh Bhuidhe*.
- 1998 *Leathad Chàrlabhaigh* NB2042 CARL {,L'i-at'xɑ:l̥ð,vaj} the slope of CARL.
- 1999 *Leathad Chlèid* NB2344 DAIL = 'xle:d'} the slope of *A' Chlèid*.
- 2000 *Leathad Chliosgro* NB1942 BOR = 'xl̥l,skro} the slope of *C*.
- + *Leathad Dalbeg* NB2246, see *Leathad an Teatha*.
- 2001 *Leathad Fianais* NB2649 BRA = 'fi̥ð,nl̥f} the slope of **Fianais*.
- 2002 *Leathad Glas* NB2145 DAIL = 'gLas} the green slope. 1848 1974 *Leathad Glas*.
- 2003 *Leathad Loisgte* NB2036 BRI = 'Lw̥st'} the burnt (bare) slope.
- 2004 *Leathad Loch na Muilne* NB2648 ST {,L'i-at,Lɔxnð'mũl̥L'ð} the slope of *L*.
1848 1974 =.
- 2005 *An Leathad Mòr* NB2037 TOL {(ð),L'i-at'mo:r} the large slope.
- 2006 *An Leathad Mòr* NB1843 GEARR, as above. 1848 *Leathad Mòr*.
- 2007 *An Leathad Mòr* NB2547 SD, as above. 1848 *Leathad Mòr* 1974 *Leathad Mór*.
- 2008 *Leathad na Cloiche Gile* NB2639 SD {,L'i-atnð,k^hLaçð'g'ıl̥ð} the slope
(of the white stone). 1848 1974 =.
- 2009 *Leathad na Craobhaig* NB1938 TOL {,L'i-atnð'k^hrɔ:væk'} the slope of *A' Chraobhag*.
- 2010 *Leathad na Creige Guirme* NB2640 SD {,L'i-atnð,k^hðeg'ð'gɔððm(ð)} the
slope (of the dark rock). 1848 -/na *Craige Guirme* 1974 =.
- 2011 *Leathad nam Marbh* NB 2037 TOL {,L'i-atnð'maràv} the slope of the
dead, with gen.pl. of *marbh* m. EIr. *marb*. Trad: (unmarked) graves of
those who died in the feuding between the MacAulays of *Uig* and the
Morrisonns of *Nis* lie here.
- 2012 *Leathad nan Sgarbh* NB1942 = 'skaràv} the slope of the cormorants, with
gen.pl. of *sgarbh* m., fr. ON *skarf* acc. of *skarfr* m. 1848 1974 =.
- 2013 *Leathad Rèabhat* NB1943 GEARR {,L'i-at're:,va^ht} the slope of **R*.
- + *Leathad Riabhach* NB2144, see *Druim Riabhach, Druim Cruaidh*.
- 2014 *Leathad Ruadh* NB1942 BOR = 'Ruðɣ} the red slope.
- 2015 *Leathad Sgianailt* NB2036 TOL = 'sk'ĩũn̥l̥t'} the slope of *S*.
- 2016 *Leathad Sheðbhaidh* NB2243 DAIL = 'hjøud̥l̥} the slope of *Seðbhaidh*; see
No. 291.
- 2017 *Leathad Thideabac* NB2042 CN = 'h̥l̥d'ð,ba^hk} the slope of *Th*. Alias
Thideabac doc.
- 2018 *Leathad Thormoid an t-Saighdeir* NB2546 ST {,L'i-at,haràmɔt'N̥'N̥^hðid'að} the
slope of *Tormod an t-Saighdeir*, with gen.sg. of *saighdear* m. EIr.
saigdeóir (Lat. *sagittarius*).
- 2019 *Leathad Tòlabaidh* NB2045 GEARR {,L'i-at't^hɔ:La,ɣl̥} the slope of **Th*.
(§9.liv). With a ln. most probably fr. ON *Hólá(r)bø* 'hill-river-farm'

- with stem-form of *hóll* m. 'hill', stem-form or gen.sg. of *ǫ́* f. 'river' and acc. of *bǫr* m. (the form common to west Norway, Iceland and the Faroes - as opposed to *býr* m.).
- 2020 *Na Leathadan* NB1944 GEARR {nð'L'i-aðn} the slopes, with pl. of *leathad* m.
- 2021 *An Lèig* NB2446 SD {ð'L'e:g'} the brook, of a marshy area.
- 2022 *An Lèig* NB1840 DUN, as above.
- 2023 *Lèig a' Chreamhainn* NB2445 SD {'L'e.g'ð'xðëvɪN'} the marsh of the ? wild garlic.
- 2024 *Lèig Beimn 'ic Nèill* NB2837 SD {,L'e.g',bēN'í^h'krē:L'} 'kðë:L'} the marsh of B.
- 2025 *Lèig Mhùthair* NB2338 CN {,L'e.g''vã:hað} the brook of **Mùthair*. 1848 *Leig Mhùthoir* 1934 *Leig-Mhaothair* 1974 -/*Mhùthoir*.
+ *Leig Mhùthoir* NB2338, see *Lèig Mhùthair*.
- 2026 *Lèig Uiseal* NB2641 ST {,L'e.g''ʊfɔL} the brook of U., of an area. 1848 *Leig Uíshall* 1974 -/*Uishal*.
+ *Leig Uishal* NB2641, see *Lèig Uiseal*.
- 2027 *Leitir* NB2643 ST {'L'e^ht'ðð} the slope, with *leitir* f., fr. EIr. *leth* + *tír* 'half-land'.
+ *Leitir Eòin* NB2648, 1848 *Leitir Eoin*.
- 2028 *Leðb Dhòmhnail* 'ic *Iomhair* NB1937 TOL {,L'ɔ.b,γð,L'ĩ^(h)'k'ĩðvðð} *Dòmhnall Mac Iomhair*'s patch.
- 2029 *Leðba Mhòr* NB1937 TOL {,L'ɔ.bð'vo:r} the large patch.
- 2030 *Leðsal* NB2037 TOL {'L'ɔ:sɔL} of a hillside. A ln. fr. ON *Liðs-hól* 'bright or shining hill' with stem-form of the adj. *liðss* and acc. of *hóll* m. In the Faroes, cf. *Ljósággjógv* (Matras 1933, *ljósur*).
+ *Leothad Glas* NB2145, see *Leathad Glas*.
- 2031 *Na Leth Ledidean* NB2145 DAIL {nð'L'æ,lað'ðn} the steep hillsides, with *leth* m. EIr. *leth* 'side; half' and pl. of *leathad* m. One informant commented on the use of *leth* and the steepness of the feature in question: *Chan e leth leathad idir a th' ann ach leathad slàn!* 'It's not a half hillside at all, it's a whole hillside!'.
2032 *Leumadair* NB1943 BOR {'L'ẽ:mððað} the ?porpoise, of a skerry; see No. 399.
- 2033 *Leumadair* NB1740 DUN, as above, of a reef. Alias *Bodha Leumadair*.
- 2034 *Lian' a' Ghlas Allt* NB2041 CIR {,L'ĩänð'ɣLa,sɔLt} the meadow of *An Glas Allt*. With *liana* f. EIr. *lénae*.
- 2035 *Lian' Air na Shuidh an Duine* NB2644 ST {,L'ĩän,eðð,həjð'NēN'ð} the

meadow on which the man sat, with an indirect rel. clause - for literary *air an do shuidh*. Arising as a polite alternative to *Liana (na) Sgàrd*.

- 2036 *Lian' Airigh an t-Saoir* NB2041 CN {,L'ĩã,na.δ1-ə'N^hω:δ} the meadow of A.
- 2037 *Lian' an Ròigh* NB1741 DUN {,L'ĩãnd'Rɔ:j} the meadow of *An Ròigh*.
- 2038 *Lian' Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,L'ĩã'na:^htrɪ,g'i} the meadow of A.
- 2039 *Lian' Innseal* NB1938 TOL ='nĩ:,fɔL} the meadow of *I. F. etym: *liana* *ĩseal* 'low meadow'.
- + *Liana Bandalum* NB2345, see *Liana Bhandalum*.
- 2040 *Liana Bhàn* NB3034 BRI {,L'ãnd'vã:n} the light-coloured meadow.
- 2041 *Liana Bhàn* NB2037 TOL, as above.
- 2042 *An Liana Bhàn* NB2044 GEARR {ð,L'ãnd'vã:n} as above.
- 2043 *An Liana Bhàn* NB2244 DAIL, as above.
- 2044 *An Liana Bhàn* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- 2045 *Liana Bhàn Stacaiseal* NB2936 TOL {,L'ãnd,vã.n'sta^hkð,fɔL} the pale meadow of S. 1848 -/Bhan Stacashal 1974 =.
- 2046 *Liana Bhandalum* NB2345 SD {,L'ãnd'vãũntð,Lum} the meadow of *B(h). With a ln. perhaps fr. ON *Uand-míla* 'difficult mull' §9.liv, with the stem-form of the adj. *uandr* and obl. case of *míli* m. 'mull, projecting part of mountain'; cf. *Banndabeirghe*. The projecting mountain here also bore the ON name *Uit-míla* 'beacon-mull' (see No. 359). A more tentative, but attractive, solution for *B(h)annalum is that it contains ON *botn* 'valley or lake head'. However, while metathesis of -tn- is conceivable, cf. G. *ceunda* 'same' for *ceudna*, we should expect a resulting diphthong {õũ} rather than {ãũ} here; besides which, -tn(-) elsewhere has yielded /t/ ({^ht}). 1848 -/Bhàndalum 1934 {?} Leana Valtrum 1974 -/Bandalum.
- 2047 *Liana Bhog* NB2242 DAIL {,L'ãnd'vɔg} the soft meadow.
- 2048 *Liana Bhuailleabhair* NB2446 SD ='vuø1ð,vðð} the meadow of B.
- 2049 *Liana Bhuidhe* NB2138 TOL ='vu^ljð} the yellow meadow.
- 2050 *Liana Càrn an Tuill* NB2347 SD {,L'ãnd,k^ha.nð'N^hðil'} the meadow of C.
- 2051 *Liana Chrìsgein* NB2446 SD {,L'ãnd'xði:fk'an} the meadow of *Crìsgean*.
- 2052 *Liana Chàideastar* NB1939 DUN ='xɔ:d'a,stðr} the meadow of C.
- 2053 *Liana Cnoc an Teine* NB2644 ST {,L'ãnd,k^hrø^hkð'N^hãnd},xrø^hkð'N^hãnd} the meadow of C.
- 2054 *Liana Creag an t-Sneachd* NB1838 TOL {,L'ãnd,k^hðegð'N^hræxk} §9.lii, the meadow of C.
- 2055 *Liana Dhòmhnaiill Bhàin* NB2543 SD {,L'ãnd,γõ-ɪL^h'vã:n} §7.4, the

meadow of *Dòmhnall Bàn*.

- 2056 *Liana Dhubh* NB1843 BOR {,L'ãñð'γ^h} the black meadow. 1848 1974 =.
- 2057 *An Liana Dhubh* NB1840 DUN {ð,L'ãñð'γ^h} as above.
- 2058 *Liana Fàsgrò* NB2041 CN {,L'ãñð'fa:sk^ðro} the meadow of *F.
- 2059 *Liana Fionnacleit* NB2139 CN ='fjũñð,kle^ht'} the meadow of *F.
- 2060 *Liana Loch Thunnagro* NB1840 DUN {,L'ãñð,Lox'hũñð,gro} the meadow of L.
- 2061 *Liana Mhic Leòid* NB1937 TOL {,L'ãñð,vĩ^h'k'lɔ:ð'} *Mac Leòid*'s meadow.
- 2062 *Liana Mhòr* NB2341 CARL {,L'ãñð'vo:r} the large meadow. 1848 -/Mhor
1974 -/Mhór.
- 2063 *An Liana Mhòr* NB2536 TOL {ð,L'ãñð'vo:r} as above.
- 2064 *An Liana Mhòr* NB2542 SD, as above.
- 2065 *Liana na Dubhcha* NB2042 CN {,L'ãñðñð'ðux} the meadow of the *dubhach*,
§11.3ii. 1848 -/na Dùch 1934 -/na Duch 1974 -/na Dubhach.
- 2066 *Liana na Fola* NB2240 CN ='faLð} the meadow of the blood, §11.2ib,
with gen. of *fuil* f. EIr. idem. 1848 =. Trad: when very hungry, people
bled cattle and mixed the blood with meal for food. Also: it is
thought names containing *fuil* signify old battle grounds.
- 2067 *Liana na Sgàrd* NB2644 ST {,L'ãñðñð'ska:ð} the meadow of the diarrhoea,
with gen.sg. of *sgàrd sgàird* f., cf. Ir. *scáird*. Or 'shingle, scree',
cf. *Bealach an Sgard*, *Bealach na Sgairde*, *Skye* (Forbes 1923: 60, 63).
Alias *Liana Sgàrd*, *Lian' Air na Shuidh an Duine*.
- 2068 *Liana na h-Airde* NB1742 BOR ='ha:ðð} the meadow of *An Aird*.
- 2069 *Liana nam Feadag* NB2043 GEARR ='fɛðak} the meadow of the plovers,
with gen.pl. of *feadag* EIr. **fetóc* (< *fet* 'whistling sound' + suffix
§7.6ii).
- 2070 *Liana nan Damh* NB1940 DUN ='Nãv} the meadow of the oxen.
- 2071 *Liana nan Steàrnag* NB1943 GEARR ='ft'a:ɲak} the meadow of the terns,
with gen.pl. of *steàrnag* f. Cf. AS *stearn*, E.Anglian dial. *starn*; it
is probably unlikely that *steàrnag* derives fr. ON *þern*, itself
giving Eng. *tern*. The variant G. form *steàrnal* may be due to influence
fr. Eng. *starnel*, a metathesised form of *starling* (OED).
- 2072 *Liana Sgairdheiseal* NB2143 GEARR {,L'ãñð'skøðø-ð,faL} the meadow of S.
- 2073 *Liana Sgàrd* NB2644 ST ='ska:ð} see No. 2067.
- 2074 *Liana Sgianailt* NB2037 TOL ='sk'ĩũñl₁t'} the meadow of S.
- 2075 *Liana Thùideagro* NB2141 CN ='hu:ð'ð,gro} the meadow of *T.
- 2076 *Lianag Creagan a' Ghèidh* NB2346 SD {,L'ãñak,k^hðeganð'jo:j} the
meadow of C.
- 2077 *Lianag Lochan Tioram* NB2445 SD {,L'ãñak,Loxa'N^hl₁ððm} the meadow of L.

- 2078 *Liarob* NB1942 CN {'L'ið,rʌb} of meadow and area. 1934 Liar-ðb. Very possibly fr. ON *Hlíðirhópr* 'the creek of the slope' with gen.sg. of *hlíð* f. and acc. of *hópr* m. 'creek, small bay'. *Hópr* m. (in Norway, cf. Hope, Nordhordland, and Hop, Bergen - Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 160) is apparently infrequent in Lewis ON lnn., but cf. Leur Thòb NB1934 (OS 1974). Note *Lidhir* q.v., above this bay.
- 2079 *Lidh Langa* NB2138 DUN/TOL {'L'a'Lãŋkð} of a long range of mountains. 1848 1895 Lith Langa 1934 Lidhe Langa 1974 Lith Langa. Fr. ON *Hlíðin Langa* 'the long slope or hillside' with *hlíð* f. 'slope' etc. + the suffixed art., and the wk.fem.sg. form of the adj. *langr* 'long'.
- 2080 *Lidhir* NB1942 BOR {'L'i-ið} of a hillside. 1848 Lithir 1934 idem 1974 Lihir. A ln. fr. ON *Hlíðir* 'the slopes' with pl. of *hlíð* f. This element is common in Norwegian pnn., e.g. Li, in several places (NG X, 2, 205, 293, etc.); in the Faroes, cf. Heimarlið (Matras 1933).
+ Lihir NB1942, see *Lidhir*.
- 2081 *Lingeadh* NB1842 BOR {'L'ĩŋ'k'ay} of a ravine on the coast. 1848 Linnge 1903 Lingja 1974 Linnge. Fr. ON *Lyng-gið* 'heather-ravine' with stem-form of *lyng* nt. 'heather' and nom./acc. of *gið* f. In Norway, cf. Lyngnes, Rogaland (NG X, 452).
+ Linnge NB1842, see *Lingeadh*.
+ Lith Langa NB2138, see *Lidh Langa*.
+ Little Bernera NB1441, see *Beàrmaraidh Bheag*.
- 2082 *Lobht Loch Thunnagro* NB1840 DUN {'Lo^ht,Lɔx'hũNð,gro} the terrace of *L.*, with *lobht(a)* m., fr. ON *lopt* nt.
- 2083 *Lobhta na Dùine* NB1841 DUN {'Lo^htə̀nð'dũ:N'ð} the terrace of *An Dùin*.
- 2084 *Lobhta Sednaid* NB1840 DUN {'Lo^htð'fõ:nat'} *Sednaid*'s terrace.
- 2085 *An Lðbraich* NB?2042 CARL {'ð'Lo:brĩç} the quagmire.
- 2086 *Loch a' Bhaile* NB1938 TOL {'Lɔxð'valð} the lake (of the village).
1848 1895 -/a Bhaile 1974 =. Alias *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh*.
- 2087 *Loch a' Bhaile* NB2547 SD/ST, as above. 1848 -/a Bhaile 1974 =.
- 2088 *Loch a' Bhaile* NB1840 DUN, as above. 1791 Loch Dùin 1832 L. in dun
1848 -/na Dùine 1895 idem 1934 -/an Dùin 1974 idem. Alias *Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine*, *Loch na Dùine*.
- 2089 *Loch a' Bhaile na Dùine* NB1840 DUN {'Lɔxð,valə̀nð'dũ:N'ð} the lake (of the village of *An Dùin*). Alias *Loch na Dùine*, *Loch a' Bhaile* doc.
- 2090 *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh* NB1938 TOL ='hɔLð,staj} the lake (of the village of *Tolstaidh*). Alias *Loch a' Bhaile* doc.
- 2091 *Loch a' Bhuilg Ard* NB2136 TOL {'Lɔxð,valu'g'a:ð} the upper (lake of

- the bag), with gen.sg. of *bolg* m. EIr. *bolg*. The specific probably indicates shape; the sense 'bubble' is also possible. Cf. in Inverness-shire, Lynwilg (Robertson 1869: 422). 1848 -/a Bhuilg Ard 1974 =.
- 2092 *Loch a' Bhuilg Iosal* NB2137 TOL = 'g'iðsðl] the lower *L. 1974 =.
+ *Loch a' Charnain Mhóir* NB1939, see *Loch Fhionnlaidh*.
- 2093 *Loch a' Chuilein* NB1838 TOL {,Lɔxð'xulan} the lake of the whelp, with gen.sg. of *cuilean* m. EIr. *culén*. 1832 L. na Cullen 1848 -/Dúbh an Airde 1934 L. a Chùlain 1974 -/Dubh na h-Airde.
- 2094 *Loch a' Chuilein* NB1839 DUN, as above. 1848 -/Chùlain 1895 L. Chulain 1974 -/Chulain. Alias *Loch a' Chuilein na Dùine*.
- 2095 *Loch a' Chuilein na Dùine* NB1839 DUN {,Lɔxð,xulannð'd̪ũ:N'ð} the lake of the whelp (of *An Dùn*). Alias *Loch a' Chuilein*.
+ *Loch a' Gheoidh* NB2532, see *Loch nan Geadh*.
- 2096 *Loch a' Ghlochair* NB2431 CAL {,Lɔxð'ɣLo-ðð} the lake (of the ravine). 1848 -/a Ghluair 1903 -/a Ghlobhair 1934 L. a ghobhair 1974 -/a' Ghlair.
+ *Loch a' Ghluair* NB2431, see *Loch a' Ghlochair*.
- 2097 *Loch a' Ghrianain* NB2637 CARL = 'γðĩðnan} the lake (of the sunny place). Alias *Loch Mòr a' Ghrianain* doc. See *Na Grianain*.
+ *Loch a' Radhairc* NB2336, see *Loch an Fhradhairc*.
+ *Loch Ahavat Beag* NB2745, see *Loch Athabhat Bheag/Beag Athabhat*.
+ *Loch Ahavat Mór* NB2745, see *Loch Athabhat Mhòr/Mòr Athabhat*.
- 2098 *Loch Airigh a' Chreagain* NB2142 CARL {,Lɔx,a.ðɪ^hð'xðegan} the lake of A. 1848 -/Airidh a Chreagain 1974 =.
- 2099 *Loch Airigh an t-Sluic* NB2933 CAL = 'N^hLu^hk' the lake (of the shieling (of the hollow)), with gen.sg. of *sloc* m. 1848 -/Airidh na'n Slochd 1895 L. Airidh nan Slochd 1974 --/nan Sloc.
- 2100 *Loch Airigh Brocaig* NB2733 CAL {,Lɔx,a.ðɪ'pɾɔ^hkæk'}ɛk'} the lake of A. 1848 -/Airidh Bhrogach 1934 L. Airigh Brogaig 1974 =.
- 2101 *Loch Airigh Iain Bhàin* NB2040 CIR {,Lɔx,a.ðɪ,jän'vã:N'} the lake of A. 1848 -/Airidh Iain Bhàin 1974 =.
- 2102 *Loch Airigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh* NB2738 SD {,Lɔx,a.ðɪ,vĩ^hk'ũũLaj'ɣwɔj} 'ɣu^h} the lake (of the shieling of *Mac Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh*). 1848 -/Airidh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh 1974 =.
+ *Loch Airigh nan Sloc* NB2933, see *Loch Airigh an t-Sluic*.
- 2103 *Loch Airigh Saidhbh* NB2639 SD {,Lɔx,a.ðɪ'se:v} the lake of A. 1848 -/Airidh Sèibh 1974 --/Seibh.
+ *Loch Airigh Seibh* NB2639, see *Loch Airigh Saidhbh*.
+ *Loch Allt a' Glas* NB1943, see *Loch Uillt a' Ghlasair*.
+ *Loch Almaistean* NB2139, see *Loch Calmaistean*.

- 2104 *Loch Amar Síne* NB2237 CIR {,Lɔx,ãmð'ʂĩ:nð} the lake of A. 1848
--/Síne 1974 idem.
- 2105 *Loch Amhastar* NB2435 BRI {,Lɔx'ãva,stðr} the lake of A. 1848 -/'a
Ghainmheich 1894 L. Amhaster 1974 =.
- 2106 *Loch an Aighe* NB2136 BRI {,Lɔxð'Ne-ð} the lake of the heifer. Alias
Loch Leum an Aighe doc.
- 2107 *Loch an Dubh-Laich* NB2736 TOL {,Lɔxð'Nũ:Lɪç} §7.4, the lake (of the
black lake), with gen.sg. of *dubh-loch* m. (< adj. *dubh* 'black' + *loch*
m.), cf. An Dùbh Loch, Gairlòch (Watson 1976: 239), where the fully
stressed vowel has also been lengthened.
- 2108 *Loch an Dùn* NB2847 BRA ='Nũ:n} the lake (of the fort). 1848 -/an Duna
1895 idem 1974 =.
- 2109 *Loch an Dùnain* NB1939 DUN ='Nũ:nan} the lake (of the fortlet). 1848
1974 =. With *dùnan* m., dimin. of *dùn* m.
- 2110 *Loch an Eilein* NB2236 BRI ='N'elan} the lake of the island. Alias *Loch*
nan Eilean doc.
- 2111 *Loch an Eòin* NB2136 BRI ='N'õ:N'} the lake of the bird. 1848 -/Geodha
Crumpaidh 1974 idem.
- 2112 *Loch an Eòin* NB?3341 BRA, as above. ?= OS1848 -/an Fheoir.
- 2113 *Loch an Fhèidh* NB2933 CAL/BRI ='N'e:j} the lake of the deer.
- 2114 *Loch an Fhèidh* NB2237 S, as above. 1848 1974 -/nan Steall.
- 2115 *Loch an Fhèidir* NB2333 CAL ='N'õ:ð} the lake of the grass. 1848 1974 /án Fheoir.
- 2116 *Loch an Fhèidir* NB2637 TOL, as above. 1848 1974 -/an Fheoir. Alias *Loch*
Beag an Fhèidir.
- 2117 *Loch an Fhèidir* NB2535 BRI, as above. 1848 1974 -/an Fheoir.
- 2118 *Loch an Fhèidir* NB2239 CN, as above. 1848 1974 -/Cnoc an Ois.
- 2119 *Loch an Fhionn Allt* NB2735 BRI {,Lɔxð'N'ũ,NɔLɪt} the lake of *Am Fionn*
Allt. 1848 -/Gainmhich Eitshal Bheag 1974 -/Gainmheach Eitshal Bheag.
- 2120 *Loch an Fhradhairc* NB2336 BRI ='rð-ððk'} the lake of the prospect.
1848 -/a Radhairc 1974 -/a' Radhairc.
- 2121 *Loch an Fhraoich* NB2336 BRI ='rɔ:l̥ç} the lake of the heather. 1848
1974 =.
- 2122 *Loch an Iarainn* NB2346 SD ='N'iðRɪN'} the lake of the iron. 1848 -/
an Iaruinn.
- 2123 *Loch an Laoigh* NB2635 BRI ='Lði} the lake of the calf. 1974 idem.
- 2124 *Loch an Laoigh* NB2334 CAL, as above. 1848 = 1895 L. an Laoigh 1934
idem 1974 =.
- 2125 *Loch an Laoigh* NB2540 SD, as above.
+ *Loch an Linngé* NB1839, see *Loch Lingeam*.

- 2126 *Loch an Ois* NB3332 S = 'Nɔ:f} the lake (of the outlet). 1832 L. Nosh 1848-/an Òash 1974 =.
- 2127 *Loch an Tàbhain* NB2042 CN = 'N^ha:van}, now drained. 1848 -/an Tàbhan 1934 -/an Taven 1974 -/an Tàbhan. See No. 120.
 + Loch an Tàbhan NB2042, see *Loch an Tàbhain*.
 + Loch an Tairbeart NB2532, see *Loch an Tairbeirt (Challanais)*.
 + Loch an Tairbeart nan Cleitichean NB2636, see *Loch an Tairbeirt*.
- 2128 *Loch an Tairbeirt* NB2532 CAL = 'N^haδàbΛt} the lake (of the isthmus), with gen.sg. of *tairbeart* m. EIr. *tairbert*. 1848 -/an Tairbert 1903 -/an Tairbeart 1934 L. an Tairbeart 1974 -/an Tairbeart. Alias *Loch an Tairbeirt Challanais*.
- 2129 *Loch an Tairbeirt* NB2636 TOL, as above. 1848 -/an Tairbeart nan Cleiteachan 1895 L. an Tairbert 1903 -/an Tairbeart 1974-/an Tairbeart nan Cleitichean.
- 2130 *Loch an Tairbeirt Challanais* NB2532 CAL {,Lɔxð,N^haδàbΛt'xɔLa,nɪf} the lake (of the isthmus of C.). Alias *Loch an Tairbeirt* doc.
- 2131 *Loch an Tobair* NB3034 BRI {,Lɔxð'N^hΛpðð} the lake of the well. 1848 -/an Tóhair 1895 L. an Tobair 1934 1974 =.
- 2132 *Loch an Tuim* NB2535 BRI = 'N^hɔim} the lake of *An Tom*. 1848 1974 =.
- 2133 *Loch Athabhat Bheag* NB2745 BRA {,Lɔx,a-ð,və^ht'vɔg} the lesser (lake of A.). 1848 -/Áthabhat Beag 1974 -/Ahavat Beag. Alias *Loch Beag Athabhat*.
- 2134 *Loch Athabhat Mhòr* NB2745 BRA = 'mo:r} the greater (lake of A.). 1848 -/Áthabhat Mor 1903 -/A-vat 1932 -/Athabhat 1974 -/Ahavat Mór. Alias *Loch Mòr Athabhat*.
- 2135 *Loch Bacabhat* NB2747 BRA {,Lɔx'pə^hkð,və^ht} the lake of *B. 1848 -/Bácabhát 1974 -/Bacavat. With a ln. fr. ON *Bakkauatn* 'the lake of the slopes' with gen.pl. of *bakki* m. 'slope, gradient' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. In Norway, cf. Bakkevik, Rogaland (NG X, 293); in Lewis, Loch Bacavat NB3645, 3955 (OS 1974).
 + Loch Bacavat NB2747, see *Loch Bacabhat*.
- 2136 *Loch Beag* NB1937 TOL {,Lɔx(ð)'pɛg} the small lake, of the southern part of *Loch a' Bhaile Tholstaidh*.
- 2137 *An Loch Beag* NB1938 TOL {ð,Lɔx'veg} §7.3i, as above. Alias *Loch Beag Shiadar*, *Loch Shiadar Beag*.
- 2138 *Loch Beag a' Chòcair* NB3434 S {,Lɔx'pɛgð'xɔ:^hkðð} the lesser (lake of the cook). 1848 --/a Chòcair 1974 --/a' Chocair.
 + Loch Beag a' Gheòidh NB2338, 1848 Loch Beag a' Gheoidh.

- 2139 *Loch Beag a' Ghrianain* NB2637 TOL = 'γδi̯nan} the lesser (lake (of the sunny place)). 1848 -/Béaga Ghrianain 1974 =.
- 2140 *Loch Beag an Fhèidir* NB2637 TOL = 'N'ɔ:δ} the lesser L. Alias *Loch an Fhèidir*.
- 2141 *Loch Beag Athabhat* NB2745 BRA {,Lɔx' b̥ɔg'a-ə,va^ht} the lesser (lake of A.). Alias *Loch Athabhat Bheag* doc.
- 2142 *Loch Beag Beinn Uidealum* NB2345 SD {,Lɔx' b̥ɔg, b̥ɛN'' (h/γ)æɟ'ə, Lum} the little lake of B. 1848 ---/Ghuidamul 1974 --/Ben Guidamol.
- 2143 *Loch Beag Beinneachan nan Sgalag* NB2236 TOL/CIR {,Lɔx' b̥eg, b̥ɛN'ɔxə(n)ə 'skɔLak} the little lake of B. Alias *Lochan Domhainn*.
 + Loch Beag Connaidh NB2439, 1848 Loch Béag Cónnaidh; cf. *Loch Chonnaidh*.
 + Loch Beag Dubh Ceann Allabhat NB2739, see *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann Thallabhat*.
 + Loch Beag Dubh Ceann an Cliàraich NB2540, see *Loch Dubh na Cliaraich*, *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann na Cliaraich*.
- 2144 *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann na Cliaraich* NB2540 SD {,Lɔx' b̥eg, ðu, k'^hɔN(n)ə 'k^hliəɾɪɔ} the lesser black lake (of the head (of A' *Chliarach*)). 1848 -/Béag Dubh Ceann na Cliaraich 1974 ----/an Cliàraich. Alias *Loch Dubh na Cliaraich*.
- 2145 *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann Thallabhat* NB2739 SD {,Lɔx' b̥eg, ðu, k'^hɔN 'hɔLə, va^ht} the lesser black lake (of the head of *Th.). 1848 -/Béag Dúbh Ceann Allabhat 1974 ----/Allavat.
- 2146 *Loch Beag Gil Speireig* NB3230 ACH {,Lɔx' b̥eg, g'ɪl'speɪk'} the lesser lake (of the ravine of the hawk). 1848 -/Gille Speireig Bheag 1974 -/Gil Speireig Bheag.
- 2147 *Loch Beag Mullach na Cliaraich* NB2540 SD {,Lɔx' b̥eg, m̥ɪLɔxə'k^hliəɾɪɔ} the little lake (of the top of A' *Chliarach*). 1848 =.
 + Loch Beag nan Caorann NB3534, 1848 Loch Beag nan Càoran.
- 2148 *Loch Beag nan Eilidean* NB2444 SD {,Lɔx' b̥ɔgəN'N'elɪɟ'ə} the lesser (lake of the hinds). 1848 -/Béag nan Eilidean 1974 =.
- 2149 *Loch Beag Shiadar* NB1938 TOL {,Lɔx' b̥eg'hiad̥ər} the lesser L. Alias *Loch Shiadar Beag*, *An Loch Beag*.
 + Loch Beag Thoma Dhuibhe NB3331, see *Loch Beag Thoma Dubha*.
- 2150 *Loch Beag Thoma Dubha* NB3331 S {,Lɔx' b̥eg, h̥ɔm̥ə'ðu^h} the little lake (of the dark hillocks); cf. No. 2900. 1848 ---/Dubh 1974 ---/Dhuibhe.
- 2151 *Loch Bealach an Sgail* NB2040 DUN {,Lɔx, b̥jɔLɔx(n)ə'skal} ,vjɔLɔx(n)ə 'skal} the lake of B. 1848 --/a Scail 1974 --/a' Sgail.
 + Loch Beinn nan Sgalag NB2237, see *Loch Beinneachan nan Sgalag*.
 + Loch Beinn nan Sgalag NB2236, see *Loch an Eilein*, *Loch nan Eilean*.

- 2152 *Loch Beinn nan Surrag* NB3131 S {,Lɔx,bɛ̃N' (n)ə'suRak} the lake of B. 1848 --/na'n Surrag 1974 =.
- 2153 *Loch Beinneachan nan Sgalag* NB2237 CIR {,Lɔx,bɛ̃N'ɔxə̃n(n)ə'skɔLak} ,vɛ̃N'ɔxə̃n(n)ə'skɔLak} the lake of B. 1848 -/Beinn nan Scallag 1934 L. Beinn na Sgalag 1974 -/Beinn na Sgalag.
- + Loch Bharavat NB2234, see *Loch Mharabhat*.
- 2154 *Loch Bhatan D'ob* NB3533 S {,Lɔx,va^htN'N'i:b} ,faɖN'N'i:b} the lake of **Bhatan D'ob*. 1848 -/Airidh an Eipe 1934 -/vat-n dip 1974 -/Vatandip. With a ln. fr. ON *Uatnit Diúpa* 'the deep lake' with nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. + suffixed art., and the wk.nt. form of the adj. *diúpr*.
- 2155 *Loch Bheag* NB2531 CAL {,Lɔxə'veg} the small lake, §§7.3i, 9.2ii. 1848 1974 -/Beag.
- 2156 *Loch Bhorghastar* NB2140 CN {,Lɔx'vɔrɔ̃ɣə,stə̃r} the lake of B. 1848 -/Borghastail 1895 L. Borghastail 1932 -/Borghastail 1934 -/Bhorgastar 1974 -/Borasdale.
- 2157 *Loch Bhuáileabhal Bheag* NB2040 DUN {,Lɔx,vuə̃lə,vɔL'veg} the lake of B. 1848 -/Bhuailabhal Bheag 1974 -/Buailaval Beag.
- + Loch Borasdale NB2140, see *Loch Bhorghastar*.
- + Loch Breivat NB1943, see *Loch Rèabhat*.
- 2158 *Loch Cam nan Eilidean* NB2443 SD {,Lɔx'k^häũmnə̃N'elɪɖ'ə̃n} the crooked (lake of the hinds). 1848 1974 =.
- + Loch Carloway NB1842, see *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*.
- + Loch Ceann Allavat NB2739, see *Loch Ceann Thallabhat*.
- + Loch Ceann Hulavig NB2231, see *Loch Ceann Thùlabhaig*.
- 2159 *Loch Ceann Thallabhat* NB2739 SD {,Lɔx,k^häN'hɔLə,və^ht} the lake of C. 1848 --/Állabhat 1895 L. Ceann Allabhat 1934 --/Allavat 1974 idem.
- 2160 *Loch Ceann Thùlabhaig*. NB2231 CAL/GA ='hu:Lə,vɪk'} the lake of C. 1600+ Lochkeanhowliwaig 1630 Loghkeanhewlivaig 1750 L. Kenhulawick 1819 Loch Kenhulavig 1974 --/Hulavig.
- 2161 *Loch Chàlmaistean* NB2139 CN {,Lɔx'xɔLämɪ,ft'ə̃n} the lake of *C. 1848 -/Almaistean 1895 L. Almaistean 1934 -/Almasteinn 1974 -/Almaistean.
- 2162 *Loch Chàrlabhaigh* NB1842 DUN/BOR ='xɔ:lə,vaj} the lake of C. 1600+ Lochgarlua 1630 Loghgarlua 1680 The Loch of Carluvay, Loch Carluvay 1695 Loch-Carlway, Carlway Bay 1714 L. Carlway 1750 L. Carlowa 1789 idem 1807 Carlowa L. 1819 L. Carlowa 1832 Loch Carloway 1848 -/Charlobhaidh, -/Carloway 1894 L. Carloway 1974 -/Carloway.
- 2163 *Loch Chonnaidh* NB2439 SD ='xɔ̃Nɪ} the lake of the fire wood, with gen. of *connadh* m. EIr. *connad*. In Lewis, cf. Loch a' Chonnaidh Ard NB2225 (OS 1974); in Ireland, Drumminacunna (Joyce 1913 II, 352). 1848 -/Mòr

- Connaidh 1974 -/Mór Connaidh.
- + Loch Chulain NB1839, see *Loch a' Chuilein (na Dùine)*.
- 2164 *Loch Ciamh* NB2535 BRI = 'k^h iðv} the misty lake, with gen. of *ciamh* 'fog, mist', fr. EIr. *ceò*, obl. case *cía*, cf. Ir. *ceo cía ciabh* 'fog, mist' *ciamhaire* 'gloom, sadness' EIr. *ciabair ciamair*.
- 2165 *Loch Clacharain* NB2436 DUN = 'k^h Laxðran} the lake of the stonechat, with gen.sg. of *clacharan* m. EIr. **cloch* + *ar* + *án* (§7.6). 1848 -/Cláchlúin 1895 L. Clachlúin 1934 -/a Chlacharain 1974 -/Clacharan.
- + Loch Clacharan NB2436, see *Loch Clacharain*.
- + Loch Cleadaich NB2433, 1848 Loch Cleadhaich. One of *Na Lochain Sgeireach*.
- 2166 *Loch Cliasam Creag* NB2040 CIR {,Lɔx^h lias ðm, k^h ðɔg} the lake of C. 1848 = 1895 L. Cliason Creag 1974 =.
- + Loch Cnoc an Ois NB2239; see *Loch an Fheadir*.
- + Loch Cùil Druim Airigh Uilleam NB2639, 1848 Loch Cuil Druim Airidh Uilleam.
- + Loch Dalbeg NB2245, see *Loch Dhaile Beaga*.
- 2167 *Loch Dhaile Beaga* NB2245 DAIL {,Lɔxɣ alð 'bɔg} the lake of DB. 1848 --/Béaga 1974 -/Dalbeg.
- + Loch Dhonnachaidh an Droma NB2540, see *Loch Dhonnachaidh an Droma*.
- 2168 *Loch Dhonnachaidh an Droma* NB2540 SD {,Lɔx,ɣũNuxɪ -ð 'Nɪrðmð} the lake of *Donnadh an Droma*, with gen.sg. of *druim*, as epithet. 1848 --/an Droma 1974 -/Dhonnachaidh an Droma.
- 2169 *Loch Druim a' Ghrianain* NB2340 GEARR {,Lɔx,ðrðmð 'ɣðĩðnan} the lake of D. 1848 --/a Ghrianain 1974 =.
- 2170 *Loch Druim Leireabhat* NB2341 CARL {,Lɔx,ðrðm'le:ðð ,va^h t} the lake of D. 1848 -/Tom Liathbhrat 1974 -/Tom Liavrat.
- 2171 *Loch Druim Thorraig* NB2043 CARL = 'hɔRɪk'} the lake of D. Alias *Loch Dubh Druim Thorraig* doc.
- + Loch Dubh NB2136, see *Loch (Leum) an Aighe*.
- + Loch Dubh a' Chleite NB2244, see *Loch(an) Dubh na Cleit*.
- + Loch Dubh Ben Horshader NB2442, see *Lochan Dubh Beinn Thòrsadar*.
- 2172 *Loch Dubh Chlid* NB3338 S {,Lɔx,ðu'xli:ð'} the black lake (of the slope), with *clid*, var. of *clèid* (see No. 669). 1848 Loch Leitir.
- + Loch Dubh Chrogavat NB2239, 1848 Loch Dùbh Chrogabhat.
- + Loch Dubh Druim Airigh nan Sìdhean NB2637, see *Loch Dubh Druim Airigh nan Sìthean*.
- 2173 *Loch Dubh Druim Airigh nan Sìthean* NB2637 SD {,Lɔx'ðu,ðrðm,a.ðlnd 'fi:han} the black lake (of the ridge (of the shieling (of the knolls))). 1848 -/Dùbh Druim Airidh nan Sìthean 1974 ----/nan Sìdhean.-

- 2174 *Loch Dubh Druim Thorraig* NB2043 CARL { ,Lɔx'd̪u,dr̪m'hɔRɪk' } the black lake of D. 1848 -/Dúbh Druim Thorraig 1974 ---/Torraig. Alias *Loch Druim Thorraig*.
- + Loch Dubh Druim Torraig NB2043, see *Loch (Dubh) Druim Thorraig*.
- 2175 *Loch Dubh Lidh Langa* NB2138 DUN { ,Lɔx'd̪u,L'a'Lãŋkð } the black lake of L.
- 2176 *Loch Dubh na Cleit* NB2244 DAIL { ,Lɔx,d̪uɲð'k^hle^ht' } the black lake of A' *Chleit*. 1848 --/a Chleit 1974 --/a' Chleite. Alias *Lochan Dubh na Cleit*.
- 2177 *Loch Dubh na Cliaraich* NB2540 SD ='k^hliðrɪç } the black lake of A' *Chliarach*. Alias *Loch Beag Dubh Ceann na Cliaraich*.
- 2178 *Loch Dubh na Glaic* NB1843 BOR ='gLa^hk' } the black lake of A' *Ghlaic*. 1848 -/Dúbh na Glaic 1974 =.
- 2179 *Loch Dubh na Mònach* NB2243 DAIL ='mõ:nɔx } the black lake of the peat.
- + Loch Dubh na h-Airde NB1838, see *Loch a' Chuilein*.
- + Loch Dubh nan Stearnag NB3237, see *Loch nan Stearnag*.
- + Loch Dubh Oirtheanan NB2138, see *Loch na h-Eàsgainn*.
- + Loch Dubh Uishal NB2642, see *Lochan Dubh Uiseal*.
- 2180 *Loch Eallagro* NB2748 BRA { ,Lɔx'jaLð,gro } the lake of *E. 1848 -/Eállagro 1974 =.
- + Loch Earraid NB2239, see *Loch Thearaid*.
- + Loch Eilaster NB2238, see *Loch Eileastar*.
- 2181 *Loch Eileastar* NB2238 TOL ='ela,stðr } the lake of E. 1848 -/Eilaster 1895 L. Eilaster 1934 idem 1974 -/Eilaster.
- 2182 *Loch Eireacleit* NB2737 TOL ='e:ðð,kle^ht' } the lake of *E. 1848 -/nan Cleiteachean 1974 -/nan Cleitichean.
- + Loch Falasgair NB2432, see *Loch Fhàlasgair*.
- 2183 *Loch Fàsgrò* NB2041 CN ='fa:sk^ðro } the lake of *F. 1848 = 1895 L. Fàsgrò 1934 -/Fausgrò 1974 -/Fasgrò.
- 2184 *Loch Fhàlasgair* NB2432 CAL ='aLðskðð } §7.3i, the lake of the moor-burning. 1848 -/Falasgair 1974 idem.
- 2185 *Loch Fhionnlaidh* NB1939 DUN ='jõũLaj } *Fionnladh's* lake. 1848 -/a' Chàrnain Mhòir 1974 -/a' Charnain Mhòir.
- 2186 *Loch Fionnacleit* NB2139 CN ='fjũNð,kle^ht' } the lake of *F. 1848 -/Iunacleit 1895 L. Iunaclet 1934 Iùnacleit 1974 =.
- + Loch Gainmheach Eitseal Bheag NB2735; see *Loch an Fhionn Allt* (NB2735), *Loch Gainmhich (Eitseal)* (NB2734).
- + Loch Gainmheach nam Faòileag NB3138, see *Loch nam Faòileag*.

- 2187 *Loch Gainmhich* NB3238 ST {,Lɔxð'gãñvĩç} §9.2ii, the sandy lake, with gen. of *gainmheach*, fr. EIr. **gainmech*, obl. case of *gainem* as guttural stem (or perhaps its homonym, consisting of *gainem* + coll. suffix §7.6iii). 1848 -/'a Gainmhich 1895 L. 'a Gainmhich 1974 -/na Gainmhich.
- 2188 *Loch Gainmhich* NB2734 BRI, as above. 1848 --/Eitshal Bheag 1974 -/Gainmheach Eitseal Bheag. Alias *Loch Gainmhich Eitseal*.
- 2189 *Loch Gainmhich* NB2929 LOCH, as above. 1583 {?} -/Etisfeald 1791SM Lochganavich 1795 Loch Gannavich 1832 L. Ganavich 1934 Locha Ganamhaich 1974 Lochganvich. Of a village and township (part of U).
- 2190 *Loch Gainmhich* NB2335 BRI, as above. 1848 Loch Amhaster 1974 Loch na Gainmhich.
- 2191 *Loch Gainmhich Eitseal* NB2734 BRI {,Lɔx,gãñvĩç'e:^ht'ʃaL} the sandy lake of E. (see *Eitseal Bheag*).
- 2192 *Loch Galabhat* NB2840 ST {,Lɔx'gɔLð,va^ht} the lake of *G. 1848 -/Gallabhat 1974 -/Gallavat. With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Dalauatn* 'the lake of the valleys' with gen.pl. of *dalr* m. 'valley' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt.; §9.li.
- + Loch Gallavat NB2840, see *Loch Galabhat*.
- + Loch Garenin NB1944, see *Loch nan Geàrrannan*.
- + Loch Gealavat NB2133, see *Loch Gheallabhat*.
- + Loch Geodha Crumpaigh NB2136, see *Loch an Eòin*.
- 2193 *Loch Gheallabhat* NB2133 CAL ='jaLð,va^ht} the lake of *G., of a tidal lake. 1848 -/Ghéalabhat 1974 -/Gealavat. With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Giallauatn* 'the clear lake' with nom./acc. of the wk. form of the adj. *giallr* 'clear (of sea); shrill (of sound)'. Cf. No. 144.
- 2194 *Loch Ghrinneabhat* NB2546 SD ='γðĩN'ð,va^ht} the lake of G. 1848 -/Grinnabhat 1974 -/Grinnavat.
- 2195 *Loch Ghrunnabhat* NB3234 S ='γrũNð,va^ht} the lake of *G. Fr. ON *Grunnauatn* 'the shallow lake' with wk.nt. form of the adj. *grunnr* 'shallow' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. Cf. /Lɔx'grũNðvat/ (Oftedal 1956: 79). In Norway, cf. Grunnfjorden (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 134).
- + Loch Gil Speireig Bheag NB3230, see *Loch Beag Gil Speireig*.
- + Loch Gil Speireig Mhòr NB3230, see *Loch Mòr Gil Speireig*.
- 2196 *Loch Glutach Dùn Atha* NB2432 CAL {,Lɔx'gLu^htɔx,ðũ.'na-a} the deep lake of D., with *glutach* adj., formed from Lewis *gluta* 'deep round pool' (Dwelly 1977); cf. Ir. *glota* 'belly, orifice' etc. EIr. *glotta*. 1848 -/na Druide.
- + Loch Goul NB2339, see *Loch Griùl (Mòr)*.

- + Loch Grinnavat NB2546, see *Loch Ghrinneabhat*.
- 2197 *Loch Griùl* NB2238 CN {,Lɔx'gɔu:L} the gravelly or sandy lake, with gen. of **griuthal* m. u-stem (the increase is shown in the OS 1848 form); cf. *grothlach griothalach* 'gravel' (MacLennan 1925), Ir. *griothal* 'coarse sand, gravel, grit', and the various forms in G. (including *griùlach*) for 'measles'. 1848 -/Grùla 1974 idem. Alias *Loch Griùl Mòr*.
- 2198 *Loch Griùl Beag* NB2238 CN {,Lɔx,gɔu.L'beɔ} the lesser L. 1848 -/na Gruile Bige 1974 idem.
- 2199 *Loch Griùl Mòr* NB2238 CN ='mo:r} the greater L. Alias *Loch Griùl* doc.
+ Loch Grùla NB2238, see *Loch Griùl (Mòr)*.
+ Loch Honagro NB1840, see *Loch Thunnagro*.
- 2200 *Loch 'ic Ledid* NB2731 CAL {,Lɔx(ɪ)'klɔ:d} *Mac Ledid*'s lake. 1848 -/Mhic Leoid 1974 idem.
- 2201 *Loch Lacsabhat* NB2438 CN {,Lɔx'La^hksə,və^ht} the lake of L. Alias *Loch Lacsabhat Ard* doc.
- 2202 *Loch Lacsabhat Ard* NB2438 CN {,Lɔx,La^hksə,və^ht'a:d} upper L. 1848 -/Lácsabhat Ard 1974 -/Laxavat Ard. Alias *Loch Lacsabhat*.
- 2203 *Loch Lacsabhat Iosal* NB2339 ='iə:səL} the lower L. 1848 -/Lacsabhal Iorach 1974 -/Laxavat Iorach.
- 2204 *Loch Langabhat* NB2143 GEARR/DAIL {,Lɔx'Lãŋkə,və^ht} the lake of *L. 1848 1895 =. 1974 -/Langavat. With a ln. fr. ON *Langavatn* 'the long lake'. In Norway, cf. *Langvatn*, Møre og Romsdal (NG XIII, 73); in Lewis, Loch Langabhat, between U and L.
+ Loch Langavat NB2143, see *Loch Langabhat*.
+ Loch Laxavat Ard NB2438, see *Loch Lacsabhat (Ard)*.
+ Loch Laxavat Iorach NB2339, see *Loch Lacsabhat Iosal*.
- 2205 *Loch Leitir* NB3338 BRA/S ='lɪ^ht'əð} the lake (of the hillside), with gen. of *leitir* f. (cf. No. 2233). 1848 -/Lèitèr 1974 =.
- 2206 *Loch Leum an Aighe* NB2136 BRI {,Lɔx,L'ẽ.mə'Ne-ə} the lake of the heifer's leap, with *leum* m. 'leap, jump', and gen.sg. of *agh* m. 1832 {?} L. Dhu 1848 -/Dúbh 1895 L. Dubh 1974 -/Dubh. Alias *Loch an Aighe*.
- 2207 *Loch Lidh Langa* NB2138 DUN/TOL {,Lɔx,L'a'Lãŋkə} the lake of L. 1848 -/na h-Easgainn 1974 idem (misplaced).
- 2208 *Loch Lingeam* NB1839 DUN {,Lɔx'lɪŋ'k'am} the lake of *L. 1848 -/a Linnge 1974 -/an Linnge.
- 2209 *Loch Liurabhat* NB1943 GEARR ='lɪ:rə,və^ht} the lake of *L. 1848 = 1934 -/Liuravat 1974 idem. The derivation of *L. is rather uncertain. It is possible that the first element is the same as found in the

village-name Leurboſt {L'u:rboſt} in L (Ofteſdal 1954: 399-400); but an initial ON *lǿr-*, fr. *lǿrr* m. 'pollock', as ſuggeſted by Ofteſdal for the latter name, cannot be applicable here ſince we are dealing with a freſh water lake. We might compare the Norwegian iſland-name Lygra, Hordeland, which is thought to mean the 'light or bright one' (Sandneſ, Stemſhaug 1980: 210); ſee alſo Lygreneſ, Lygreſpollen (Sandneſ, Stemſhaug op.cit: 211). For our name, an ON *Lygruavatn* with gen.sg. of a ſtream-name, is phonetically plausible.

+ Loch Liuravat NB1943, ſee *Loch Liùrabhat*.

2210 *Loch Lomaidean* NB1943 BOR = {L'õmıd'ðn} 'Lõmad'ðn} the lake of the barren places - now drained, with gen.pl. of *lomaıd* (*lom* adj. 'bare' EIr. *lomm* + ſuffix §7.5iv). Cf. 1848 Lomadair Beinn na' Sithean 1974 Lomadair Beinn na Sidhean. As for the diſcrepancy between final -r of the documentary forms and -n of the tranſcriptions, it is poſſible that a miſguided but well-intentioned alteration was made here by the mid 19th century collectors. Beſide our form, cf. NB4050 Blàr na' Lombaıdean (OS 1848) Blàr nan Lombaıdean (OS 1974) Blar Lõmıdean (MacIver 1934: 23), and NB4559 Tom Lõmaıdean (OS 1848) Tom Lomaıdean (OS 1974). In contrast, note a form **lom(b)aidir* (? < *lom* + *ıd* + *ar*): NB5362 Lochan Lombaidir (OS 1848) L. a Lomadair (MacIver op.cit: 71); cf. *lombar* 'bare place' < *lom* + *ar* (Watſon 1976: 169).

2211 *Loch Mharabhat* NB2234 CAL = {varð,va^ht} the lake of *M. 1832 L. Varravat 1848 -/Bhàrrabhat 1895 L. Bhàrrabhat 1932 Barabhat 1934 L. Varravat 1974 -/ Bharabhat. With a ln. fr. ON *Maravatn* 'the lake of the horſes' with gen.pl. of *marr* m. 'horſe' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. ON *marr* m. 'ſea' is unlikely here (but ſee **Marabhair*). In Norway, cf. Marvik, Rogaland (NG X, 338); in Lewis, Loch Maravat NB4053 (OS 1974).

2212 *Loch Mhic Fhionnlaidh* NB2739 SD {,Lõx,vĩ^h'k'ũLaj} the lake of *Mac Fhionnlaidh*. 1848 1974 =.

+ Loch Mhic Leoid NB2731, ſee *Loch 'ic Ledid*.

2213 *Loch Mhurchaidh* NB2333 CAL {,Lõx'vuRũxı} *Murchadh*'s lake. 1848 1894 1974 =.

2214 *Loch Mille Thòla* NB1841 DUN {,Lõx,mĩL'ð'hõ:Lð} the lake of *M. - now drained. 1848 = 1903 Muli-hòl (Loch) 1934 Mulihol 1974 Loch Milako. With a ln. fr. ON *Mille Hóla* (or *milli-*) 'between the hills' with the prep. *mille milli* 'between' and gen.pl. of *hóll* m. In Norway, cf. Mellomheia, Mellomledet, Nedenes (Vintermyr 1983: 99); in Lewis, Allta Mhillegro BERN (MacAulay 1972: 331), Mille Gàradh NB2948 (OS 1974) -

- for further exx., see Oftedal 1980: 188).
- 2215 *Loch Mòr a' Chocair* NB3434 S {,Lɔx,mo.rə'xɔ:h^hkəð} the greater (lake of the cook). 1848 -/Mor a Chòcair 1974 -/Mor a' Chocair.
+ Loch Mòr a' Gheoidh NB2338, 1848 Loch Mòr a Gheoidh.
- 2216 *Loch Mòr a' Ghrianain* NB2637 CARL ='γδiðnan} the greater (lake (of the sunny place)). 1848 --/a Ghriánain 1974 -/Mór a' Ghrianain.
- 2217 *Loch Mòr Athabhat* NB2745 BRA {,Lɔx,mo.r'a-ə,və^ht} the greater (lake of A.). Alias *Loch Athabhat Mhòr* doc.
+ Loch Mòr Connaidh NB2539, see *Loch Chonnaidh*.
+ Loch Mór Dubh Ceann Allavat NB2739, see *Loch Mòr Dubh Ceann Thallabhat*.
- 2218 *Loch Mòr Dubh Ceann Thallabhat* NB2739 SD {,Lɔx'mo:r,ɔ̃,k^hãN'həLə,və^ht} the greater black lake of C. 1848 --/Dúbh Ceann Allabhat 1974 -/Mór Dubh Ceann Allavat.
- 2219 *Loch Mòr Gil Speireig* NB3032 ACH/S {,Lɔx'mo:r,g'ɪl'speɪək'} the greater (lake (of the ravine of the hawk)). 1848 -/Gille Speireig Mor 1934 Loch Gil Speireig 1974 -/Gil Speireig Mhór.
- 2220 *Loch Mòr nan Eilidean* NB2443 SD {,Lɔx,mo.ɲə'N'elɪd'ən} the greater L. 1848 1974 =. Alias *Loch nan Eilidean*.
- 2221 *Loch na Bà Buidhe* NB2435 BRI {,Lɔxnə,bə.'bʊ^ljə} the lake of the yellow cow. 1848 1974 =.
- 2222 *Loch na Bà Riabhaich* NB2535 BRI ='Riəvɪç} the lake of the tawny cow. 1848 1974 =.
- 2223 *Loch na Beinne* NB2235 BRI {,Lɔxnə'bɛN'ə} the lake (of the mountain). 1832 L. na Bein 1848 --/Biga 1974 --/Bige.
+ Loch na Beinne Bige NB2235, see *Loch na Beinne*.
- 2224 *Loch na Bèist* NB2537 DUN ='bɛ:ft'} the lake of the otter. 1848 1974 =.
- 2225 *Loch na Bràist* NB2536 TOL ='brɛ:ft'} the lake of the brooch, with gen.sg. of *bràist*, ultimately fr. ME *broche*. 1848 -/na Bràisde 1974 =.
- 2226 *Loch na Cartach* NB2434 CAL ='k^hɑstɔx} the lake of the waterlily. 1848 -/na Cairt 1974 =.
- 2227 *Loch na Cartach* NB2243 DAIL, as above. 1848 Lochanan Traigh.
- 2228 *Loch na Cartach* NB1939 DUN, as above.
- 2229 *Loch na Cloiche Mòire* NB2044 GEARR {,Lɔxnə,k^hLa^lçə'mo:ðə} the lake (of the large rock). Alias *Loch nam Peithirean* doc.
- 2230 *Loch na Druid* NB2531 CAL {,Lɔxnə'drʊd'} the lake of the starling, with gen.sg. of *druid* f. EIr. *truid druid*.
+ Loch na Druide NB2432, see *Loch Glutach Dùn Atha*.
- 2231 *Loch na Dùine* NB1840 DUN ='dũ:N'ə} the lake of An Dùn. Alias *Loch a' Bhaile* (na Dùine).

- 2232 *Loch na Fainn* NB2139 DUN = 'fã^lŋ'k' } the lake (of the fank). 1848 1974 =.
- + *Loch na Gainmhich* NB2235, see *Loch Gainmhich*.
 - + *Loch na Gainmhich* NB3238, see *Loch Gainmhich*.
 - + *Loch na Griule Bige* NB2238, see *Loch Gridl Beag*.
 - + *Loch na Leamhain* NB2434, see *Loch na Lèibheinn*.
 - + *Loch na Learga* NB2044, see *Lochan Ma Lèig*.
- 2233 *Loch na Leitreach* NB2344 DAIL = 'L'e^ht'ðrɔx } the lake (of the hillside), with gen.sg. of *leitir* f. 1848 -/na Leiteroch 1974 =.
- 2234 *Loch na Lèibheinn* NB2434 CAL = 'L'e:vɪN' }, once -'L'e:v\N }, the lake of the plain, with gen.sg. of *lèibheann* f., EIr. *léibenn* 'level surface or expanse' (RIA). 1848 -/a Leamhain 1934 L. na Leubhann 1974 -/na Leamhain. In Lewis, cf. Cnoc na Leabhuinn NB4861 (OS 1974).
- 2235 *Loch na Liana Bàine* NB3034 BRI { ,Lɔxnð'L'ãnd'pã:N' (ð) } the lake of *An Liana Bhàn*.
- 2236 *Loch na Lðbraich* NB2739 SD { ,Lɔxnð'Lɔ:brɪç } the lake (of the quagmire).
- + *Loch na Móine* NB2934, see *Loch na Mònach*.
 - + *Loch na Moineach* NB2938, see *Loch na Mònach*.
- 2237 *Loch na Mònach* NB2934 BRI = 'mõ:nɔx } the lake of the peat. 1848-/na Moine 1974 -/na Móine.
- 2238 *Loch na Mònach* NB2938 ST, as above. 1848 -/na Moineach 1895 L. na Moineach 1974 -/na Moineach.
- 2239 *Loch na Muilne* NB2747 ST = 'mũĩL'ð } the lake (of the mill). 1848 = 1895 L. na Muil'ne 1974 =.
- 2240 *Loch na Muilne* NB2037 TOL, as above. 1848 -/na Muil'ne 1895 -/na Muill'ne 1974 =.
- 2241 *Loch na Muilne* NB2446 SD, as above. 1848 = 1895 L. na Muil'ne 1974 =.
- 2242 *Loch na h-Airde* NB1742 BOR = 'ha:q̣ð } the lake of *An Aird*. 1848 1974 =.
- 2243 *Loch na h-Aon Ighne* NB2346 SD = 'hãnd̃-ɪN' } the lake of the solitary girl. See under *Leabaidh na h-Aon Ighne*.
- 2244 *Loch na h-Easgainn* NB2138 TOL = 'heskɪN' } the lake of the eel, with gen.sg. of *easgann* f. EIr. *escong*. 1848 -/Dúbh Oirthéanan 1974 -/Dubh Oirthéanan.
- + *Loch na h-Easgainn* NB2138, see *Loch Lidh Langa*.
- 2245 *Loch nam Breac* NB2837 TOL/SD = 'm̃ðe^hk } the lake of the trout. 1848 1974 =.
- + *Loch nam Breac* NB3039, see *Loch nam Breac a' Bhoth Chlach*.
- 2246 *Loch nam Breac a' Bhoth Chlach* NB3039 BRA { ,Lɔxnð'm̃ðe^hkð,vɔ'xLax } the lake of the trout of *Am Both Clach*. 1848 1974 Loch nam Breac.

- 2247 *Loch nam Faoileag* NB3138 ST/BRA {,Lɔxnə'f(ɔ):lak} the lake of the gulls. 1848 -/Gainmheach nam Faoileag 1895 L. Gainmheach nam Faoileag 1974 -/Gainmheach nam Faoileag.
 + Loch nam Fiasgan NB2533, 1848 idem.
- 2248 *Loch nam Peithirean* NB2044 GEARR = 'm^hehððn} the lake of the thunderbolts. 1848 1848 1974 =. Alias *Loch na Cloiche Mòire*.
- 2249 *Loch nan Aoidh* NB2932 CAL = 'Nði} the lake (of the fords). Alias *Loch nan Aoidhean* doc.
- 2250 *Loch nan Aoidhean* NB2932 CAL = 'Nə^ljðn} as above. 1848 -/na'n Uidhean 1974 -/nan Uidhean. Alias *Loch nan Aoidh*.
- 2251 *Loch nan Caolan* NB2745 ST = 'ɲ^h(ɔ):Lan} the lake of the entrails, with gen.pl. of *caolan* m. EIr. *cáelán*.
- 2252 *Loch nan Caorach* NB2738 SD = 'ɲ^h(ɔ):rɔx} the lake of the sheep. 1848 1974 -/nan Càorach.
- 2253 *Loch nan Caoran* NB2931 LOCH = 'ɲ^h(ɔ):ran} the lake of the lumps of peat, with gen.pl. of *caoran* m. EIr. **cáerán* (fr. *cáer* 'compact mass' etc.). 1848 -/nàn Caoran 1934 = 1974 -/nan Càoran.
 + Loch nan Càrnanan NB2440, 1848 Loch nan Cartanan.
 + Loch nan Cleitichean NB2737, see *Loch Eireacleit*.
- 2254 *Loch nan Cnàmh* NB2933 CAL = 'ɲ^hrã:v} the lake of the bones. 1848 -/na'n Cnàmh 1974 =.
- 2255 *Loch nan Eilean* NB3330 ACH/S = 'N'elan} the lake of the islands. 1848 1974 =.
- 2256 *Loch nan Eilean* NB2236 BRI, as above. 1848 Loch Beinn nan Sga'lag 1974 Loch Beinn nan Sgalag. Alias *Loch an Eilein*.
- 2257 *Loch nan Eilidean* NB2443 SD = 'N'elɪð'ðn} the lake of the hinds. Alias *Loch Mòr nan Eilidean* doc.
- 2258 *Loch nan Geadh* NB2532 CAL = 'ɲ'iaɣ} the lake of the geese. 1848 -/a' Gheoidh 1973 idem.
- 2259 *Loch nan Geadh* NB3036 ST, as above. 1848 1974 =.
- 2260 *Loch nan Geàrrannan* NB1944 GEARR = 'ɲ'a:RðNðn} the lake of *Na Geàrrannan*. 1848 L. nan Gearranan 1875 Loch of Garnin 1974 Loch Garenin.
 + Loch nan Goirtairean NB2137, see *Loch nan Gortairean*.
 + Loch nan Goirtean NB2444, see *Loch nan Gortan*.
- 2261 *Loch nan Gortairean* NB2137 TOL = 'ɲɔʒtaððn} the lake (of the enclosures), with gen.pl. of **gortar* m., fr. *gort* (see below) + suffix §7.6vi. 1848 -/nan Góirtairean 1974 -/nan Goirtairean.
- 2262 *Loch nan Gortan* NB2444 SD = 'ɲɔʒtan} the lake (of the enclosures), with gen.pl. of *gortan* m., dimin. of *gort* EIr. *gort gart*. 1848 -/nan Goirtean

- 1974 idem. F.etym: with *gartan* 'heath-tick'. In Kintyre, cf. An Gortan (KAS 1945: 4).
- 2263 *Loch nan Leac* NB2739 ST = 'L'æ^hk} the lake of the flagstones. 1848 1974 =.
- 2264 *Loch nan Learg* NB2337 TOL = 'L'æræk} the lake of the black-throated divers, with gen.pl. of *learg* f. (? fr. Scots *lerick*, reduced form of *laverock*) *gavia arctica*; though one informant gave 'grebe' *podiceps ruficollis*. Alternatively, with *learg* f. 'slope of hill' EIr. *lery*. In Lewis, cf. Loch nan Learga NB2226 (OS 1974). 1848 Loch Speireig 1974 -/Speireag.
- + Loch nan Steall NB3237, see *Loch an Fhèidh*.
- 2265 *Loch nan Steall* NB3137 ST = 'jt'auL} the lake of the spurts or splashes of water, with gen.pl. of *steall* f. (ultimately fr. Lat. *stillo* 'I drop', MacBain 1982: 346). 1848 -/nan Stearnag 1895 L. nan Stearnag 1974 -/nan Stearnag.
- 2266 *Loch nan Steàrnag* NB3237 S = 'ft'a:ṅak} the lake of the terns. 1848 -/Dúbh nan Steàrnag 1974 -/Dubh nan Stearnag.
- + Loch nan Stearnag NB3137, see *Loch nan Steall*.
- + Loch nan Uidhean NB2932, see *Loch nan Aoidh*, *Loch nan Aoidhean*.
- 2267 *Loch Neadabhat* NB2343 DAIL {,Lɔx'neð,va^ht} the lake of N. 1848 -/Néadabhat 1903 1934 Neadavat 1974 -/Neadavat. Alias *Neadabhat*.
- + Loch Neadavat NB2343, see (*Loch*) *Neadabhat*.
- 2268 *Loch Nighean Dhòmhnail* NB2845 BRA {,Lɔx,N'ĩ-ðn'γõ-ıL'} the lake of *Dòmhnail*'s daughter. 1848 1974 --*Shomhairle*. The persn. *Somhairle* may well have been replaced by the more common *Dòmhnail*.
- + Loch Nighean Shomhairle NB2845, see *Loch Nighean Dhòmhnail*.
- + Lóch Rahacleit NB2542, see *Loch Rathacleit*.
- 2269 *Loch Raoinabhat* NB2346 SD {,Lɔx'rðĩnð,va^ht} the lake of R. 1848 -/Raoinabhat 1934 -/Reinabhat 1974 -/Raoinavat.
- + Loch Raoinavat NB2346, see *Loch Raoinabhat*.
- 2270 *Loch Raoinigeadh* NB1743 BOR = 'rðĩnı,g'aγ} the lake of R. 1848 -/Ruin a Geodha 1934 -/Reiniga 1974 -/Runageo.
- 2271 *Loch Rasabhat* NB2646 ST = 'rasð,va^ht} the lake of *R. 1848 -/Thréasabhat 1934 L. Rasabhat 1974 -/Treasavat. With a ln. probably fr. ON *Hrossauatn* 'the lake of the horses' with gen.pl. of *hross* nt. 'horse' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. ON *Rass-uatn*, used derogatorily, with *rass* m. 'arse' is also possible; cf. the Norwegian cave-name ON *Raufholit* 'the arse-hole' (Ofstedal 1984, notes). F.etym: with *fras* 'shower'.

- 2272 *Loch Rathacleit* NB2542 SD/ST ={'ra-a,kle^ht'} the lake of *R. 1848 -/
Rathagleit 1934 -/Ráa-cleif 1974 -/Rahacleit. With a ln. possible fr.
ON *Ráarklett* 'the hill of the nook or corner' with gen.sg. of *rǫ* f.
'nook, corner' alos 'pole, rod; dividing-line'. Less likely is ON
Raðarklett with gen.sg. of *rǫð* f. 'moraine'. Cf. the village-name
Raerinish L {Ra-anif} (Oftedal 1954: 398); also No. 690.
- 2273 *Loch Rèabhat* NB1943 GEARR ={'re:,va^ht} the lake of *R. 1848 -/
Bhrèidhbat 1895 L. Bhreidhbat 1974 -/Breivat.
- 2274 *Loch Rìosard* NB2442 DAIL ={'ri:,sat} the lake of *R. 1848 -/Rìdhsord
1934 -/Righaord 1974 -/Risord.
+ Loch Risord NB2442, see *Loch Rìosard*.
+ Loch Roag NB2032, see *Loch Ròg*.
- 2275 *Loch Ròg* NB2032 {,Lɔx(ə)'Rɔ:g} the lake of shags, with gen.pl. of
ròg ?m., an otherwise unattested lw., fr. ON *hrǫk* acc. of *hrǫkr* m.
phalacrocorax aristotelis. Cf. No. 2496. 1600+ -/rogan 1630 Loghrogan
1680 -/Rogue 1695 Loch-Rogue 1750 L. Rag 1789 -Roag 1791 1800 1813
idem 1819 -/Roig 1841 -/Roag 1869 1875 1932 1974 idem. Cf. Loch-a-ròg,
Loch Roag, Skye: Forbes' derivation (1923: 301) from an ON *rok* (*sic*)
cannot be correct.
- 2276 *Loch Ruadh Eitseal Bheag* NB2732 CAL {,Lɔx'Ruðγ,e.^ht'ʃaL'veg} the red
lake of E. 1848 --/Eitshal Bheag 1974 =.
+ Loch Runageo NB1743, see *Loch Raoinigeadh*.
- 2277 *Loch Salach* NB2237 CIR {,Lɔx'saLɔx} the dirty lake. 1848 -/Sallach
1974 =.
+ Loch Sandavat NB2440, see *Loch Shanndabhat*.
+ Loch Sandavat NB2437, see *Loch Shanndabhat*.
+ Loch Sandig NB1839, see *Loch Shanndaig*.
- 2278 *Loch Sgairdheiseal* NB2044 GEARR ={'skøðð-ð,ʃaL} the lake of S. 1848 -/
Sgórashal 1974 -/Skorashal.
- 2279 *Loch Sgàrdam* NB2136 BRI ={'ska:,ðam} the lake of S. 1848 1974 =. With
a ln. very possibly fr. ON *Skarð-holm* 'pass-knoll' with stem-form of
skarð nt. 'gap, pass' and acc. of *holmr* m. 'knoll'.
+ Loch Sgeireach NB2433, see *Na Lochain Sgeireach*.
- 2280 *Loch Sgriachabhaig* NB2447 SD ={'skðiaxð,vik'} the lake of *S., of a
frequently dry pond. Certainly the specific appears to be an ON ln.
in final -*uik* 'bay', but it has been transported, by a process of
transference, a considerable way (see No. 1665). The initial element
is obscure. Cf. Loch Scriachavat (OS 1974).
- 2281 *Loch Shanndabhat* NB2437 TOL ={'hãũntð,va^ht} the lake of *S. 1848 -/

- Shann^dabhat 1974 -/Sandavat. With a ln. fr. ON *Sand-uatn* 'sandy lake' with the stem-form of *sandr* m. 'sand' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. ON *Sandauatn* with gen.pl. of *sandr* is also feasible. Cf. NB4347 Lochan Sandavat (OS 1974).
- 2282 *Loch Shann^dabhat* NB2440 SD, as above. 1848 -/Shann^dabhat 1974 -/Sandavat.
- 2283 *Loch Shann^daig* NB1839 DUN ={'hãũntɪk'} the lake of *S.* 1848 -/Shann^daig 1974 -/Sandig.
- + Loch Shawbost NB2548, see *Loch Shiaboist*.
- 2284 *Loch Shiaboist* NB2548 SD/ST ={'hia,ɸɔft'} the lake of *S.* 1832 Bay of Shawbost 1848 -/Sheaboist 1895 L. Sheaboist 1974 -/Shawbost.
- 2285 *Loch Shiadar* NB1838 TOL ={'hiaððr} the lake of *S.* 1832 L. Shadder 1848 -/Sheader 1895 L. Sheader.
- 2286 *Loch Shiadar Beag* NB1938 TOL TOL {,Lɔx,hiadðr'ɸeg} the lesser *L.* Alias *Loch Beag Shiadar, An Loch Beag*.
- + Loch Skorashal NB2044, see *Loch Sgairdheiseal*.
- 2287 *Loch Slug* NB2043 CARL ={'sLug} the lake of **S.* The specific here may mean 'gully', cf. No. 1218; or, perhaps more appropriately, 'pool'. Cf. slugan 'gulf, pool; gorge' in Skye pnn. (Forbes 1923: 405).
- + Loch Speireag NB2337, see *Loch nan Learg*.
- + Loch Tana NB2934, see *Loch Tana na Criadh*.
- 2288 *Loch Tana na Criadh* NB2934 BRI {,Lɔx,t^hãndnð'k^hðiaɣ} 'k^hðiaɸɣ} the shallow lake of the clay, with *tana* adj. 'thin, shallow' EIr. *tanae tana*, and gen. of *criadh* crè f. EIr. *cré* gen. *criad*. 1848 1974 Loch Tana.
- 2289 *Loch Thearaid* NB2239 CARL {,Lɔx'hjarat'} the lake of ?, possibly containing an ON ln. 1848 -/Thorrad 1934 -/Earraid 1974 -/Earraid.
- 2290 *Loch Thoma Dubha* NB2534 BRI {,Lɔx,hõmð'ðu-u}ð} the lake of *Toma Dubha*. 1848 --/Dúbha 1895 L. Thoma Dúbha 1974 -/Toma Dubha.
- 2291 *Loch Thunnagro* NB1840 DUN {,Lɔx'hũNð,gro} the lake of **T.* 1848 -/Thonagro 1934 -/Honagro 1974 idem. With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Tunnu/Tunnagróf* 'the stream of the barrel(s)' with gen.sg. or pl. of *tunna* f. 'barrel' and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. Such a name could have had an anecdotal origin or be descriptive of the shape of the valley through which the stream runs. *Tunni* was once a rather rare man's name.
- + Loch Tom Liavrat NB2341, see *Loch Druim Lèireabhat*.
- + Loch Toma Dubha NB2543, see *Loch Thoma Dubha*.
- + Loch Treasavat NB2645, see *Loch Rasabhat*.
- + Loch Tuamister NB2645, see *Loch Uamaistean*.

- 2292 *Loch Uamaistean* NB2645 ST {,Lɔx'ũãm,ʃt'ðn} the lake of *U. 1848 -/
Thùamister 1895 L. Thitamister 1934 L. Uamaisgean 1974 Loch Tuamister.
- 2293 *Loch Uillt Ghlasa* NB1943 BOR {,Lɔx,øL't'ð'ɣLasð} ,ɪd'ð'ɣLasð} the lake
(of the green streams), with gen.pl. of *allt* m. 'stream'. I have also
recorded forms in final {-ð}, which I take as intrusive, although
a name **Loch Uillt a' Ghlasair* with gen.sg. of *glasar* 'grassy place'
is feasible, cf. No. 915. 1848 Loch Allt a Glas 1974 Lóch Allt a' Glas.
+ Loch Urabhal NB3032, see *Loch Urabhat*.
- 2294 *Loch Urabhat* NB3032 CAL {,Lɔx'ʌ:rð,vɑ^ht} the lake of *U. 1848 -/
Urabhal 1934 Uravat 1974 -/Urabhal. With a ln. fr. ON *Úr-uatn* with
stem-form of either *úr* nt. 'mist, drizzle' or its homonym with the
meaning 'coarse soil, dross, slag'.
+ Loch Vatandip NB3533, see *Loch Bhatan D'ob*.
- 2295 *Na Lochain Fraoich* NB2838 ST {nð,Lɔxan'fr(ɔ:l¹ç)} the lakes of heather,
with pl. of *lochan* m., dimin. of *loch* m. 'lake'. 1848 Loch a Fhraoich.
- 2296 *Na Lochain Sgeireach* NB2433 CAL ='sk'eðɔx} the rocky lakes, with the
adj. *sgeireach*, fr. *sgeir* f. 'skerry' (§11.lvii). 1848 1974 Loch
Sgeireach.
- 2297 *Na Lochain Sgeireach* NB2346 SD, as above. 1848 1974 Lochan Sgeireach.
- 2298 *Na Lochan Beaga* NB2343 2243 {nð,Lɔxðn'beɣð} the little lakes, with
pl. of *loch* m. 1848 Lochanan Traigh 1974 Lochan Tràigh.
- 2299 *Lochan Domhainn* NB2236 TOL/CIR {,Lɔxan'dõ.-ɪN'} the deep lake. Alias
Loch Beag Beinneachan nan Sgalag.
- 2300 *Lochan Dubh* NB2749 BRA ='dʌ^h} the black lake. 1848 Lochan Dúbh 1974 =.
- 2301 *Lochan Dubh a' Ghille* NB2445 SD {,Lɔxan,dʌ-ð'jɪL'ð} the black lake
of the youth.
- 2302 *Lochan Dubh Beinn Thòrsadar* NB2443 SD {,Lɔxan'dʌ,bɛN''hɔ:ɣaðər} the
black lake of B. 1848 Loch Dúbh Beinn Thòrshader 1974 Loch Dubh Ben
Horshader.
- 2303 *Lochan Dubh Ceann an Loch* NB2542 SD {,Lɔxan'dʌ,k'^hãNð'Lɔx} the black
lake (of the head (of the lake)).
- 2304 *Lochan Dubh Chàrman an Dùn* NB2444 SD {,Lɔxan'dʌ,xɑ.nãN'Nũ:n} the
black lake of C. Alias *Lochan Dubh Chàrman Dùn*.
- 2305 *Lochan Dubh Chàrman Dùn* NB2444 SD {,Lɔxan'dʌ,xɑ.nã'Nũ:n} the black
lake of C. Alias *Lochan Dubh Chàrman an Dùn*.
- 2306 *Lochan Dubh na Beinne* NB2643 ST {,Lɔxan,dʌnð'bɛN'ð} the black lake
(of the mountain).

- 2307 *Lochan Dubh na Cleit* NB2244 DAIL ={'k^hle^ht'} the black lake of *A' Chleit*. Alias *Loch Dubh na Cleit* doc. Also recorded {,Lɔxan,ɔu-ð 'xle^ht'} with *cleit* masc. (cf. No. 684).
- 2308 *Lochan Dubh Uiseal* NB2642 ST {,Lɔxan,ɔu'(h)u,fɔL} the black lake of *U*. 1848 Loch Dúbh Uíshall 1974 Loch Dubh Uishal.
- 2309 *Lochan Ma Lèig* NB2044 GEARR {,Lɔxan,ma'le:g'} the lake by the brook, cf. *Cnocan Ma Lèig*. 1848 Loch nan Learga 1974 idem.
- 2310 *Lochan Sgeireach* NB2039 DUN {,Lɔxan'sk'eδɔx} the rocky lake. 1848 1974 =.
- 2311 *Lochan Sgeireach* NB2044 GEARR, as above. 1848 1974 =.
 + Lochan Sgeireach NB2346, see *Na Lochain Sgeireach*.
 + Lochan Sgeireach NB2239, 1848 Lochan Sgeireach.
- 2312 *Lochan Stàirr* NB2444 SD ='sta:R} the lake of the sedge-grass, genus *carex*, with gen. of *stàrr*, fr. ON *storr* f.
- 2313 *Lochan Tioram* NB2545 SD {,Lɔxa'N^hlδðm} the dry lake. 1848 1974 =.
- 2314 *Lochan Tràigh* NB2143 GEARR {,Lɔxan'tra:j^h} the drying (up) lake, with gen. (variant form of *tràghaidh*) of *tràghadh* m. EIr. *trágud* 'ebbing, drying up'. 1848 -/Traigh 1974 =.
- 2315 *Loch an Tràigh* NB2347 SD, as above. 1848 -/Traigh 1974 =.
 + Lochan Tràigh NB2342, 2243, see *Na Lochan Beaga*.
 + Lochan Tràigh NB2440, 1848 Lochan Traigh.
 + Lochanan Tràighte NB2536, 1848 Lochanan Traighte.
 + Lochganvich NB2929, see *Loch Gairmhich*.
- 2316 *Na Lodain* NB1937 TOL {(nð)'Lɔðan} the pools, with pl. of *loda* m., dimin. of *lod* m.; cf. Ir. *loda*. 1848 Lodan Bhliadhnaish 1974 Lodan Blianish.
- 2317 *Loda* NB2135 BRI {'Lɔðan} the pool.
 + Loda Blianish NB1937, see *Na Lodain*.
- 2318 *Loda Fhìbhig* NB2648 BRA {,Lɔðan'i:,'vik'} the pool of *F*. 1848 =.
 1974 -/Fivig.
 + Loda Fivig NB2648, see *Loda Fhìbhig*.
- 2319 *An Loibhteag* NB2546 SD {(ð)'Lɔ^ht'ak'æk'} §7.3i, the stagnant place, with *loibhteag* f., fr. *loibhte* 'decayed' etc. (part. of *lobh*, cf. EIr. *lobaid* 'decays' etc.) + suffix §7.6ii.
 + Lomadair Beinn na Sidhean NB1942, see *Loch Lomaidean*.
- 2320 *An Lòn* NB3130 L {ð'Lɔ̃:n} the pool, with *lòn* m., fr. ON *lón* f. (or nt., see Rygh 66) 'pool, tranquil part of river or lake'.
- 2321 *Lòn Ciaraig* NB1942 CN {,Lɔ̃.n'k^hiðræk'} the pool (of the dark place), see No. 863.
- 2322 *Lòn Cuile* NB2447 SD ='k^hu^l'k'} the pool of the bulrush, with gen.

of *cuile* f., cf. Ir. *cuile*.

2323 *Lon Gorm* NB2648 ST = 'gʷrðm} the dark pool.

2324 *Lon Uig* NB1843 BOR = 'u:l'g'} the pool of *U.

2325 *Lot an Drumair* NB2447 SD {,Lɔ^htN'Nrðmað} the lot (i.e. croft) of *An Drumair* (a man's nickname). Alias *Lot Iain Ruaidh*. With *lot* fr. Eng.

2326 *Lot an t-Siorraidh* NB2546 SD = 'N^h'juRaj} the lot of *An Siorraidh* (a man's nickname), with gen.sg. of *siorraidh* 'sheriff', fr. ME *shirreve*.

2327 *Lot Iain Ruaidh* NB2447 SD {,Lɔ^ht,ĩ-a'ruðj} *Iain Ruadh's* lot. Alias *Lot an Drumair*.

2328 *Lot Spuchain* NB2446 SD {,Lɔ^htð'spuxan} *Spuchan's* lot, with gen. of a man's nickname.

2329 *Lùib Loch na Muilne* NB2648 ST {,Lðib,Lɔxnð'mũĩL'ð} the bend of L.

M

- 2330 *Am Magh* NB2439 CARL {ə'mð̃ɣə} the plain. 1848 Béagha 1974 Beagha.
- 2331 *Am Magh Buidhe* NB2740 SD/ST {ə,mð̃ɣ'bu¹jə} the yellow plain. 1903 Magh Buidhe 1934 Am Magha Buidhe.
- 2332 *Am Magh Leathainn* NB2441 SD {ə,mð̃ɣ'L'eh¹N'} the broad plain.
- 2333 *Maidhm* NB3130 ACH {mð̃im}, dat. with art. {ə'vð̃im} the steep slope, of a hill; with *maidhm* 'onset, attack' etc. EIr. *maidm* 'defeat, rout'. 1848 1974 Moim. Also in Lewis, Moim NB4449 4251 Maoim NB5556 (OS1974); in Irish pnn. *madhm* 'high mountain pass or chasm' (Joyce 1913, I: 176).
- 2334 *Máisgeir* NB1444 {'mã:,sk'əð} of a large skerry or islet. 1807 Masker 1848 Mäs Sgeir 1903 Mäsgeir 1932 Másgeir 1934 Más Sgeir 1974 Mäs Sgeir. A ln. fr. ON *Má-sker* 'gull-skerry' with stem-form of *már* m. 'gull' and nom./acc. of *sker* nt. In Lewis, cf. Mäs Sgeir NB5166 (OS1974). MacAulay (1972: 333) derives our name fr. ON *Mava-sker* (for *máva-sker*) with gen.pl. of *már*; while *máva-* could conceivably yield {mã:} after loss of medial -v-, a form in *má-* is preferable.
- 2335 *Malanais* NB1841 DUN {mãLa,nɪʃ}, once {'mõLa,nɪʃ}, of a hill forming part of headland. 1848 Mólánish 1974 Molanish. A ln. fr. ON *Malarnes* 'the promontory of the shingle beach' with gen.sg. of *mol* f. 'shingle beach' and nom./acc. of *nes* nt. In Norway, cf. Molnes, Møre og Romsdal (NG XIII, 201).
- 2336 *Maoilean* NB2642 ST {'mð̃:lan} the bare or exposed place, of a high plateau; with *maoilean* m., fr. *maoil* adj. 'bare, bald' + suffix § 7.6i. + *Marcasdale* NB2036, see *Marcastal*.
- 2337 *Marcastal* NB2036 BRI {'mar̥ka,stəL} of a hill. 1848 Mår̥casdal 1934 Markasdal 1974 Marcasdale. A ln. fr. ON *Markás(s)dal* 'the valley of the boundary-ridge' with stem-form of *mark* nt. 'boundary' (connected with *merki* nt. 'mark'), stem-form or gen.sg. of *áss* m. 'ridge', and acc. of *dalr* m. The boundary in question is that between TOL and BRI. In Norway, cf. Marstein ON *Marksteinn* (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 216).
- 2338 *Mäs Ard* NB2239 CN {,mã.'sa:ɔ̃} the high back-end, of a hill (with steep cliff); with *mäs* m. EIr. *más*. 1848 Te Ard 1974 Tè Ard. Are the map-forms due to someone's sensitivity to the generic's other sense 'bottom, posterior'?
- 2339 *Mäs Beinn Laimiseadar* NB1842 BOR {,mã.s,bẽN'Lãim₁,ʃaɔ̃r} the back-end (of the mountain of L.)
+ *Mäs Leac Aonghais* NB1743, 1848 Más Leac Aonghais; note *Leac(an) Mhic Aonghais*.

- 2340 *Màs Mhalanais* NB1841 DUN {,mä.s'vũLa,nɪf} the back-end of *M*.
- 2341 *Màs na Buaille* NB1838 TOL {,mä.snə'buø1ə} the back-end (of the enclosure).
- 2342 *Màs Riabhach* NB1943 CN {,mä.s'Riəvɔx} the tawny back-end, of hill.
+ *Màs Sgeir* NB1444, see *Màisgeir*.
- 2343 *Màs Thulablar* NB1843 BOR {,mä.s'huLə,ɸLəx} -'huLə,ɸΛL} -'uRù,ɸLay} the back-end of **Th.*, of area at base of hill. The specific is a mystery.
- 2344 *Màs Thurrban* NB1743 BOR ='huRù,ɸan} the back-end of **Th.*, of a fishing area at base of *Rubha Thalanais*. With specific of unknown derivation.
- 2345 *Am Meall* NB2132 CAL {ə'mjãũL} the knoll. 1848 Cnoc a Mhill 1974 Cnoc a' Mhill.
- 2346 *Am Meall Beag* NB1742 BOR {ə,mjãL'ɸeg} the little knoll. 1848 Meall Beag 1974 Meall Beag.
- 2347 *Am Meall Mòr* NB1742 BOR ='mo:r} the large knoll. 1848 Meall Mòr 1974 Meall Mór.
- 2348 *Na Meanbh Chnoc* NB1843 BOR {nə'mɛ̃ɛ, xro^hk} the small hills, with pl. of *cnoc* §7.5iv, and the adj. *meanbh* 'small, minute', cf. EIr. *minbach menbach*. With a variant form in Allt a mheirbh ghiuthais, Kincardine (Watson 1976: 15).
- 2349 *Na Meanbh Chnocan* NB1944 GEARR {nə'mɛ̃ɛ, xro^hkən} the little hills. 1848 Meanbh Chnocan 1974 idem.
+ *Megavig* NB2548, see *Mèigeabhaig*.
- 2350 *Mèigeabhaig* NB2548 ST {'mɛ:ɣ'ə,vɪk'} of a cove. 1848 Megabhic 1934 Megevik 1974 Megavig. A ln. fr. ON *Mek-uik* 'yellow-flag ravine' with stem-form of *mekir* m. 'sword', but cf. NN *mekje iris pseudacorus*. In the Faroes, cf. *Mekjuvik* with gen.sg. of *mekja* f. 'yellow-flag' (Matras 1933, *vik*). With final *-uik* f. 'bay, cove'.
- 2351 *Meireabhal* NB1840 DUN {'mɛðð,vəL} of a hill. Fr. ON *Mer-fiall* 'mare-hill' with stem-form of *merr* f. 'mare' and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. In Lewis, cf. Loch Mheireabhat, BERN, but which MacAulay (1972: 330) derives fr. *Meira-uatn* 'larger lake' with nom./acc.sg.nt. of the comp. adj. *meiri*; but if the lake-name has short stressed {e} or {ɛ} it is very unlikely to have developed fr. the ON diphthong *ei*.
- 2352 *A' Mhiasaid* NB1937 TOL {ə'viðsɪt'} the basin, of a low-lying stretch of land.
+ *Mile Mucul* NB2645, see *Muile Mucal*.

- 2353 *A' Mhíst* NB2546 SD {ð'vĩ:ft'} §9.lvii, the basin; with a dat. form of *mias* f. §7.4, fr. Lat. *mensa*. Alias *Buaile na Míst*.
+ Moim NB3130, see *Maidhm*.
- 2354 *Mòinteach a' Chnuic* CN {,mõ.t'ɔxð'xr^hk'} the moorland of *An Cnoc*, as opposed to village (*baile*) and uplands (*bràigh*); with *mòinteach* f. EIr. *móintech*.
- 2355 *Mòinteach Bhritheascleit* {,mõ.t'ɔx'vði-a,skle^ht'} the moorland of *B*.
- 2356 *Mòinteach Chàllanais* CAL ='xɔLa,nɪf} the moorland of *C*.
- 2357 *Mòinteach Chirbhig* CIR ='çɪðì,vɪk'} the moorland of *C*.
- 2358 *Mòinteach na Dùine* DUN {,mõ.t'ɔxɪð'dũ:N'ð} the moorland of *An Dùn*.
- 2359 *Mòinteach na Fola* NB2646 ST ='fɪLð} the moorland of the blood §11.2i, b; with gen.sg. of *fuil* f. 'blood'. Trad: the name arises on account of a battle between Morrisons and MacAulays.
- 2360 *Mòinteach Shiaboist* SD/ST {,mõ.t'ɔx'hia,bɔft'} the moorland of *S*.
- 2361 *Mòinteach Tholstaidh* TOL ='hɔLð,staj} the moorland of *T*.
- 2362 *Am Mol* NB2547 SD/ST {ð'mõL} the shingle-beach, with *mol* m., fr. ON *mól* acc.f. 'gravel-bank'.
- 2363 *Am Mol* NB1944 GEARR, as above.
- 2364 *Mol a' Mhairt* NB1937 TOL {,mõLð'vɑçt} the shingle of the cow.
- 2365 *Mol an Dùnain* NB1942 BOR {,mõLɲ'Nũ:nan} the shingle of *An Dùnan*.
- 2366 *Mol an Obain* NB1941 CIR {,mõLð'Nɔ:ɓan} the shingle (of the creek), see the alias *Mol Obain*.
- 2367 *Mol Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,mõ'La:^htrɪ,g'i} the shingle of *A*. 1848 -/Athtrigil.
- 2368 *Mol Bàn* NB1643 BOR {,mõL'ɓã:n} the light-coloured shingle-beach. 1848 1974 idem.
- 2369 *Mol Bhlianais* NB1937 TOL ='vliã,nɪf} the shingle of *B*.
- 2370 *Mol Dhiobadail* NB2034 CAL {,mõ'L'i:ɓð,dðl} the shingle of **D*. 1848 *Mol Ghibidil*.
- 2371 *Mol Fhìbhig* NB2648 BRA {,mõL'i:,vɪk'} the shingle of *F*. 1848 = 1974 -/Fivig.
+ *Mol Fivig* NB2648, see *Mol Fhìbhig*.
+ *Mol Isteam* NB2135, see *Mol Uisteam*.
- 2372 *Am Mol Mòr* NB1838 TOL {ð,mõL'mo:r} the large shingle. 1848 *Mol Mòr*. 1974 *Mol Mór*.
- 2373 *Mol na Cille* NB1941 CIR {,mõLnð'k'^hɪL'ð} the shingle (of the church), with gen.sg. of *ceall* f. (Lat. *cella*). 1848 *Mol na Gile* 1974 *Mol na Gile*.

- + Mol na Gile NB1941, see *Mol na Cille*.
- 2374 *Mol nam Faochag* NB1841 DUN {,mōLð'fω:xak} the shingle of the winkles, with gen.pl. of *faochag* f. EIr. *fáechóg*. 1848 Mól nam Faochag 1974 =.
- 2375 *Mol nam Faochag* NB1842 BOR {,mōL(n)ð'fω:xak} as above.
- 2376 *Mol nan Gobhar* NB1937 TOL {,mōLð'gjo-ðr} the shingle of the goats.
- 2377 *Mol Obain* NB1941 CIR {,mō'Lɔ:ðan} the shingle (of the creek), with gen.sg. of *ðban* m., fr. *ðb* (fr. ON *hóþ* acc.m.) + suffix §7.6i; cf. No. 613. Alias *Mol an Obain*.
- 2378 *Mol Raoinigeadh* NB1743 BOR {,mōL'rðĩnı,g'ay} the shingle of R. 1848 -/Ruin' a Geodha 1974 -/Runageo.
- + Mol Runageo NB1743, see *Mol Raoinigeadh*.
- 2379 *Mol Sgianailt* NB2037 TOL ={'sk'ĩũ,nıL't'} the shingle of S.
- 2380 *Mol Shanndaig* NB1940 DUN ={'hũũntık'} the shingle of S. 1848 -/Shanndig.
- 2381 *Mol Sheothal* NB1937 TOL ={'hjɔ-ɔL} the shingle of *S.
- 2382 *Mol Uisteam* NB2135 BRI {,mō'L,ʷft'am} the shingle of *U. 1848 -/Isteam 1934 -/Uistem 1974 -/Isteam. With an ON ln. which, if not identical and connected with the ln. in *Allt Uisteam*, could be fr. ON *Ytst-holm* acc. 'outer knoll' with stem-form of the comp.adj. *ytstr yztr* and acc. of *holmr* m. 'knoll, hillock'.
- + Molanish NB1841, see *Malanais*.
- 2383 *Am Morghan Dubh* NB2445 SD {ð,mɔrðyan'du^h} the black sand, i.e. of peat particles.
- 2384 *Muathabhal* NB2837 TOL {'mũãha,vɔL} of a hill and area. 1848 Muabhall 1974 Muaval. An interesting and difficult name; possible fr. ON *Mýahag-fiall* 'the mountain of the pasture of the midges' with gen.pl. of *mý* nt. 'midge', stem-form of *hagi* m. 'pasture, enclosure', and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. In Lewis, cf. *Muaihaval* NB4855 (OS 1974).
- + Muaval NB2837, see *Muathabhal*.
- 2385 *Muile Mucal* NB2645 ST {,mũlð'mũ^hkðL} of a bay. 1848 Mile Mucul 1934 Mula-muc-ul 1974 Mile Mucul. Possibly fr. ON *Múlinn Mykli* or *Múlan Mykla* (acc.) 'the large mull' with *múli* m. 'mull' + suffixed art. and wk. form of the adj. *mykill mikill*. Less suitable perhaps topographically, though conceivable phonetically, are derivations fr. ON *Mýlinn Mykla* acc. 'the large clod' with acc. of *mýll* m. 'clod, ball, stone' and ON *Melinn Mykla* 'the large sand-bank' with acc. of *melr* m. 'sand-bank'. F.etym: contains initial *buaille* 'enclosure'.

- 2386 *Muilinn Iain Choirmich* NB2446 SD {,mãlɪ,N'ãn'xãN'ɪç} the mill of *Iain Choirmich*. See No. 2387.
- 2387 *Muilinn nan Gobhaichean* NB2446 SD {,mãlɪN'nð'ɪðo-ɪçðn} the mill of the smiths, with gen.pl. of *gobha* m. 1974 *Muilinn nan Gobharchean*. Trad: This mill was owned by one *Niall Murray* whose brother, *Iain Choirmich*, also owned a mill on the same stream (No. 2386); the family were traditionally smiths. Alias *Muilinn Nèill*.
- + *Muilinn nan Gobharchean* NB2446, see *Muilinn nan Gobhaichean*.
- 2388 *Muilinn Nèill* NB2446 SD {,mãlɪN'ne:L'} *Niall's* mill. See alias *Muilinn nan Gobhaichean* doc.
- 2389 *Muilinn Uig* NB2647 ST {,mãlɪ'N'u:ɪ'g'} the mill of U., i.e. one built and owned by someone from U.
- 2390 *A' Mhuilinn Ur* NB2232 CAL {ð,vãlɪ'N'u:r} the new mill, with the adj. *ùr* EIr. *úr*.
- 2391 *Mullach a' Chàrmain* NB2648 ST {,mũlɔxð'xɑ:ɲan} the summit of *An Càrman*.
- 2392 *Mullach Beinn Rathacleit* NB2642 ST {,mũlɔx,bẽN''ra-a,kle^ht'} the summit of B.
- 2393 *Mullach Bhuailleabhair* NB2426 SD {,mũlɔx'vuølð,vðð} the summit of B.
- 2394 *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh* NB2043 CARL = 'xɑ:lð,vaj} the summit of C. 1583 Kadlowa Oc. 1718 Upper Carlovay 1726 Upper Carlova 1832 Upper Carloway 1974 Upper Carloway. Of part of village.
- 2395 *Mullach Druim Thòlaigea* NB2346 SD {,mũlɔx,ðrðm'hɔ:Lɪ,g'a} the summit of D.
- 2396 *Am Mullach Mòr* NB2246 DAIL {ð,mũlɔx'mo:r} the large summit.
- 2397 *Am Mullach Mòr* NB2547 SD, as above.
- 2398 *Mullach na Cleit* NB2244 DAIL {,mũlɔxnð'k^hle^ht'} the summit of *A' Chleit*.
- 2399 *Mullach na Craobhaig* NB1942 BOR = 'k^hrɔ:væçk'} the summit of *A' Chraobhaig*. Alias *Bàrr na Craobhaig*.
- 2400 *Mullach Rubh' an Dùnain* NB2448 SD {,mũlɔx,Ru-ð'Nũ:nan} the summit R.
- 2401 *Na Mullaiùchean* NB1944 GEARR {nð'mũlɪçðn} the heights, summits; with pl. of *mullach* m.
- 2402 *Mullaiùchean Chrògabhat* NB2239 CN {,mũlɪçðn'xrɔ:gð,vã^ht} the summits of C.
- 2403 *Mùthair Bheag* NB2141 CARL {,mã.hað'veg} §7.3i, the little knoll. That *mùtha(i)r* m. is fr. EIr. *mothar* 'thicket, wilderness' is unlikely; cf. Ir. *mothar* in pnn. with the senses 'thicket; ruin of building' (Joyce 1913 I, 298). A derivation ultimately fr. ON *múgi* m. 'heap, pile; haystack' seems possible: ON *múga* obl. case + suffix §7.6vi. MacIver (1934: 8) also derives the element fr. ON, but in giving the sense

'moor, moorland pasture' does not cite any ON form; certainly it cannot be ON *mýrr* 'moor'. ON *múgi* occurs in the Norwegian pn. Mugen, Oppland (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 224). 1848 Mùthoir Béag 1974 Mùthoir Beag.

2404 *Mùthair nan Maighdeann* NB2239 CN {,mã.haðnð'mðĩđ'ðN} the knoll of the maidens, of area including meadow; with gen.pl. of *maighdeann* f. (ultimately fr. OE *mægden*). Trad: 1. two terribly pretty girls went missing here; 2. a woman's torso was found at a shieling here.

2405 *Mùthair Thiomor* NB2338 CN {,mã.hað'hĩmɔr} the knoll of **Th*. 1848 Mùthoir Thúimoir 1934 Muthir Himoir 1974 Mùthoir Thuimoir. With a specific of obscure origin.

+ Mùthoir a' Charnain NB2338, 1848 Mùthoir a Charnain.

+ Mùthoir Beag NB2141, see *Mùthair Bheag*.

+ Mùthoir na Leiga NB2338, 1848 Mùthoir na Leiga; note *Lèig Mhùthair*.

+ Mùthoir Thuimoir NB2338, see *Mùthair Thiomor*.

N

- 2406 *Nead an Fhithich* NB1842 GEARR {,N'ã̃N'N'i-iç} the nest of the raven, of a rock; with *nead* m. EIr. *net*.
- 2407 *Nead na Starraig* NB2245 DAIL {,Nẽ̃çnð'stɔræk'} the nest of the hooded-crow, of a crag.
- 2408 *Nead na h-Iolair* NB2244 DAIL {,N'ã̃çnð'hjuLðð} the nest of the eagle; of a rock.
- 2409 *Neadabhat* NB2343 DAIL {'N'ã̃ð,va^ht} of an area and lake; alias *Loch Neadabhat* doc. An ON ln. possibly fr. *Net-uatn* 'net-lake' with stem-form of *net* nt. 'net' and nom./acc. of *uatn* nt. Derivations from ON **nøyti* (e.g. Watson 1976: 270) are impossible. Cf. below.
- 2410 *Neadasgeir* NB2548 ST {'N'ã̃ð,sk'ðð} of a skerry. 1934 *Neadasgeir*. ? A ln. fr. ON *Net-sker* 'net-skerry'; cf. above.
- + New Shawbost NB2646, see *A' Phàirc*.
- + Nidageo NB1843, see *Nidigeadh*.
- 2411 *Nidigeadh* NB1843 BOR {'N'ĩd'ı,g'ay} of a ravine on coast; 1848 *Nid a Geodha* 1974 *Nidageo*. ? A ln. fr. ON (*G*)*nitangiō* 'the ravine of the nit' with gen.sg. of (*g*)*nit* f. 'nit, louse-egg' and nom./acc. of *giō* f. *Gnit* was also used as a man's nickname.
- + North Shawbost NB2647, see *Siabost a Tuath*.
- 2412 *Niùb* NB2643 ST {Nũ:b} north-west corner of mountain; 1934 *idem*. A ln. fr. ON (*G*)*núp* acc.m. of *gnúpr núp* 'peak, summit'. Far. *núpur* Norn *nup noop*.

O

- + Oirtheanan NB2039, see *Na h-Oirtheanan*.
- 2413 *Na h-Oirtheanan* NB2039 DUN {nð'høðøKðNðn} the districts, outlying-lands, of a range of rocky hills. 1848 1974 Oirtheanan. With art. + pl. of an otherwise unattested loan fr. ON *herað* nt. (or pl. *heruð*) 'particular division of land; district; neighbourhood'. Watson, in his introduction to the Place-names of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (MacBain 1922: xviii) notes the derivation of *Na h-Earadh* (Harris) from ON *hérað* (*sic*) but points out that the Gaelic stressed vowel is short. In fact the ON form cited represents Ice. *hérað*; ON *herað* had short *ě*. §7.2iv.
- 2414 *An Oitir* NB1937 TOL {ð'Na^{1h}t'ðð} the strand or bar, of sand visible at low tide; with *oitir* f. (< **ad-tír*, MacBain 1982: 268; not fr. ON *oddr* m. 'spit, knife-point' as MacAulay (1972: 317) may intend). In Argyll, of low promontories (Gillies 1906: 211).
- + Old Hill NB1143, see *An t-Sean Bheinn*.
- + Orasay Island NB2132, see *Eilean Orasaidh*.
- 2415 *An t-Os* NB2547 SD {ð'N^(h)ɔ:s} the outlet, of bar formed at river outlet.
- 2416 *An t-Os* NB1838 TOL, as above, though of outlet itself. Alias *Os Shiadar* doc.
- + *Os Geodha Crumpaigh* NB2036, see *Allt Bhritheascleit, Allt na Crìch, Allt na Muilne*.
- 2417 *Os Loch Eileastar* NB2137 GEARR {,ɔ.s,Lɔx'ela,stðr} the outlet of *L*.
- 2418 *Os nam Breac* NB1840 DUN {,ɔ.snð'mðe^hk} the outlet of the trout, of pool in stream.
- 2419 *Os nan Luch* NB2547 ST ='Lux} the outlet of the mice.
- + *Os Shader* NB1838, see *Os Shiadar, An t-Os*.
- 2420 *Os Shiadar* NB1838 TOL {,ɔ.s'hiaððr} the outlet of *S*.; 1848 *Os Sheader* 1974 *Os Shader*.
- 2421 *Othagro* NB2438 CARL {'ɔ-ɔ,grɔ} of an area about *Abhainn Othagro*. A ln. possibly fr. ON *Óðagróf* 'the rushing stream' with nom./acc.fem.sg. of the wk. form the adj. *óðr* 'rushing, raving; (rarely) good' and nom./acc. of *gróf* f.

P

- 2422 *A' Phàirc* NB2142 CARL {ð'fa:ðk'} 1974 Park; area now under crofts. With *pàirc* f. fr. Eng. *park* (or earlier ME *parrok*), although this is most probably an Eng. ln.
- 2423 *A' Phàirc* NB2646 ST, as above, of area now under crofts. 1974 New Shawbost.
- 2424 *Pàircean a' Gheàrrraidh Dheas* NB2446 SD {,p^ha.ðk'ðnð,jɑ.Rð'jæs} the parks of the southern enclosure (see *An Earra Dheas*), with pl. of *pàirc* f.
- 2425 *Pall' an Lìn Bhig* NB1844 GEARR {,p^hɑLð,Liðn'vɪg'} §7.4, the ledge of the small (hand-) line; with *palla* m. fr. ON **palla* acc.m. (a derivative of *pallr* m.; cf. *poll* No. 2446) 'ledge', cf. Far. *pallur* m. (Fraser, 1978: 253, has ON *tálr* (*sic*) in error); and gen.sg. of *lìon* m. EIr. *lìn*.
- 2426 *Pall' an Taoid* NB1844 GEARR {,p^hɑLð'Nw:ð'} the ledge of the rope, with gen.sg. of *taod* m. EIr. **táet* var. of *tét* (cf. No. 1156).
- 2427 *Am Palla Beag* NB2143 CARL {ð,m^hɑLð'pɛg} the small ledge.
- 2428 *Am Palla Mòr* NB2143 CARL =mo:r} the large ledge.
- 2429 *Palla Mòr na Beirghe* NB1844 GEARR {,p^hɑLð,mo.ŋð'pɔðʃ-ɪ} the large ledge of *A' Bheirghe*.
- 2430 *Palla nan Caorach* NB1844 GEARR {,p^hɑLðnð'ŋ^hω:rɔx} the ledge of the sheep (pl.).
- 2431 *Palla nan Caorach* NB1741 DUN, as above. Alias *Palla nan Uan*.
- 2432 *Palla nan Gobhar* NB2145 DAIL ='ŋo-ðr} the ledge of the goats.
- 2433 *Palla nan Uan* NB1741 DUN ='Nūān} the ledge of the lambs. Alias *Palla nan Caorach*.
- 2434 *Am Palla Ruadh* NB1944 GEARR {ð,m^hɑLð'Ruðɣ} the red ledge.
+ Park NB2142, see *A' Phàirc*.
- 2435 *Am Pasaid* NB2042 CARL {ð'm^hasit'} the passage - an Eng. ln., although the Gaelic article is used.
- 2436 *Am Peantlan* NB2141 CARL {ð'm^hɛntlan} of a road; derived from its alias *Rathad a' Pheantlain*; see also *Rathad Mhic Aoidh, An Rathad Ur*.
- 2437 *Peite Lèibheinn* NB1942 CN {,p^he^ht'ð'le:vɪN'} the patch (of the level ground); with *peite*, in origin an obl. case form of earlier **pett*, a lw. fr. Pict. *pett* (for which see Jackson 1980: 148, 1972: 114-16, and Watson 1926: 407-10). Contrary to Jackson's view (1972: 115, note 3), Pict. *pett* must have been borrowed into the Gaelic lexicon. While early G. *pett* appears to have had the sense of a '(relatively) large

parcel of land', modern *peite* in CR refers to a 'small area of ground for cultivation, generally smaller than a lazy-bed (*feannag*)', but a further extension ('side or base-end of a lazy-bed') also occurs. Commenting on the name Na Peit'chan, Watson (1976: 144) rightly points out that 'the formation shows how thoroughly the Pictish *pett* became a Gaelic word'. Further, it seems most likely that Ice. *petti* nt. 'small piece of a field; small area of uncut hay' and Far. *petti* nt. 'small area of ground' are Gaelic *lww.*, transported northwards either by Celtic anchorites, farmers or serfs. That Ice. *petti* is connected with Fr. *petit* Eng. *petty*, and imported with the English trade of the 15th and 16th centuries (Cleasby 1874: 476) is highly improbable since the people involved were non-settling merchants.

- 2438 *Peite na Bròig* NB1942 CIR {₁p^he^ht'ðnð'brɔ:g'} the patch of the shoe, i.e. shoe-shaped.
- 2439 *A' Pheithir* NB1743 BOR {ð'feh1ð} the rift.
- 2440 *A' Pheithir* NB2135 BRI, as above.
- 2441 *Peithir Loch Urabhat* NB3033 CAL {₁p^heh1ð, Lɔx'u:rð, va^ht} the rift of *L.*
+ Pentland Road NB2141, see *Am Peantlan, Rathad a' Pheantlain, Rathad Mhic Aoidh, An Rathad Ur.*
- 2442 *Poll a' Choire* NB1840 DUN {₁p^hɔLð'xɔðð} the pool (of the corrie), in stream; with *poll* m. fr. ON *poll* acc. of *pollr* m. 'pool; little round bay, or fiord bottom'.
- 2443 *Poll a' Mhèirlich* NB1944 GEARR = 'vja:l1ç} the pool of the thief.
- 2444 *Poll an Sgadain* NB1944 GEARR = 'skaðan} the pool of the herring; marine.
- 2445 *Poll Chràgam* NB1743 BOR {₁p^hɔL'xra:gam} the pool of *C.*; marine. 1848 *Poll Domhain Chràigean* 1974 *Poll Domhain Chraigean.*
+ *Poll Domhain Chraigean* NB1743, see *Poll Chràgam.*
+ *Poll Domhain Fivig* NB1945, 1848 *Poll Domhain Fhibhig.*
- 2446 *Poll Geire* NB1842 BOR {₁p^hɔLð'g'eðð} the bank of fat; with *poll* m. fr. ON *pall* acc. of *pallr* m. 'raised section of floor' (cf. the sense 'ledge', No. 2425), and gen.sg. of *geir* f. EIr. *geir*. Trad: a tub of fat was found here while cutting peat.
- 2447 *Am Port* NB1842 BOR {ð'm^hɔst} the landing-place. 1848 *Port Laimshader* 1974 *Port Laimishader.* Alias *Port Laimiseadar.*
+ *Port a' Chaoil* NB1937, see *Port nan Eathraichean.*
+ *Port Aird na Moine* NB1937, see *Port Aird na Mònadh.*

- 2448 *Port Aird na Mònadh* NB1937 TOL {,p^hɔʃt̪,a.ɔ̃ð'mõ:nðɣ} the landing-place of A. 1848 *Port Aird na Mònach* 1974 *Port Aird na Moine*.
 + *Port an Duin* NB1841, see *Port na Dùine*.
- 2449 *Port Bhlianais* NB1937 TOL {,p^hɔʃt̪'vliã,nɪf} the landing-place of B.
- 2450 *Port Laimiseadar* NB1842 BOR = 'Lãĩmɪ,ʃað̪r} the landing-place of L.
 Alias *Am Port* doc.
 + *Port Laimishader* NB1842, see *Am Port*, *Port Laimiseadar*.
- 2451 *Port na Dùine* NB1841 DUN {,p^hɔʃt̪nð'dũ:N' (ð)} the landing-place of *An Dùn*. 1848 idem 1974 -/an Duin.
- 2452 *Port na h-Eathair* NB1944 GEARR = 'hɛhðð} the landing-place of the boat, with *eathar* f. EIr. *ethar*.
- 2453 *Port nan Eathraichean* NB2135 BRI = 'N'ɛrɪçðn} the landing-place of the boats, with gen.pl. of *eathar*.
- 2454 *Port nan Eathraichean* NB1937 TOL, as above. 1848 -/a Chaoil 1974 -/a' Chaoil.
- 2455 *Prionnsa Ghruthaigea* NB2347 SD {,p^hðʒũsð'ɣrɯ-ɪ,g'a} the prince of G. of a stack. 1848 *Stac a Phrìs* 1974 *Stac a' Phris*. Alias *Stac a' Phrionnse*.
- 2456 *Am Punn* NB1939 DUN {ð'm^hũnt} the pound; alias *Faing a' Phuirnd*.

R

- + Rabhat NB2747, see *Rèabhat*.
- + Rahageo NB1842, see *Rathaigeadh*.
- + Ramarageo NB1838, see *Geodha Ramraigeadh, A' Gheodha Ruadh*.
- 2457 *Raoineabhal* NB1841 DUN {'Rðĩnð,vaL} of a hill. 1848 *Rinabhal* 1974 *Rinavat*. A ln. fr. early ON **Rauðni-fiall* 'rowan-mountain' with stem-form of **rauðnir* m. 'rowan' (> *rþynir* by umlaut; Ice. *reynir*), cf. NN *raun* < **rauðnn*; or with **roðni-*, manifesting a different vowel grade, cf. ON *rauðr* adj. 'red', *roðna* vb. 'redden'. ON *rþyni-*, however, would yield -{ē:}-. In Norway, cf. Raunevolden, Rogaland (NG X, 193).
- 2458 *Raoineabhat* NB2346 SD {'Rðĩnð,va^ht} of a lake and its area. Fr. ON **Rauðni-uatn* **Roðni-uatn* 'rowan-lake', cf. above. Alias *Loch Raoineabhat*.
- 2459 *Raoinigeadh* NB1743 BOR {'Rðĩnɪ,g'ay} of a cove. Fr. ON **Rauðni-giǫ* **Roðni-giǫ* 'rowan-ravine', see No. 2457.
- 2460 *Rathacleit* NB2542 ST/SD {'Ra-a,kle^ht'} of an area and mountain; see No. 2272; alias *Loch Rathacleit* doc.
- 2461 *Rathad a' Bhuna* {,Ra.ðð'vũnð} of a road running from *An t-Acha' Mòr* to *Stedrnabhagh* (via *Rathad a' Pheantlain*); derived fr. *Beinn a' Bhuna* q.v. Alias *Rathad an Ach'*.
- 2462 *Rathad a' Bhus* NB2546 SD ='vðs} the road of *Am Bus*. Alias, see No. 2475.
- 2463 *Rathad a' Chinn a Deas* NB2037 TOL {,Ra.ðð,cĩN'ð'd'ɛs} the road (of the southern end - of the village).
- 2464 *Rathad a' Chinn A-staigh* NB2447 SD ='støj} the road of *An Ceann A-staigh*.
- 2465 *Rathad a' Chinn a Tuath* NB2037 TOL ='t^huð} the road (of the northern end).
- 2466 *Rathad a' Gheàrraidh Mhòir* NB2546 SD {,Ra.ðð,ja.Rð'vo:ð} the road of *An Geàrraidh Mòr*.
- 2467 *Rathad a' Pheantlain* {,Ra.ðð'fɛ̃ntlan} a translation of the Eng. name *The Pentland Road* which runs from *Càrlabhagh* to *Stedrnabhagh*. *Pentland* was possibly the name of an engineer or surveyor (cf. No. 2476). Alias *Am Peantlan*, *Rathad Mhic Aoidh*, *An Rathad Ur*. 1974 *Pentland Road*.
- 2468 *Rathad an Ach'* {,Ra.ðN'Nax} the road of *An t-Ach'*, alias *Rathad a' Bhuna* q.v.
- 2469 *Rathad an Droma* NB2546 SD ='Nĩrĩmð} the road (of the ridge).
- 2470 *An Rathad Ard* NB2345 DAIL {ð,Ra.'d̥a:d̥} the high road.

- 2471 *An Rathad Beag* NB1939 DUN/TOL {ð,Ra.ð'þøq} the little road.
- 2472 *Rathad Beag na Craobhaig* NB1942 BOR {,Ra.ð,þeɣnð'k^hrɔ:væk'} the little road of A' Chraobhaig.
- 2473 *Rathad Bharbhais* {,Ra.ð'varà,vaf} the road of B., between *Barbhas* and *Steòrnabhagh*.
- 2474 *Rathad Chàrlabhaigh* ='xu:lð,vaj} the road of C., that part of *Rathad a' Pheantlain* within CN/CARL; recorded only in TOL and BRI.
- 2475 *Rathad Lianag Loch Tioram* NB2546 SD {,Ra.ð,L'ãnag,Lɔxa'N'^hlððm} the road of L.; alias *Rathad a' Bhus*.
- 2476 *Rathad Mhic Aoidh* {,Ra.ð,vl^h'kði} *Mac Aoidh's* road; alias *Am Peantlan*, *Rathad a' Pheantlain*, *An Rathad Ur*. Recorded only in SD/ST; probably *Mac Aoidh* hailed from SD or ST and was one of the construction party.
- 2477 *An Rathad Mòr* NB1938 TOL {ð,Ra.ð'mo:r} the large road. Alias *An Lanaig*.
- 2478 *Rathad Mòr nam Banchagan* NB2544 SD/ST {,Ra.ð,mo.ɲð'mãñaxagðn} the great road of the dairy-maids, with gen.pl. of *banchag* f., a reduced form of *ban* (< *bean* f. 'woman') + *àrach* (EIr. *árach* 'binding, tying; bond, fetter') + the agent suffix *-ag*.
- 2479 *Rathad nan Cartan* NB2447 SD {,Ra.ðnð'ɲ^hastðn} the road of the carts, with gen.pl. of *cairt* f. fr. Eng. *cart*.
- 2480 *An Rathad Ur* {ð,Ra.'du:r} the new road. Recorded only in CN/CARL. Alias *Am Peantlan*, *Rathad a' Pheantlain*, *Rathad Mhic Aoidh*.
- 2481 *Rathaigeadh* NB1842 BOR {'Ra-ɪ,g'ay} of a cove. 1848 *Rathaiga* 1974 *Rahageo*. Topographically a derivation fr. ON *Ráargiǫ* 'the ravine of the nook or corner', with gen.sg. of *rǫ* f. 'nook,corner' and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f., seems likely. Cf. No. 2272.
- 2482 *Rèabhat* NB2747 BRA {'Re:,va^ht} of area. 1974 *Rabhat*. An ON ln., see *Druim Rèabhat*.
- 2483 *An Riasg Mòr* NB1938 TOL {ð,Riðsk'mo:r} the large heath; with *riasg* m. EIr. *riasc*.
- + *Rilleig* NB2337, see *Ruighleag*.
- + *Rinavat* NB1841, see *Raoineabhal*.
- 2484 *Rinn Aird na Mònadh* NB1939 TOL {,Rẽ,N'a.ðð'mõ:nðɣ} the point of A.; with *rinn* m. EIr. *rind*.
- 2485 *Rinn an t-Sean Bhaile* NB2547 SD {,RẽN'N'^hɔnð,vallð} the point of *An Sean Bhaile*.
- 2486 *An Rinn Ard* NB1945 GEARR {ð,Rẽ'N'a:ð} the high point.
- 2487 *Rinn Both Nèill* NB2343 SD {,RẽN',bɔ'nẽ:L'} the point of B. Alias

Rinn na Beinne.

- 2488 *Rinn Cnoc Chrodhair* NB2042 CN {,RĕN',k^hrō^hk'xro-ðð} the point of C.
- 2489 *Rinn Groislig* NB1937 TOL {,RĕN''γrɔ/L'ɪk'} the point of G. Alias *Groislig*.
- 2490 *Rinn na Beinne* NB2345 SD {,RĕN'nð'pĕN'ð} the point (of the mountain); alias *Rinn Both Nèill*.
- 2491 *Rinn na Buaille* NB2446 SD = 'puø1ð} the point (of the enclosure).
- 2492 *Rinn na Cleit* NB2734 TOL = 'k^hle^ht'} the point (of the hill). Alias *Srðin na Cleit*.
- 2493 *Rinn na Cleit* NB2244 DAIL, as above.
- 2494 *Rinn na h-Airde* NB2134 BRI = 'ha:ðð} the point (of the headland).
- 2495 *Rinnnan Gallan* NB2042 CARL = 'ŋaLan} the point (of the standing-stones).
- + River Breasclate NB2234, see *Abhainn Bhritheascleit*.
 - + River Creed NB3333, see *Abhainn Ghrĭoda*.
 - + River Ohagro NB2438, see *Abhainn Othagro*.
- 2496 *Na Rðgairean* NB1742 BOR {nð'Rɔ:ɣðððn} the lanky fellows, of two stacks. With pl. of *rðgaire* m. < *rðg*, fr. ON *hrók* acc.m. 'clumsy, lanky fellow', + agent suffix. Cf. also No. 2275.
- 2497 *An Rðgh* NB1740 DUN {ð'Rɔ:γ}, ? - of a cove. 1848 1974 Rudhag. Alias *Geodh' an Rðigh*.
- 2498 *Rðiseal* NB3341 BRA {'Rɔ:,faL} of a hill. 1848 Rothishal Mhor 1974 Roishal Mór. An ON ln. Two tentative solutions present themselves here. Firstly, ON *Hraunsfiall* 'the mountain of the stony cairn' with gen.sg. of *hraun* nt. 'stony hill, heap of stones' and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt.; here, we would have to make the assumption that the nasal, pronounced faintly in ON, was lost in the process of borrowing the name. Secondly, ON **Hrausi-fiall* 'stony mountain' with stem-form of a pre-umlaut form of ON *hreysi* nt. 'heap or pile of stones', NN *røys*.
- + Roishal Mor NB3441, see *Roiseal*.
- 2499 *Rothasgair* NB1941 DUN {'Rɔ-ð,skðð} of an area. 1848 Rothasgeir 1895 idem 1934 Rodha-sker. A ln. fr. ON *Rauðaskarð(i)* 'the red pass or gap' with acc./dat.nt.sg. of the wk. form of the adj. *rauðr* 'red' and acc./dat. of *skarð* nt. 'pass, gap'; or possibly with the gen.sg. of *raudi* m. 'bog-iron'. Iron is certainly present in *Bealach Beàrn Eibhle*: see *An Tobair Ruadh*.
- 2500 *Rubh' a' Choin* NB1839 DUN {,Ru-ð'xǝN'} the point of the dog, with

- gen.sg. of *cù* m. 1848 Rudh' a Choin 1974 =.
- 2501 *Rubh' an Dùnain* NB2448 SD {,Ru-ð 'N̄ã:nan} the point (of the mound or heap). 1848 Rudh' an Dùnain 1934 Rudha 'n-Dùnain 1974 =. The sense 'fortlet' is not entirely impossible, although someone is reputed to have dug here but found nothing. Another trad. says that two bodies were washed ashore here and buried on this point.
- 2502 *Rubh' an Tairbh* NB2033 CAL {,Ru-ð 'N̄^hðøðv} the point of the bull, with gen.sg. of *tarbh* m. 1848 Rudh an Tairbh.
- 2503 *Rubh' an Trilleachain* NB2145 DAIL =N̄^hri:L'ɔxan} the point of the oystercatcher, with gen.sg. of *trilleachan* m., cf. EIr. *trírech tríleach* 'trilling of birds'. 1848 Rudha an Trillachain 1974 Rubha an Trilleachan.
- 2504 *Rubh' an Tuill* NB1741 DUN {,Ru-ð 'N̄^hðil'} the point (of the hole). 1848 Rudha Thòll 1974 Rubha Thòl. Trad: an arch here fell some 30 years ago.
- 2505 *Rubh' an t-Sèididh* NB1840 DUN =N̄^he:ð'í} the point of the blasting or gusting (of wind). 1848 Rudh' an t-Sèididh 1974 -/an t-Seididh.
- 2506 *Rubh' an t-Srath* NB2240 CN =N̄^hra^h} the point of the strath.
- 2507 *Rubh' Uig* NB 1843 BOR {,Ru'ɥ:g'} the point of *U. 1848 Rudha Thaoig 1903 idem 1974 Rubha Thaoig. With a ln. fr. ON *Uík* 'the bay or cove'; cf. *Uig* in Lewis (Oftedal 1954: 388).
- 2508 *An Rubha* NB1844 GEARR {ð'Ru-u} the point; alias *Rubha nan Geàrrannan* doc., *Rubha Mòr nan Geàrrannan*.
- + *Rubha Aird an Fhèidh* NB2338, 1848 Rudha Aird an Fheidh.
- + *Rubha Arspaid* NB2035, see *Rubha Sharspag*.
- 2509 *Rubha Beag* NB2245 DAIL {,Ru'pøg} the little point. 1848 Rudha Beag 1974 =.
- 2510 *Rubha Beag* NB1741 DUN, as above. Alias *Rubha Rainéach*, *Rubha Geodh' an Fhèidh*.
- + *Rubha Beag Neidallt* NB1945, see *Rubha Beag Nèidealt*.
- 2511 *Rubha Beag Nèidealt* NB1945 GEARR {,Ru,pøg'nē:,ð'aLɪ} the lesser point of *N. 1848 Rudha Beag Neidallt 1974 --/Neidallt.
- + *Rubha Bhinndaleim* NB1741, see *Rubha Bhiondalam*
- 2512 *Rubha Bhiondalam* NB1741 DUN {,Ru'vĩntð,Lam} the point of *Bh. 1848 Rudha Bhinndaleim 1974 -/Bhinndaleim.
- 2513 *Rubha Bhlíanaís* NB1937 TOL =vliã,nɪf} the point of B. Alias *Blíanaís* doc.
- 2514 *Rubha Bhrataigea* NB2447 SD =vra^htɪ,g'a} the point of B. 1848 Rudha

- Bhràtaige 1974 -/Bratag.
- 2515 *Rubha Bhrèibhig* NB2648 ST ='vðe:,vɪk'} the point of *B*. 1848 Rudha Bhrìdhbhic 1974 Rubha Brivig.
+ Rubha Bratag NB2447, see *Rubha Bhrataigea*.
- 2516 *Rubha Breac* NB2245 DAIL {,Ru'pðe^hk} the variegated point. 1848 Rudha nam Breac 1974 Rubha nam Breac.
+ Rubha Brivig NB2648, see *Rubha Bhrèibhig*.
- 2517 *Rubha Buaille Theastabhal* NB1840 DUN {,Ru,pøɪð'hestð,vəL} the point (of the enclosure (of *Th.)). Alias *Rubha Theastabhal* doc.
+ Rubha Calegeo NB2548, see *Rubha Chailigeadh*.
- 2518 *Rubha Caol* NB2447 SD {,Ru'k^h(_o):L} the narrow point. 1848 Rudha Caol 1974 =.
- 2519 *Rubha Caol* NB2145 DAIL, as above.
- 2520 *Rubha Chailigeadh* NB2548 ST ='xalɪ,g'ay} the point of *C*. 1848 Rudha Cháiligeadh 1974 Rubha Calegeo.
- 2521 *Rubha Chlach* NB2132 CAL ='xLax} the point of stones, with gen.pl. of *clach* f. 1848 Rudha na Clóich 1974 -/na Clòiche.
+ Rubha Eacleit NB1843, see *Rubha Mòr, Rubha Mòr Bhorghaston*.
- 2522 *Rubha Faing Rèabhat* NB1944 GEARR {,Ru,fãŋ'k're:,va^ht} the point of *F*.
- 2523 *Rubha Faolisgeir* NB2346 SD {,Ru'fð:lɪ,ʃk'ðð} the point of **F*. 1974 Rubha Tolaig Beag. With a ln. fr. ON *Uaðil-skerr* (§9.liv) 'ford-skerry' with stem-form of *uaðill* m. 'ford' and nom./acc. of *skerr* nt.
- 2524 *Rubha Fhàlasgair* NB2037 TOL ='aLð,skðð} §7.3i, the point of moor-burning.
- 2525 *Rubha Fianais* NB1838 TOL ='fið,nɪʃ} the point of **F*. (§9.liii). Cf. *Aird Bhianais*. 1848 Rudha Fianuis 1895 Rudha Fiannuin 1934 Rudha Fianain 1974 Rubha Fianuis. F.etym: with *fianais* 'witness' etc.
- 2526 *Rubha Geodh' an Fhedir* NB1741 DUN {,Ru,g'ɔ-ð'N'ɔ:ð} the point of *G*.
+ Rubha Geodha na Cloinne NB1839, see *Rubha Gheodha na Glainne*.
- 2528 *Rubha Gharsan* NB2648 ST {,Ru'ɣaʃðn} the point of *G*. 1848 Rudha Gharson 1974 -/Garson.
- 2529 *Rubha Gharsan* NB2448 SD, as above. 1848 Rudha Gharson 1934 idem 1974 Garson Point.
- 2530 *Rubha Gheodha na Glainne* NB1839 DUN {,Ru,jɔ.nð'gLãN'ð} the point of *G*. 1848 Rudha Geodha na Glaine 1974 -/Geodha na Cloinne. F.etym: with *cloinne*, gen.sg. of *clann* f. 'children, descendents' etc.
- 2531 *Rubha Ghruthaigea* NB2347 SD {,Ru'ɣru-ɪ,g'a} the point of *G*. 1848

- Rudha Ghruthaig 1974 -/Gruaig.
- + Rubha Glas NB1840, 1848 Rudha Glas.
- 2532 *Rubha Glas* NB2447 SD {,Ru'gLas} the grey point. 1848 Rudha Glas 1974 =.
- + Rubha Gruaig NB2347, see *Rubha Ghruthaigea*.
- + Rubha Hestaval NB1740, see *Rubha Theastabhal* doc., *Rubha Buaille Th.*
- 2533 *Rubha Meadhanach* NB1741 DUN ='mĩ-anox} the middle point.
- + Rubha Mór NB2338, 1848 Rudha Mòr.
- + Rubha Mór NB1843, 1848 Rudha Mór (see *Crò nan Uan*).
- 2534 *Rubha Mòr* NB1841 DUN ='mo:r} the large point.
- 2535 *Rubha Mòr* NB1843 BOR, as above. 1848 Rudha Eacleit 1974 -/Eacleit. Alias *Rubha Mòr Bhorghaston*.
- 2536 *Rubha Mòr* NB2443 SD, as above - on inland water.
- 2537 *Rubha Mòr Bhorghaston* NB1843 BOR {,Ru,mo.r'vɔrɔ̃ɔ̃,ston} the large point of B. Alias *Rubha Mòr* doc.
- 2538 *Rubha Mòr nan Geàrrannan* NB1844 GEARR {,Ru,mo.ɲð'ɲ'ɑ:RðNðn} the large point of *Na Geàrrannan*. Alias *An Rubha*, *Rubha nan Geàrrannan* doc.
- + Rubha Mór Neidallt NB1945, see *Rubha Mòr Nèidealt*.
- 2539 *Rubha Mòr Nèidealt* NB1945 GEARR {,Ru,mo.rhẽ:,ð'ɑɪt} the greater point of *N. 1848 Rudha Mòr Neidallt 1974 -/Mór Neidallt.
- 2540 *Rubha na Beirghe* NB2347 SD {,Runð'bøðð-ɪ} the point of A' *Bheirghe*. 1848 Rudha na Béiridhe 1974 =. Alias A' *Bheirghe*.
- + Rubha na Clòiche NB2132, see *Rubha Chlach*.
- + Rubha na Crodhach NB1938, see *Rubha na Crodhadh*.
- 2541 *Rubha na Crodhadh* NB1938 TOL {,Runð'k^hro-ðɣ} the point (of the pen), with gen.sg. of *crò* f. 1848 Rudha na Crodhadh 1974 -/na Crodhach.
- 2542 *Rubha na Faing* NB2143 CARL ='fãɲ'k'} the point (of the fank). Alias *Crò nan Uan*.
- + Rubha na Faing NB2041, 1848 Rudha na Faing.
- + Rubha na Faing NB2238, see *Rubha nam Machairean*.
- 2543 *Rubha na Faing* NB1938 TOL, as above.
- 2544 *Rubha na Geodh' Uisge* NB1945 GEARR {,Runð,g'ɔ'ə/k'} the point of *A' *Gheodh' Uisge* - see *Geodh' an Uisge*.
- 2545 *Rubha na Glainne* NB1839 DUN {,Runð'gLãN'ð} the point of the glass. Alias *Rubha Gheodha na Glainne* doc.
- + Rubha na h-Airde NB2145, see *Rubha Caol*.
- + Rubha nam Breac NB2245, see *Rubha Breac*.

- + Rubha nam Faing NB2143, see *Rubha na Faing, Crò nan Uan*.
- 2546 *Rubha nam Faioileag* NB1839 DUN ={'fω:lak} the point of the gulls.
- 2547 *Rubha nam Machairean* NB2338 CN ={'mãxðððn} the point of the plains, with gen.pl. of *machair* f. EIr. *machaire*. 1848 *Rudha na Machanan* (misplaced) 1974 *Rubha na Faing*.
- + Rubha nan Gearranan NB1844, see *An Rubha, Rubha nan Geàrrannan, Rubha Mòr nan Geàrrannan*.
- 2548 *Rubha nan Geàrrannan* NB1844 GEARR ={'j'a:RðNðn} the point of *Na Geàrrannan*. 1848 *Rudha nan Gearranan, Aird Bheag* 1974 -/ nan Gearranan.
- 2549 *Rubha nan Lìon* NB1937 TOL ={'L'ĩðn} the point of the nets. 1848 *Rudha nan Lion* 1974 -/nan Lion.
- 2550 *Rubha Nèidealt* NB2548 SD {,Ru'ně:,ð'ɑL} the point of *N. 1848 *Rudha Neidallt* 1903 *Nead-alt* 1974 -/Neidalt.
- 2551 *Rubha Raineach* NB1741 DUN ={'Rãnx} the point of fern. Alias *Rubha Beag, Rubha Geodh' an Fheadir*.
- 2552 *Rubha Raineach* NB1840 DUN, as above. 1848 *Rudha Ruineach* 1974 =.
- 2553 *Rubha Reamhar* NB2231 GEARR ={'Rãvðr} the broad point. 1848 *Rudha Réamhar, Rudha Réamhar Ghearraidh na h-Aimhne* 1974 --/Gèarraidh na h-Aibhne.
- + Rubha Reamhar Gèarraidh na h-Aibhne NB2232, see *Rubha Reamhar*.
- 2554 *Rubha Sgeir a' Bhodaich* NB2447 SD {,Ru,skøðð'vøðiç} the point of S.
- + Rubha Sgòidean NB2346, see *Rubha Sgòidein*.
- 2555 *Rubha Sgòidein* NB2346 SD {,Ru'skø:ð'an} the point of *Sgòidean.
- 2556 *Rubha Sharspag* NB2035 BRI ={'hɑspak} the point of black-backed gulls. Cf. *arspag* f. fr. ON *suart-bak* acc.m. (No. 1809); our name preserves the len.gen.pl. of a G. form with rad. initial *{s^(w)}-, len. *{h^(w)}-. 1848 *Rudha Arspaig* 1895 *Rudha Arsphaig* 1934 *Rudha Arspaic* 1974 -/Arspaig.
- + Rubha Talanish, see *Rubha Thalanais*.
- 2557 *Rubha Thalanais* NB1743 BOR ={'hɑLð,nif} the point of *Th. 1848 *Rudha Thalanis* 1974 -/Talanish. With a ln. fr. ON *Holunes* 'the point of the hole' with gen.sg. of *hola* 'hole, esp. in ground; cave' and nom./acc. of *nes* nt.
- + Rubha Thaoig NB1843, see *Rubh' Uig*.
- 2558 *Rubha Theastabhal* NB1740 DUN ={'hestð,vɑL} the point of *Th. 1848 *Rudha Théstabhal* 1895 *Rudha Thestabhat* 1934 *Rudha Heistivat* 1974 -/Hestaval.
- + Rubha Thòl NB1741, see *Rubh' an Tuill*.
- 2559 *Rubha Thòlaigea Bheag* NB2346 SD {,Ru,hø.L1,ç'a'vøç} the lesser point

- of *Th. 1848 Rudha Thòlaige Bheag 1974 -/Tolaig Beag (misplaced).
- 2560 *Rubha Tholaigea Mhòr* NB2346 SD ='vo:r} the greater point of *Th.
 + *Rubha Tolaig Beag* NB2346, see *Rubha Faoilisgeir*, but also *Rubha Thòlaigea Bheag*.
- 2561 *Rubhaichean Loch na Muilne* NB1735 TOL {,Ru-1çðn,1çxnð'mũlL'ð} the points of L., with gen.pl. of *rubha* m.
 + *Rudhag* NB1740, see *An Rògh, Geodh' an Ròigh*.
- 2562 *Ruighleag* NB2337 DUN {'Rølak} sloping ground, of a plain; fr. *ruigh* m.
 'arm of mountain, slope' EIr. *rige*, + suffices (§7.6vii).

S

- 2563 *Na Sàibhirean* NB2344 DAIL {nə'seivððən} the conduits, of area by road, with pl. of *sàibhir* f., fr. Eng. *sewer*.
 + *Sandig* NB1839, see *Sanndaig*.
- 2564 *Sanndaig* NB1839 DUN {'säüntik'} of an area; once a hamlet of DUN. 1832 Down Sandwick 1832T Sandwick 1848 Sanndig 1895 idem 1934 *Sanndaig* 1974 *Sandig*. Fr. ON *Sand-uík* 'sand-bay' with stem-form of *sandr* m. 'sand' and nom./acc. of *uík* f. In the Faroes, cf. *Sandvíkar* (Matras 1933, *vík*); in Norway, *Sandvika*, Jæren (Seierheim 1978: 85).
 + *Shawbost* NB2546, see *Siabost (a Tuath/a Deas)*.
 + *Shawbost River* NB2545, see *An Abhainn, Abhainn Shiaboist*.
- 2565 *Sèabhal* NB2140 CN {'se:,vaL} of a mountain. 1848 *Seabhall* 1934 *Séifal* 1974 *Sheaval*. A ln. fr. ON *Sev-fiall* 'rush-mountain' with stem-form of *sev* nt. 'rush(es)' and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. In Norway, cf. *Sevi*, Sogn (Beito 1949: 256), *Sivesin*, Oppland (Sandnes, Stemsaug 1980:276), (?) *Seval*, Vardal (Olsen 1928: 17). *Sev* itself was borrowed into G.: *siobh siobhag* f. 'straw, wick' (as too the related word ON *síma* obl. case 'rope', G. *síoman*). Alias *Sèabhal Mhòr*.
- 2566 *Sèabhal* NB2143 CARL, as above. 1848 *Séathabhal* 1974 *Sheaval*. Alias *Sèabhal Mhòr*.
- 2567 *Sèabhal Bhiorach* NB2243 DAIL {,se.vaL'virɔx} pointed S. Alias *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich* doc.
- 2568 *Sèabhal Dubh* NB2538 GEARR ={'d̪u^h} dark S. 1848 *Sèabhal Dúbh* 1974 *Sheaval Dubh*.
- 2569 *Sèabhal Mhòr* NB2143 CARL ={'vo:r} greater S. Alias *Sèabhal* doc.
- 2570 *Sèabhal Mhòr* NB2140 CN, as above. Alias *Sèabhal* doc.
- 2571 *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich* NB2243 DAIL {,se.vaLnə'fjɔ̃ntanɪç} S. of the Norseman, with gen.sg. of *Fionndanach* nt. (§7.2i) 'Norseman' (< *fionn* adj. 'fair' with suffices *an* + *ach* and intrusive dental §9.lvii); ?cf. *Fionntaidh* 'Fingalians' (Dwelly 1977), and *Fiantaichean* 'the Norsemen; a big muscular fellow' (Goodrich-Freer 1904: 284). 1848 *Séathabhal nam Fiunndan* 1974 *Sheaval Fiundan*.
- 2572 *An Sean Bhaile* NB2547 SD {ə'ʃə̃nə̃,vaIə}, {ə'N^hə̃nə̃,vaIə} §7.3i, the old village. 1848 *Seann Bhaile* 1974 *Sean Bhaile*.
- 2573 *An t-Sean Bhealach* NB2233 CAL {ə'N^hə̃nə̃,vjəLɔx} §7.3i, the old pass.
- 2574 *An t-Sean Bheinn* NB1143 {ə'N^hɛ̃nɛ̃,vɛ̃N'} the old mountain, of an island. 1832 *Shenevin* 1848 *Seann Bheinn*, Old Hill 1869 *Shenevin* 1932 *Seanabheinn* 1974 *Old Hill*.

- 2575 *An t-Sean Bhuaile* NB2547 SD =,vuó1ð} the old enclosure.
- 2576 *An t-Sean Chreag* NB1944 GEARR =,xðeg} the old rock.
- 2577 *An Sean Ghàrradh* NB2346 SD {ð'fðnð,γa.Rðγ} {ð'fð:,γa.Rðγ},
 {ð'N^hðnð,γa.Rðγ} §7.3i, the old dyke. Trad: the boundary between
 DAIL and SD was moved eastwards into SD by the people of DAIL; the
 people of SD waited until the new dyke (of turf) was completed, and
 then in one night threw the lot down. A new stone dyke was built on
 the original boundary-line (see *An Gàrradh Geal*).
- 2578 *An Sean Rathad* NB1939 DUN/CIR/CN {ð'fð:,ra.ð} the old road.
- 2579 *Seiligeadh* NB2045 DAIL/GEARR {'fel₁,g'ay} of a small bay. 1848 Geodha
 Shealiga. A ln. fr. ON *Sel-giǫ* 'seal-ravine' with stem-form of *sel* nt.
 and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f. (in the Faroes, cf. Selgjógv; Matras 1933,
gjógv); or ON *Seliugiǫ* 'willow ravine' with gen. of *selia* f. 'willow'
 (in Lewis, cf. {felig'a}, Oftedal 1980: 185).
- 2580 *Seiligeadh an t-Sreap* NB2045 DAIL {,fel₁,g'ayð^hre^hp} S. of the
 climb, of a cove one has to climb down cliffs to get to; with gen.
 of *sreap streap* m. EIr. *drep(p)* §9.lvi. The EIr. form probably
 originates in an OE lw. rather than an ON one, cf. OE *treppan* vb.
 'tread'; ON *þrep* survives in NN *trip* 'ledge', while Ice. *trappa* 'stair,
 staircase' is probably a continental lw., cf. BM Sw. *trapp* 'stairs'
 Du. *trap* 'step' Scots *trap* 'ladder (to loft)'. See Greene 1976: 76).
- 2581 *Sgabhlaicean na Creige Mòire* NB1741 {,skauL₁çðnnð,k^hðeg'ð'mo:ðð}
 the squalls of A' *Chreag Mhòr*, of a stretch of water at the mouth of
Loch Chàrlabhaigh; with a pl. formation from Eng. *squall*. One might
 expect {'ska(:)L₁çðn}, but I have also recorded {'strauL₁} in CR,
 a metathesised form of *slabhraidh* 'chain'.
- 2582 *Sgaid* NB1944 GEARR {skað'} the trestle, of an area; with *sgaid*, fr.
 ON *skati* m., cf. NN *skate* m. 'tree-trunk without branches; dessicated
 tree'. Trad: where driftwood was once sawn up.
- 2583 *Sgaid* NB1945 GEARR, as above.
 + *Sgairbh Sgeir* NB2548, see *Sgairbhsgeir*.
- 2584 *Sgairbhsgeir* NB2548 SD {'skøðøvð,ʃk'ðð} of a skerry. 1848 Sgoirbha
Sgeir 1974 *Sgairbh Sgeir*. A ln. fr. ON *Skarf(s)sker* 'skerry of the
 cormorant' with stem-form or gen.sg. of *skarfr* m. *phalacrocorax*
carbo, and nom./acc. of *sker* nt. In Norway, cf. Skarvaskjer (Hovda
 1961: 255); in the Faroes, Skarvaskerið (Matras 1933, *sker*); in Lewis,
Sgarbh Sgeir NB4459 (OS 1974).
- 2585 *Sgairdheiseal* NB2044 GEARR {'skøðø-ð,ʃaL} of a hill and its area.

- With a ln. fr. ON *skarðsfiall* 'the mountain of the pass' with gen.sg. of *skarð* nt. 'pass; gap' and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. In Norway, cf. Skartveid, ON *Skarðfueit* (NG X, 311-12); in Iceland, *Skarðagil* (Allee 1973: 53). Alias *Sgairdheiseal Mhòr*.
- 2586 *Sgairdheiseal Bheag* NB2044 GEARR {,skøðð,ʃaL'veg} lesser *S.* 1848 *Sgòrashal Bheag* 1974 *Skorashal Beag*.
- 2587 *Sgairdheiseal Mhòr* NB2044 GEARR ='vo:r} greater *S.* 1848 *Sgòrashal Mhor* 1934 *Sgaireaseal* 1974 *Skorashal Mór*. Alias *Sgairdheiseal*.
- 2588 *Sgarbh* NB2234 BRI {'skaràv}, dat. with art. {ð'skaràv}, of an area. With *sgarbh* (?Masc.) '?crag, bare stony hill', fr. ON *skarvf* acc.m., cf. NN *skarv* 'crag, cliff; bare mountain terrain' Norw. dial. *skorv* 'bare uneven or stony mountain top'. 1903 *Sgarbh* (mòr).
- 2589 *Sgardhaisgeir* NB1742 BOR {'skarà-ð,ʃk'ðð} of a skerry. 1848 *Sgeir Chaptein Grenn* 1934 *Sgeir Captain Green* 1974 *Sgeir Chaptein Grenn*. A ln. fr. ON *Skarð-sker* 'the cleft skerry' with stem-form of *skarð* nt. 'cleft, notch' also 'pass; gap' (see No. 2585), and nom./acc. of nt. An ON *Skarfasker* 'the skerry of the cormorants' seems unlikely; see No. 2584.
- 2590 *Sgeir a' Bhodaich* NB2447 SD {,skøðð'vɔðɪç} the skerry of the old man, from the shape - though the 'head' is now off. 1848 *Sgeir a Bhodaich* 1974 =.
- 2591 *Sgeir a' Bhuic* NB2547 ST ='v^hu^hk'} the skerry of the buck, with gen. sg. of *boc* m., fr. ON *bokk*, acc. of *bokkr* m. (side-form of *bukkr* 'he-goat; male deer'. 1848 -/a *Bhúic* 1934 *Am Boc* 1974 =. Alias *Am Boc*.
- 2592 *Sgeir a' Champ* NB2347 SD =,'xãũmp} the skerry (of the over-hang), with gen.sg. of *camp* m., fr. ON *kamp* acc.m. 'overhanging edge of cliff'. 1848 -/a *Chàmp* 1974 -/a' *Chàmp*.
- 2593 *Sgeir a' Charrain* NB1838 DUN {,sk'eðð'xɔRan} the skerry (of the rounded point), ?with gen.sg. of *carran*, var. of *corràn* m. 'curved or rounded point'. 1848 *Sgeir a Charrain* 1974 -/a' *Chàrrain*.
- 2594 *Sgeir a' Mhoil Mhòir* NB1838 TOL {,sk'eðð,vðl'vo:ð} the skerry of *Am Mol Mòr*.
- 2595 *Sgeir an Eòin* NB2134 BRI {,sk'eðð'N'õ:N'} the skerry of the bird. 1848 1974 =/an *Eoin*. Alias *Sgeir Ghlais*, *An t-Eilean Gorm*.
- 2596 *Sgeir an Fhàideil* NB2232 CAL ='Na:d'al} the skerry of *An Fhàideil*.
- 2597 *Sgeir an Fhèilidh* NB1945 GEARR ='N'øuLɪ} the skerry of the kilt, with gen.sg. of *fèileadh* m. (on the question of etymology, see Oftedal 1956: 93-4). Alias *Sgeir na h-Oisein* doc.

- 2598 *Sgeir an Iarainn* NB2245 DAIL = 'N'iðRIN'} the skerry of the iron. 1848 1974 -/an Iaruinn.
 + *Sgeir an Iaruinn* NB2245, see *Sgeir an Iarainn*.
- 2599 *Sgeir an t-Slaodaidh* NB1944 GEARR = 'N^hL(ω: d̥) the skerry of the hauling (of nets), with gen.sg. of *slaodadh* m., cf. EIr. *sláetaid* 'mows down'.
- 2600 *Sgeir Bhàn* NB2648 SD {,sk'øð'vã:n} the pale skerry. 1848 1974 =.
- 2601 *Sgeir Bhàn* NB1844 GEARR, as above.
 + *Sgeir Chaptein Grenn* NBL742, 1848 idem, 1934 *Sgeir Captain Green*. Trad: a ship grounded here. See *Sgardhaisgeir*.
- 2602 *Sgeir Chiulabhair* NBL741 DUN {,skøð(ð)'çuLð,vðð} the skerry of *C. With a ln. possibly from ON *Kiql-uqrðu* 'the keel(-shaped) cairn' with stem-form of *kiqlr* m. 'keel, ridge' and obl. case of *uarða* f. The element is not uncommon in Norwegian pnn. (see Sandnes, Stemsaug 1980: 184).
- 2603 *Sgeir Chuidhbhig* NB2246 SD {,sk'eð'xði,vlk'} the skerry of C. 1848 -/Chuibhig.
 + *Sgeir Chuidshader* NB2749, 1848 *Sgeir Chuidhshader*.
- 2604 *Sgeir Dhearg* NB1743 BOR {,sk'eð'jæɾæk} the red skerry. 1848 --/Cùl Chràigeam 1974 --/Cùl Chraigeam. Alias *Sgeir Dhearg Cùl Chràgam*, *Cùl Chùl Chràgam*.
- 2605 *Sgeir Dhearg* NB1643, as above. 1848 1974 idem.
- 2606 *Sgeir Dhearg Cùl Chràgam* NB1743 BOR {,sk'eð'jæɾæk,k^hu.L'xra:gam} the red skerry of C. Alias *Sgeir Dhearg*, *Cùl Chùl Chràgam*.
- 2607 *Sgeir Dhubh* NB2347 SD {,sk'eð'γu^h} the black skerry. 1848 Dùbh Sgeirean Geodha na Greine 1974 Dubh Sgeirean Geodha na Grèine.
- 2608 *Sgeir Dhubh Gharsan* NB2448 SD {,sk'eð'γu'γaʂðn} the black skerry of G.
- 2609 *Sgeir Fhionnlaidh* NB2447 SD {,sk'eð'jõũLaj} *Fionnladh's* skerry. 1848 1974 =. Trad: seaweed would be fetched from here.
 + *Sgeir Garson* NB2448, see *Sgeir Gharsan*
- 2610 *Sgeir Gharsan* NB2448 SD ='γaʂðn} the skerry of G. 1848 -/a Gharsan 1974 -/Garson.
- 2611 *Sgeir Ghlais* NB2134 BRI {,sk'eð'γLaf} §7.3i, the green skerry. Alias *Sgeir an Eòin doc. An t-Eilean Gorm*.
 + *Sgeir Ghlas* NB2339, 1848 idem.
- 2612 *Sgeir Gun Tacar* NB1743 BOR {,sk'eð,gø^h'N^ha kðð} the skerry without produce; i.e. the bare skerry. With the prep. *gun* EIr. *cen*, and *tacar* m. EIr. *tacar* 'gathering, collecting'. 1848 197 =.

- 2613 *Sgeir Hurry* NB1743 BOR {,sk'eð'hðrɪ} *Hurry's* skerry. Trad: Hurry was a schoolmaster in *Càrlabagh* until the late twenties; he was hated by the children for his harshness and severity; the name commemorates either his being wrecked or his landing on this skerry.
- 2614 *Sgeir Làdair* NB2547 SD ='La:ðð} the skerry of *L.* 1848 -/Lader 1903 *Làda-sgeir* 1934 *Skeir a latar* 1974 *Sgeir Lader*.
+ *Sgeir Lainganish* NB1844, see *Laingeanais*.
- 2615 *Sgeir Laingeanais* NB1844 GEARR ='Lãĩŋ'k'ð,nɪf} the skerry of **L.* 1848 -/Lainganis 1903 *Langanish* 1974 -/Lainganish. With a ln. fr. ON *Lang-nes* 'long promontory' with the stem-form of the adj. *langr* 'long' and nom./acc. of *nes* nt.
- 2616 *Sgeir Lèadaidh* NB1937 TOL ='le:ðɪ} the skerry of **L.* Potentially the specific is a len.gen. form of an obscure G. **lèadadh*. Alternatively, the element might be an ON ln. fr. *Leitþy* 'the point of the place for fishing with hand-lines' with stem-form of *leit* f. ('om ein stad der dei fiskar med snøre i motsetnad til a ro med dorg', Hovda 1961: 125) and nom./acc. of *þy* f. 'point, promontory'. In Norway, cf. Nilsleita, Bremnes (Hallaråker 1976: 35).
- 2617 *Sgeir Lìnish* NB1844 GEARR ='lĩ:,nɪf} the skerry of **L.* 1848 1974 -/Lìonish. With a ln. fr. ON *Hlíf-nes* 'shelter point' with stem-form of *hlíf* f. 'shelter' and nom./acc. of *nes* nt. (or with *hlífð* f. with the same meaning). In Lewis, cf. *Lìnish* (MacAulay 1972: 333, but who gives 'flax point'; cf. *Linshader*, Oftedal 1954: 383); in Norway, ?cf. *Levanger*, Nord Trøndelag, which might conceivably contain ON *hlíf hlífð* (but see Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 204).
+ *Sgeir Lìonish* NB1844, see *Sgeir Lìnish*.
- 2618 *Sgeir Lìonta* NB2648 ST ='lĩũnt(ðɣ)} the filled skerry, with the adj. *lìonta* 'filled', part. of *lìon* vb. 'fill', cf. EIr. *lìnaid* 'fills'.
- 2619 *Sgeir Mhaoil* NB2749 BRA ='vð:l} the bare skerry. 1848 -/Mhor. Alias *Sgeir an Eðin*.
- 2620 *Sgeir Mhaoil* NB2447 SD, as above. 1848 -/Mhaol Rùdh' an Tuill 1974 -/Mhaol Rubh' an Tuill.
+ *Sgeir Mhaol Rubh' an Tuill* NB2447, see *Sgeir Mhaoil*.
- 2621 *Sgeir Mharcastail* NB2036 BRI ='var̥kð,stðl} the skerry of *M.* 1848 *Stac á Bhánain* 1974 *Stac a' Bhanain*.
- 2622 *Sgeir Mhic an Tàilleir* NB2749 BRA {,sk'eð,vĩ^h'k'ð^h'N'a:L'að} the skerry of *Mac an Tàilleir* (the son of the tailor).
- 2623 *Sgeir Mhic Shaoir* NB2749 BRA {,sk'eð,vĩ^h'k'ð^hω:ð} the skerry of ?.

- 1974 =. It seems plausible that here we have a gaelicised form of the Scots persn. *MacTear* (*MacTeir*, *MacTier*), a shortened form of *MacIntyre* (Black 1965: 566), fr. G. *Mac an t-Saoir* 'the son of the carpenter'. Cf. *MacFheatrais*, fr. Scots *MacPhetrish MacFettridge* (see No. 1325).
- + Sgeir Mol Fivig NB2649, see *Am Bodha, Bodha Fhìbhig*.
- + Sgeir na Buaile Talaich NB2231.
- 2624 Sgeir na Luinge NB1945 GEARR {,sk'eðnð'Lũjð} the skerry of the ship. Alias *Clach na Luinge*.
- 2625 Sgeir na Muic NB1937 TOL {,sk'eðnð'mũ^hk'} the skerry of the whale. 1848 -/na Muice 1974 -/na Muice Blianish. Alias *Sgeir nan Muc*.
- 2626 Sgeir na Muidhe NB1843 BOR ='mũjð} the skerry of the ?churn, ?with gen.sg. of *muidhe* f. 'churn' EIr. *muide* (Lat. *modius*). 1848 1974 -/na Muighe.
- + Sgeir na Muighe NB1843, see *Sgeir na Muidhe*.
- 2627 Sgeir na Tobhta Càile NB1937 TOL {,sk'eðnð,t^ho tð^h'k a:lð} the skerry (of the cabbage enclosure), with gen.sg. of *tobhta* f., fr. ON *topt* f. '(building) lot, site; yard; open storage area', and gen. of *càl* m., fr. ON *kál* nt. 'cabbage, and all types of large-leaved plants' (if not ultimately fr. Lat. *caulis*).
- 2628 Sgeir na h-Airigh NB2035 BRI {,sk'eðnð'ha:ðl} the skerry (of the shieling).
- + Sgeir na -Alltair NB2749, see *Sgeir na h-Altair*.
- 2629 Sgeir na h-Altair NB2749 BRA ='hɑl̥t̥ðð} the skerry (of the altar); re shape.
- 2630 Sgeir na h-Oisein NB1845 GEARR ='hɔʃan} the skerry of the corner, with gen.sg. of *oisean* f., cf. Ir. *uisinn uisean* 'temple; corner, angle' EIr. (pl.) *ussin uisin* 'temples'.
- 2631 Sgeir na h-Oisein NB1945 GEARR, as above. 1848 -/na h-Oishir 1974 idem. Alias *Sgeir an Fhèilidh*.
- + Sgeir na h-Oishir NB1945, see *Sgeir na h-Oisein, Sgeir an Fhèilidh*.
- 2632 Sgeir nam Bàrnach NB1938 TOL ='mɑ:ɲɔx}ðx} the skerry of the limpets, with gen.pl. of *bàrnach* m., fr. EIr. *bairenn* f. 'large stone' + suffix *-ach* (RIA, under *bairnech* 2) rather than ME *bernekke* (MacBain 1982: 27).
- 2633 Sgeir nam Faóileag NB1945 GEARR ='fɔ:lak} the skerry of the gulls.
- 2634 Sgeir nam Muc NB1937 TOL ='mũ^hk} the skerry of the whales. Alias *Sgeir na Muice* doc.
- 2635 Sgeir nan Eun NB2749 BRA ='N'ĩän} the skerry of the birds. A name

- used by fishermen from BERN. Alias *Sgeir Mhaoil*.
- 2636 *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* NB1937 TOL = 'skaràv} the skerry of the cormorants. 1848 -/nàn Sgàrbh 1974 =.
- 2637 *Sgeir nan Sgarbh* NB2134 BRI, as above.
- 2638 *Sgeir nan Stob* NB1743 BOR = 'st\ɔ} the skerry of the stumps, with gen.pl. of *stob* m., fr. ON *stobba* obl. case m., var. of *stubbi* m. (cf. *bokkr* besides *bukkr*, see No. 2591); but note also ON *stobbi* m. 'rounded reef'. Alias *Dubh Sgeir* doc. Our name is used mainly by fishermen from BERN.
- 2639 *Sgeir Ordais* NB2036 BRI {,sk'eð'ɔ:ðaf} the skerry of *O. The specific also occurs in NB2848 Loch Ordais (OS 1974). It might be a ln. fr. ON *Aur-dys(i)* 'gravel heap' with the stem-form of *aurr* m. 'gravel' and acc./dat. of *dys* f. 'heap, pile of stones'. However, {a} is unlikely to develop from ON *y*.
- 2640 *Sgeir Sgianailt* NB2036 TOL = 'sk'ĩũ,nıL't'} the skerry of S. 1848 1974 =.
- 2641 *Sgeir Shàile* NB2035 BRI = 'ha:l(ð)} the skerry of the sea, sea-skerry, with gen. of *sàl* m. EIr. *sál*. 1848 1974 -/Shàldair. The 1848 form seems more than just a misprint; there may have been confusion with some other name. Alternatively, our form may be from a recent attempt to make sense out of the earlier form. Both processes are rare, however.
- + *Sgeir Shàldair* NB2035, see *Sgeir Shàile*.
- 2642 *Sgeir Shanndaig* NB1837 TOL = 'hãũntık'} the skerry of S.
- 2643 *Sgeirean an Dorais* NB2749 BRA {,sk'eððnð'Ñarıf} the skerries of the doorway, with pl. of *sgeir* f.
- 2644 *Sgeirean an t-Sruth* NB2132 CAL = 'N^hru^h} the skerries of the current, with gen.sg. of *sruth* m. EIr. *sruth*.
- 2645 *Na Sgeirean Eatorra* NB2448 SD {nð,sk'øððn'æ^htðRð} the skerries between them (i.e. between two other skerries, *Dubh Sgeir* and *Sgeir Gharsan*), with 3pl. pronominal form of the prep. *eadar* 'between' EIr. *eter itir*.
- 2646 *Sgeirean Mol Raoinigeadh* NB1743 BOR{ ,sk'eððn,mõL'rðĩnı,g'ay} the skerries of R. 1848 Sgeian Mol Ruin' a Geodha 1974 --/Ronageo.
- + *Sgeirean Mol Ronageo* NB1743, see *Sgeirean Mol Raoinigeadh*.
- 2647 *Sgeirean na h-Airde Meadhonaich* NB1945 GEARR {,sk'eððnnð,ha.ðð 'mĩ-anıç} the skerries of *An Aird Mheadhonaich*. 1848 1974 --/ Meadhonaich.

- + Sgeirean na h-Airde Meadhonaich NB1945, see *Sgeirean na h-Airde Meadhonaich*.
- 2648 *Sgeirean Rubh' Uig* NB1843 BOR {,sk'eððn,Ru'u:l'g'} the skerries of U. 1848 -/Rudha Thaoig 1974 --/Thaoig.
- + Sgeirean Rubha Thaoig NB1843, see *Sgeirean Rubh' Uig*.
- 2649 *Sgianaill* NB2037 TOL {'sk'iũ,nıL't'} 'sk'iĩ,nıL't'} of a hilly area. 1848 = 1903 Sgian-allt 1934 = 1974 =. An ON ln. in *-holtı*, dat. of *holt* nt. 'hill, stony elevation'. The first element(s) remains obscure.
- 2650 *Sgor an Teine* NB2246 DAIL {,skɔrð'N'æ̃nð} the cleft of the fire, with *sgor* m., fr. ON *skor* f. 'fissure, crevice, niche'. 1848 -/a Bhuinich. Alias *Sgor na Caillich*.
- 2651 *Sgor an Teine* NB2445 SD, as above.
- 2652 *Sgor Dhòmhnail Duncan* NB2144 DAIL {,skɔr,γö-ıL'd̃ŋkan} the cleft of *Dòmhnall Duncan*. Trad: a modest man, he would relieve himself here (he was a shepherd when DAIL was a tack). With the man's name *Duncan*, anglicised form of G. *Dornchadh*.
- 2653 *Sgor na Caillich* NB2248 DAIL {,skɔŋð'k^hal'ıç} the old woman's cleft. Alias *Sgor an Teine* doc.
- 2654 *Sgor nan Calman* NB1844 GEARR = 'ŋ^halàman} the cleft of the pigeons.
- 2655 *Sgor nan Calman* NB1937 TOL, as above, the ravine of the pigeons.
- + Sheaval NB2143, see *Sèabhal, Sèabhal Mhòr*.
- + Sheaval Fiundan NB2243, see *Sèabhal na Fionndanaich, Sèabhal Bhiarach*.
- 2656 *Siabost* NB2546 SD/ST {'fia,ɔst} comprising the villages and townships SD and ST. 1583 Schaboist 1718 Shawbost 1726 Shabost 1750 Shabuft 1789 Shabust 1791 Shawbost 1807 shabust 1832 1869 1875 Shawbost 1932 idem, Sheabost 1934 Siabost 1973 Siabost 1974 Shawbost. A ln. fr. ON *Sǣ-bólstað* 'sea-farm' with stem-form of *sǣr* m. 'sea' (cf. No. 1074) and acc. of *bólstaðr* m. See Oftedal, 1954:377. In Skye, cf. Shawbost (Forbes 1923: 328). See *Siabost a Deas/a Tuath*.
- 2657 *Siabost a Deas* NB2447 SD {,fia,ɔstð'd'æ̃s} southern S., of the village and township. 1832 S. Shawbost 1848 1895 Sheabost a Deas 1974 South Shawbost. Alias *Siabost, Am Baile Thall*.
- 2658 *Siabost a Tuath* NB2647 ST = 't^huð} northern S., of the village and township. 1832 N. Shawbost 1848 1895 Sheabost a Tuath 1974 North Shawbost. Alias *Siabost, Am Baile Thall*.
- 2659 *Siadar* NB1939 TOL {'fiad̥r}ð} of a hamlet and its area. 1848 1895 1974 Shader. A ln. fr. ON *sǣtr* 'the farm (dwelling), or shieling' (see No. 228, and Oftedal 1954: 375, 378).

- + Sîdhean NB2632, 1848 Sithean.
 - + Sîdhean NB1841, 1848 Sithean.
 - + Sîdhean NB1944, see *Sithean Mharabhair*.
 - + Sîdhean a' Chaointean NB2743, see *Sith a' Chaointéin*.
 - + Sidhean Bhuailabhir NB2446, see *Sithean Bhuailleabhair*.
 - + Sîdhean Biorach a' Bhoir NB2439, 1848 Sithean Biorach a Bhloir.
 - + Sidhean Borasdale NB2141.
 - + Sîdhean Capigill NB2647, see *An Sithean, Sithean Cheapaigil*.
 - + Sidhean Chaipagil NB2840, see *Sithean Cheapaigil*.
 - + Sîdhean Chrogavat NB2239, 1848 Sithean Chrogabhat.
 - + Sîdhean Cnoc na Buaile NB1841, 1848 Sithean Cnoc na Buaile.
 - + Sîdhean Corrach NB2338, 1848 Sithean Corrach.
 - + Sîdhean Dubh NB2740, see *Na Sithean Dubh*.
 - + Sîdhean Dubh NB2641, 1848 Sithean Dubh.
 - + Sidhean Fasgro NB2041, see *Cnoc Fàsgro*.
 - + Sîdhean Glas Ohagro NB2439, 1848 Sithean Glas O'thagro.
 - + Sîdhean Horshader NB2442, see *An Sithean, Sithean Thòrsadar*.
 - + Sîdhean Leig Gorm NB2339, see *Sithean Lèig Gorm*.
 - + Sidhean Loch an Leamhain NB2433, see *Sithean Loch na Lèibheinn*.
 - + Sîdhean Mór NB2242, see *Sithean Mòr*.
 - + Sidhean Mór Athrigro NB1838, see *Sithean Atraigidh*.
 - + Sidhean Mór Eilaster NB2238, see *Sithean Eileastar*.
 - + Sîdhean na Crodhach NB2337, see *Sithean na Crodhadh*.
 - + Sîdhean na Maighdinn NB2240, see *Mithair nam Maighdeann*.
 - + Sîdhean Ohagro NB2539.
 - + Sîdhean Sheaval NB2243, see *Sithean Shèabhal*.
 - + Sîdheanan Beag Rubha Thaoig NB1843, 1848 Sitheanan Beag Rudha Thaoig.
- 2660 *An Sîlich* NB2145 DAIL {ð'ʃi:lɪç} the lean fellow, of a stack; with *sîlich* m., ?connected with EIr. *sibal* m. 'walk, journey' etc. and *siblach siblech* adj. 'swift moving'. One informant gave *slaodach*, *leisg* 'slow, lazy' as the sense of *sîlich*, perhaps from the heavy base of the stack rather than its lean upper portion. Trad: a man from DAIL went insane and climbed this stack to try to commit suicide. The trad. is also applied (perhaps more appropriately) to the nearby *Spid an Amadain* (q.v.). Alias *Stac an t-Sîlich*.
- 2661 *Sìogainn* NB2640 SD/ST {'ʃi:gAN} of an area, at the centre of which is *Gleann an t-Sìogainn*; a stream here runs beneath the surface of of the ground much of the time, and there is a fair amount of green along its length. It is unlikely that much will have altered here

- over the centuries, only the stream surfacing and burrowing from time to time in different places. With *slogann* m., ?fr. EIr. *sic* 'streak, stripe' (also 'shock of corn, rick', see No. 1364) as an n-stem: 'the (green) strip'.
- 2662 *Síth a' Chaointein* NB2743 ST {,fi.-ə'xðĩN't'an} the knoll of the ?
1848 *Sithean a' Chòintean* 1974 *Sidhean a' Chaoitean*. With gen.sg. of *cointean* m., which is obscure, although regarding the 1848 form, ?cf. *cointean* 'contentious man; controversy' (Dwelly 1977), *cointinn* 'contest' (MacFarlan 1795).
- 2663 *An Síthean* NB2648 BRA {ə'fi:han} the knoll.
- 2664 *An Síthean* NB2647 ST, as above. Alias *Sithean Cheapaigil*.
- 2665 *An Síthean* NB2536 BRI, as above.
- 2666 *Sithean an Fhàs Uillt* NB2141 CN {,fi.hanə'Na:sɪL't'} the knoll of *Am Fàs Allt*. 1848 *Sithean an Fhàs Uillt*.
- 2667 *Sithean Aonghaís Mhartainn* NB2646 ST {,fi.han,ŷnɔ'vəʒtɪN'} 'maʒtɪN'
Aonghas Martainn's (Angus Martin) knoll.
- 2668 *Sithean Ard na Beinne Maoile* NB3035 BRI {,fi.han'a:ɔnə,bɛN'ə'mʃ:lə} the high knoll of *A' Bheinn Mhaoil*.
- 2669 *Sithean Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,fi.han'a:^htrɪ,g'i} the knoll of *A*.
1848 *Sithean Mòr Athtreigidh* 1974 *Sidhean Mór Athrigeo*.
- 2670 *An Síthean Beag* NB2443 SD {ə,fi.han 'bɔg} the little knoll.
- 2671 *Sithean Bhuailleabhair* NB2446 SD {,fi.han'vuɔlə,vəð} the knoll of *B*.
1848 *Sithean Bhuailabhair* 1974 *Sidhean Bhuailabhair*.
- 2672 *Sithean Cheapaigil* NB2647 ST = 'çɛ^hpɪ,g'ɪl} the knoll of **C*. 1848 *Sithean Chapigil* 1974 *Sidhean Capigill*. With a ln. fr. ON *Keppagil* 'the ravine of the sticks' with gen.pl. of *keppr* m. and nom./acc. of *gil* nt. Alias *An Síthean*; see also *Na Síthein*, *Síthein Cheapaigil*.
- 2673 *Sithean Cheapaigil* NB2840 ST, as above. 1848 *Sithean Chaipagil* 1974 *Sidhean Chaipagil*.
- 2674 *An Síthean Corrach* NB2140 CN {ə,fi.han'k^hɔRɔx} the tapering knoll.
- 2675 *Sithean Dubh Theideagal* NB2142 CARL {,fi.han,ɔu^h'hed'ə,gəL} the black knoll of **Th*.
- 2676 *Sithean Eileastar* NB2238 CIR {,fi.han'ela,stəR} the knoll of *E*.
1848 *Sithean Mòr Eilaster* 1974 *Sidhean Mór Eilaster*.
- 2677 *Sithean Eitseal Bheag* NB2834 BRI {,fi.han,e^h.t'ʃəL'veg} the knoll of *E*.
- 2678 *Sithean Fhìbhig* NB2648 BRA {,fi.han'i:vɪk'} the knoll of *F*.
- 2679 *Sithean Lèig Gorm* NB2339 CARL {,fi.han,L'e:g'gɔrɔm} §7.3ii, the

- knoll (of the dark brook). 1848 Sithean Leig Gorm 1974 Sìdhean Leig Gorm.
- 2680 *Sithean Loch na Lèibheinn* NB2433 CAL {,si.han,Loxnð'L'e:vɪN'} the knoll of L. 1848 Sithean Loch an Leamhain 1974 Sìdhean Loch an Leamhain.
- 2681 *Sithean Mharabhair* NB1944 GEARR {,si.han'varð,vðð} , occ. -,vɪk'} the knoll of *M. 1848 Sithean 1974 Sìdhean. The knoll overlooks *Loch nan Geàrrannan* and at first sight it may seem that a **Marabhaig* would be fr. an ON name for this sea-loch. It seems more likely, though, that *Fìbhig Bheag* derives from that particular Norse name, and that **Marabhaig* has arisen by analogy with other -bh(a)ig names. **Marabhair*, then, would have referred to the knoll itself, and may represent ON *Mar-uqrðu*, either 'horse-knoll' with the stem-form of *marr* m. 'horse', or 'knoll of the sea' with stem-form of *marr* m. 'sea'; the generic is an oblique form of *uarða* f. 'cairn, knoll'.
- 2682 *Sithean Mòr* NB2242 CARL {,si.han'mo:r} the large knoll. 1848 Sithean Mòr 1974 Sìdhean Mòr.
- 2683 *An Sìthean Mòr* NB2334 BRI {ð,si.han'mo:r} the large knoll.
- 2684 *An Sìthean Mòr* NB2442 SD, as above. Alias *Sithean Thòrsadar* doc.
- 2685 *Sithean na Buaille Meadhanaich* NB1942 CN {,si.hannð,buølð'mĩ-anɪç} the knoll (of the middle enclosure).
- 2686 *Sithean na Crodhadh* NB2337 DUN {,si.hannð'k^h rɔ-ðɣ} the knoll of the pen. 1848 Sithean na Crodhadh 1974 Sìdhean na Crodhach.
- 2687 *Sithean nan Laogh* NB2335 BRI {,si.hannð'Lo:ɣ} the knoll of the calves.
- 2688 *Sithean Nidigeadh* NB1843 BOR {,si.han'nĩd'ɪ,g'ay} the knoll of N. 1848 Sitheanan Nid a Geodha.
- 2689 *Sithean Shèabhal* NB2243 CARL = 'he:,vɔL} the knoll of S. 1848 Sithean Séathabhal 1974 Sìdhean Sheaval.
- 2690 *Sithean Theideagal* NB2142 CARL = 'heɟ'ð,gɔL} the knoll of *Th.
- 2691 *Sithean Thòrsadar* NB2446 SD = 'hɔ:ɟaðr} the knoll of *Th. 1848 Sithean Thòrshader 1974 Sìdhean Horshader. Alias *An Sìthean Mòr*.
- 2692 *Na Sìthein* NB2647 ST {nð'si:han} the knolls (2), with pl. of *sithean* m. Alias *Sìthein Cheapaigil* (see also *An Sìthean*, *Sithean Cheapaigil*).
- 2693 *Sìthein Cheapaigil* NB2647 ST {nð,si.han'çɛ^h pɪ,g'ɪl} the knolls of *C. Alias *Na Sìthein*.
- 2694 *Na Sìthein Dubh* NB2740 ST {nð,si.han'du^h} the black knolls. 1848 Sithean Dubh 1974 Sìdhean Dubh.

- + Skorashal Beag NB2044, see *Sgairdheiseal Bheag*.
- + Skorashal Mór NB2044, see *Sgairdheiseal (Mhòr)*.
- + Slac na Cachlaidh Moire NB1843, see *Slag na Cachailleith*.
- 2695 *An t-Slag* NB2145 DAIL {ð'N^hLag} the hollow, with *slag* f., §9.lvi.
- 2696 *Slag a' Bhainne* NB1945 GEARR {,sLagð'vǃN'ð} the hollow of the milk.
- 2697 *Slag Glas Leathad Tòlabaidh* NB2044 GEARR {,sLag'gLaʃ,L'i-at't^hɔ:La,bɪ} §9.lviii, the green hollow of *L*.
- 2698 *An t-Slag Gorm* NB2545 SD {ð,N^hLag'gɔrɔm} the dark hollow.
- 2699 *An t-Slag Luarach* NB3035 BRI {ð,N^hLag'Luðrɔx} the hollow of rushes, with gen. of *luachair* f. EIr. *luachair*. §7.4.
- 2700 *An t-Slag Luaraich* NB2443 SD ='Luðrɪç} 'Luðrɔx} as above.
- 2701 *An t-Slag Mhòr* NB2541 SD ='vo:r} the large hollow.
- 2702 *An t-Slag Mhòr* NB1743 BOR, as above.
- 2703 *Slag Mhòr na Gruaige* NB2140 CN {,sLag,vo.ɳð'gɾuðg'ð} the large hollow of the ?tuft or ?woman; with gen.sg. of *gruag* f. 'head of hair, wig; woman' EIr *grúac*.
- 2704 *Slag Mhurchaidh Ledbh dh* NB1939 DUN {,sLag,vuRuxi'ləu} the hollow of *Murchadh Ledbh dh*. Alias *Doc/Sloc Mhurchaidh Ledbh dh*.
- 2705 *Slag na Cachailleith* NB1843 BOR {,sLagnð'k^haxɔlaj} the hollow of *A' Chachailleith*. 1848 *Stac na Cachlaidh Móire* 1974 *Slac na Cachlaidh Móire*.
- 2706 *Slag na Faing* NB2039 DUN ='fã^lɲ'k'} the hollow (of the fank).
- 2707 *Slag na Galltanaich* NB2135 BRI ='gauLtanɪç} the hollow of the foreigner, with gen.sg. of *galltanach* nt. (§7.2i), fr. *gall* 'foreigner' EIr. *gall*, + suffices and intrusive dental (§9.lvii).
- 2708 *Slag na Mnà* NB1937 TOL ='mrã:] the hollow of the woman.
- 2709 *Slag na Sprèidh* NB2641 ST ='spðe:j} the hollow of the cattle, with gen. of *sprèidh* f. EIr. *spréid* (Lat. *praeda*).
- 2710 *Slag nam Both* NB1944 GEARR ='mɔ^h} the hollow (of the bothies).
- 2711 *Slag nam Buinneag* NB2638 SD ='mãN'ak} the hollow of the ?saplings or shoots, with gen.pl. of *buinneag* f. EIr. *buinne* + suffix. 1848 *Lag nam Búinneag* 1934 {?} *Loch nam Buinneag* 1974 *Lag nam Buinneag*.
- 2712 *Slag nan Cnàmh* NB2748 BRA ='ɲ^hrã:v} the hollow of the bones.
- 2713 *An t-Slag Raineach* NB2037 TOL {ð,N^hLag'rãɔx} the ferny hollow. Alias *An Glàic Raineach*.
- 2714 *An t-Slag Ruadh* NB1944 GEARR ='ruðɣ} the red hollow.
- 2715 *Slag Thormoid Mhòir* NB1939 DUN {,sLag,haràmɔt'vo:ð} *Tormod Mòr's* hollow.

- 2716 *Sloc an Duilisg* NB1945 GEARR {,sL^hɔ̃k̃ə'N^hu^hl^hɪ'f^hk'} the pit of the
dulse..1848 =. With *sloc* m., fr. ON **slokk* nt., a late form of
ON *slok* 'mill-race trough', cf. Ice. *slokk* 'deep place in ground';
if not related to G. *slug*, cf. Ir. *sloc slog*; and with gen.sg. of
duileasg m. EIr. *duileasc*.
- 2717 *An t-Sloc Dhubh* NB1944 GEARR {ə,N^hL^hɔ̃k̃ə'ɣ^hu^h} §7.3i, the dark hollow.
- 2718 *Sloc Gorm a' Chùil* NB1844 GEARR {,sL^hɔ̃k̃ə'g^hɔ̃rɔ̃m̃ə'xu:l} the dark pit
of *An Cùil*, of a deep hole in the seabed, where lobster-pots would
disappear.
- 2719 *Sloc Mhurchaidh Ledbh dh* NB1939 DUN {,sL^hɔ̃k̃ə,vuR^hu^hx^hɪ'løu} *Murchadh*
Ledbh dh's pit. Alias *Doca/Slag Mhurchaidh Ledbh dh*.
- 2720 *Sloc na Braich* NB1842 BOR {,sL^hɔ̃kñə'br̃a^hl̃ɔ̃} the pit of the malt, with
gen. of *braich* f. EIr. *braich*, earlier *mraich*.
- 2721 *Slugaid* NB2647 ST {'sLug^hɪt'} the gorge, with *slugaid* f., fr. *slug*
(Nos. 1218, 2287) + suffix §7.6iv. Also in Lewis, *Slugaid Eorodale*
NB5462 (OS 1974); in Argyllshire, *Slugaid a' Chruachain* (Gillies
1906: 216).
- 2722 *Slugaid an Uillt* NB2044 GEARR {,sLug^hɪt'ə'N^høil^h't'} the gorge (of
the stream).
- 2723 *Na Sniomhan* NB2045 DAIL {ñə'f^hN^h'iðṽən} the zig-zags, of a steep slope
with trails zig-zagging across its face. With pl. of *sniomh* m.
+ South Shawbost NB2447, see *Siabost (a Deas)*.
- 2724 *Spid an Amadain* NB2145 DAIL {,spid̃ə'ə'Ñäm̃əð̃ən} the pinnacle of the
fool, with *spid* m., by-form of *spiod* (< *biod*, §9.lvi); cf. *spidean*
for *bidean* (Moss 1979: 226). For trad., see *An Sùlich*. Alias *Spig*
an Amadain.
- 2725 *Spig an Amadain* NB2145 DAIL {,spig̃ə'ə'Ñäm̃əð̃ən} as above (q.v.); with
spig, for *spid* m. §9.li.
- 2726 *An t-Sràid* NB2547 SD {ə'N^hra:ð̃'} the street, of uncobbled passage
between crofts. With *sràid* f. EIr. *sráit* (fr. Lat. *strata*, via ON
or OE - Marstrander 1915: 76). Alias *Sràid a' Bhaile*.
- 2727 *Sràid a' Bhaile* NB2547 SD {,stra:ð̃ə'val̃ə} the street of the village.
Alias *An t-Sràid*.
- 2728 *Sràid an Fhraoich* NB2042 CN ='r^hɔ̃:l̃ɔ̃} the street of the heather. Now
applies to both road and the part of the village around it.
- 2729 *Sràid an Lòin* NB2748 BRA ='L^hɔ̃:N^h'} the street (of the pool).
- 2730 *An t-Srath* NB2744 ST {ə'N^hra^h} the strath; without art. {stra^h} §7.3i.
- 2731 *An t-Srath* NB2240 CN, as above. 1848 1974 Strath.
- 2732 *Srath Mhuathabhal* NB2835 TOL/BRI {,stra'v^hũãha,v^hɔ̃l̃} the strath of *M*.

- 2733 *Srath Sheathabhal* NB2844 BRA = 'he-ð,vaL} the strath of *S(h).
- 2734 *Srèimeanais* NB2132 CAL {'strē:mð,n₁f} of a peninsula. 1848 Strèimnish 1934 Streumanis 1974 Strèimnish. An ON ln. which evidently derives fr. ON *Straum-nes* 'current-point' with the stem-form of *straumr* m. 'current, stream' and nom./acc. of *nes* nt; cf. the name *Sgeirean an t-Sruth*. The development must have been ON *Straum-nes* > early G. *{'strǿ:m',n'if} > {'strē:m(ð),n₁f}; cf. *tðb*, gen. *tàib* {e:}. ON *straum* acc. otherwise occurs without vowel affection in G., e.g. An Stròm Dearg (MacDonald: 1972: 231); cf. Norn *strom*. In Norway, cf. Straumaneset (NG X, 15).
- 2735 *An t-Sròin Bhreac* NB2141 CARL {ð,N^hrǿ.N'^hvðe^hk} the variegated point.
- 2736 *Sròin Dubh* NB1742 BOR {,strǿ.N'^hðu^h} the dark point. Alias *Sròin Dubh Chonadail*, *Conadal*.
- 2737 *An t-Sròin Dubh* NB2441 CARL {ð,N^hrǿ.N'^hðu^h} as above. Alias *Sròin Dubh Ghleadhairean*.
- 2738 *Sròin Dubh Chonadail* NB1742 BOR {,strǿ.N',ðu-'xǿnð,ðǿl} the dark point of C. Alias *Sròin Dubh*, *Conadal*.
- 2739 *Sròin Dubh Ghleadhairean* NB2441 CARL = 'γleyðððn} the dark point of *Na Gleadhairean*. Alias *An t-Sròin Dubh*.
- 2740 *Sròin Gaoith* NB1942 BOR {,strǿ.N'^hgði} the windy point.
- 2741 *Sròin na Cleit* NB2734 TOL {,strǿ.N'(n)ð'^hkle^ht'} the point (of the hill). Alias *Rinn na Cleit*.
- 2742 *Sròin na h-Iodhlainn* NB1842 BOR = 'hjuL₁N'} the point (of the stackyard).
- 2743 *Sròin Thèibeirgh* NB1742 BOR {,strǿ.N'he:ðððð} the point of *Th. With a ln. fr. ON *Heið-berg* 'heath-peninsula' with the stem-form of *heiðr* f. 'heath, moor; treeless, level, often heather-covered area' and nom./acc. of *berg* nt. (cf. No. 2828).
- 2744 *Sròin Thiamaistir* NB1841 DUN = 'hĩðm₁,ft'ðð} the point of *Th. 1848 Ceann Thiàmister 1974 Ceann Tiamister. With a ln. probably fr. ON *Heim-steinar* 'home-crags' with the stem-form of *heimr* m. 'home, dwelling' and nom.pl. of *steinn* m. 'stone, rock, crag'. Cf. No. 1223.
- 2745 *Sròin Thorrghal* NB2142 CARL = 'hǿRðγQL} the point of *Th. 1848 Sron Thorraghail. The specific is perhaps fr. ON *Hqrg-hól* with acc. of *hól* m. 'hill'; for the initial element, see No. 2800.
- 2746 *Sròin Thudacleit* NB1842 BOR = 'huðð,kle^ht'}, also 'xuðð,kle^ht'}, the point of *Th. 1848 Sron Thūdacleil 1974 Sròn Tudacleit. With a ln. in final ON *-klett* 'hill, mountain'; the first part of the ln. remains obscure.

- + Sròn Tudacleit NB1842, see *Sròin Thudacleit*.
- 2747 *Sruth Shrèimeanais* NB2132 CAL {,stru'rē:mə,nɪf} the current of S.
- 2748 *Na Sruthain Breac* NB1843 BOR {nə,struhan'pðe^hk} the variegated streams.
- 2749 *Sruthan Allt nam Brisgean* NB2447 SD {,struhan,ɑɪtnə'm^hδɪfk'an} the stream of A.
- 2750 *Sruthan Ghruthaigea* NB2347 SD {,struhan'ɣru-ɪg'a} the stream of G.
1848 *Sruthan Ghrùthaig*.
- 2751 *Sruthan Mhuile Mucal* NB2648 ST {,struhan,vɪlð'm^hkəL} the stream of M.
1848 *Sruthan Mhile Mucul*.
- 2752 *Sruthan na Mhìst* NB2546 SD {,struhannə'mi:ft'} the stream of A' *Mhìst*.
- 2753 *Sruthan Phluic* NB2447 SD {,struhan'fla^hk'}, see No. 406. This stream is inferred in the OS 1848 form *Lian Allt Fhrisgro*. Alias *Allt Chrìsgein*.
- + *Stac a' Bhanain* NB2036, see *Sgeir Mharcastail*.
- 2754 *Stac a' Chàis* NB1742 BOR {,sta^hkə'xa:f} the stack of the lump (lit. of the cheese), re shape. With gen.sg. of *càise* m. EIr. *càise* (Lat. *caseus*). In Argyllshire, cf. *Meall a' Chàise* (Gillies 1906: 192).
1848 *-/a Chàis* 1974 *-/a' Chàise*. With *stac(a)* fr. ON *stakk* acc.m. (No.2769).
- + *Stac a' Chàise* NB1742, see *Stac a' Chàis*.
- 2755 *Stac a' Chaisteil* NB2045 GEARR ={'xaft'al} the stack (of the castle).
1848 *-/a Chaisteil* 1974 =. There is a 'stack-dun' here, but whose structure is more akin to the beehive-hut and shieling than to the island-dun type.
- 2756 *Stac a' Phrionnse* NB2347 SD ={'fδʒũf} the stack of the prince. 1848 *-/a Phrìs* 1974 *-/a' Phris*. Alias *Prionnsa Ghruthaigea*. For the map forms, cf. *Cnoc Beinn Phrìnnse*.
- + *Stac a' Phris* NB2347, see *Stac a' Phrionnse*.
- 2757 *Stac an Eòin* NB2649 BRA ={'N'ʒ:N'} the stack of the bird. 1848 1974 *-/nan Eun*.
- 2758 *Stac an t-Sìlich* NB2145 DAIL ={'N'^hi:lɪç} the stack of *An Sìlich* (q.v.).
- + *Stac na Caoraich Lachduinne* NB1742, see *Staca na Caora Lachdainn*.
- + *Stac na Faoileig* NB2749, see *Staca nam Faoileag*.
- + *Stac nan Eun* NB2649, see *Stac an Eòin*.
- 2759 *Staca Beag* NB1944 GEARR ={'bɛg} 'veg} §7.3i, the little stack.
- + *Staca Bearnach* NB1742, see *Staca Bheàrnach*.
- 2760 *Staca Bheàrnach* NB1742 BOR ={'vja:ŋɔx} §7.3i, the notched stack.
1848 *Slaca Bearnach* 1974 *Staca Bearnach*.
- + *Staca Caol na Ribh Uarach* NB2347, 1848 *Stac a Caol na Ribh Uarach*.

- 2761 *Staca Dhonnchaidh* NB1843 BOR = 'γũNũx₁} *Donnchadh's* stack.
- 2762 *Staca Liath* NB2448 SD = 'L'ið} the grey stack. 1848 *Stac a Liath* 1974 =.
- 2763 *Staca Mòr* NB1944 GEARR = 'mo:r} 'vo:r} §7.3i, the large stack.
- 2764 *Staca na Caora Lachdainn* NB1742 BOR {,sta^hkðnð,k^hω.rð'Laxk₁N'} the stack of the grey sheep, with gen.fem.sg. of *lachdainn* adj. EIr. *lachtna*. 1848 *Stac na Càorach Lachduinne* 1974 *Stac na Caoraich Lachduinne*.
- 2765 *Staca na Cròige* NB1838 TOL {,sta^hkðnð'k^hrɔ:l^g'ð} the stack of the claw, of 3 rocks. With gen.sg. of *cròg* f., fr. ON *krók* m.acc. 'hook' etc. . . . Henderson (1910: 113) derives G. *cròcan* 'crook' fr. ON *krokr* (*sic*), but this is unlikely (?rather from ME).
- 2766 *Staca na Geodha Glaise* NB2447 SD {,sta^hkðnð,g'ɔ:l^g'Lafð} the stack (of the grey ravine). 1848 1974 =.
- 2767 *Staca nam Faoileag* NB2749 BRA {,sta^hkðnð'f_ω:lak} the stack of the gulls. 1974 *Stac na Faoileig*.
- 2768 *Staca nan Gall* NB2245 DAIL {,sta^hkðnð'ŋ'auL} the stack of the foreigners, with gen.pl. of *gall* m. EIr. *gall*. Trad: A ship out of Wick was wrecked here, and those that made it to the shore were killed by the locals; the last to die managed to utter a curse that is thought to be the reason why DB has such a small population: *Daile Beaga Daile Beaga, Masa beag e Masa beag e, Guma beag e Guma beag e, Cha bhi mac an àite àthar, No nighean an àite màthar* 'DB, if it be small, may it be small, there'll no son in a father's stead, nor daughter in a mother's'.
- 2769 *Stacaiseal* NB3037 ST {'sta^hkð,ʃaL} of a mountain. 1832 *Stacksal* 1848 *Stàcashal* 1895 *Stacashal* 1932 idem 1934 *Stacaseal* 1974 *Stacashal*. A ln. fr. ON *Stakksfiall* with gen.sg. of *stakkr* m. 'rick, stack' (or cf. NN *stakk* with the sense 'skirt') and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. F.etym: fr. *Staca nan Steall* 'the stack of the spurts or spouts of water'. Alias *Beinn Stacaiseal*.
- + *Stacan a' Leothaid Ghlais* NB2145, see *Stacan an Leothaid Ghlais*.
- 2770 *Stacan an Leothaid Ghlais* NB2145 DAIL {,sta^hkðnð,l'ɔ:-ɪt'γLaf} the stacks of (An) *Leathad Glas*; with pl. of *stac(a)* m. 1848 *-/a Leothaid Ghlais* 1974 *-/a' Leothaid Ghlais*.
- 2771 *Stacan Chuidhbhig* NB2246 SD/DAIL {,sta^hkðn'xði,v₁k'} the stacks of *C.* 1848 *Slacan Chuibhig*.
- + *Stacanan Dubha* NB1742, see *Stacanan Dubh*.

- 2772 *Na Stacannan* NB1743 BOR {nə'sta^hkəNəŋ} the stacks, with pl. of *stac(a)* §7.5vi.
- 2773 *Stacannan Dubh* NB1742 BOR {,sta^hkəNəŋ'du^h} the black stacks. 1974 *Stacanan Dubh*.
- 2774 *Stacannan Dubh Dhruidigeadh* NB1843 BOR {,sta^hkəNəŋ,də'γrud'ɪ,g'aɣ} the black stacks of *D*.
- 2775 *Stacannan Mol a' Mhairt* NB1837 TOL {,sta^hkəNəŋ,mɔLə'vaɣt} the stacks of *M*. 1848 -/Mól a Mhairt 1974 =.
+ *Stacashal* NB3037, see (*Beinn*) *Stacaiseal*.
- 2776 *Steall nan Creag* NB1843 BOR {,st'ɑLnə'ɪ^hðøɣ} the spout of the rocks, of a length of cliffs. F.etym: with *stially* 'stretch (i.e. of rocks)'.
2777 *Steinn Langa* NB1840 DUN {,st'a'Læŋkə} of a long thin stack. 1848 *Steagh a Langa*. A ln. fr. ON *Steininn Langa* 'the long stone' with acc. of *steinn* m. 'stone' + suffixed art., and acc.m.sg. of the wk. form of the adj. *langr* 'long!'.
2778 *Stiall Chas* NB2242 CARL {,st'iəL'xas} the steep strip (of rock), with *stially* f. EIr. *stially*. 1848 1974 =.
+ *A' Stighe* NB1842, see *An Stiogha*, *An Stiogh Uarach*.
- 2779 *Stiogh a' Chàrnain Bhig* NB1840 DUN {,st'ɪɣə,xɑ.ŋan'vɪɣ'} the steep path of *An Càrnain Beag*.
- 2780 *Stiogh Ghràin* NB1843 BOR {,st'ɪɣ'ɣrã:N'} the grain path, with gen. of *gràn* m. EIr. *grán*.
- 2781 *Stiogh Iorach* NB1842 BOR {,st'ɪ'ɣiəɾɔx} the lower path.
- 2782 *An Stiogh Uarach* NB1842 BOR {ə,st'ɪ'ɣuəɾɔx} the upper path. Alias *An Stiogha* doc., *Stiogha Mhòr*.
- 2783 *Stiogha* NB1938 TOL {'st'ɪɣə} the path.
- 2784 *Stiogha* NB2037 TOL, as above.
- 2785 *An Stiogha* NB1842 BOR {ə'st'ɪɣə} as above. 1974 *A' Stighe*. Alias *An Stiogh Uarach*, *Stiogha Mhòr*.
- 2786 *An Stiogha* NB1742 BOR, as above.
- 2787 *Stiogha Bhorghanaidh* NB1843 BOR {,st'ɪɣə'vɔɾɔɣ^(ə)nɪ} the path of **B*. Very possibly with a ln. fr. ON *Borginni* 'the fort' with dat.sg. of *borg* f. + suffixed art.; perhaps in origin a phrasal-name *Stigi at Borginni* 'the path to the fort'. The fort in question may be at *An Dùnan* (q.v.) or have been situated on the cliff-path itself, where there is a great quantity of stones piled up.
- 2788 *Stiogha Mhòr* NB1842 BOR {,st'ɪɣə'vo:r} the large path. Alias *An Stiogha* doc., *An Stiogh Uarach*.
- 2789 *Stiogha nan Each* NB1840 DUN {,st'ɪɣəŋə'N'æx} the path of the horses.

+ Strèimnish NB2132, see *Srèimeanais*.

+ Suil Bhorach NB1741, see *An Tùl Bhorach*.

2790 *Sùil Dubh Chuidhbhig* NB2246 DAIL {,su.l,ɞu'xɔi,vɫk'} the black eye of C., of hole through section of cliff; with *sùil* f. EIr. *súil*.

1848 *Suil Dubh Chuibhig*.

T

- 2791 *Taca nan Gilean* NB2440 SD {,t^ha^hkə̀nə̀'ɟ'ɪlən} the slope of the ravines, with *tac(a)* m. EIr. *taca* 'prop, support'. 1848 = 1974 -/nan Gillean.
+ *Taca nan Gillean* NB2440, see *Taca nan Gilean*.
- 2792 *Na Tacannan* NB2038 TOL {nə̀'t^ha^hkə̀Nə̀n} the slopes, with pl. of *tac(a)* m.
- 2793 *Taigh a' Chìobair* NB2244 DAIL {,t^hə̀jə̀'ɟi:ɸə̀ð} the house of the shepherd. Trad: the shepherd who last stayed here went to CAL in 1921 when the tack in DM was broken up.
- 2794 *Taigh Mhurchaidh 'ic Aoich* NB1842 BOR {,t^hə̀j,vuRùxə̀'kə̀i} *Murchadh Mac Aoidh*'s house; M. held the tack at *Laimiseadar* before it was broken up and returned to BOR c.1888.
- 2795 *Taigh Nèill Bonaidh* NB1940 DUN {,t^hə̀j,nē.L''pə̀nɪ} *Niall Bonaidh*'s house; where his wife, who survived him, lived until the late 1970's. *Bonaidh* (?fr. Scots *bonny*) was *Niall*'s mother's nickname. This was the last black-house inhabited in DUN.
- 2796 *Taigh Staile* NB2244 DAIL {,t^hə̀j'stalə̀} the distillery. Trad: *Uill, bha bodach ann aig an àm sin, nuair a bha tuath an seo, mas do ghabh an tuathanach e. Agus na rèir an sgeulachd (sic) se bodach eagalach cruaidh aig an robh an staile bha seo, agus chan fhàigheadh duine mòran bhuaidhe.....Agus ri seo rinn na balaich caidhm, 'eil thu faicinn, airson dè an dèigh airam faighist tè bhuaidhe. O! Ai! bhiodh 'ad shuas an seo a' buachailleachd an uairsin is an dèidh a chaoraich 's mar sin, is bha dhà na thrè ac' timcheall. Ach aig an aon àm, thàinig dithis eile tarsainn ann an shin bho Chnoc na Cartach - bha seòrsa de fri-rathad ann an uairsin, tha col'ach, far a bheil an rathad an-diugh. Agus: A shèid ort! 's 'ad nam fallas, col'as orr', 's am bonaid nan dèrn-s'. — Sann a tha mis', ars' iadsan (sic), ag ìnnse dhut; ri fear na staile bha ann. Sann a tha mis' ag ìnns' dhut, ars' esan, bha dà ghèideir, ars' esan, a bha lorg an àit', ars' esan, a-steach an seo. 'S chuir sinne ceàrr 'ad, ars' iadsan, chùl a' chnuic; ach 's iongantach mana dig 'ad fhathast, agus 's fheàrr dhut, tha, rudeigin a dhèanamh ma dheidhinn. — A! ars' esan, d'irtibha h-uile deur dheth {ach} ma tha sibh dha iarraidh air 'son òl, ars' esan, òlaibh an toiseachd e.... Uill, gun teagamh, rinn 'ad sin. Nuair a shaoil 'ad {gu robh} gu leòr aca: — Ach uill! 's fheàrr dhut an còrr fhàgail gu faic sinn dè thachras, 'eil fhios a'ad, chan eil fhios againn an e gèidearan a bh' ann.*

'Well, there was an old man at that time, when there was a tack here, before the tacksman took it. And according to the story, this was a terribly hard old man who had the still, and one couldn't get much from him. And on account of this, the lads conspired, you see, {to see} how they could get one (i.e. a drink) from him. Oh! Yes! they'd be up here herding {cattle} then and after sheep and so on, and there were two or three of them about. But at the same time, two others came across from *Cnoc na Cartach* - there was a sort of path there then, it seems, where the road is today. And: Boy! And they're sweating, in a great hurry, with their caps in their hands. -- I'm, they says, telling you, to the stiller who was there {at that time}, I'm telling you, he says, there were two excisemen (gaugers), he says, who were looking for the place, he says, over this way (lit. in here). And we misdirected them, he says, behind the hill; but it'll be surprising if they don't come yet and you'd better do something about it. -- Ah! he says, pour every drop of it away, but if you want any to drink, he says, drink it first....Well, they certainly did that. When they thought they'd had enough: -- Oh well! you'd better leave the rest till we see what happens, you know, we don't know whether there were excisemen.'

2797 *Taigh Staile Ghruthaigea* NB2347 SD { ,t^hø,staɪð 'γrɪ-l'g'a } the distillery of G.

2798 *Na Taighean Earraich* NB2345 DAIL { nð ,tɛhðn'jaRɪ ç } the spring houses, with gen.sg. of *earrach* m. There were formally buildings here - the OS 1848 shows some ruins - but there is no tradition concerning them. *Taighean earraich* were large shielings that also afforded shelter for cattle (HGD).

2799 *Tairigeadh* NB1841 DUN { 't^haðɪ,g'aɣ } of a small cove. 1848 Tàrraige 1974 Tarrage. A ln. fr. ON *þaragiǫ* 'the ravine of the seaweed' with gen.sg. of *þari* m. 'seaweed' and nom./acc. of *giǫ* f. (§9.lviii; cf. No. 2817). Alias *Geodha Thairigeadh*.

2800 *Tairtheabhal* NB1940 DUN { 't^haðàhð,vəL } { 't^haràhð,vəL } of a mountain. 1848 Toirabhal 1934 Tairraival 1974 Toiraval. Very possibly fr. ON *Hqrg-fiall* with the stem-form of *hqrg* m. and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. ON *hqrg* may mean a 'raised heap of stones' or 'stone altar' (Heggstad 1975: 221). However, possibly the sense intended here is similar to that of NN *horg* f. 'mountain with steep sides and flat top'. (ON *hqrg* is also found with sense 'mountain' in Skaldic verse). The ON name-form has developed differently in CARL, see No. 2745.

- 2801 *Talamh Aiteach* NB1842 BOR {,t^h aLə'va:h't'ig} the cultivated land, with gen. of *aiteach* m., cf. EIr. *aittigid* 'inhabits; dwells' etc. This was land once under cultivation in the hamlet of *Laimiseadar* (now deserted).
- 2802 *Talamh Chàl* NB1942 CN {,t^h aLu'xə:L} the cabbage patch (lit. of cabbages). This ground has not been planted for at least 60 years.
- 2803 *Talamh Flod* NB2041 CN ='fLɔð} {,t^h aLəv'fLɔð} the land of *F. 1848 1974 =. With a ln. fr. ON *Flōt* 'the plain' with acc. of *flōtr* m., or of *flōt* f. In Norway, cf. Flaaten (NG X, 299), Flaatenes (NG X, 367), Storefloten (Helleland 1982: 136); with the wk. noun *flati* m., Klovskjersflaten (Hallarðker 1976: 32). In Shetland, cf. Fladabister (Jakobsen 1897: 111). There may be a case for taking the specific here as an ON lw., cf. Cnoc a' Flod a Muigh NB2820 Loch Cuil Airigh a' Flod NB2722 (OS 1974).
- 2804 *Talamh nan Each* NB1943 GEARR {,t^h aLunə'N'æx} the land of the horses.
- 2805 *Talamh Rathairgeadh* NB1942 BOR {,t^h aLu'ra-ɾ,g'ay} the land of R. Trad: once cultivated.
- 2806 *Talamh Ridheas* NB1841 DUN='ri-as} the land of *R. With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Ryð-ás* 'rust-ridge' (i.e. of iron-stained rocks) with stem-form of *ryð* nt. 'rust' and acc. of *ás* m. In Norway, cf. Rødaas (NG XIV, 126; Heggstad 1975: 349).
- 2807 *An Talamh Ruadh* NB1942 BOR {ə,N^h aLu'Ruəɣ} the red land. Trad: once cultivated.
- 2808 *An Talamh Tholl* NB2137 TOL {ə,N^h aLəv'həuL} the holed land, i.e. full of holes; with gen.pl. of *toll* m.
- 2809 *An Talamh Ur* NB2648 BRA {ə,N^h aLə'və:r} the new land.
- 2810 *Tanaigseir* NB1842 DUN {'t^h ənɪ,fk'əð} of a cluster of 7 skerries in *Loch Chàrlabhaigh*. Most probably fr. ON *Hanasker* 'the skerry of the cockerel(s)' with gen.sg. or pl. of *hani* m. 'cockerel' and nom./acc. of *sker* nt. (see Oftedal 1976: 128). Cf. *Bodh' a' Choin*.
- 2811 *Taobh a' Gheàrrraidh* NB2145 DAIL {,t^h ə.və'ja:Rɪ} the side of *An Gheàrrraidh*. With *taobh* m. EIr. *táeb*.
- 2812 *Taobh Deas* NB2133 CAL {,t^h ə.d'əs} the southern side (of the village). Alias *Taobh Deas Challanais*.
- 2813 *Taobh Deas Challanais* NB2133 CAL {,t^h ə.d'əs'xəLa,nɪf} the south side of C. Alias *Taobh Deas*.
- 2814 *An Taobh Siar* (1848 1974 at NB2548, *Taobh Siar*) {ə,N^h ə.'fiəɾ} the west side (of Lewis), with the adj. *siar* EIr. *síar*.
- 2815 *Taobh Tuath* NB2133 CAL {,t^h ə.'t^h uəð} the north side (of the village).

- Alias *Taobh Tuath Challanais*.
- 2816 *Taobh Tuath Challanais*. NB2133 CAL {,t^hu.,t^huð'xɔLa,nɪf} the north side of C. Alias *Taobh Tuath*.
- 2817 *Taraigea* NB2749 BRA {,t^harɪ,g'a} of a cove. Fr. ON þaragiǫ; cf. *Tairigeadh*. Alias *Geodh' an Fhuarain*.
- + *Tarraige* NB1841, see *Tairigeadh, Geodha Thairigeadh*.
- 2818 *Tarsgeir* NB2749 BRA {,t^hɑ:,ʃk'ðð} of a large grey skerry. 1932 Tharsgeir 1974 Tarsgeir. Fr. ON *Hár-sker* 'grey skerry' with stem-form of the adj. *hárr* 'grey, hoary' and nom./acc. of *sker* nt.
- + *Tè Ard* NB2239, see *Màs Ard*.
- 2819 *Tealabhal* NB1938/1939 DUN/TOL {,t^hɔLð,vɔL} of two hills (see Nos. 2820/1). 1848 *Téalabhal, Chálabhal* 1974 *Tealaval*. Fr. ON *Hellufiall* 'the hill of the rock' with gen.sg. of *hella* f. and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. In Ireland, cf. *Helvik* (Sommerfelt 1952, *Helvik*).
- 2820 *Tealabhal na Dúine* NB1939 DUN {,t^hɔLð,vɔLnð'ðũ:N'ð} *T.* of *An Dùn* Alias *Tealabhal*.
- 2821 *Tealabhal Tholstaidh* NB1938 TOL =,hɔLð,staɟ} *T.* of *Tolstadh*. Alias *Tealabhal*.
- + *Tealan Ard* NB1944, see *Na Ceallan Ard*.
- + *Tealaval* NB1939, see *Tealabhal (na Dúine/Tholstaidh)*.
- 2822 *Teannraigir* NB1839 DUN {,t^hɑ̃:Rɪ,g'ðð} of a hill and its area. Fr. ON *Tiarnargerði* 'the enclosure of the tarn' with gen.sg. of *tjörn* f. 'tarn, small lake' and obl. case of *gerði* nt. In Norway, cf. *Tjørnåsen, Tjørnbekken* (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 316).
- 2823 *Teannraigir Bheag* NB1839 DUN {,t^hɑ̃:Rɪ,g'ðð'vøɟ} lesser *T.* 1848 *Teanraigir Bheag* 1974 *Teanraigir Beag*. Once with initial {k^h}- §9.li. Alias *Teannraigir*.
- 2824 *Teannraigir Mhór* NB1839 DUN =,vo:r} greater *T.* 1848 *Teanraigir Mhor* 1974 *Teanraigir Mór*. Alias *Teannraigir*.
- 2825 *Thaodramar* NB1942 CIR {,hɔ:,ðramðr}{,ɔ:,ðraman}{,hɔ:,ðrðm} {ð'N^hɔ:,ðrðm}{,ɔ:,ðrðm}{,gɔ:,t^hrðm} of a rocky ridge with cliff. F.etym: *druim na gaoithe* 'the ridge of the wind', and *gaoth trom* 'strong (lit. heavy) wind'. 1848 *Eútromachadh*, where the final -achadh may be in error for *a' chladh* 'of the graveyard' which lies below our cliff. An ON ln. evidently in final -*hamar* acc.m. 'crag, precipice'.
- 2826 *Thaorabotar* NB2645 ST {,hð:rð,bɔ^htðr} of a hill above a wet and miry place. 1934 *Urabotar*. Possibly fr. ON *Hafrabotnar* 'the basins of the goats' with gen.pl. of *hafr* m. 'goat' and nom.pl. of *botn* m.

- 'valley or lake-head'.
- 2827 *Theastabhal* NB2140 CN {'h^hεstð,v^hl} of a mountain. 1848 Testabhal, Beinn Thestabhal 1903 Hesta-val 1932 Thestabhal 1934 Beinn Hestival 1974 Ben Hestaval. Fr. ON *Hestafiall* 'the mountain of the horses' with gen.pl. of *hestr* m. 'horse' and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. Cf. the Uist name {'t'^hεstð,v^hl} (Oftedal 1984; notes). In Norway, cf. Hestaasen, Hesteheien (NG IX, 55, 153).
- 2828 *Thèibeiridh* NB1843 BOR {'he:b^ðði}{ 'he:b^ðri} of a fishing-rock. 1848 Thebridh. Fr. ON *Heið-bergi* dat. 'heath-peninsula'; see No. 2743. For the development of the final element, cf. the forms Lang-bridh, Kali-bridh, Creag Latha-bridh (MacKenzie 1903).
- 2829 *Thèisgeir* NB1843 BOR {'he:,f^k'ðð} of a fishing-rock. Fr. ON *heið-sker* 'heath-skerry' with stem-form of *heiðr* f. and nom./acc. of *sker* nt. (Sommerfelt's (1952) derivation of *Heisgeir*, near Canna, from ON *Hellusker* seems improbable; see No. 2819).
- 2830 *Thideabac* NB2042 CN {'(h)ɪð'ð,βa^hk}, usually with initial {h}-, of a bank and slope. 1848 Thidebac. No doubt fr. an ON ln. in final -*bakka*, obl. case of *bakki* m. 'slope, gradient'. The first element might be ON *hiði* nt. 'heat, warmth; flame', but this not altogether satisfactory. Alias *Leathad Thideabac*.
- 2831 *Tinndir* NB2346 DAIL {'t'^hēin't'ðð}, once with initial {k'^h}- §9.li, of a cove. A ln. fr. ON *Tinndar* 'the pinnacles' with nom.pl. of *tinndr* m. 'tooth, pinnacle'; this is extremely apt. On *Rònaidh*, cf. Sroin an Tindeir (MacKenzie 1903); BERN, Sgeir Thinndean (MacAulay 1972: 330); in Norway, Tinden (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980: 314).
- 2832 *Tiompan* NB1945 GEARR {'t'^hũmp^han}, also {f}- §9.li, the headland or bluff; with *tiompan* m., ?originally with the sense 'rounded hill', fr. EIr. *timpan* 'kettledrum' (Lat. *tympanum*); so in Ireland, of a 'small abrupt hill' (Joyce 1913 I, 403). In Lewis, cf. Tiump^han Head NB5737 (OS 1974); Lochbroom, Maoil an Tiompain (Watson 1976: 247); Dumfriesshire and Galloway, Knocktimpen (Watson 1924: 26); Skye, Trumpan (Forbes 1923: 435); Argyllshire, Màm an tiopain (Gillies 1906: 218). 1848 1974 Tiump^han.
- + Tiump^han NB1945, see *Tiompan*.
- 2833 *An Tòb* NB2042 CN {ð'N'^hɔ:b} the creek. Alias *An Tòb Lathaich*.
- 2834 *An Tòb* NB2134 BRI, as above. 1848 Tob Bhreascleit 1974 Tòb Breascleite. Alias *An Tòb Lathaich*.
- + Tòb Breascleite NB2134, see *An Tòb*, *Tòb na Muilne*.
- 2835 *An Tòb Lathaich* NB2042 CN {ð'N'^hɔ.'βLa:hɪç} the muddy or clayey creek,

- with gen.sg. of *làthach* f. 'mud, clay' EIr. *lathach*. Alias *An Tòb*.
- 2836 *Tòb na Fadhail* NB2133 CAL {,t^hɔ̌.b̌ňð'f̌ð-ðl} 'f̌ð:Lɔx} the creek of *An Fhadhail*.
- + *Tòb na Faodhail* NB2133, see *Tòb na Fadhail*.
- 2837 *Tòb na Muilne* NB2134 BRI = 'mũil'ð} the creek (of the mill). Alias *An Tòb* doc.
- 2838 *Tòb nan Leòbag* NB2132 CAL = 'L'ɔ̌:b̌ak} the creek of the flounders, with gen.pl. of *leòbag* f., fr. *leòb* 'patch' etc. EIr. *leòb*, + agent suffix. 1848 -/nan Liabag 1974 -/nan Leobag.
- 2839 *Tobair Ceit* NB1944 GEARR {,t^hʌ̌b̌ðð'k^he^ht} *Ceit*'s well, with gen. of the woman's name, fr. Eng. *Kate*.
- 2840 *An Tobair Gheal* {ð,N^hɔ̌b̌ðð'jɑl} the white well.
- 2841 *Tobair na Creige* NB1938 TOL {,t^hɔ̌b̌ððňð'k^hɔ̌eg'ð} the well (of the crag).
- 2842 *An Tobair Mhòr* NB1942 BOR {ð,N^hʌ̌b̌ðð'vo:r} the large well.
- 2843 *An Tobair Ruadh* NB1938 TOL = 'ruðɣ} the red well.
- 2844 *An Tobair Ruadh* NB1941 DUN, as above. Also {ð,N^hɔ̌b̌ð'ruðɣ}
- 2845 *Tobht a' Ghobhainn* NB2447 SD {,t^ho^hť'ɣo-ɪN'} the site of the smith.
- + *Toiraval* NB1940, see *Tairtheabhal*.
- 2846 *Tòlaigea Bheag* NB2346 SD {,t^hɔ̌.Ll,g'a'veg} lesser *T., of a cove. Alias *Geodha Thòlaigea Bheag*.
- 2847 *Tòlaigea Mhòr* NB2346 SD = 'vo:r} greater *T., of a cove. Alias *Geodha Thòlaigea*, *Geodha Thòlaigea Mhòr*.
- 2848 *Tòlair* NB1942 BOR {'t^hɔ̌:Lðð} of a group of hills. A ln. fr. ON *Hólar* 'the hills' with pl. of *hóll* m. In Norway, cf. Hole ON *hóli* dat.sg. (NG X, 135). 1848 Tòllar 1903 idem 1934 Tò-lair 1974 Tollar.
- 2849 *Toll na h-Uagh* NB2648 ST {,t^hɔ̌Lňð'hũãɣ} the hole of the cave. Trad: the pit at the bottom of a cave in which seaweed gathered, and from where it was fetched for use on the land.
- 2850 *Toll nam Feadag* NB1841 DUN {,t^hɔ̌Lð'fɛ̌ðak} the hole of the plovers.
- + *Tollar* NB1842, see *Tòlair*.
- + *Tolsta Chaolais* NB1938, see *Tolstadh (a' Chaolais)*.
- 2851 *Tolstadh* NB1938 TOL {'t^hɔ̌Lð,sta(ɣ)}, of the village and township. Most probably a ln. fr. ON *þólfsstaðir* 'þólfr's farm' with gen. of the man's name (a late contraction of *þórolfr*) and pl. of *staðr* m. For other, less likely solutions, see Oftedal 1954: 378-79. The name is also found on the east coast of Lewis. Alias *Tolstadh a' Chaolais*.
- 2852 *Tolstadh a' Chaolais* NB1938 TOL {,t^hɔ̌Lð,sta'xɔ:Ll} T. (of the straits), of the village and township (contrasted with North Tolsta NB5447, OS 1974, on the east of the island). 1583 Tollasta 1654

- Tollosta 1718 Tolsta 1726 Tolisk 1750 1789 1807 Tolsta 1832
Tolstay Chulish 1848 Tolasadadh a' Chaolais 1869 Tolstay Chulish
1875 Tolsta, Tolsta Chulish 1895 Tolasadadh a' Chaolais 1932 Tolasta
1934 Tolasta a' Chaolais 1973 Tolastadh Chaolais 1974 Tolsta
Chaolais. Alias *Tolstadh*. F.etym: see §5.5.
- + Tom NB2432, see *Dùn Atha*.
- 2853 *An Tom* NB2536 BRI {ð'N^hũm} the hill. 1848 Tom Uidebhall 1974 Tom
Uideval. Alias *Tom Uideabhal*.
- 2854 *Tom a' Chruic Mhòir* NB1943 GEARR {,t^hũmð,xr^hk'vo:ð} the knoll of
An Cnoc Mòr.
- + Tom a' Ghàraidh NB2546, 1848 Tom a' Ghàraidh.
- 2855 *Tom a' Gheòidh* NB2042 CARL {,t^hũmð'jo:j} the knoll of the goose.
- 2856 *Tom a' Gheòidh* NB1944 GEARR, as above. 1848 -/a Gheoidh 1974 =.
- 2857 *Tom a' Ghille* NB2647 ST ='jɪL'ð} the knoll of the youth or servant,
with gen.sg. of *gille* m. EIr. *gilla*.
- 2858 *Tom a' Ghlinne* NB2546 ST ='ɣlĩN'ð} the knoll (of the valley).
- 2859 *Tom a' Ghrianain* NB2340 GEARR ='ɣðĩðnan} the knoll (of the sunny
place).
- 2860 *Tom an Aoil* NB2647 ST ='N₀:l} the knoll of the lime. 1848 Cnoc an Aoil
1934 Tom an eùl 1974 Cnoc an Aoil. Alias *Cnoc an Aoil*.
- 2861 *Tom an Dìona* NB2746 ST/BRA ='N'ĩðnð} the knoll (of the dyke),
with gen.sg. of *dìon* m. EIr. *dìn*. 1848 1974 Tom an Diona. Alias
Tom Mor an Dìona.
- 2862 *Tom an Dòrlaich* NB1938 TOL ='N₀:La^lç} the knoll of the sheaves, with
gen. of *dòrlach* m., fr. EIr. *dorn* 'fist' + *lach* §7.6vii 'a measure';
MacDonald (1946: 3) for Lewis gives the sense 'ten sheaves of
barley put standing in a row'. F.etym: that the specific is the
nickname of the man who once lived here (he died in 1914); but the
nickname is {ð'N₀:Lðx} (or ? {ð'N₀:Lðx}).
- 2863 *Tom an Eòin* NB2645 ST ='N'ũ:N'} the knoll of the bird. 1848 1974 -/
an Eoin.
- 2864 *Tom an Fhèidh* NB3033 CAL ='N'e:j} the knoll of the deer. 1848 Creag
na'm Fiadh. Alias *Creag an Fhèidh*, *Creagan an Fhèidh*.
- + Tom an Fhiona NB2745, see *Tom Beag an Dìona*. (NB2746).
- 2865 *Tom an Fhradhaire* NB2839 ST ='rð-ðð'k'} the hill of the prospect.
- 2866 *Tom an Fhuarain* NB1938 TOL ='Nuðran} the knoll of the spring.
- 2867 *Tom an t-Searraich* NB3039 BRA ='N'^harɪç} the knoll of the colt. 1848
= 1895 Tom ant Searraich.
- 2868 *Tom an t-Searraich* NB2441 GEARR, as above. 1848 1974 =.

- 2869 *Tom Beag an Dìona* NB2746 ST/BRA {,t^hðm'beqð'N'ĩðnð} the lesser *T*.
1848 1974 -/an Fhiona. F.etym: with *fìon* 'wine'.
- 2870 *Tom Beag Bhineasgro* NB2543 SD {,t^hðm,beq'vĩna,skro} the little knoll
of *Bh.
- 2871 *Tom Beag Corrach* NB2745 ST/BRA {,t^hðm'beq'k^hɔRɔx} the lesser
(tapering knoll). Alias *Tom Corrach Beag*.
- 2872 *Tom Beag Loch an Fhraoich* NB2839 ST {,t^hðm'beq,Lɔxð'ɾω:l̥ç} the lesser
knoll (of the lake of the heather). 1848 -/Beag Loch a Fhraoich.
+ *Tom Biorach a' Gharaidh* NB2745, see *Tom/Creagan Biorach a' Ghàrraidh*.
- 2873 *Tom Bhrataigea Bheag* NB2447 SD {,t^hðm,vra^ht̥l̥g'a'veg} the lesser
(knoll of *B.).
- 2874 *Tom Bhrataigea Mhòr* NB2347 SD ='vo:r} the greater (knoll of *B.).
- 2875 *Tom Biorach a' Ghàrraidh* NB2745 ST {,t^hðm,b̥l̥ɾɔxð 'γa:Rl̥} the pointed
knoll (of the dyke). 1848 --/a Ghàrraidh 1974 --/a' Gharaidh. Alias
Creagan Biorach a' Ghàrraidh.
- 2876 *An Tom Buidhe* NB1944 GEARR' {ð,N^hðm'bu^ljð} the yellow knoll.
- 2877 *Tom Corrach Beag* NB2745 ST/BRA {,t^hðm,k^hɔRɔx'beq} the lesser
(tapering knoll). Alias *Tom Beag Corrach*.
- 2878 *Tom Corrach Mòr* NB2745 ST/BRA ='mo:r} the greater (tapering knoll).
Alias *Tom Mòr Corrach*.
- 2879 *Tom Dubh* NB2446 SD {,t^hðm'ðu^h} the dark knoll. 1848 1974 =.
+ *Tom Dubh an Iògain* NB2641, see *Creag Dhubh an t-Sìogainn*.
+ *Tom Feadan an t-Searraich* NB2740, 1848 idem.
- 2880 *Tom Feadan na Gile* NB2440 SD {,t^hðm,feðannð'g'ıl̥l̥ð} the knoll of *F*.
- 2881 *Tom Galabhat* NB2840 ST/BRA {,t^hðm'g̥al̥ð,və^ht} the knoll of *G. 1848
-/Gállabhat.
- 2882 *Tom Ghrèis* NB1942 CN {,t^hðmð'γðe:f} §7.3i, embroidery knoll, with
gen. of *grèis* f. EIr. *grés*.
+ *Tom Liavrat* NB2341, see *Druim Lèireabhat*.
+ *Tom Luachair* NB2630, see *Tom Luarach*.
- 2883 *Tom Luarach* NB2630 CAL {,t^hðm'Luðrɔx} the knoll of rushes. 1848 1974
-/Luachair.
- 2884 *Tom Mhic Ledid* NB3132 CAL {,t^hðm,vĩ^h'k'łɔ:ð'} *Mac Ledid*'s knoll.
1848 1974 --/Leoid.
- 2885 *Tom Mòr an Dìona* NB2746 ST/BRA {,t^hðm'mo:rð'N'ĩðnð} the greater *T*.
1848 1974 *Tom an Diona*. Alias *Tom an Dìona*.
- 2886 *Tom Mòr Corrach* NB2745 ST/BRA {,t^hðm'mo:r'k^hɔRɔx} the greater
(tapering knoll). Alias *Tom Corrach Mòr*.
- 2887 *Tom Mòr Loch an Fhraoich* NB2839 ST {,t^hðm'mo:r,Lɔxð'ɾω:l̥ç} the

- greater knoll (of the lake of the heather). 1848 -/Mor Loch a Fhraoich.
- 2888 *Tom na Bith* NB2834 BRI {,t^hɔ̃mnə'bi:} the knoll of the tar, with gen. of *bith* f. EIr. *bí* 'pitch'. Trad: Archangel Tar was melted and rubbed into sheeps' wool in strips in order to deter parasites. Cf. Blarnabee (Watson 1976: 156).
- 2889 *Tom na Caorrcha Mhiodhag* NB2039 DUN {,t^hɔ̃mnə^kʰɔ̃ɔ̃xə'vĩ-ak} the knoll of the bilberry. Cf. Nos. 648, 1204.
- 2890 *Tom na Cruachan Mònadh* NB1938 TOL {,t^hɔ̃mnə^kʰruəxə'n'mõ:nəɣ} the knoll of the peat stacks, with gen.pl. of the semantic cpd. *cruach* (EIr. *crúach*) *mònadh* (gen. of *mòine* f.).
- 2891 *Tom na Diathad* NB2346 SD {,t^hɔ̃mnə'd'iəhət} the knoll of the meal (repastr), with gen.sg. of *diathad* f. EIr. *díthat*. 1848 -/na Dithaid 1974 -/na Dìothaid.
- + *Tom na Dìothaid* NB2346, see *Tom na Diathad*.
- 2892 *Tom na Liana Mhòr* NB2542 SD {,t^hɔ̃mnəL'ãə'n'vo:r} §7.3ii, the knoll of *An Liana Mhòr*.
- 2893 *Tom na Muic* NB1937 TOL {,t^hɔ̃mnə'mũ^hk'} the knoll of the whale.
- 2894 *Tom na Nathrach* NB2644 SD ='Narɔx} the knoll of the snake. 1848 1974 (NB2647) =.
- 2895 *Tom nan Caolan* NB2745 ST ='ɔ̃^hω:Lan} the knoll of the entrails. 1848 1974 =.
- 2896 *Tom nan Laogh* NB1945 GEARR {,t^hɔ̃mnə'Lω:ɣ} the knoll of the calves.
- 2897 *Tom Rostal* NB2830 LOCH {,t^hɔ̃m'rɔ̃stəL} (CAL), but -{'rɔ̃stəN'} (ACH), the knoll of *R. 1848 -/Rostain 1934 -/Rosdal 1974 -/Rostal. Oftedal (1984, notes) has recorded the latter form. The CAL form appears to be a corruption, hence the later documentary forms. With an ON ln. fr. *Hross-fiall* 'horse-rock' with stem-form of nt. 'horse' and acc. of **stainn* 'rock, stone' etc. (an earlier form, before assimilation of the diphthong, of ON *steinm* m.; cf. /sdãin'ðvaL/ ON *Staina-fiall*, Benbecula, Oftedal 1962: 48).
- + *Tom Rostal* NB2830, see *Tom Rostal*.
- 2898 *Tom Thòlaigea* NB2346 SD ='hɔ̃:Lɪ,ɣ'a} the knoll of *T. 1848 -/Thòlaige 1974 -/Tolaige.
- + *Tom Tolaige* NB2346, see *Tom Thòlaigea*.
- 2899 *Tom Uideabhal* NB2536 BRI ='œð'ð,ɪəL} the hill of *U.; known only by one informant (from TOL), with his pronunciation of the specific homophonous with his pronunciation of the specific in the name *Beinn Uidealum*. We should probably read -*{'œð'ð,ɪəL} in

- accordance with the maps' -val -bhall, and which probably represents ON *Uit-fiall* 'beacon-hill' (see No. 359. 1848 -/Uideabhall 1974 -/Uideval. Alias *An Tom*.
- + Tom Uideval NB2536, see *An Tom, Tom Uideabhal*.
- 2900 *Toma Dubha* NB2534 BRI {,t^hðmð'du-a} the dark hills, with pl. of *tom* m. §7.5iv. 1848 -/Dubha 1974 =.
- + Toma Giara NB2541, see *Na Toman Geura*.
- 2901 *Na Toman Geura* NB2541 SD {nð,t^hðmð'n^h'iarð} the pointed knolls, with pl. of *tom* m. 1848 1974 *Toma Giara*.
- 2902 *Toman nan Leac* NB1944 GEARR {,t^hðmðn(n)ð'L'æ^hk} the knolls of the flagstones.
- 2903 *Na Toman Riabhach* NB1944 GEARR {nð,t^hðmðn'Riðvɔx} the tawny knolls.
- + Tota Pairc NB2343, see *Am Both*.
- 2904 *Totarl* NB1840 DUN {'t^ho^htðrɔL} of hill and its area. A ln. fr. ON *Toptarhól* 'the hill of the site' with gen.sg. of *topt* f. 'site, lot (of building); yard' etc. and acc. of *hóll* m. In BERN, cf. *Totarl* (MacAulay 1972: 330); in Norway, Topnes ON *Toptanes* (NG X, 293). Alias *Totarl Mhòr*.
- + Totarl Beag NB1840, see *Totarl Bheag*.
- 2905 *Totarl Bheag* NB1840 DUN {,t^ho^htðrɔL'veg} lesser *T*. 1848 = 1974 -/Beag.
- + Totarl Mór NB1840, see *Totarl Mhòr*.
- 2906 *Totarl Mhòr* NB1840 DUN ='vo:r} greater *T*. 1848 -/Mhor 1974 -/Mór . Alias *Totarl*.
- 2907 *Tràigh an Teampaill* NB1941 CIR {,t^hra.jð'N^häũmpɪL'} the beach (of the church).
- 2908 *Tràigh Bhèitir* NB1941 CIR {,t^hra.j've:^ht'ðð} the beach of **Bh*. With a ln. fr. ON *þueitar*, pl. of *þueit* f. 'piece of (cultivated) land' etc. (cf. No. 1886). In Norway, cf. Tveite ON *þueitar* (NG X, 335).
- + Tràigh Bhiadaig NB1841, see *Tràigh Fiadaig*.
- 2909 *Tràigh Bhlianais* NB1937 TOL ='vliã,nɪf} the beach of *B*.
- 2910 *Tràigh Dhaile Beaga* NB2245 DAIL {,t^hra.j,ɣalð'þegð} the beach of DB. 1848 *Traigh Dhaile Béaga*.
- 2911 *Tràigh Dhaile Mòire* NB2145 DAIL ='mo:ð(ð)} the beach of DM. 1848 *Traigh Dhaile Mòra*.
- 2912 *Tràigh Fiadaig* NB1841 DUN {,t^hra.j'fia,ɟɪk'} the beach of **F*. 1848 *Traigh Bhiadig* 1934 *Traigh Bhiadaig* 1974 -/Bhiadaig.
- + Tràigh Sandig NB1937, see *Tràigh Shanndaig*.

- 2913 *Tràigh Shànndaig* NB1937 TOL ={'hãũNt1k'} the beach of *S. 1848
Traigh Shànndig 1974 -/Sandig.
- 2914 *An Tùl Biorach* NB1741 DUN {ð,N^hu.L'b1rɔx} the pointed knoll, one
of *Na Tùlan*. 1848 Suil Bhorach 1974 idem.
- 2915 *An Tùl Mòr* NB1741 DUN ='mo:r} the large knoll, one of *Na Tùlan*. 1848
Creag Mhor 1974 Creag Mhór.
- 2916 *Tulach Ard* NB2232 CAL {,t^huLɔxá:d} the high hillock, with *tulach* m.
EIr. idem. 1974 Tullach Ard.
- 2917 *Na Tùlan* NB1741 DUN {nð't^hu:Lðn} the knolls (see Nos. 2914/5), with
pl. of *tùl* m. 1934 {?} The Turlain.
+ Tullach Ard NB2232, see *Tulach Ard*.
- 2918 *Na Tursachan* NB2133 CAL {nð't^huɔxðn} the standing-stones, with pl.
of *tursa* m. 1848 1934 Tursachan.
- 2919 *Tursachan Cnoc Bhileabhair Bheag* NB2232 CAL {,t^huɔxðn,k^hrõ^hk
'v1lðvðð'veg} the standing-stones of C. 1848 --/Fillibhir Bheag.
- 2920 *Tursachan Cnoc Ceann a' Ghàrraidh* NB2232 CAL {,t^huɔxðn,k^hrõ^hk,k^h'ãNð
'γa:R1} the standing-stones of C. 1848 ---/a Ghàraidh.

U

- 2921 *Uagh an Oir* NB2548 SD {,ũäyð'Nɔ:ð} the cave of the gold, coastal.
Trad.: a man walked down the cave playing his pipes in order to find out how deep the cave was - but he never returned; though his pipes could be heard from the village as he descended.
- 2922 *Uagh Atraigidh* NB1838 TOL {,ũäy'a:^htrɪ,g'i} the cave of A.
- 2923 *Uagha Mairi* NB1943 GEARR {,ũäyð'mä:ðɪ} *Mairi*'s cave.
- 2924 *Uagha na Geodha Ruaidhe* NB1844 GEARR {,ũäyðnð,g'ɔ.'Ruðjð} the cave of A' *Gheodha Ruadh*. Trad.: a three-masted Russian schooner was wrecked nearby in 1906; its two anchors came to rest by this cave (one has apparently been retrieved).
- 2925 *Uagha nan Cat* NB2548 ST {,ũäyðnð'ɲ^ha^ht} the cave of the cats.
- 2926 *Uagha nan Cipeanan* NB2144 DAIL ={'ɲ^hɪ^hpanðn} the cave of the tethering-stakes, with gen.pl. of *cipean* m., variant of *ceapan* m. (see No. 1048).
- 2927 *An Uaghag* NB1937 TOL {ð'Nũäyək} the cavelet, on shore; with dimin. of *uagh* f.
- 2928 *Na h-Uaghagan* NB1943 GEARR {nð'hũäyagðn} the cavelets, with pl. of *uaghag* f., see above.
- 2929 *Uilinn Fhìbhig* NB1945 GEARR {,uɪɪn'ɪ:,vik'} the elbow of F., a narrow point within bay; with *uilinn* f., an originally dat. form of *uileann* EIr. *uilen*.
- 2930 *Uiseal* NB2641 ST {'u,ʃaɫ} of area by stream on hillside. 1848 Uishall 1895 idem 1934 Uishal 1974 idem. Once the Norse name for this hill: fr. ON *Ytst-fiall* *Yzt-fiall* 'outer(most) mountain' with stem-form of the superlative adj. *ytstr yztr* (ÿ, shortened very early, is acceptable) and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt. In Norway, cf. Østebø ON *ÿztibør* (NG X, 255).
+ Uishal NB2641, see *Uiseal*.
- 2931 *Uiste Bheinn* NB2641 ST {,ʊst'ð'vẽĩN'} *Beinn*'s residence (sheiling); ? with gen.sg. of *Beinn*, a man's name ultimately from ON *Beini Beinir* m., under the influence perhaps of the adj. *beinn* 'straight, direct; helpful, willing' and to which the foregoing are related. *Beini* and *Beinir* are not uncommon in pnn. in Norway and Iceland (GP 32).
- 2932 *Uiste Laghmainn* NB2544 SD {,ʊst'ð'Lð:mɪN'} *Laghmann*'s shieling, with gen.sg. of the man's name, fr. ON *Lqgmann* acc.m., lit. 'legally-trained man'. F.etym: *Ciste Laomainn* 'moth chest'.
- 2933 *Ullamar* NB2141 CARL {'u,Lamɔr} 1848 *Úllamor* ?1934 *Ullamor*; of hill

with precipice. Certainly fr. an ON form in final *-hamar* acc.m. 'crag, precipice'. The first element is not clear. It might simply be *ull*, the stem-form of *ull* f. 'wool', as suggested by MacIver (1934: 4). A form with *Ulfa-* gen. of the man's name *Ulfi* m. would be expected to yield initial {'uLù(v)}-.

+ Upper Carloway NB2043, see *Mullach Chàrlabhaigh*.

+ Uravag NB1943, see *An Urradhag*.

2934 *An Urradhag* NB1943 GEARR {ð'NuRùyak} 1848 Urabhag 1932 Urradhag 1934 idem 1974 Uravag; the rocky place or place of boulders, now a hill-name. The name has also recently been applied to a housing-estate here, normally without article. This name-form is also found at NB1844 (OS 1848 Urraghag) on the coast, but is now lost. With *urrdhag* f. fr. **urrdh* + suffix *-ag* §7.6ii. **Urrdh* is an otherwise unattested lw. (but see below) fr. ON *urð* f. 'rock-strewn slope; debris of boulders', cf. Norn *ord*. In Lewis, cf. Loch Urrahag NB3247 (OS 1974).

2935 *Na h-Urrdhannan* NB2345 SD/DAIL {nð'hurùγðNðn} the boulders, piles of boulders, with pl. of **urrdh*. (see above). In Lewis, cf. Urrannan Beaga NB3544 (OS 1974).

V

+ Vacasay Island NB1836, see *Bhàcasaidh*.

REGISTER OF NAME-ELEMENTS

- abhainn- 1†
Drochaid . Ghrìoda
Drochaid . Othagro
Buaile Bheag Geàrr' na h-Aibhne
Bun na h-.
Cnoc Beag na h-.
Cnoc Mòr na h-.
Geàrr' na h-.
- achadh: 17
An t-Ach'
Rathad an .
An t-Acha' Mòr etc.
Cnoc . nan Geadh
- a deas see deas
- aeroplane: 1033
Cnoc na h-.
- agh: 413
Botaichean an Aigh Dhuinn
Allt Gleann Bot an Aighe
Gleann Bot an .
Loch an .
Loch Leum an .
Geodha nan Aighean
- Aidheal: 1138
Creag .
- Ailean: 393
Bodh' Ailein
Cnoc .
 (see also under mac)
- Ainnsgeir- 22
air: 2035
Lian' . na Shuidh an Duine
- àird- 23
Allt Ceann . Iacsabhat
Dubh Sgeir . a' Ghobhann
Geodha Mhòr . Mheadhanach
Iodhlainn . na Mònadh
Port . na Mònadh
Rinn . na Mònadh
Airde Beaga
Allt Loch na h-.
Càrnan na h- . Mòire
Cnoc na h-.
Creagan Buaile na h-.
Druim na h-.
Liana na h-.
Loch na h-.
Rinn na h-.
Sgeirean na h- . Meadhanaich
- àirigh- 53
Ceadraiseal na h-.
Clach Mhòr . Mhùscleit
Cleit . Sheòrais
Cnoc . Aonghais 'ie Fhionnlaidh
- Cnoc . Barabail
Cnoc . Dhòmhnaill
Cnoc . Dhuibhein
Cnoc . Eòghainn
Cnoc . 'ie a' Phearsain
Cnoc . Màiri
Cnoc . Mhic Risnidh
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