University of Glasgow

Whyte, Alasdair C. (2017) Settlement-names and society: analysis of the medieval districts of Forsa and Moloros in the parish of Torosay, Mull. PhD thesis.

Settlement-Names and Society: analysis of the medieval districts of Forsa and Moloros in the parish of Torosay, Mull.

Alasdair C. Whyte MA MRes

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Celtic and Gaelic | Ceiltis is Gàidhlig

School of Humanities | Sgoil nan Daonnachdan

College of Arts | Colaiste nan Ealain

University of Glasgow | Oilthigh Ghlaschu

May 2017

ABSTRACT

This is a study of settlement and society in the parish of Torosay on the Inner Hebridean island of Mull, through the earliest known settlement-names of two of its medieval districts: Forsa and Moloros.[1] The earliest settlement-names, 35 in total, were coined in two languages: Gaelic and Old Norse (hereafter abbreviated to ON) (see Abbreviations, below). The settlement-toponymy provides irrefutable evidence that ON-speakers settled locally and named their settlements in ON. In subsequent centuries, long after ON ceased to be spoken locally, these ON settlement-names were perpetuated by local Gaelic-speakers. Many of these ON settlement-names are still used locally and are recorded on modern maps; others have fallen out of use. The same can be said of the earliest settlement-names of Gaelic origin.

New etymological analysis of the earliest known forms of these settlement-names, considered alongside local pronunciation where available, forms the basis of this thesis. Much of this analysis challenges previous research. A number of the settlement-names have not hitherto been located or been subject to etymological analysis, no previous study having comprehensively engaged with their earliest forms. The earliest known forms are recorded in fiscal evaluation dating to the final decade of the 15th century and, as such, the settlement-names provide a window on the Late Medieval period. The settlement-names also provide an invaluable insight into settlement and society in the Norse period; i.e. the period in which ON was spoken locally. Norse is employed here as both an adjective, as in the Norse period, and a noun, in reference to speakers of ON. Thus, application is broadly to what is now Scandinavia and contemporary inhabitants thereof, as opposed to the more typical modern application of Norse to Norway and its inhabitants (see OED s.v. *Norse*). Individual place-name elements employed in ON settlement-names provide an insight into how the local landscape was perceived and utilised agriculturally by these immigrant ON-speakers. In some cases, proposed personal names identify individuals associated with specific settlements. At least one ON settlement-name is likely to provide evidence of the religion of those who coined the name.

---

[1] Etymological analysis of these district-names is presented in 5.2.1 and 5.2.4 respectively. Local pronunciation of Forsa is recorded in 5.2.1. Moloros is an obsolete name for which there is no recorded pronunciation. Its proposed Old Norse etymology makes it likely that stress was on the initial element, as it is in Forsa.

Syntactic analysis of the Gaelic settlement-names highlights the possibility that some were coined in the Early Medieval period. It also identifies names which are perhaps unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century. Loan-words borrowed in both directions, i.e. from Gaelic to ON and from ON to Gaelic, are identified and these reveal something of the chronology of individual settlement-names, in addition to providing evidence for language contact.

The distribution of ON settlement-names and the fiscal status of settlements bearing ON names can also reveal something of the status of immigrant ON-speakers and the status of local Gaelic-speaking communities. The date of the earliest known forms probably post-dates the period in which these ON names were coined by around six centuries and this clearly allows for significant displacement of settlement-toponymy. However, settlement-names of ON origin apply to both settlements of principal and of relatively low fiscal status and the implication is that there was a significant amount of continuity in settlement-toponymy up to the date of the earliest known fiscal sources. The dearth of contemporary textual sources for the Early Medieval and Norse periods and of local archaeology relating to these periods identifies these settlement-names as invaluable sources of information for contemporary settlement, society and language in the districts of Forsa and Moloros.

Part One

Chapter 1 sets the research in context in providing geographical, geological, topographical, tenurial, ecclesiastical and fiscal information for the two districts.

Chapter 2 comprises a review of previous studies on local settlement-toponymy.

Chapter 3 identifies the sources which provide the earliest known forms and outlines the employed methodology.

Chapter 4 provides an historical framework and engages with Norse toponymy furth of Mull across Britain and Ireland.

Chapter 5 presents discursive analysis addressing the predominant research questions.

Chapter 6 presents conclusions.

Part Two

The place-name survey presents raw spatial data and etymological analysis, where not included in chapter 5, for each of the 35 settlement-names.

CONTENTS

Barachandroman

Bradhadail

Callachally

Cameron

Còrrachadh

Cowillay

Croggan

Crosta

Derrynaculen

Dibidil

Dìosgaig

Drimnatain

Fishnish

Gaodhail

Garmony

Garmonyreoch

Glenbyre

Gruline

Iaradail

Inagart

Killbeg

Kinlochspelve

Laggan

Leiter

Leth Thorcaill

Moy

Pennygown

Rhoail

Rossal

Scallastle

Teamhair

Tomslèibhe

Torlochan

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1 (in 1.1). The civil parishes of Mull.

Map 2 (in 1.1). Modern ferry-ports: Fishnish, Lochaline, Craignure and Oban.

Map 3 (in 1.1). Major topographical features in Torosay parish.

Map 4 (in 1.4.1). The medieval settlements of Forsa.

Map 5 (in 1.4.2). The medieval settlements of Moloros.

Map 6 (in 1.6.12). Ecclesiastical sites in Torosay parish and Inchkenneth.

Map 7 (in 1.6.13). Church-lands in Torosay parish, Iona and Inchkenneth.

Map 8 (in 1.7). Distibution map of pennylands in western Scotland.

Map 9 (in 4.9.1). Jennings and Kruse's zonal map of Norse settlement in western Scotland.

Map 10 (in 5.3.2). ON names in and around Forsa.

Map 11 (in 5.3.3). The Gaelic settlement-names of Forsa.

Map 12 (in 5.4.3). ON settlement-names in and around Moloros.

Map 13 (in 5.4.3). The Gaelic settlement-names of Moloros.

LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Parish Abbreviations

It is standard practice in Scottish toponymic studies to indicate the location of place-names using three-letter abbreviations relating to *quoad civilia* (civil) parishes which existed before local government reorganisation in 1975 (see, for example, *PNF3*, 5–7). Each of the settlement-names analysed below lies within the parish of Torosay (TOY), sometimes referred to as Torosay (Killean).[2] Thus, the abbreviation TOY is recorded with each place-name, or head-name, in Part Two. Analysis of the settlement-names of Torosay regularly involves reference to place-names in the two other civil parishes of Mull. The three civil parishes of Mull are:

KKE Kilninian and Kilmore
KKV Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon
TOY Torosay

County Abbreviations

Analysis of the settlement-names of Torosay parish also necessitates discussion of place-names furth of Mull. In Scotland, it is standard practice to refer to the pre-1975 county in which the place-name was located using the following abbreviations:

ABD Aberdeenshire
ANG Angus
ARG Argyll
AYR Ayrshire
BNF Banffshire
BTE Bute
BWK Berwickshire
CAI Caithness
CLA Clackmannanshire
DMF Dumfriesshire
DNB Dunbartonshire
ELO East Lothian

LAN Lanarkshire
MLO Midlothian
MOR Moray
NAI Nairnshire
ORK Orkney
PEB Peeblesshire
PER Perthshire
RNF Renfrewshire
ROS Ross and Cromarty
ROX Roxburghshire
SHE Shetland
SLK Selkirkshire

[2] For Killean, see 1.6.1, below.

FIF Fife

INV Inverness-shire

KCB Kirkcudbrightshire

KCD Kincardineshire

KNR Kinross-shire

STL Stirlingshire

SUT Sutherland

WIG Wigtownshire

WLO West Lothian

Other Abbreviations and Symbols

The following list includes all other abbreviations, including those used to classify types of features in Part Two.

A antiquity: all features named on OS maps in Gothic or Roman print styles; e.g. castle, tower, fort etc., including battlefields

acc. accusative

adj. adjective

art. article; see def. art., below

c. Latin *circa* 'about, approximately', followed by a number or an NGR, with no space between

C coastal feature; e.g. offshore rock, bay, headland

d penny/pennies

D deserted settlement

dat. dative

def. art. definite article

E ecclesiastical feature (not parish)

en existing place-name

ENE east-northeast

ESE east-southeast

f./fem. feminine

fl. Latin *floruit*, i.e. 'he flourished'

G Scottish Gaelic

gen. genitive

ibid. Latin *ibidem* 'in the same place'; used to refer to the same source cited in the immediately preceding citation

IPA International Phonetic Alphabet

km kilometre(s)

l pound(s); unit of currency, originating in the initial letter of Latin *libra* 'pound'

m metre(s)

m./masc. masculine

MG Middle Gaelic (from about 900–1200 AD)

ms(s) manuscript(s)

n. neuter

NGR Ordnance Survey National Grid Reference

NNW north-northwest

NNE north-northeast

nom. nominative

O other feature; e.g. bridge, cairn, island, quarry, road, stone

OE Old English (from the seventh century AD to *c.*1150)[3]

OG Old Gaelic (from about 600–900 AD)

ON Old Norse (from *c.*750 AD to 1350 (in Norway)[4]; Old Norse is applied in various ways
but it refers here to both West Scandinavian, i.e. Old Norwegian, and East
Scandinavian, i.e. Old Danish)

OS Ordnance Survey

OS Explorer 2007 OS Explorer Series maps, 1:25,000 scale

P parish

pl. plural

pn personal name (as regards the orthography of personal names from the medieval period,
the general policy is to follow the forms typically employed by recent commentators;
care has been taken to cite relevant commentaries in footnotes where alternative
forms may be suggested)

r. reigned

R relief feature

s shilling(s)

S settlement

Sc Scots

sing. singular

s.a. Latin *sub anno*; i.e. 'under the year', in annals etc.

s.n. Latin *sub nomine*; i.e. 'under the name' (being discussed), in a gazetteer etc.

s.v. Latin *sub verbo*; i.e. 'under the word' (being discussed), in a dictionary etc.

---

[3] See Durkin and Esposito.

[4] See Barnes 1999, 1–2.

SSW south-southwest

SSE south-southeast

SSE Scottish Standard English

V vegetation

var. variant; i.e. used to indicate that one form of a word, orthographically different, is a variant of another

W water feature: all features named in blue on OS maps other than coastal features; e.g. burn, lake, river, well

WNW west-northwest

WSW west-southwest

* used to indicate obsolete names whose forms are reconstructed; also precedes reconstructed or hypothetical words

used to indicate obsolete names which are recorded historically

PART ONE
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Geography

In general terms, the civil parish of Torosay comprises the south-eastern part of Mull. Rev. Duncan Clerk, minister of the parish in 1843, summarised its extent and boundaries as follows: "The length of the parish from south-east to north-west, is 20 miles; and its breadth from north-east to south-west, is 12 miles. It contains about 160 square miles of dry land." (*NSA* vii 277). The parish is bounded on the north by the united parish of Kilninian and Kilmore (KKE) and on the west by the united parish of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon (KKV).

Map 1. The pre-1975 civil parishes of Mull:
Torosay (TOY); Kilninian and Kilmore (KKE); and Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon (KKV).

Mull is the second-largest of the Inner Hebrides after Skye. It lies very close to mainland Scotland, being separated from the mainland peninsula of Morvern by little more than a mile

in places across the Sound of Mull. The duration of the modern ferry-sailing from Fishnish (NM654423) to Lochaline (NM679446) in Morvern is 18 minutes. The duration of the ferry-sailing between Craignure (NM718371) and the busy port of Oban (NM856298) in the mainland district of Lorn across the Firth of Lorn is around 45 minutes. Both Fishnish and Craignure lie in the parish of Torosay. Fishnish, a medieval settlement in the district of Forsa, is analysed below.

Map 2. Modern ferry-ports: Fishnish, Lochaline, Craignure and Oban.

Much of the interior of the parish is highland, its geology dominated by the Mull Central Volcano which erupted 60 million years ago in the Palaeogene (Stephenson 2011, 10–13). MacCormick's analysis of the principal eminences of the island indicates that each of the island's 14 highest hills lie within Torosay (1923, 215). Ben More (NM525330; 966m), the island's highest peak, is in the west of the parish, on the parish boundary with Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon. After Ben More and A' Chìoch (NM535333; 867m), a peak to the east of Ben More's summit, Mull's next highest peaks are Dùn da Ghaoithe (NM672362; 766m),

Beinn Talaidh (NM625347; 763m)[5] and Sgurr Dearg (NM665339; 741m), all of which lie in the central part of Torosay parish. The next highest is Ben Buie (NM604271; 717m), a conspicuous feature in the medieval district of Moloros in the south-west of Torosay parish.

There are five major sea-lochs in Torosay parish: Loch na Keal (NM469375), Loch Scridain (NM470262), Loch Don (NM739318), Loch Spelve (NM692278) and Loch Buie (NM598229). The major freshwater lochs are Loch Bà (NM571376) in the north-west and Loch Uisg (NM64025), located between Loch Buie and Loch Spelve, in the south.

Medieval settlement was predominantly concentrated on lower-lying ground towards the coast, around these sea-lochs and the mouths of major watercourses but there was also significant settlement in the interior of the parish, in deep valleys such as Glen Forsa (NM624375).

Map 3. Major topographical features in Torosay parish.

[5] OS Explorer records Beinn Talaidh's height as 761m (763m). James Petre (pers. comm.) has recently informed me that the latest measurement (2015) is 761.7m, leaving the hill 299mm short of the requirement for Corbett-status.

1.2 Coast

The overall shape of Mull's coastline is unlikely to have significantly changed since early glacial times but distinctive features of Torosay's coastline are the long level benches and notches carved at heights of up to 30 metres above the present sea-level. These represent ancient shorelines and illustrate relatively recent sea-level changes over the past 500,000 years (Stephenson 2011, 27). Much of the present coastline consists of steep cliffs of basalt or other hard, resistant rocks, the sea having swept clear all but the coarsest debris (ibid., 28). G *aoineadh* is a productive local element applying to these steep coastal cliffs. Its etymology is discussed in analysis of the settlement of Inagart in Moloros.

Sandy beaches are rare in the parish but Tràigh Bhàn Lagain (NM623242), probably best translated as '(The) White Beach of Laggan', is an example of a location at the head of a sheltered sea-loch (Loch Buie) where sedimentary rocks, granite and glacial deposits have been broken down to provide a source of sand (see Stephenson 2011, 28).

1.3 Soils

Medieval settlement was inherently linked to soil-type and land capability for agriculture. Thus, local soil analysis forms an integral part of etymological analysis. The most valuable medieval settlements in Forsa and Moloros tend to be located where soils of the Gruline Association predominate (*SLCFA*, 71–72, Map Units 278–280). The Gruline Association is one of several designations applied to map units of related soil-types in *SLCFA*. Its eponym is Gruline (NM547398), one of the most valuable settlements of Forsa. As the *SLCFA* record states, the soils of the Gruline Association are developed upon raised beach or outwash sands and gravels derived from a range of igneous rocks but with a strong basic igneous component. Much is now cultivated for pasture with occasional cereal or potato crops. Its soils have long been used for crofting, farming and as centres of settlement and, although they are very restricted in extent, they are important in this respect. As well as occurring at the eponymous Gruline, soils of this association occur in areas of varying extent in several other coastal areas of Forsa and Moloros. There is archaeological evidence in the form of cairns, monoliths, stone-circles, duns and forts to support the proposal in *SLCFA* that these areas have long been central for local settlement. Local archaeology is highlighted in analysis of individual settlements in Part Two.

The parish has also given its name to a soil association in *SLCFA*. Soils of the Torosay Association (*SLCFA*, 101–02, Map Units 546–551) dominate the interior of the parish. It is

a heterogeneous association with many local variants but over 68% of its map units are dominated by peaty gleys or peat. These peaty gleys and peats, for the most part, provide only pasture of low grazing-value. However, map unit 549, whilst not extensive, supports bent-fescue grassland, white bent and flying bent grasslands and rush pastures, all of which are important communities to the grazing animal (ibid., 102). Soils of this map unit occur in the area of Rhoail, *Teamhair and Tomslèibhe in Forsa and at Glenbyre in Moloros.[6]

1.4 Districts

Five medieval districts are recorded in the parish in the earliest fiscal sources: Forsa; Moloros; Torosay; *Leth'r nan Cailleach (see 1.5, below); and Glen Cannel, a district later incorporated within Torosay (see 1.5, below). While the scope of this thesis precludes analysis of these districts in full, etymological analysis of the district-names is presented below (see 5.2).

1.4.1 Forsa

Forsa is the north-easternmost of the medieval districts of the parish. It is no longer used locally as a district-name but is found on the modern map as an existing name in two names: Glen Forsa (NM625375) and River Forsa (NM600432) (see 5.2.1, below). Glen Forsa runs roughly NNW to SSE for a little over 11km from the Sound of Mull to Glen More (NM626304), Mull's large central valley. The earliest fiscal sources record eight medieval settlements in Glen Forsa, if Callachally and Pennygown on the Sound of Mull coast at the foot of the glen and Bradhadail in a western offshoot of the main glen are counted. Callachally and Pennygown lie on either side of the mouth of the River Forsa. *ER* 1509 records two sub-districts within Forsa: Glen Forsa (*Glenforssay*) and *Leth'r Mhuileach (*Leremulach*) (see 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, below). The latter is no longer used locally but is likely to have collectively applied to the settlements along the district's Sound of Mull coastline. Gruline and Torlochan, the two remaining settlements of Forsa, lie in the north-west of the district near the head of Loch na Keal.

The River Bà (NM534413) appears to have formed the march between Forsa and the district of *Leth'r nan Cailleach to the west. Java Point (NM716377) is proposed to have formed

---

[6] A preceding asterisk is used to indicate obsolete names whose forms are reconstructed, as opposed to those with a following # which are recorded historically. * also precedes reconstructed or hypothetical words (for use of these symbols, see *PNF3*, 12). Strictly speaking, Moloros should be followed by #, given that it is obsolete; i.e. it is recorded historically but the name is no longer marked on modern maps or known locally. However, Moloros's # has been dropped for current purposes, given that it is referred to so frequently.

the march between Forsa and the district of Torosay to the south and therefore the march between lands held by Maclean of Lochbuie and Maclean of Duart (see 1.5 and 5.3.2, below). *Teamhair in southern Glen Forsa is the southernmost settlement of Forsa. Its proposed location is around 2km north-west of Torness in Glen More.

Map 4. The medieval settlements of Forsa.

1.4.2 Moloros

Moloros is consistently recorded as a district-name in the earliest fiscal sources but is it no longer known locally. Its last recorded instance may be the garbled form *Moravis* in 1663 (*Retours* i no. 73). Its medieval settlements indicate that it was the south-westernmost district of the parish. Rossal at the head of Loch Scridain and Derrynaculen at the western end of Glen More were its most north-westerly settlements. On the island's south coast, Moloros extended as far as Inagart on the western shoreline of Loch Buie. In total, eight medieval settlements around Loch Buie in Moloros are recorded in the earliest sources. To the east, the medieval district included *Dibidil, now Glenlibidil, and Iaradail on the Firth of Lorn coastline and six settlements around the western arm of Loch Spelve; from

Kinlochspelve at its head, to Croggan at its mouth. The lands to the north across the narrow channel at the mouth of Loch Spelve and around the loch's northern arm lay within the medieval district of Torosay. The ruined parish church of Killean in the district of Torosay lies just over 1km north of the modern village of Croggan, a name which is first recorded in 1509. Thus, Torosay shared marches with both Forsa and Moloros. To the west, Moloros shared a march with the medieval district of Brolass and the Ross of Mull (KKV).

Map 5. The medieval settlements of Moloros.

1.5 Tenure

When Forsa and Moloros first come on record on 22 March 1494 (NRS C2/13 no. 114; see also *ALI* no. A42 and *RMS* ii no. 2200)[7], they are granted anew by James IV to John Maclean of Lochbuie, who had held them previously of John of Islay, Lord of the Isles.[8] John of Islay, head of Clan Donald, had surrendered his lands and titles to the crown in May 1493, parliament having pronounced sentence of forfeiture against him (Oram 2004, 137). This

---

[7] The NRS reference is to the manuscript from which the printed editions of *RMS* and *ALI* were produced. An important part of the employed methodology was consultation of the earliest NRS manuscripts which record settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros (see 3.1, 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, below).

[8] Macleans of Lochbuie began to standardise the spelling of their surname to 'Maclaine' in *c.*1750 to distinguish themselves from other local Maclean septs (Currie 2000, 47). Maclean is the preferred form here, given the date of the fiscal sources discussed. Currie (ibid., 47) notes that the territorial designation 'Lochbuie' is only recorded from about the mid 19th century, it being recorded before that as 'Lochbuy'. Lochbuie, the form on OS Explorer (NM613249), is preferred here.

was the end of the Lordship of the Isles, a Gaelic polity which had ruled in the Isles and dominated Highland politics for over 150 years.

Maclean of Lochbuie and Maclean of Duart were principal among the vassal lords brought into the service of the MacDonald Lords of the Isles (see *ALI* no. 4). Maclean of Lochbuie's seat was Moy Castle (NM616247) at the head of Loch Buie in Moloros. Maclean of Duart's seat was Duart Castle (NM748353) in the district of Torosay. Emergent clans such as the Macleans were militarised kindreds whose reserves of professional mailed warriors, referred to in Gaelic as *ceatharn*, gave their captains great power and influence (Oram 2004, 127). The Macleans were supporters of the Bruce cause during the Wars of Independence and consequently they, along with the MacDonalds and Campbells, prospered in the service of Robert I after 1306 (Boardman 2006, 47). Robert I's strategy to attain control in the West involved the exile in 1309 of MacDougall of Lorn in mainland Argyll and the dispersal of MacDougall lands and strongholds (ibid., 44–45). The lands acquired by the Macleans in Mull were former MacDougall lands (*RPS* 1293/2/17; Boardman 2006, 27–8, note 17, and map 2). Maclean power in Mull became deeply entrenched as a result of the shift in the balance of power in the Lordship of the Isles during the time of Alexander, 3rd Lord of the Isles, whose aspirations in Ross, shared by his father Donald before him, were realised in 1436 when he was recognised as earl of Ross by James I (Oram 2004, 134).

While the Campbells of Argyll were undermining Maclean of Duart in the 16th and 17th centuries, culminating with the complete breaking of Duart power in 1681 (Ó Baoill 1979, xxxvii–xliii), Maclean of Lochbuie held the districts of Forsa and Moloros until 1804 and the death of Murdoch, 19th chief of Lochbuie. Thereafter, the Barony of Moy, the name by then being collectively applied to the Lochbuie lands, was subdivided. Settlements in the old medieval district of Forsa were split between the newly-formed estates of Murdoch's nephews: Major Lachlan Macquarie (1761–1824), appointed governor of New South Wales in 1809, and Captain Charles Macquarie (1771–1835). Lachlan's newly-named Jarvisfield estate included settlements on the west side of the River Forsa and Gruline and Torlochan at the head of Loch na Keal. Charles's estate, named Glenforsa, included Pennygown, Còrrachadh and Rhoail on the east side of the river (Currie 2000, 214). The rest of the Barony of Moy remained with Maclean of Lochbuie (ibid., 417, map). In 1884, Major Lachlan Macquarie was blamed for the removal of the "best tenantry in Mull" from Glen Forsa in a Napier Commission enquiry (ibid., 214).

There is no surviving textual evidence for the original granting of Forsa and Moloros to Maclean of Lochbuie. As regards the other districts of the parish, a charter of 1390 records the granting of Torosay (*Torosay*) and Glen Cannel (*Glenkener*) to Lachlan Maclean of Duart by Donald, 2nd Lord of the Isles (*ALI* nos 11 and 12; *RMS* ii no. 2264). Glen Cannel may formerly have been possessed by MacGillivary, who is known to have held lands in Mull 'in factory' (*ALI*, xxviii and xlvii; *HP* i 24). Local tradition associates this clan, representatives of which sat on the council of the Isles, with Glen Cannel (MacCormick 1923, 25). Glen Cannel's lands were incorporated within the barony of Duart in 1496 and are recorded within the district of Torosay from 1509. The history of the district of Torosay is unrecorded before 1390.

In the north-west of the parish, lands in the district of *Leth'r nan Cailleach were cultivated by the Iona Nunnery before 1573. In this year, they were granted by the prioress, Mairi Maclean, to Maclean of Duart (MacDonald 2010, 234–35). *Leth'r nan Cailleach is not recorded as a district-name in 1573 but the name is recorded in a sasine of 1635 which lists "the Church lands commonly called the lands of Leirnacalloch in Mull" (*Argyll Sasines* 2, no. 550, cited in MacDonald 2010, 234–35).[9] The specific in *Leth'r nan Cailleach is very likely to be an explicit reference to the tenure of the nunnery (see 5.2.3, below).

1.6 Ecclesiastical Context

This section reviews the various ecclesiastical and potential ecclesiastical sites within the parish, beginning with the parish church itself, Killean.

1.6.1 Killean

As is highlighted above (see Abbreviations), the pre-1975 civil parish is referred to as both Torosay and Torosay (Killean). The ruined medieval parish church of Killean is depicted on OS Explorer at NM709283, on the north side of Loch Spelve in the district of Torosay. Killean itself is recorded as an old district-name in OS sources. OSNB (ARG OS1/2/76/107/2) records that the "old district" encompassed a burial-ground and a ruined pre-Reformation chapel, adding that five bishops were buried here, the last of them being a son of Maclean of Lochbuie. Local archaeology corroborates this pre-Reformation date. A 14th- or 15th-century grave-slab, re-used as a headstone, lies within the church precinct (Canmore ID 22647).

---

[9] For discussion of this problematic source whose forms should be used with caution, see Butter (2007, ii 225).

The earliest known textual evidence for Killean dates to 1393, when a papal indulgence was granted to those who visited Killean and gave donations (*HP* iv 144–46). In this source, the church is referred to as "parrochialis ecclesia Sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste in Arduis de Mulle Sodorensis diocesis"; i.e. 'the parish church of St John the Apostle and Evangelist in *Arduis de Mulle* in the diocese of Sodor'. *Arduis de Mulle* is discussed below (see 5.2.7). The dedicatee is clearly John the Apostle and Evangelist, as opposed to John the Baptist, both of whom had strong medieval cults in Scotland and in Argyll specifically (DoSH, 'John (ns)'; Butter 2007, i 92 and ii 267–68).

St John is incorporated into the surname and clan-name Maclean. It is of Gaelic origin and common modern forms are MacIllEathain and Mac Gill' Eathain (*TYGD*, 300; PoMS). -IllEathain and -Gill' Eathain are abbreviated forms of the first name Gille Eathain, literally 'servant or devotee of St John'.[10] Intervocalic *-th-* in these forms is a hiatus marker (see Ó Maolalaigh 2010, 380–85). Greene (1984, 193) has proposed that in Scottish Gaelic the name of the apostle (Eóin) is realised as monosyllabic [e̯oːn´] but does not discuss the disyllabic form Eatha(i)n, recorded in the aforementioned modern forms MacIllEathain and Mac Gill' Eathain, as has been seen, and in forms of several other Scottish hagiotoponyms in which the commemoration is understood to be to St John.[11] It is worth noting that hiatus was a feature of Iohain, which is described as the regular Old Gaelic reflex of the Latin name Iōhănnes by Greene (1984, 193).

As it stands, we can be sure that John the Apostle and Evangelist is commemorated in Killean in Torosay parish but we cannot be sure whether or not the commemoration post-dates the beginning of Maclean tenure in Mull. It is certainly worth pointing out, however, that it would be unsurprising for this saint to be commemorated locally by Maclean élite, given that he is the patronal saint incorporated within the clan-name.

Returning to the 1393 papal indulgence, Sodor is the Anglicised form of ON *Suðr-eyjar*, literally 'South(ern) islands', a diocese which encompassed the Hebrides, Arran, Bute and the Isle of Man (Thomas 2008, 1 *et passim*).[12] It comprised part of the Church-province of Nidaros (Trondheim) in Norway until 1470 when the dioceses of both Sodor and Orkney

---

[10] For discussion of the earliest forms of MacIllEathain and variants, see Black 1946, 536.

[11] See Dwelly s.n. Kilean, Killean; MacDonald 2010, 262; Iain Taylor 2011, 97.

[12] Definitions provided for ON terms are taken from *Zoëga*, unless otherwise stated.

were transferred to the newly-established archbishopric of St Andrews in Fife (Imsen 2014, 26).

As regards Killean's later history, patronage of the parsonage (*personag*) of Killean in Torosay (*Keillean* in *Toirrasa*) is recorded, along with several others in Mull, as having belonged to Iona Abbey at the Reformation in 1561 (*Assumption,* 673–75; see also MacDonald 2010, 262). A parsonage was that proportion of the teinds or tithes of a parish formerly due to the parson or titular holder of the benefice; formerly of grain only but later in the form of money (*SND* s.v. *Parsonage* n.). A third of the revenues went to the bishop of the Isles, as was customary (MacDonald 2010, 262). The parson of *Killane* is explicitly named in 1626 and *Killeane* is described as a church and a parish in 1631 (*Collectanea*, 124 and 126) but there were lengthy vacancies and the church probably fell into disrepair around this time (Canmore ID 22647; MacDonald 2010, 262). Neither the church nor the place-name are recorded on Blaeu's 1654 map, which was based on the late-16th-century survey of Timothy Pont (see 3.2, below).

The parish church at Killean did not serve the religious needs of the local medieval population alone. *Fasti* (iv 123) records the presence of four chapels in the parish of "Torosay, or Kilean": "Pennaghowan, St Columba's at Kilcholumkill near Salen, St Patrick's at Kilpatrick near Duart, and the chapel at Laggan, of which the ruins remain".

1.6.2 Pennygown

Fasti's *Pennaghowan* is Pennygown, the name of a medieval settlement in the north of Forsa. The burial-ground at Pennygown is still in use and the building which stands within the cemetery is of probable 13th-century date (NM604432; Canmore ID 22462). There is no recorded dedication.

Pennygown was also applied as a parish-name. In a rental of 1758, for example, lands belonging to John Maclean of Lochbuie are described as being in the parishes of *Torosay* and *Pennygown* (NRS GD174/739). Shennan (1892, 290–91) refers to the parish of "Pennygown & Torosay". Currie (2000, 115) notes that the parish of Torosay was still frequently called Pennygown in the 1790s. Around 18km separate Pennygown and Killean and a parish church at Pennygown is likely to have served the needs of the medieval population in the north-east of the parish in providing regular services (see Thomas 2008,

103). Thomas (ibid., 141, Fig. 30) has categorised Pennygown as a pre-Reformation parish church.

1.6.3 St Columba's, Salen

The status and chronology of St Columba's near the modern village of Salen (NM578432) on the northern parish boundary is unknown. MacKinlay (1904, 310) refers to a ruined ecclesiastical building here but there is no supporting archaeological evidence (Canmore ID 22288). Local tradition holds that Colum Cille, i.e. Columba of Iona, preached from nearby Creag a' Bhodaich (NM571431) (Maclean 1997, 50 and 148, note 29). This name is not recorded in OS sources but its generic, G *creag* 'rock', may lie behind the generic of the nearby Craig Hotel. Creag a' Bhodaich is a Gaelic name probably best translated as '(The) Rock of the (Old) Fellow'. Colum Cille may be the eponymous *bodach*. Allt na Searmoin (NM571431) '(The) Stream of the Sermon', which forms the parish boundary with Kilninian and Kilmore, is also connected with this local lore (MacKinlay 1904, 310; Maclean 1997, 50 and 148, note 29). Colum Cille is commemorated in local toponymy. Thomson records Salen as *Salan Columkil* in 1824. Sàilean Dubh Chaluim Chille, probably best translated as '(The) Black Salen of Colum Cille', is a recorded Gaelic form of the settlement-name (Hannan 1926, 126; Iain Taylor 2011, 138; DoSH, 'Sàilean Dubh Chaluim Chille, Torosay (Mull)'). G *sàilean* is applied as 'creek, little inlet or arm of the sea, deep bay' (Márkus 2012, 569). In the absence of archaeological evidence, it is difficult to corroborate the purported Early Christian site.

1.6.4 Kilpatrick, Duart

There is no archaeological evidence for an ecclesiastical building at Kilpatrick (NM740343) in the district of Torosay but the local burial-ground is still used (Canmore ID 22668; DoSH, 'Kilpatrick, eccles. Torosay (Mull)'). The generic in Kilpatrick is the aforementioned G *cill* 'church, chapel; burial-ground'. It confirms the name's status as a hagiotoponym; the dedication is to St Patrick. Its location just over 1km south-west of Duart Castle, the medieval stronghold of Maclean of Duart, highlights the possibility that it was established as a private or oratory chapel for Duart (see Thomas 2008, 102). Its chronology is unknown.

1.6.5 Laggan

Laggan, located at the head of Loch Buie, is a principal medieval settlement of Moloros (see 5.4 and Part Two, below). There is physical evidence for an ecclesiastical building here in the form of Caibeal Mheomhair (NM626236), situated around 350m north-west of Laggan Farm. Its generic is G *caibeal* 'chapel, family burial-ground' (*Dwelly*). On the basis of Caibeal Mheomhair, the form recorded in modern and historical OS sources, its specific is G *meomhair*, a variant of *meamhair*, defined as 'memory, remembrance' (*Dwelly*; *Mac Eachainn* s.v *meamhair*). This is certainly apt, given that the building was in 1864 converted into a mausoleum for Maclean of Lochbuie (Canmore ID 22395; see also OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/92/3). Lenition of *meomhair* is odd, however, given that *caibeal* is recorded as a masculine noun (*Dwelly*). Analysis of this minor name will benefit from further systematic research of its historical forms. It might be suggested from this preliminary investigation that lenition has developed as a result of the influence of other *caibeal*-names in which following masculine personal names and existing names are lenited; e.g. Caibeal Dhiarmaid in South Uist and Caibeal Dhunola in Lorn (DASG, Corpas na Gàidhlig s.v. *caibeal*; for Caibeal Dhiarmaid, see also OSNB OS1/18/10/128/2).

Caibeal Mheomhair was still being used as a public burial-ground for the parish of Torosay in 1868 × 1878 (OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/98/1) and it appears that the core of the building is of Late Medieval date. Some of the dressings may derive from an earlier chapel in the same neighbourhood. The south window, for example, has the appearance of 12th-century work and may be in secondary use (Canmore ID 22395). There is little other evidence for this pre-Reformation church, it being presumed to have fallen into disuse by 1701 when the first recorded burial within the surrounding cemetery took place (ibid.). It is worth noting, however, that an ecclesiastical site here is depicted in 1750 (Dorret).

A dedication to St Kenneth at Laggan is recorded by both Hannan (1926, 194) and Thomas (2008, 115 and 141, Fig. 30). Thomas categorises St Kenneth's at Laggan, like Pennygown, as a pre-Reformation parish church of Torosay. While the English name Kenneth is derived from Cinaed, the name Cainnech, which is Coinneach in modern Gaelic, is often Anglicised as Kenneth (*LSS*, 369). Cainnech is commemorated locally in Inchkenneth KKV (NM436356), an island in Loch na Keal where there is a 13th-century chapel and burial-ground (Canmore ID 22010). Airigh Choinnich (NM663240) 'Coinneach's Shieling', which is situated around 3.7km ENE of Caibeal Mheomhair, may also commemorate St Cainnech and may have been linked to the parish church at Laggan (see 5.4.3, below). Thus, there is

good local evidence to support the proposal that the church at Laggan was dedicated to Cainnech and Laggan may be the church of St Cainnech to which the land of Inagart, a medieval settlement of Moloros on the west side of Loch Buie just over 5km WSW of Caibeal Mheomhair, was mortified in 1509 (NRS E38/339; also *ER* xiii 212–13). In other words, its land was assigned or bequeathed in perpetuity to the church of St Cainnech for religious purposes (*DOST* s.v. *mortify*, *mortefy* 3a). However, Inagart is recorded as a possession of the Iona Nunnery in the 16th century (MacDonald 2010, 241) and, given that Inchkenneth was also possessed by the Nunnery, the referent church of St Cainnech in 1509 may have been the chapel of Inchkenneth.

Cainnech is commemorated in several *cill*-names in Argyll: Cill Chainnich in Iona, around 34km west of Laggan; Cill Choinnich in Colonsay, around 40km south-west of Laggan; Kilchanie in Coll; Cill Choinnich in Tiree; and Kilchenzie in Kintyre (*LSS*, 369). Early Christian sculpture is recorded at the sites in Iona, Tiree and Kintyre (Butter 2007, i 128). All of sites may be linked with Iona (ibid., 129). In other words, the evidence suggests that Cainnech was commemorated at Early Christian sites locally. The specific dedicatee in these church-names is not definitively identifiable but Cainnech mac Luigthig of Achadh Bhó/Aghaboe, County Laois, is identified as the certain dedicatee in Kilchenzie and the probable dedicatee in the Iona, Colonsay, Coll and Tiree names (DoSH, 'Cainnech m. Luigthig of Aghaboe'). Cainnech mac Luigthig of Aghaboe has been proposed as a reflex of the cult of Colum Cille (Ó Riain 1983; see also Russell 2001) but Butter (2007, i 22) has cogently argued that while this is "just credible", the argument is "ultimately unstable" (Butter 2007, i 22). The local tradition that the ecclesiastical building at Laggan was founded by Colum Cille (J. P. MacLean 1889, 232; MacCormick 1923, 104) is unlikely to provide support for Ó Riain's proposal and it has probably become established due to Colum Cille's renown as the predominant local saint. It may also have been encouraged by commemoration of Colum Cille at Tobar Choluim-chille (NM591244) near the medieval settlement of Crosta # on the west side of Loch Buie (see 5.4.3, below). A further link between Laggan and Iona is recorded by MacDonald (2010, 185), who records the local tradition that bishops of Iona stayed at Laggan when inspecting their local lands. This explains the rectangular enclosure named "Bishop's Garden" on the OS map of 1900 (NM623233) but this is identified as a salmon fishing station in OSNB (ARG OS1/2/47/98/2) and on the 1879 OS map. The feature "is probably not of any great age" (Canmore ID 22398).

As is highlighted above, Early Christian sculpture is recorded at Cill Chainnich in Iona, Cill Choinnich in Tiree and Kilchenzie in Kintyre. Within this context it is important to note the cross-incised stone in the vicinity of Laggan. A yellow sandstone slab, 0.78m by 0.36m, bearing an outline cross-portent with beaded 0.21m ring and open foot, was found during the construction of St Kilda's Episcopal Church (NM609248) in 1875 and built into the south wall of the porch (Fisher 2001, 124; Canmore ID 22396).[13] The cross is classified by Fisher (2001, 38) as an outline ringed cross. 28 slabs of this type are found in Iona (ibid., 36–38), this slab from the Lochbuie area and slabs from both Kilmory Knapdale and Eileach an Naoimh (both ARG) showing versions of the 'thistle'-type of armpits commonly found on graveslabs in midland Ireland (ibid., 13). The implication of the open foot of the cross is that it was set in the ground (ibid., 13). The general development of these ringed crosses appears to be influenced by free-standing crosses, suggesting an origin in the second half of the eighth century (ibid.,13). The original context of the Lochbuie cross is unknown. Canmore records that it was unearthed at a considerable depth when the foundations of the present church were being dug and this suggests that its original location was local to the site of the modern Episcopal Church, which lies around 2km north-west of Caibeal Mheomhair. A potential link to the medieval settlement of Crosta # is explored below (see 5.3 and 7, below). St Kilda's Episcopal Church lies around 1.6km east of Crosta #. Whatever the original location of the stone, it is important to note that, typologically, the stone's outline ringed cross originates in the second half of the eighth century; i.e. in the pre-Norse period. The local association between dedications to Cainnech and Early Christian scuplture could be used to support the proposal that there was an Early Christian site at the head of Loch Buie.

Thomas (2008, 359) has proposed the likelihood of continuity from Early Medieval ecclesiastical sites to new parochial centres which originated in the 12th century and were finalised by the late 13th century. Laggan was probably one such parochial centre, serving the population around Loch Buie. The parish church of Killean lies around 9.5km north-east of Laggan and the likelihood is that communities in the settlements around Loch Buie attended regular services at Laggan, certainly in the Late Medieval period and probably in the Early Medieval period, too, on the basis of this evidence. Laggan's context within local medieval settlement is discussed below (see 5.4.3, below).

---

[13] On the fictional St Kilda, see Clancy (2013c, 9) and DoSH ('St Kilda's Church, Torosay (Mull)').

1.6.6 Cùil Mhurchaidh

As is highlighted above, Pennygown can probably be categorised alongside Laggan as a Late Medieval sub-parochial centre and there is evidence to suggest that there was an Early Medieval ecclesiastical site at nearby Cùil Mhurchaidh (NM588429). This name applies to a field attached to the modern farm of Callachally, the aforementioned medieval settlement of Forsa located at the mouth of the River Forsa. Pennygown lies on the opposite side of the river. There is a long-cist cemetery at Cùil Mhurchaidh. Excavation of one of the five long cists, orientated and aligned in two rows running north and south, produced no identifiable remains but the character of the graves suggests a date in the Early Christian or Medieval period (Canmore ID 22274; Maldonado Ramírez 2011, ii ID 45). A bronze pectoral crucifix, as yet not closely dated and featuring elements generally associated with a number of traditions dating from the fifth to 11th/12th centuries, was found at this site (Shiels 2006).

Cùil Mhurchaidh may be a hagiotoponym. The name-initial generic is probably G *cùil* 'nook, corner, recess' (Márkus 2012, 544), which is productive in local hagiotoponymy. It is found, for example, in Coulbranden (NM655112), with the hagionym Brénainn, Anglicised as Brendan (*CPNS*, 81–82 and 290; DoSH, 'Coulbranden, island, Jura (Garvellachs)'). Coulbranden applies to one of the group of islands collectively referred to as the Garvellochs which lie around 9km SSE of the south coast of Moloros.

Identification of the potential hagionym in Cùil Mhurchaidh is difficult. The form of the personal name is definitely Murchadh, rather than Muiredach, but the personal names Muiredach and Murchadh, earlier Murchad, are prone to assimilation (Black 1946, 620, s.v. Murdoch). Ó Riain (2011, 504–05) lists four saints of the name Muiredach within an Irish context. Indeed, Ó Riain (2011, 504) records the alias Murchadh for Muiredach mac Echdach, whose church of Ceall Alaidh / Killala in County Mayo later became a diocesan see. The saint commemorated in Kilmorich, in Gaelic Cill Mhuirich, at the head of Loch Fyne in Cowal ARG may be the same saint commemorated in Cùil Mhurchaidh but Márkus considers definitive identification of the saint in this name to be impossible (Faith in Cowal, 'Places for Pilgrims – Minor Places – Kilmorich Church' and 'Saints for Pilgrims – Muireadhach').[14]

---

[14] See also *CPNS* (293) and Fraser (2004, 247).

The long-cist burials certainly provide evidence which supports identification of Cùil Mhurchaidh as a hagiotoponym but there are alternatives. Murchadh, Anglicised as Murdoch, is a name frequently recorded among the Macleans of Lochbuie who held tenurial control of Forsa. Murdoch is recorded as the name of the 2nd chief of this Maclean sept (J. P. MacLean 1889, 236). He is Murdac M'Gilleoin of Lochbuie (*Lochboyg*) in 1461 (*OPS* II i 181, citing *Argyle Charters*).[15] Murdach was also the Anglicised name of more recent Lochbuie chiefs (see Currie 2000, 419–20 *et passim*). Thus, the eponymous Murchadh of Cùil Mhurchaidh could have been a Lochbuie Maclean specifically associated with the lands of Callachally. G *cùil* would be apt in referring to the location of Callachally in the far northern-eastern part of Maclean of Lochbuie's possessions in the parish, the settlement lying around 18km from Moy Castle. Maclean (1997, 102) translates Cùil Mhurchaidh as "Murdoch's nook" but does not discuss the eponym.

1.6.7 Killbeg

This is another local ecclesiastical site unrecorded in *Fasti*. The medieval settlement of Killbeg neighbours Callachally in Glen Forsa. The disused burial-ground at NM602414 is recorded in OS sources, much of it having been incorporated within a sheepfold by 1868 × 1878 (OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/9/2). It may be represented by traces of a stony bank forming an irregular enclosure about 23m in width but its chronology is unknown (Canmore ID 22463). Killbeg, Cùil Mhurchaidh and Pennygown appear to provide evidence of an ecclesiastical landscape in the northern part of Glen Forsa.

1.6.8 Allt a' Chladha

The specific in this stream-name is G *cladh* (m), gen. *cladha* which carries the senses 'burial-place; trench; mound; dyke; churchyard' in place-names (*Mac Eachainn*; *PNF5*, 330; Márkus 2012, 538). Its referent in Allt a' Chladha (NM713376) is surely ecclesiastical, given the adjacent burial-ground recorded on the historical OS maps at NM710376. It lies a little over 1km south-east of Scallastle, a local medieval settlement of Forsa. A gravestone dated 1799 is recorded by Canmore (ID 278834) but the chronology of the site, characterised by its dry-stone wall forming an irregular pentagonal enclosure of about 30m in area, is unknown.

1.6.9 Lag na Cille

---

[15] The source referred to as *Argyle Charters* probably relates to papers held at Inveraray Castle (Butter 2007, ii 226).

Lag na Cille (NM670406) is recorded on the historical OS maps and is situated around 350m NNE of the modern farmhouse at Garmony, a medieval settlement of Forsa. Its specific is the genitive of the aforementioned G *cill* 'church, chapel; burial-ground'. Its generic is G *lag* 'hollow, cavity'. G *cill* is also the specific in nearby Druim na Cille (NM661411), its generic being G *druim* 'back, ridge'. Lag na Cille, categorised in Canmore as a burial-ground, has no known recorded history and its chronology is unknown, the only identifiable remains being the footings of a dry-stone wall forming an enclosure of about 14m square (Canmore ID 22458). Lag na Cille is discussed within the context of Leth Thorcaill, Garmony's neighbouring medieval settlement to the north (see 5.3.3, below).

1.6.10 Glen Cannel

As is highlighted above (see 1.4), this name was applied as a district-name. The name applies to an ecclesiastical site on Blaeu's map (*Glenkannyr*) and a local burial-ground is recorded on the historical OS maps. Canmore records that the site, which now lies within a sheepfold of 19th-century date, originally comprised a sub-rectangular enclosure measuring about 22m from north to south which contains "a few rough grave-markers and a number of uninscribed recumbent slabs" (Canmore ID 22421). Its chronology is unknown but it is probably a hagiotoponym (see 5.2.5, below).

1.6.11 Knock

The historical OS maps record a burial-ground at NM540390 on a knoll a little over 300m north-west of Knock House. It lies in the medieval district of *Leth'r nan Cailleach, on the west side of the River Bà. Knock is recorded among the medieval settlements of this district. Gruline, the north-westernmost settlement in Forsa, lies on the opposite side of the river and I have discussed the burial-ground within analysis of Gruline elsewhere (Whyte 2014, 139). The chronology of the burial-ground is unknown, Canmore (ID 22246) dating the earliest recognisable monument within its square enclosure to 1745.

Maclean (1997, 23) refers to the burial-ground as *Cladh Mhairtein*, recording that *Kilmartin* was applied to the area around Loch Bà (ibid., 147, note 16). The generic in Cladh Mhairtein #, not a name recorded in OS sources, is the aforementioned G *cladh*, in this case surely applied as 'churchyard, burying place'. The specific in both Cladh Mhairtein # and Kilmartin #, another name of Gaelic origin whose generic is *cill*, is the personal name Màrtainn, Anglicised as Martin. The eponym is surely Martin of Tours, a universal saint commemorated across Scotland (*CPNS*, 291; DoSH, 'Martin of Tours'). He was a popular

saint in Gaeldom and held a prominent and permanent place in the devotions of the early monastic community of Iona (*VC* iii 12; Sharpe 1995, 56–57 and 366–67). The hagionym also appears to be recorded in historical forms of Knock: *Knoktirmartin* (1616 *RMS* vii no. 1386); *Knoktirmertine* (1623 *RMS* viii no. 547); *Crock-tiremartin* (1776 Mackenzie Plate XXIII). The specific in these forms appears to be the existing name *Tìr M(h)àrtainn 'Martin's Land'.[16] To summarise, there is strong evidence for a local ecclesiastical site commemorating Martin of Tours. The site's chronology is difficult in the absence of further archaeological research. While the prominence of the cult of Martin at the Early Christian monastery of Iona is an important consideration in analysis of this name, Martin's position as a universal saint means that the name could certainly have been established in the Late Medieval period. As Butter (2007, i 170) has stated, a dedication to Martin would have been appropriate for a church set up from Iona, or at least influenced by it, but it is "impossible to be sure, without other evidence, that a Martin dedication is early".

---

[16] The reconstructed form is *Tìr M(h)àrtainn because lenition in the gen. sing. of masculine personal names is a relatively late feature (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 22; *PNF5*, 166, note).

1.6.12 Rossal

The chronology of the unnamed burial-ground at NM535282 just over 600m WNW of Rossal in Moloros is unknown. The only identifiable funerary monument was erected in 1775. It takes the form of a rectangular enclosure measuring about 18m by 16m (Canmore ID 22215). Iona Abbey held lands in the district of Brolass (NM486225) between the Ross of Mull and Moloros in the late 1500s (MacDonald 2010, 187–89) and a link between this burial-ground and Iona may at least be suggested in this period. Carmichael (*CG* ii 321) recorded the belief that there was "a 'rosal' in Mull said to be the site of a collegiate school attached to the abbey of Iona." The settlement of Rossal itself does not appear to have been a possession of Iona.

Map 6. Ecclesiastical sites in Torosay parish and Inchkenneth KKV.

1.6.13 Church-Lands

Some lands in the parish are explicitly recorded as possessions of local churches. Inagart in Moloros, mortified to the church of St Cainnech by Maclean of Lochbuie in 1509, is discussed above (see 1.6.5). The same source records that Iaradail was mortified to the church of St John the Evangelist, i.e. Killean, by Maclean of Lochbuie (NRS E38/339; also

ER xiii 212). Iona Abbey's possession of the patronage of the parsonage (*personag*) of Killean is also discussed above (see 1.6.1). The tenure of the Iona Nunnery in *Leth'r nan Cailleach is discussed elsewhere (see 1.5 and 5.2.3).

Map 7. Church-lands in Torosay parish, Iona and Inchkenneth.

1.7 Land-Assessment

Discussion of units of land-assessment is important, given that it is in fiscal sources that the earliest forms of the settlement-names analysed below are recorded. In these sources, settlements are recorded with an associated value or extent, a measure of agricultural capability. Extents are provided for individual settlements in Part Two. When the lands of Forsa and Moloros are first recorded in 1494, two units of assessment are employed. The total extent of the lands in each district is valued in merklands (Latin *mercata*, var. *marcata*, pl. *mercate*) and individual settlements are valued in units relating to pennylands (Latin *denariata*, pl. *denariate*). A halfpennyland is recorded in Latin as *dimedia denariata*, literally 'half a pennyland', or as *obulata*. A quarter-pennyland or farthingland is represented either in Latin as *quadrantem*, or in Scots as *farthingland* or *fardingland*.

A merkland was a portion of land originally valued at a rent of one merk per annum. A merk was equivalent in value to two thirds of a pound; in other words, 13 shillings and six pence, or 13s 6d (McKerral 1944, 60–62; *PNF5*, 568). The merkland appears likely to have been

employed by the Scottish Crown from the 12th century (McKerral 1944, 67). Crown administration did not extend into the Isles in the 12th century but the 1494 charter established the rent owing to the Crown following the forfeiture of the Lordship of the Isles in 1493. In the *Exchequer Roll* of 1509 which provides our next earliest forms of the settlement-names of Forsa and Moloros, total extent is again recorded in merklands, while individual settlements are valued in shillings and pence (see 3.1.2, below).

Comparison of the 1494 and 1509 sources indicates that 16s 8d was locally equivalent to a pennyland. The pennyland's origin is less well-understood than that of the merkland. It is, however, generally-speaking, aligned with parts of Scotland where toponymy provides evidence for Norse settlement (see Map 8, below). This is also true of the ounceland, another unit frequently recorded in fiscal assessment of western Scotland. Both the pennyland and the ounceland appear to have been initiated within Norse Britain and Ireland, rather than having been imported by Norse settlers. Neither unit is known in Norway and a comparable land-assessment structure based on the value of land probably only first developed there during the reign of Magnus Håkonsson (1263–80) (Imsen 2014a, 80).[17] Neither Forsa nor Moloros are assessed in units relating to ouncelands in the known fiscal sources but the neighbouring district of Torosay is valued at an ounceland (*unciata terra de Torosay*) in 1390 (*ALI* no. 11; see 1.5, above).

In relation to the ounceland initially, there is archaeological evidence for a silver economy in Norse Scotland based on bullion and the existence of measurement of silver in ounces from the ninth century (Williams 2004, 103). This bullion could take the form of moulded ingots or fragments of large items known as hack-silver and it appears to have been valued in terms of both weight and quality; bullion is found along with a wide variety of silver items in numerous Scottish hoards (ibid., 76). Current understanding is that the ounceland was conceived in a pre-coinage period (Crawford 2013, 123).

The pennyland, as the term suggests, was based on the penny. It clearly formed the basis for post-Lordship fiscal evaluation across Mull (see Johnston 1990, 147). Although no mint is known to have been established in Norse Scotland itself, the presence of silver pennies produced elsewhere in northern Europe in the hoards of Norse Scotland, even from the early to mid 10th century, suggests widespread familiarity with the concept of the penny in this

---

[17] I follow Imsen (index) in orthography of his name.

period (Williams 2004, 76). Coins were probably valued on the basis of weight alone, rather than on monetary significance, in the absence of a "proper monetary economy" (ibid., 76).

The evidence locates the genesis of both the ounceland and the pennyland in Norse Scotland and Man but there has been little consensus among commentators in relation either to their relative chronologies and functions in the Isles, or to the agency or agencies responsible for their introduction. Some commentators see the establishment of a mint in Dublin in *c.*995 by Hiberno-Norse kings there as the probable catalyst for the practice of valuing and taxing land in multiples and fractions of a penny in what is now Scotland (Rixson 2010, 141; Márkus 2012, 558–59). A commonly-held view is that both ounceland and pennyland were introduced to this area by external agents, by potentates based outwith the Hebrides who imposed systems of land-assessment for the purposes of taxation or tribute as absentee overlords. Williams has argued that the ounceland- and pennyland-systems were introduced to the Hebrides from Orkney during the reigns of Earl Sigurðr *digri* Hloðvissonr (†1014), alias Sigurd the Stout/Sigurðr II, and his son Þorfinnr *hinn ríki* Sigurðarsonr, alias Thorfinn the Mighty, earl of Orkney from the 1020s to the early 1060s (Williams 2004, 103–04; see also Crawford 2013, 123). Oram (2011a, 69–70) has recently challenged the view that the ounceland and pennyland were extended across the Hebrides by external agents, proposing that the Orkney earls "cannot be accepted as the instigators of such radical and deeply-embedded administrative innovation throughout the Isles". The only Man- and Isles-based power proposed by Oram to have had "the durability, geographical range and political authority to oversee such a development were the Haraldsons" (ibid., 70). The reference here is to Gothfrith mac Arailt (†989), alias Guðrǫðr Haraldssonr, his son Ragnall mac Gothfrith, alias Rǫgnvaldr Guðrǫðssonr (†1005), and Echmarcach mac Ragnaill, alias Echmarcach Rǫgnvaldssonr (†1064); it is important to note, however, that Echmarcach's lineage is controversial (see, for example, Woolf 2007, 246). There is a suggestion that the 'Haraldsons' may have been minting their own coins in Man, imitating those of Edgar, king of England (†975). On the basis of distribution, Dolley (1979) has suggested that this 'Imitative Series' was struck in the area (see also Graham-Campbell 1983, 57 and 63). Importantly, within the context of Forsa and Moloros, these coins are found in hoards deposited in Islay (in the 970s), Iona (probably in 986) and the aforementioned Inchkenneth in Loch na Keal off Mull (*c.*1000) (Graham-Campbell 1983, 63; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 88–89). Etchingham (2001, 180), drawing attention to the documented relationship between Edgar and Maccus mac Arailt, brother of the aforementioned Gothfrith and another member of the 'Haraldson' dynasty, has speculated that these imitative coins

were a "Manx product of the Haraldsson era"; the implication is that there was a contemporary mint in Man. Oram's proposal is that the 'Haraldsons' adapted pre-existing land-assessment structures employed in pre-Norse society to meet their growing political ambitions and administrative needs (2011a, 73). Oram shares Easson's view that pre-existing administrative systems recorded in *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban* 'The Explanation of the History of the Men of *Alba*', which shared a basic division into units expressed as multiples of five smaller elements, were adapted in the Norse period (Easson 1987, 5; Oram 2011a, 70). *Míniugud senchusa fher nAlban* is not a homogenous text but there is good evidence to suggest that some its the material dates to the seventh and eighth centuries (Bannerman 1974, 108–18 and 132–56; Dumville 2002; Fraser 2009, 349–55, esp. 353). This proposal has been used to explain the typical ratio of one ounceland to 20 pennylands in western Scotland, a ratio which differs to that recorded in the Northern Isles, where one ounceland is the equivalent of 18 pennylands. Williams (2004, 99–103) explains this regional variance via a metrical system based on the Cologne mark.

Before further analysis of the units employed in fiscal evaluation of Forsa and Moloros, it is worth considering an alternative agency to the 'Haraldsons' for the local establishment of the pennyland. A Hebridean potentate with widespread and enduring power is Amlaíb Cúarán, alias Óláfr Sigtryggssonr, who died in Iona in 980 (see 4.10.1, below). Clancy (2011a, 93–95) has convincingly argued that Amlaíb is likely to have held sole and stable control over Dublin and the Scandinavian settlements of the Irish Sea and the Hebrides generally between 964 and 980. Within the context of his Hebridean dominion, it may be significant in analysis of the genesis of the pennyland that a coin of Amlaíb Cúarán produced in York and which imitates contemporary Anglo-Saxon coins forms part of the aforementioned hoard of over 360 coins discovered in Iona and dated to 986 (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 88; Williams 2004, 77). Despite the proposed absence of a "proper monetary economy" in the Isles (Williams 2004, 76), the evidence suggests widespread familiarity with the concept of the penny from the early to mid 10th century, as is highlighted above, and Amlaíb's reign provides an alternative for the introduction of the pennyland in the Hebrides. There is even a suggestion that the aforementioned coins of the Imitative Series could have been struck in Scotland (Etchingham 2001, 180).

The implication of Torosay's ounceland value in 1390 is that Forsa and Moloros, too, were valued in units relating to ouncelands in the period which precedes the known fiscal sources. Like the district of Torosay before the later incorporation of Glen Cannel (see 1.4 and 1.5,

above; LAS, 'South Mull Table'), the total extent of Forsa in 1494 and 1509 is 16 pennylands / 20 merklands (NRS C2/13 no. 114; NRS E38/339). The implication, as Rixson has pointed out (LAS, 'South Mull Table'), is that a pennyland is equivalent to 1.25 merklands in Forsa and Torosay and that Forsa, like Torosay, was formerly a one-ounceland unit. This has also been suggested by Johnston (1990, 194). Moloros is valued at 14 pennylands, i.e. 17.5 merklands, in 1494 (NRS C2/13 no. 114; LAS, 'South Mull Table'). The evidence suggests that the 20-merkland extent recorded for the district in 1509 (NRS E38/339) is probably inaccurate (LAS, 'South Mull Table').

Comparison with other regions in south-west Scotland and with Man suggests that an underlying quarterland-extent may be the basis for fiscal assessment of these Mull districts. Oram (2011a, 70) has argued that the quarterland was the basis of fiscal assessment in western Galloway and in Man. In those regions, the quarterland was the equivalent of a quarter-ounceland but the ounceland itself is suggested to have been an "administrative convenience" in Man and, in Galloway, there is only circumstantial evidence for the possible existence of a larger notional entity into which local quarterlands were grouped (ibid., 70). In Islay, Macniven (2015, 103) has highlighted the significance of a five-merk or two-quarterland unit of extent, proposing the likelihood that it derives from "an ounceland-like system". An alternative interpretation of the evidence would be that the five-merk or two-quarterland unit was established in the pre-Norse period and adapted in the era of the ounceland and pennyland, as is proposed across the wider area by Easson and Oram. The pennyland is unrecorded in Islay but Macniven (2006, 227; 2015, 90) has suggested that the distinctive local 'cowland' may represent the pennyland-extent known elsewhere. The existence of the ounceland in Islay is considered to be "implicit in various facets of the rental material" (ibid., 90).

This comparative evidence suggests that Forsa, like Torosay, may be better described as a four-quarterland unit and Moloros as a 3.5-quarterland unit. There is strong evidence to suggest that this quarterland was the basis of local administrative systems in the pre-Norse period. The Late Medieval fiscal evidence might, thus, indicate a link between Mull, Galloway, Man and, perhaps, Islay. That said, G *ceathramh* 'fourth part, quarter', a toponymic element which provides explicit evidence for land-assessment in quarterlands in Galloway and Man (Oram 2011a, 72) and in southern Bute (Márkus 2012, 535), does not appear to have been productive in Torosay parish. Oram (2011a, 72) notes the absence of *ceathramh*-names in the Isles generally and points to other evidence for the quarterland /

five-pennyland extent having been a deeply-rooted administrative-unit which provided long-term socio-economic and political cohesion from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period and beyond (see also Easson 1987, 5). Further local analysis at a micro-toponymic level might investigate the evidence for G *ceathramh* having been productive in Mull.

To summarise, the Late Medieval fiscal evidence for Forsa and Moloros indicates that a local ounceland was equivalent to four quarterlands, as is proposed by Oram in Man and Galloway. A nuance of the Forsa and Moloros evidence is that the local quarterland would have been equivalent to four pennylands rather than five but it is worth noting that the 1494 source which provides the earliest evidence for pennylands in these districts probably post-dates the introduction of the pennyland by around five centuries or more; in other words, there is ample time for the reconfiguration of extents and the merkland-extent introduced by the Scottish Crown in the 12th century adds another stratum through which the underlying units must be analysed. Further local analysis in Mull and Iona will be required to shed light on apparent variation in local land-assessment structures, given Rixson's recent proposal that a pennyland was the equivalent of 1.5 merklands in the Ross of Mull, as opposed to the 1:1.25 ratio recorded in the rest of Mull (LAS, 'Mull Summary Table'). In terms of chronology, the genesis of the ounceland is uncertain but Amlaíb Cúarán's Hebridean reign might be considered as an alternative to the era of the 'Haraldsons' and the era of the Orkney earls Sigurðr II and Þorfinnr for the local introduction of the pennyland. If pennylands and ouncelands were ultimately based on pre-existing quarterlands locally, the implication is that we cannot be sure that pennylands post-date ouncelands locally.
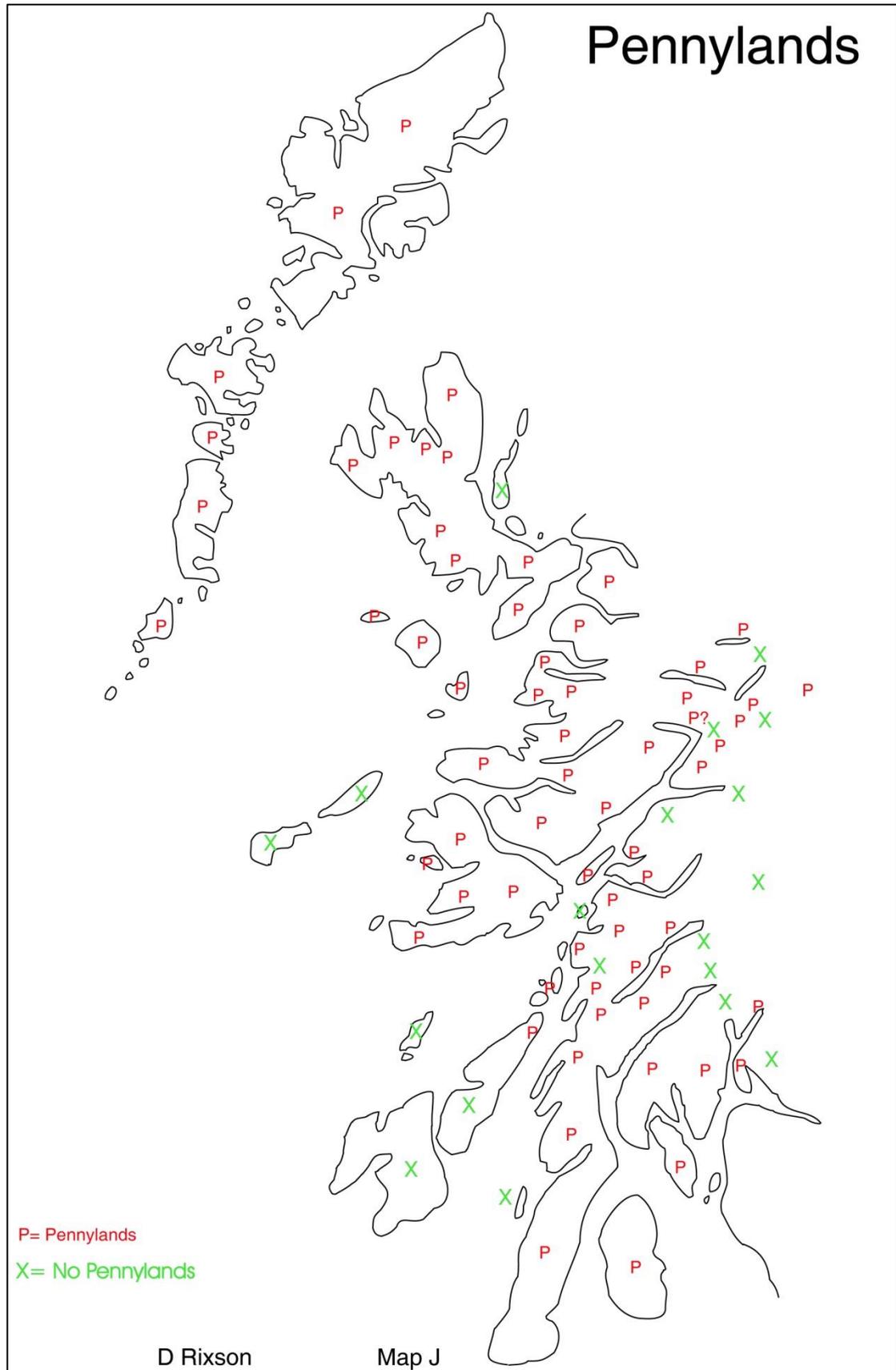
Map 8. Distribution map of pennylands in western Scotland, after Rixson (LAS, 'Pennylands in the west');
<http://las.denisrixson.com/2014/07/pennylands-in-the-west/>.
© Denis Rixson

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Toponymic Studies of Argyll

This chapter reviews previous studies which have presented etymological analysis of the settlement-names analysed below. Previous analysis of individual settlement-names is reviewed in Part Two under the relevant head-names.

Before critically engaging with three studies which present etymological analysis of local settlement-names en masse, it is worth initially reviewing studies analysing place-names in Mull within toponymic studies of the wider entity of the county of Argyll. Pre-1985 studies are usefully summarised by Fraser (1985) who identifies a series of articles by Professor Donald MacKinnon printed in the Scotsman newspaper in 1887–88 as the basis for subsequent studies (ibid., 174). These articles were followed by Gillies's *The Place-Names of Argyll* (Gillies 1906) which devotes 14 pages to Mull place-names. Fraser's statement (ibid., 175) that this publication "has never been replaced as a general guide to Argyll place-names" still holds true. However, the publication is generally regarded "pretty much as an eccentric curiosity" and Fraser's conclusion is that "It is best, perhaps, to leave Gillies on the shelf". Gillies is referred to infrequently below. Macbain's *Place Names, Highlands & Islands of Scotland* included a dismissive review of Gillies (1922, 339–57). Macbain's own analysis of Mull place-names is minimal. His 52-page chapter on 'Place Names of the Hebrides' comprises analysis of the island-names themselves and the most common pan-Hebridean ON elements. As a result, his work is most commonly cited below when attention is drawn to place-names of comparison and contrast furth of Mull. The same can be said of W. J. Watson's *The Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (*CPNS*), an essential reference work for Scottish toponymists.

Since 1985, Fraser (2004) has published on Argyll place-names in an article which reiterates much of the discussion published in his 1985 article. Fraser's focus is on the most common elements recorded across the county and *Dibidil in Moloros is the only settlement-name analysed below to which Fraser specifically refers (Fraser 2004, 254 s.n. Glenlibidil). Nicolaisen's revised edition of *Scottish Place-Names*, first published in 1976, specifically refers to four of the settlement-names analysed below: *Dibidil (s.n. Glen Libidil), Fishnish, Rossal and Scallastle. Nicolaisen's interpretations are reviewed below. General proposals advanced by Jennings and Kruse (2009; 2009a) on Norse settlement in Mull within the wider

context of Norse settlement in the west of Scotland is discussed in chapter 4 (see 4.9.1). As is highlighted above (see 1.6.5), MacDonald (2010, 241), in an unpublished PhD thesis on the Late Medieval monastery of Iona and its associations and possessions in Argyll and the Isles, presents etymological analysis of Inagart in Moloros, an erstwhile possession of the Iona Nunnery. As yet, no county survey of Argyll has been undertaken. Booklets on Islay and Jura, Lochaber and Skye have been published in recent years by Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba and Scottish Natural Heritage but, to date, Mull has not been covered (King and Cotter 2011; King and Clyne 2013; King with Scammell 2015). As is highlighted above, three studies present etymological analysis of several of the settlement-names analysed below: MacQuarrie (1982), Johnston (1990) and Maclean (1997). Each is now reviewed in turn.

2.2 MacQuarrie, 1982, *The Placenames of Mull* (120pp)

MacQuarrie presents etymological analysis of selected place-names of Mull and the neighbouring islands of Ulva and Iona. Part I covers the northern parish of Kilninian and Kilmore, Part II covering the rest of the island and neighbouring Iona, including Torosay parish. The predominant focus is etymological and the author, himself a native Gaelic-speaker from Mull, indicates in the foreword that local pronunciation has been gained in many cases from native informants. A drawback is that informants are generally not named. This local knowledge is undoubtedly advantageous. Indeed, consideration of these local pronunciations is imperative and MacQuarrie's reconstructed forms themselves are invaluable, given the lack of contemporary native Gaelic-speaking informants. However, MacQuarrie's lack of engagement with historical forms is a weakness. As such, MacQuarrie prefers Gaelic interpretations for names proposed below to be of likely ON origin on the basis of modern written forms, or local pronunciations, which naturally exhibit major Gaelic influence (see, for example, Gaodhail in Part Two, below). It also means that many of the medieval settlement-names recorded in the earliest sources which have now fallen out of use are not analysed by MacQuarrie.

2.3 Johnston, 1990, 'Norse Settlement in the Inner Hebrides ca 800-1300, with special reference to the Islands of Mull, Coll and Tiree' (27pp)

Johnston's unpublished PhD thesis on Norse settlement in the Inner Hebrides includes a case study on 'coastal settlements' in Torosay parish (1990, 194–221). This includes many of the medieval settlements of Forsa but none of Moloros, which fell outwith the study area. Johnston describes the coastal strip from Salen (NM578432) to the mouth of Loch Spelve (NM692278) as the most densely-settled region of the parish. Analysis of Glen Forsa is also

included "as it represents settlement in the 'interior' of Mull where land use is confined to shielings" (ibid., 194). This statement highlights a major flaw in Johnston's analysis. Perception of the coastal strip as the most densely-settled part of the parish reflects modern, post-Clearance settlement and obscures medieval settlement-patterns. This is illustrated most clearly by way of inclusion of Salen (ibid., 195) and Craignure (ibid., 202) in the survey. Both of these large modern villages were established around late 18th-century parliamentary churches and are not recorded in the earliest sources.

Johnston's failure to engage systematically with the earliest known fiscal source of 1494 and identify each of its settlement-names is another major flaw. Johnston (ibid., 212–13) does engage with part of the 1494 charter, identifying six of Forsa's settlements (Pennygown, Killbeg, Fishnish, Leiter, Garmony and Scallastle), but Gaodhail, Rhoail and Tomslèibhe are not identified and each of these is therefore categorised as a shieling, on the basis of 18th- and 19th-century fiscal evaluation. The earliest fiscal sources record Gaodhail and Rhoail as pennylands; i.e. of equal value to all of the aforementioned coastal settlements, except Scallastle (see 5.3, below). Neither Bradhadail, Còrrachadh nor *Teamhair, three other medieval settlements located in Glen Forsa, are identified by Johnston.

A curious inclusion in Johnston's table of settlement-names in the parish is "Seadir" (ibid., 218). Johnston (ibid., 220) proposes that there is "one, unlocated, shieling name which derives from ON saetr, noted as 'seadir' in Glen Forsay in the 1509 rental" (see also ibid., 275 and 309). This name is not recorded in *ER* 1509 and Johnston's table in fact records that this form was first recorded in 1756. The initial *s* in *seadir* is probably a misreading of initial *l*, probably for long *s* (*ſ*). A 1758 rental of lands belonging to John Maclean of *Lochbuy* (Lochbuie) (NRS GD174/739) records *Leadir* between Gaodhail (*Geiderlan*) and Bradilaltrich # (*Bradiltach*). The name is Liath-Dhoire (NM610368), a settlement recorded on Langlands's 1801 map as *Liaderry* but not recorded in the earliest fiscal sources. Johnston's failure to identify settlement-names in the earliest sources has a detrimental effect on her etymological analysis and, consequently, on her proposed ratio of ON to Gaelic settlement-names in the parish. This ratio is reviewed below (see 6).

2.4 Maclean, 1997, *The Isle of Mull: Placenames, Meanings and Stories* **(170pp)**

This is the largest study undertaken on Mull toponymy to date. As the title suggests, the author, whose father belonged to Mull, includes a number of stories and traditions relating to the island's place-names. Maclean's engagement with local informants, including family members (1997, 7), is a major asset. An example of the value of this study is the local tradition Maclean records regarding commemoration of St Bride in Glen Cannel (see 1.6.10, above). A drawback is that informants are generally unnamed, although the aforementioned example is an exception. Maclean (ibid., 8) notes that the book also benefitted from engagement with recordings of local inhabitants interviewed by Ian A. Fraser, whose work on Argyll toponymy is cited above (Fraser 1985 and 2004) and who was then based at the School of Scottish Studies. Maclean (ibid., 7) states that his etymological analysis was greatly enhanced by input from Fraser. Maclean conducted his own interviews with local informants and these form the basis for his sixth chapter entitled 'Unmapped Names' (ibid., 121–41). This chapter, which records numerous names not recorded by the OS, is another major asset. It is also helpfully ordered. Names are listed both alphabetically and numerically, on the basis of individual NGRs and sub-divided into areas covered by the OS 1:25,000 series maps. This chapter will be an invaluable resource for anyone attempting a future systematic survey of Mull's toponymy. While the structure of chapter six is helpful, Maclean's treatment of names under different headings, such as 'Settlement Names', 'Relief Features', 'Hydronymy' etc., is less helpful for the reader, especially when there is no index of place-names.

Maclean's study is comprehensive and includes analysis of the majority of the settlement-names analysed below but a major weakness as regards etymological analysis is the lack of engagement with the earliest historical forms. Analysis relies heavily on forms recorded on historical maps, rather than in fiscal sources, and the earliest forms of settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros presented are those recorded by Blaeu. Maclean's lack of engagement with the earliest sources means that, like MacQuarrie and Johnston, he does not analyse several of the obsolete medieval settlement-names identified below. Thus, a flaw shared by the studies of MacQuarrie, Johnston and Maclean is a lack of engagement with the historical forms. An illustrative example of the importance of the earliest known forms in etymological analysis is Rhoail, whose earliest forms consistently record a medial *s* not recorded in the forms cited by MacQuarrie, Johnston and Maclean (see Rhoail in Part Two, below).

2.5 Munro and Munro, eds, 1986, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles (ALI)* **(2pp on Forsa and Moloros)[18]**

While the studies of MacQuarrie, Johnston and Maclean lack engagement with the earliest known forms, there is close analysis of the 1494 charter in *ALI* (no. A42). *ALI* does not provide etymological analysis but many of the settlement-locations are identified. Of the 15 settlements recorded in Forsa in 1494, 10 are securely identified in *ALI*. Among these is Gaodhail, tentatively identified as "Gaodhaill(?)". Locations for the four unidentifed settlements, Còrrachadh, Leiter, Rhoail and *Teamhair, are proposed below (see 5.3 and Part Two).

In Moloros, five of the 17 settlements recorded in 1494 are unidentified in *ALI* and a further two are incorrectly identified. As regards the unidentified settlements, Cowillay #, Crosta #, Derrynaculen, Iaradail and Inagart, locations for each are proposed below (see 5.4 and Part Two). *Dìosgaig is identified tentatively but erroneously as "Dishig" (*recte* Dhiseig (NM496356)), a settlement in the district of *Leth'r nan Cailleach. Ardnasalyne # is incorrectly identified as Arinasliseig (NM653316) in Glen More. Four settlements unrecorded in 1494 but recorded in 1509 are not discussed in *ALI*: Torlochan in Forsa; and *Aon Stapall, *Croggan Mòr and *Croggan Beag in Moloros.

2.6 Rixson, Land-Assessment Scotland (LAS) (online blog)

Rixson's ongoing analysis of land-assessment in Scotland has significantly contributed to understanding of medieval fiscal evaluation in Mull (see 1.7, above). Rixson ('South Mull Table') does not present etymological analysis of settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros in LAS but he identifies the locations of several of the settlement-names unidentified in *ALI*. In Forsa, Rixson securely identifies the locations of all but three settlements: Bradhadail (ibid., s.n. Bradull), whose location "in upper Glen Forsa" is in part based on the location recorded by Maclean (1997, 20–21); Rhoail, only tentatively linked with the earliest forms attributed to the head-name below (s.n. Rhoail and Ronseilye); and *Teamhair (s.n. Chowour). In Moloros, I share the majority of Rixson's proposals but Rixson expresses doubt in relation to the locations of four names: Ardnasalyne (s.n. Ardnesaleyne); Cowillay # (s.n. Caulyea); *Aon Stapall (s.n. Instaple); and Crosta # (s.n. Le Croft/Croft/Crosta). Definitive proposals regarding the locations of these settlements is presented below (see 5.4

---

[18] See also 3.1.3, below.

and Part Two). Rixson's proposals regarding Croggan in Moloros are also disputed (see 5.4 and Croggan in Part Two, below).

2.7 Summary

As can be seen, there is as yet no adequate treatment of Mull place-names, at the level of both coverage and depth. The objective of this thesis is to make a major contribution to beginning the process of a comprehensive survey of the island's toponymy, by analysing the 35 settlement-names recorded in the earliest known fiscal evaluation of two of its districts.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY, SOURCES AND EARLY FORMS

3.1 Early Written Forms

A lack of systematic engagement with the earliest available forms has been highlighted as a weakness in previous local toponymic studies and the collection and analysis of these forms has been an integral part of the employed methodology. The importance of this is illustrated in analysis of settlement-names such as Gaodhail in Forsa. In this name, neither the OS Explorer form nor local pronounciation, which are themselves distinct, correlate well with the earliest forms, which consistently include an otherwise absent *r*. This grapheme is vital to Gaodhail's proposed etymology (see Gaodhail in Part Two, below). The historical medial *s* in the earliest forms of Rhoail has already been mentioned (see 2.4).

The earliest known forms are printed in *RMS*, *ALI* and *ER* (see 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, below). An important aspect of the employed methodology was the collection of forms from the manuscripts from which the printed editions of *RMS* and *ER* were produced. These manuscripts are held in NRS. Differences between manuscript forms and printed forms are highlighted in Part Two.

The predominant focus on the earliest manuscript and printed forms means that the list of historical forms presented under each head-name in Part Two is not exhaustive, as regards forms post-dating 1625. This is the date of the latest *RMS* charter which provides local forms. Forms recorded on selected later maps and sources are included, along with forms recorded in OSNB and on OS maps past and present; the importance of these sources is discussed below. It should be noted that several later forms of both these settlement-names and other local settlement-names will exist in unpublished sources; for example, in 18th- and 19th-century rentals held in NRS. There are 2405 items in the Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers collection in NRS, for example, which date from 1630 to 1904 (NRS, GD174). This collection will be invaluable in future research of local settlement in the Early Modern period, particularly with regard to analysis of settlement expansion.

The scope of this thesis does not allow for detailed discussion of each source cited below, many of which have been subject to thorough analysis elsewhere, but some of the earliest and most important sources are briefly discussed below in relation to specific local examples.

3.1.1 *Register of the Great Seal (**RMS**)*

RMS provides the earliest forms of the settlement-names of both Forsa and Moloros. This source has been discussed in detail by Taylor (*PNF5*, 138–41) in analysis of Fife toponymy and a brief summary will suffice here (see also NRS Chancery Records). *RMS* comprises copies of charters produced for the royal chancery bearing the royal Great Seal. The charters are predominantly royal grants of lands and confirmations of grants between subjects and, in the case of both Forsa and Moloros, the lands granted or confirmed are those of Maclean of Lochbuie. The earliest charter for Forsa and Moloros dates to 1494 and the reign of James IV. Individual settlements are always valued in units relating to pennylands (see 1.7, above). When two dates are recorded for an *RMS* charter (e.g. 1534 × 1538), the former date is that of the original charter, the latter representing the year in which the charter was confirmed.

As is highlighted above (see 3.1), the earliest forms presented in Part Two are those recorded in the manuscripts held in NRS. There is some variance between manuscript forms and the printed forms in *RMS*. This is a sobering thought, given that the manuscripts themselves are copies of originals which do not survive; in other words, there is potential for untraceable copying errors by the scribes who produced the manuscripts. Direct engagement with the manuscripts at least removes the potential for further editorial errors.

The printed charters in *RMS* are also abridgements of their exemplars. As regards the 1534 × 1538 charter, for example, the manuscript provides two forms of each settlement-name in the two districts, whereas only one form is printed in *RMS*. These forms are recorded on separate lines and numbered (1) and (2) in Part Two.

Whilst these settlement-names were being used locally by Gaelic-speakers when the *RMS* charters were originally being produced, the scribes recording the names were probably Scots-speakers. The forms in this source are therefore recorded in Scots orthography, Gaelic phonemes being represented by graphemes appropriate to Scots. Analysis of these phonemes forms a large part of the etymological analysis in Part Two.

The issues outlined above make it clear that etymological analysis cannot solely be based on the earliest forms printed in *RMS*; there is clearly a need for comparison with other sources. Nevertheless, *RMS* provides the earliest known forms and it is therefore an important source for local toponymic research. Taylor (*PNF5*, 140) states his general impression that the *RMS*

volumes up to 1651 are "accurate and trustworthy enough to be a useful and reliable toponymic source".

3.1.2 *Exchequer Rolls* (*ER*)

These "account books of the Crown" record royal income and expenditure (*PNF5*, 141; see also Murray 1961; NRS Exchequer Records). Royal income consisted largely of revenues received in kind, mainly crops and food (NRS Exchequer Records), but, on the one occasion on which revenues in Forsa and Moloros are recorded (in 1509), they are recorded in shillings and pence (see 1.7, above).

The forms presented in Part Two are taken from the NRS manuscript and there is variance between the manuscript and printed forms in *ER*, as there is in *RMS*. In some cases, *ER* provides significantly different forms to those recorded in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* and these provide discussion points in Part Two. Svarabhakti in Callachally, for example, a feature of modern pronunciation and indicated in the second *a* in this OS Explorer form, is probably recorded in the *ER* form but it does not appear to be recorded in the *RMS*, *RSS*, *Retours* or *Blaeu* forms (see Callachally in Part Two, below). A difficult feature of *ER* forms is that *u* and *n* are generally indistinguishable. In many cases, other historical forms assist in identifying the most likely grapheme but ambiguity is noted in Part Two.

3.1.3 Other Early Textual Sources

The **Register of the Privy Seal (*RSS*)** contains one grant recording settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros which dates to 1542. This grant was issued under the royal Privy, i.e. private or personal, Seal (NRS Privy Seal Records).

Retours provides two other forms from 1615 and 1663. *Retours* were legal proofs of right to inherit property by a designated heir, based on the findings of an inquest and recorded in the chancery (*PNF5*, 141; also NRS Inheriting Land and Buildings).

ALI is an edited collection of sources relating to the MacDonald Lords of the Isles (1336–1493), printed in 1986 (see also 2.5, above). Some of these record early forms of place-names elsewhere in the parish (see 1.5, above) but the only forms of names in Forsa and Moloros in *ALI* are those printed in a summary of the aforementioned 1494 *RMS* charter. This summary is reviewed above (see 2.5).

As Taylor (*PNF5*, 142) has pointed out, early textual sources such as *RMS*, *ER*, *RSS* and *Retours* are basically conservative in nature, older place-name forms "being copied and re-copied by each succeeding generation of scribes". The variance between the *RMS* and *ER* forms highlighted above suggests that the *ER* forms for names in Forsa and Moloros are not the product of copying but there is certainly local evidence for the inaccurate copying of names between some sources. Some forms in *Retours* in particular are likely to betray scribal copying. A pertinent example is Fishnish in Forsa. The initial *S* in *Symsheinis*, recorded in 1663, must be recorded in error for initial *F*, on the basis of the other forms of this name. The *m* in this form is likely to have been recorded in error for *in* or *n* (see Fishnish in Part Two, below). Whilst the copying and recopying of forms between early textual sources is a pitfall, this is to some extent balanced out by the existence of forms for Forsa and Moloros across four separate sources: *RMS*, *ER*, *RSS* and *Retours*.

3.2 Early Maps

The generally conservative nature of the early textual sources and some evidence of copying means that comparison with other sources is imperative. In this regard, mapped forms are important. There is no need for detailed discussion of each of these maps here but some discussion of the earliest reliable maps which record settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros en masse is worthwhile. The earliest are those in Joan Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* (vol. 5), printed in 1654. Forms on Blaeu's maps of both Mull and the adjacent mainland district of Lorn are cited in Part Two and there is occasional variance between the two. Blaeu's maps are principally the work of Timothy Pont (*c.*1564–*c.*1614) who is likely to have surveyed Scotland in preparing his own maps between 1583 and 1596 (Grout). Pont's maps of Mull and Lorn have not survived. Pont's maps were reworked by Robert Gordon of Straloch and James Gordon of Rothiemay and Blaeu's maps are known to include their additional material. While this process can be traced in other parts of Scotland, no reworked maps of Mull produced by Robert and James Gordon have survived. Nevertheless, Blaeu's forms are particularly important given that they "tend to reflect more the current local usage" (*PNF5*, 142). A drawback is that southern Glen Forsa does not appear to have been surveyed, considering the absence of *Teamhair, Tomslèibhe and, in particular, Rhoail, which was clearly a valuable medieval settlement (see Rhoail in Part Two, below).

James Dorret's 1750 map is a useful source for mid 18th-century forms. A smaller number of settlement-names are recorded on his revised 1751 map and, when forms of Forsa and Moloros settlement-names are recorded in 1751, the vast majority are identical to those

recorded in 1750. 1751 forms are recorded in Part Two only when they differ to those recorded in 1750. Kinlochspelve is the only name recorded by Dorret in 1751 which is unrecorded in 1750.

3.3 OS

The OS material is invaluable to Scottish toponymic studies, given its comprehensive coverage of local place-names at a micro-toponymic level. Taylor (*PNF5*, 142–46) has discussed this material at length within the context of Fife and there is no need for repetition of that here. As regards Torosay specifically, the 6 inch 1st edition OS maps covering the parish were produced between 1879 and 1882. These were produced on the back of a county-wide survey of Argyll between 1868 and 1878. Data collected in this survey from local informants was collated in notebooks referred to as the Ordnance Survey Object Name Books (OSNB). The layout of OSNB varies from county to county and it is worth noting the layout used in presentation of the Torosay data:

i List of Names as Written on the Plan

ii Various modes of Spelling the same Names

iii Authority for those modes of Spelling

iv Situation

v Descriptive Remarks, or other General Observations which may be considered of Interest.[19]

When alternative forms of local settlement-names are recorded in column ii, these are presented in Part Two. As is the case in Fife (*PNF5*, 144), the main criterion for the selection of named authorities in column iv appears to have been familiarity with the locality, as opposed to social standing. Thus, whilst the Rev. John Day, then minister of Salen (NM578432), is frequently named, the named authorities for Gruline were Mr William MacDonald and Murdoch Campbell, both local gamekeepers, and E. Campbell, a local labourer (OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/49/1).

Column v records the application of the name and situates the object in relation to other local objects. This is particularly valuable for toponymic research and the entries in this column for each settlement-name, when recorded, are presented in full in Part Two. Translations of

---

[19] cf. *PNF5*, 143. For Berwickshire, see Williamson (2015).

place-names, referred to as significations, are frequently, but not always, included at the bottom of this column. These are invaluable resources as regards folk etymology and will be of particular importance in future research at a micro-toponymic level.

Particularly useful with regard to the etymological analysis presented below are Gaelic forms of settlement-names recorded as existing names, particularly when these settlement-names are otherwise unrecorded on OS Explorer. Two pertinent examples are Bradhadail, recorded in the (lenited) genitive in Màm Bhradhadail, and *Dìosgaig, recorded in the (unlenited) genitive in Abhainn Dìosgaig.

As is highlighted above, the predominant focus is on the earliest known forms predating 1625 and this thesis does not claim to be a comprehensive survey of all of the sources available for the settlement-names of Forsa and Moloros. The selected focus does, however, provide a solid basis for etymological analysis of the relevant settlement-names and engagement with the predominant research questions.

3.4 Pronunciation

Local pronunciation is recorded in IPA under each head-name in Part Two when known. The earliest written forms, as important as they are for etymological analysis, do not indicate stress patterns and these are key in any toponymic study. The initial stress in local pronunciation of Callachally, for example, is proposed to indicate its close-compound structure.

Recorded pronunciations are my own, unless otherwise stated. They are pronunciations within an English-speaking context although some are clearly influenced by Gaelic phonology. I heard these pronunciations growing up locally in Salen (NM578432) on the northern parish boundary, many of them heard from my father, Reay Whyte, to whom I owe a great deal. A native of Salen, he spent many years shepherding in Glen Forsa, working closely with Donald MacGillivary and Hugh MacPhail, tenant farmers at Pennygown and Callachally respectively. My father's familiarity with Glen Forsa in particular and its ruined settlements has been invaluable.

Pronunciation is not recorded for every settlement-name. Many of the medieval settlements of Forsa and Moloros have not been inhabited in living memory and local pronunciation of some names may now be entirely lost. The lack of native Gaelic-speakers in the study area

also means that pronunciation within a Gaelic-speaking context is generally not known, although a spoken form is recorded for Rhoail (see Rhoail in Part Two, below). Future research of the archives of the School of Scottish Studies may provide more oral forms. Care has been taken to include Gaelic written forms when known. These have been drawn from various sources, in which they are recorded in songs, poems and short stories; e.g. *Eigg*; JM; Lobban (2004); *Mac-an-Tuairneir*; Mac Cormaig (1908); Mac Cormaic (1911); MacCormick (1923); MacFadyen (1890; 1902); Mac-na-Ceàrdadh (1879); Ó Baoill (2009). An illustrative example of the importance of the local Gaelic form is the long vowel in the initial syllable of An Crògan. This is the local Gaelic form of Croggan, the vowel in the initial syllable now pronounced as a short vowel within a local English-speaking context (see Croggan in Part Two, below). Further engagement with written Gaelic forms will be important in future toponymic research in Mull. Returning to spoken forms, it is worth noting that local pronunciation of certain names is likely to exhibit a strong Gaelic influence, the "great watershed" of the language locally being World War Two (Duwe 2006, 13). Vocalic quality in pronunciation of Fishnish, for example, varies locally and one variant is proposed to have been influenced by the vowel quality of local Gaelic-speakers (see Fishnish in Part Two, below). Future research of local English dialects might benefit from analysis of pronunciation of local place-names. Future toponymic research in other areas of Mull where there are still native Gaelic-speakers will benefit from analysis of local pronunciation of place-names within a Gaelic-speaking context. As is highlighted above (see 2.2 and 2.4), MacQuarrie (1982) and Maclean (1997) occasionally indicate local pronunciation in reconstructed written forms (e.g. Garmony and Leth Thorcaill in Part Two, below). These reconstructed forms are important in the etymological analysis presented below. A drawback is that neither MacQuarrie nor Maclean recorded pronunciations using IPA.

3.5 Physical Data

Close analysis of the local environment is also a vital component in etymological analysis and physical data drawn from site-visits and detailed maps and plans is recorded for each settlement-name in Part Two. Photographs are included in Part Two when relevant to etymological analysis.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 Defining the Norse Period

ON settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros provide unequivocal evidence for the local settlement of ON-speakers. To date, neither historical nor archaeological analysis has shed much light on the chronology, extent or nature of Norse settlement in Mull. This chapter focusses on the available historical and archaeological evidence and discusses the key secondary commentaries. There is also discussion of Mull's place in recent toponymic analysis of Norse settlement in western Scotland and of comparative and contextual toponymic evidence from neighbouring islands and mainland areas. The focus is on identifying a period or periods in which Norse settlement in Mull is likely to have taken place, before analysis of the settlement-names themselves is presented.

There is little doubt that the population of Mull was Gaelic-speaking when ON-speakers first arrived in the area and the likelihood is that this had been the case since 600 AD at the latest (Clancy 2011, 381 and 390, Fig. 6). There is explicit evidence of local Norse activity in 795 when the annals record that pagans plundered Iona (AI 795.2; on translation of Latin *gentiles* and OG *genti* as 'pagans', see Etchingham 2014, 23). There is little doubt that these pagans were of Norse origin. The entry in the previous year which records that "All the islands of Britain [*insolarum Britannie*] were harried by **gentiles**" (*CI* 794.7) has also been proposed to refer specifically to the southern Hebrides but interpretation is somewhat subjective (Woolf 2007, 45–6; cf. Smyth 1984, 145). The 795 entry is unequivocal in referring specifically to Iona.

If 795 provides a useful *terminus post quem* for the Norse period locally, a useful political *terminus ante quem* is 1266, the year in which Norwegian sovereignty over the Hebrides ended and Scottish sovereignty began. An important question for current purposes is whether this political *terminus* is a useful linguistic *terminus*. The answer is that it is probably not. In recent commentaries, the emergence of Somerled mac Gille Brighde (†1164) and his descendants at the head of a dominant Gaelic polity in Argyll and the Isles from the mid 12th century has been proposed as a linguistic watershed in the Hebrides generally (Macniven 2006, 142; Clancy 2011, 389).[20] Macniven (2015, 120) has more

---

[20] In orthography of Somerled mac Gille Brighde here and throughout, I follow Clancy 2011, 389.

recently proposed that language usage in Islay should be closely compared to language usage in Man, given that Islay comprised an important part of the kingdom of Man and the Isles established in *c.*1079 by Godred Crovan (*CRMI* f.32v.–f.33r.; Duffy 1992, 106).[21] We know that Mull, too, comprised an important part of this kingdom and it is important in any discussion of 11th-century Mull to note Duffy's proposal that Godred's conquests of Man in *c.*1079 and then Dublin in 1091 were probably backed by a Hebridean contingent (1992, 106). In relation to language usage in Islay, Macniven (2015, 120) has identified the reign of Godred's son Amlaíb, alias Óláfr Bitlingr (†1152; *CRMI* f.35.r.–f.35v.), as a period in which Gaelic influence in the kingdom of Man and the Isles "escalated enormously". By the time Islay was under the political rule of Somerled and his descendants, "it is clear that all-important naming developments were taking place in Gaelic" (Macniven 2015, 120). At this point, it is important to note Macniven's proposal that the ON place-names of Islay suggest "an island-wide plantation of Old Norse speakers to the extreme disadvantage of the established population" and that the combined evidence suggests that there was a "large-scale and culturally transformative plantation of Norse settlers in Islay during the Viking Age" (2015, 81 and 120; see also Macniven 2006). Macniven (2013a) has also suggested that the Islay model might be applied to the rest of the Inner Hebrides. As Clancy (2011, 377) has pointed out in relation to the Inner Hebrides, recent proposals like those of Macniven mean that "We cannot resort, as one perhaps can in other areas such as the Argyll mainland, or possibly further south in the Isle of Man, to the notion that Gaelic 're-emerged' autochthonously after Norwegian rule came to an end". Macniven's thesis is controversial. Márkus (2012, 29), for example, has stated within the context of toponymyic analysis of Bute that "it was not in the interest of the Vikings to create a complete desert in Dál Riata".

It is worth returning at this point to the origins of Somerled mac Gille Brighde. It is probably important to note that the ancestral power-base of Somerled and his descendants appears to have been in Lorn and Mull (Oram 2011, 156; also McDonald 1997, 70). Somerled's rise to power is obscure (see, for example, Duncan and Brown 1957, 195; Sellar 1966; McDonald 1997, 39–67; Woolf 2005, 199) but the Gaelic identity of his kin group is not. An ancestral power-base in Lorn and Mull suggests that the Gaelic identity of that area was already strong by the time Somerled rose to power. An important consideration in this chapter is how far back this Gaelic identity is likely to stretch.

---

[21] This is the commonly-used Anglicised form of this figure's personal name and epithet. For recent analysis of Godred's Gaelic epithets, perhaps best presented as *crobhán* 'hand, little hand' and *mé(a)rach* (an adjective derived from *mé(a)r* 'a finger'), see Ó Maolalaigh 2014.

Analysis of the political situation of Mull in the Norse period is inevitably based on contextual and comparative analysis, given the dearth of specific contemporary references to the island. In this regard, Mull can certainly be compared to Islay. Macniven (2015, 4) has pointed out that, other than the death of Godred Crovan in Islay in 1095, following his expulsion from Dublin, there are no other specific references to Islay, "let alone the political allegiances or cultural identity of its inhabitants, until the arrival of Somerled in the mid 12th century".[22] Thus, contextual analysis based on Mull's geographical location is a theme of this chapter. Indeed, the dearth of specific references makes contextual and comparative analysis imperative.

4.2 Toponymic Continuity

Mull does not differ from many of the Hebrides in that its pre-Norse name, *Maile*, a name of Celtic origin, has endured (*CPNS*, 38; Isaac 2005, 197; Broderick 2013, 13). Where Mull does differ from other neighbouring Inner Hebridean island-names such as Staffa, Colonsay and Jura is that the modern Gaelic form Muile and the English reflex Mull are derived from *Maile*, as opposed to *Mýl*, the ON adaptation of *Maile* (see Kruse 2005, 153; Gammeltoft 2007, 491; Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 82). The *ý* of *Mýl* suggests raising and rounding of the vowel in the initial syllable of *Maile* before contact with ON-speakers occurred. The modern Gaelic form is Muile, the vowel in the initial syllable pronounced [ʉ], and the ON form suggests that this vowel was pronounced thus by Gaelic-speakers in the late eighth century.

The suggested autochthonous re-emergence of Gaelic in mainland Argyll is in part based on the survival there of Gaelic ethnonyms, applied as territorial names, from the pre-Norse period and it is worth noting that two of these names apply to areas lying adjacent to Mull: Lorn, from Cenél Loairn, literally '(The) Kindred of Loarn' (*CPNS*, 121); and *Kinnel Bathyn* (RPS, 1293/2/17), later *Kinelvadon* (*OPS* II i, 188–190), from Cenél mBáetáin, literally '(The) Kindred of Báetán', a name understood to have applied to Morvern (*CPNS*, 122–23; also Fraser 2009, 245). The name Morvern, in Gaelic A' Mhorbhairn(e), has itself been suggested as a name of pre-Norse origin, specifically a name applied to a sea-stewartry established by Pictish overlords of Dál Riata in the first half of the eighth century (Fraser

---

[22] For Godred's death, see *CRMI* f.33v. and AFM 1095.4; also Duffy 1992, 106–08; Woolf 2004, 101; Oram 2011, 47.

2009, 357–58); however, the derivation of the term which underlies the place-name is controversial.[23] As is highlighted above, Morvern is separated from Mull by little more than a mile in places across the Sound of Mull (see 1.1). As regards Lorn, the Firth of Lorn is the name of the sea-channel which separates Lorn from Mull. The proximity of Mull to these mainland districts where pre-Norse place-names endured is worth considering.

4.3 Iona and Colum Cille

Mull should also be considered within the context of neighbouring Iona and in this regard we are fortunate in that Iona's contemporary history is relatively well-recorded. It is worth noting initially within the context of toponymic continuity that Iona's pre-Norse name and its dedication to its founding saint, Colum Cille, also endured through the Norse period. This is despite further recorded attacks on the island in the first decade of the ninth century. In 802 Iona was burnt (*CI* 802.9) and in 806 the community of Iona, numbering 68, was killed (*CI* 806.8). These events probably motivated the building of a Columban foundation at Kells in County Meath which was completed in 814 (*CI* 814.10). Consequently, it has been proposed that Iona was "temporarily abandoned" in the wake of the pagan Norse attacks and that the focus of the Columban *familia* moved from Iona to Kells (Smyth 1984, 147; also Herbert 1988, 70–73). However, the evidence instead suggests that Iona remained active and that coarbs, i.e. successors (in ecclesiastical office), of Colum Cille remained as abbots of Iona.[24] For example, Clancy (2004a, 222) has argued convincingly that Diarmait *dalta* Daigri, i.e. foster-son or pupil of Daigre, abbot of Iona from 814 and known to have been active in Ireland on the basis of the contemporary Irish annals, was for the most part resident in Iona during his abbacy. The presence of Colum Cille's shrine (*scrín*) on the island when pagan Norse attacked again in 825, making a martyr of Blathmac mac Flainn, has been proposed to provide further evidence of the continued prominence of Iona (*CI* 825.17).[25] Abbots of Iona continued in place throughout the 10th and 11th centuries and Clancy's proposal is that Kells only emerged definitively as the seat of coarbial jurisdiction in 1007 (2011a, 100). This is based in part on interpretation of entries in the annals recording the movement of Colum Cille's relics with Diarmait (*CI* 818.12; *CI* 829.3; *CI* 831.1) and with Diarmait's successor as abbot of Iona, Indrechtach ua Finnachta (*CI* 849.10) (Clancy 1996,

---

[23] For a recent review of etymological analysis of the underlying term and discussion of Morvern, see Broun 2008, 322–24.

[24] See Bannerman 1993, 33; Clancy and Márkus 1995, 18; Clancy 1996; Jennings 1998, 41; Clancy 2004; Clancy 2004a, esp. 215 and 218; Clancy 2011a.

[25] For Walahfrid Strabo's poem on the event, see Dümmler 1884, 297-301; Metcalfe 1889, ii 293-97; *ES* i 263–65; Kenney 1979, 445-46 and 550–51; for discussion, see Clancy 1996, 113; Dumville 1997, 19; Jennings 1998, 41; Clancy 2004 and 2004a, 218 and 229.

113–15). This evidence has been interpreted in different ways (Bannerman 1993; Jennings 1998, 41; Bannerman 1999, 73–74; Broun 1999, 104–05, note 40) but, as Clancy has convincingly argued, there is no evidence to suggest that Iona's prominence diminished, whatever the reason behind the movement of relics (Clancy 1996; Clancy 2004a; Clancy 2011a).

4.4 Political Hegemony

Iona's continued prominence and the continued strength of Colum Cille's cult in the ninth century and beyond must be considered within the context of local Norse settlement. In short, both are likely to be explained by patronage and appropriation by an incoming Norse élite. Before the evidence for this is discussed, it is worth addressing the chronology of local Norse settlement. This is controversial. Woolf (2007, 64) has argued that the absence of kings of Dál Riata for this period makes it likely that Dál Riata was occupied by Norse, specifically Hörðar from Vestland, between *c.*793 and 806, this group thereafter turning their attentions to Ireland. I would suggest that sporadic attacks on Iona imply that those doing the raiding were not permanently settled in Iona or in its vicinity. That is not to say that pagan Norse had not established a base or bases in other areas of what is now Scotland in this period. It is also important to note that there is an increasing likelihood that there was seasonal or temporary Norse activity in Iona in the early Norse peiod in the form of a beach market (Colleen Batey, pers. comm.).

Other commentators have seen 825, the date of the last recorded attack on Iona in the ninth century, as the likely *terminus post quem* for Norse settlement in the Hebrides (Smyth 1984, 148; Jennings 1998, 41; Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 126). Ó Corráin (1998, 297) has proposed that the "main thrust of the ninth-century Viking attack on Ireland (c.825 to c.850) was mounted from Scotland". Others have seen the entry in the Annals of St Bertin for 847 as evidence for the establishment of Norse hegemony in the southern Hebrides: *Scotti a Nordmannis per annos plurimos impetiti, tributarii efficiuntur, insulis circumquaque positis nullo resistente potiti immorantes* (ASB, s.a. 847); 'The *Scotti*, after being attacked by the Northmen for very many years, were rendered tributary, and [the Northmen] took possession, without resistance, of the islands that lie all around and dwelt there'.[26] Identification of the referent Gaels (*Scotti*) and the islands of which Norse (*Nordmanni*) took

---

[26] For the translation, see Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 45; for an alternative, see Nelson 1991, 65.

possession is subject to differing interpretations.[27] It is worth considering that a footnote on the *Scotti* in ASB adds *Qui Hiberniam incolebant* 'who inhabit Ireland' (ASB, 35, note 1). Márkus has recently suggested that the entry may provide evidence of a political move by Cinaed son of Ailpín, then ruling in Pictland and probably acting as overlord over Dál Riata, by way of which the Pictish kingdom relinquished its grasp on the southern Hebrides. The suggestion is that the islands were in effect used to 'buy off' the Norse settlers (Márkus 2012, 27) and that the agreement may have been brokered "in exchange for military support and, perhaps, the acceptance of baptism" (ibid., 47). In other words, the envisaged formal agreement may have been designed in part to safeguard the Church in the southern Hebrides. In truth, the evidence for 847 marking *the* major political watershed in the southern Hebrides, if there was one defining moment, is sketchy.

4.5 Innse Gall

The origin of this Gaelic name, probably best translated as '(The) Isles of the Norse', is controversial.[28] It has been linked to 847. The controversy surrounds both the anachronistic entry for 851 in AFM (851.16) which identifies Gofraid mac Fergusa as *toisich Innsi Gall* '(the) chief of Innse Gall' and the name's appearance (twice) in the early Middle Irish text *Cath Maige Tuired.* Regarding the latter, Ó Corráin's proposal is that the text was for the most part composed in the second half of the ninth century (1998, 310) but, as Clancy (2008a, 27) has pointed out, the appearance of Innse Gall in this literary text "does not negate the evidence for change in *annalistic* perceptions of contemporary politics in the late 10th century". Given that the first contemporary use of Innse Gall in the annals is in 989 (AU 989.4)[29], Innse Gall may be better understood as a late-10th-century innovation, only then reflecting the contemporary political situation (Clancy 2008a, 27). On the other hand, Jennings and Kruse (2009a, 98) have proposed that there is "every reason to believe that the territorial name *Innse Gall* came into use during the 9th century when Norse settlement was taking place throughout the islands". As is highlighted above, the origin of Innse Gall has been linked in some commentaries to 847 (e.g. Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 144; Márkus 2012, 28, note 38).[30] Whatever its origin, it is important to note that we cannot be certain that Innse Gall encompassed all the Hebrides on the occasions it is recorded (Downham

---

[27] See Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 45; Barrett 2003, 77; Woolf 2004, 94; Woolf 2007, 100; Márkus 2012, 27–29.
[28] The orthography here is of the modern Gaelic reflex, rather than an OG form.
[29] See Dumville 1997, 17; Woolf 2004, 99; Woolf 2005; Woolf 2007, 219 and 299; Clancy 2008a, 26–27**;** cf. Sellar 1966, 135.
[30] Also Woolf 2004, 94–95 but cf. Woolf 2007, 219 and 298.

2007a, 179; Woolf 2007, 298). Ó Corráin (1998, 313) proposed that the application in *Cath Maige Tuired* is to the Outer Hebrides.

4.6 Laithlinn

It is also important to discuss this name within the context of 847 and Innse Gall. There have been strong recent challenges to Ó Corráin's proposal that Laithlinn # and its analogues, which are recorded in contemporary annals as early as 848 (*CI* 848.6), refer to "Viking Scotland" and probably also Man (1998, 306). Etchingham (2007, 27) has since suggested that "mid ninth-century Laithlinn was, in fact, a polity in Norway", proposing that it is not clear in any source that the name denotes 'Viking Scotland' as Ó Corráin suggested (ibid., 20). Kruse (2015) has recently suggested on the basis of etymological analysis that an original *Leiðland may have referred in the ninth century to a powerful contemporary kingdom in south-west Norway.

Thus, given the uncertainty about 847 and the origin and extent of Innse Gall, and the move towards a Norwegian location for Laithlinn #, identification of a likely *terminus post quem* for Norse setttlement on individual Hebridean islands on the available historical evidence is very difficult. This is reflected in the conflicting views of secondary commentators. Dating the beginning of Norse settlement in Scotland on an archaeological basis is also controversial but Barrett (2008, 419) has proposed that the archaeological and historical evidence together provide explicit evidence of settlement only from the mid ninth century. There is further discussion of local archaeology below (see 4.8).

4.7 Acculturation

It is worth returning at this point to Norse patronage of Iona and appropriation of the cult of Colum Cille. Márkus's suggestion that any formal agreeement between the Pictish king Cinaed son of Alpín and Norse élite in the former kingdom of Dál Riata may have involved acceptance of baptism is in part based on the proposal that Iona retained its prominence in the ninth century. Continuity in Iona is in itself strong evidence for Norse patronage and appropriation but evidence presents itself in other forms.

As regards place-names, Márkus (Márkus 2013 and pers. comm. 18 June 2015) has suggested that the distribution of dedications specifically to Colum Cille, rather than to Colum or other hypocoristic forms of this common hagionym (*LSS*, xxii), effectively maps Norse appropriation of this saint's cult. On this basis, Márkus has proposed that Norse

settlers in the Hebrides and their descendants, once their hegemony was secured in Iona and its surrounds, sought to deploy the cult of this pre-eminent local saint to further their sense of identity and status. The implication is of a strong local Church with which local Norse élite might have held a mutually beneficial and reciprocal arrangement. Abrams (2007, 173) has suggested that we might envisage a situation in some parts of the Hebrides in which "landholders would have had to fit into existing Christian frameworks", advantages having been available for some in joining the Christian establishment. Thus, the continued strength of the Church locally would provide an incentive for Norse settlers to emulate local culture. This is at odds with Macniven's model for Norse settlement in the Inner Hebrides in which he proposes that, after the downfall of the kingdom of Dál Riata, "there would have been little incentive for status-obsessed Norse migrants to emulate the local culture". A strong local Church focussed on the enduringly prominent Iona would surely provide an incentive for religious emulation. Macniven (2015, 119) has proposed that "the survival of the nearby monastic centre on Iona...can almost certainly be attributed to Norse posturing". The evidence points towards something more substantive than posturing. In relation to linguistic development, there is no doubt that the Gaelic language remained at the heart of the Columban *familia* and the implication is that at least some linguistic acculturation of ON-speakers went hand in hand with patronage of Iona. Indeed, the kind of functioning reciprocal relationship envisaged by Abrams would have necessitated at least a degree of linguistic acculturation among patronising Norse élite. Linguistic acculturation of ON-speakers at lower levels of society is explored below (see 4.9).

4.7.1 Icelandic Sources and Ketill Flatnefr

A number of commentators have taken passages in Late Medieval Icelandic textual sources, including the famous 'Sagas of Icelanders',[31] as providing evidence of religious and linguistic acculturation among Norse élite in the Hebrides in the ninth century. It is worth drawing attention to one pertinent example: Ketill Flatnefr 'Flatnose' and his kin group. Ketill is a figure portrayed in a number of these Icelandic sources as a Norwegian chieftain who ruled in the Hebrides in the ninth century. Several passages in *Landnámabók*, for example, present Ketill and his family as baptised and practising Christians on their respective arrivals in Iceland from the Hebrides. This phase of Iceland's settlement has been dated to *c.*870 (Friðriksson and Vésteinsson 2003, 142). Ketill's daughter Auðr Djúpaúða 'Deep-minded' is described as having been a devout Christian, erecting crosses at which she

---

[31] In referring to 'Sagas of Icelanders', I follow Friðriksson and Vésteinsson 2003, 140.

said prayers (*Landnámabók*, 97). Orlyg, Ketill's nephew, is recorded as having dedicated a church to Colum Cille (*Kolumkilli*) on the advice of Bishop Patrick of the Hebrides (ibid., 15). There are some inconsistencies across the different sources and, as a result, their value in terms of presenting historical fact is controversial. They are certainly anachronistic, having been produced between the 12th and 14th centuries (Friðriksson and Vésteinsson 2003, 140). Friðriksson and Vésteinsson (ibid., 141) have argued that the overall view presented by these sources is a "scholarly construct...probably generated by the social and cultural needs of the Icelandic intelligentsia in the High Middle Ages". Macniven (2013a, 5–6), discussing the value of these sources in relation to analysis of ethnicity in the Inner Hebrides in the Norse period, is dismissive, proposing that it is reasonable to ask whether the "cultural Celticisms" attributed specifically to the likes of Ketill "should actually be read as aspirational if facile deference to the still powerful Gaelic-speaking rulers of Ireland proper". However, it is unclear why either the Icelandic intelligentsia in the High Middle Ages or Icelanders passing on these traditions orally would feel it necessary to show deference to Gaels in Ireland or elsewhere. This is particularly true of by-names of Gaelic origin among settlers recorded as having come from the Hebrides. Ketill's great-grandson Óláfr Feilan Þorsteinssonr, for example, has a Gaelic by-name. Feilan is an ON reflex of OG *fáelán*, a diminutive of *fáel* 'wolf' and a common forename (eDIL s.v. *fáel*; *Íslendingabók*, lines 125, 397 and 417 and glossary s.v. *feilan*).[32] Smyth (1984, 161–62) has cogently argued that aspects of Gaelic culture which are recorded in the Icelandic material are unlikely to have been preserved by later Icelanders by whom they would have been poorly understood and for whom they would have been unfashionable, unless they were authentic (see also ibid., 155). Friðriksson and Vésteinsson (2003, 141) have proposed that "Individual names, anecdotes, and events may well have been brought unaltered through generations of storytellers, representing genuine data of a sort". Abrams (2007, 183) is tentative about the reliability of Icelandic tradition on the subject of Christianity among ON-speakers in the Hebrides in the ninth century but suggests that "there may be some truth in the later claim that several noteworthy Icelandic settlers, such as the family of Ketill Flatnose, were Christian". The dangers of accepting the accounts in these anachronistic Icelandic sources have been highlighted but Jennings and Kruse (2009b, 131–32) have recently cogently argued for the "real possibility" that Ketill actually took control of Dál Riata with its islands in the first half of the ninth century, an event which they link either to

---

[32] Also Smyth 1984, 163; Jennings 1993, 85.

847 or to a generation earlier, when the last recorded raid on Iona took place in 825 (also ibid., 127; Jennings 1993, 83–85; Márkus 2012, 187, note 36).

4.7.2 Caittil Find and Gall-Ghàidheil

Jennings and Kruse's proposal is advanced partly on the basis of identification of Ketill Flatnefr with Caittil Find 'the Fair'. Caittil's by-name Find is of Gaelic origin but his forename is a Gaelicised form of Ketill, a name of Norse origin. Identification with Ketill Flatnefr has been proposed elsewhere (e.g. Robertson 1862, i 44; Smyth 1984, 156–57) but it is not universally accepted (Downham 2007a, 18; Woolf 2007, 295–96). It is worth highlighting the pertinent sources. Caittil Find is identified as the leader of Gall-Ghàidheil in 857 (*CI* 857.1).[33] The name Gall-Ghàidheil first appears in contemporary sources in 856 and it is also recorded in 858 (*CI* 856.3, 856. 6 and 858.8). In these entries, Gall-Ghàidheil are recorded acting in alliance with Máel Sechnaill mac Maíle Ruanaid, Clann Cholmáin over-king of the Uí Néill, against the Norse of Dublin, led by Óláfr and Ívarr, whose names are recorded in OG as Amlaíb and Ímar.[34] Clancy (2008a, 21) has defined Gall-Ghàidheal, the singular form, as "foreign-seeming Gael; a scandinavianised Gaelic speaker, or a foreigner who speaks Gaelic". The genesis of the Gall-Ghàidheil to which these entries refer is controversial and, while engagement with the conflicting views is tangential to the main focus here, it is worth noting that there is no contemporary evidence to suggest that the concept of Gall-Ghàidheil stretched as far as the southern Hebrides (Clancy 2008a, 44–45).[35] In the 850s they are active in Ireland and an origin in Ireland should be considered (Clancy 2008a, 24). So, too, should an origin in southern Argyll, given the fact that, by *c.*900 at least, Bute and the Firth of Clyde area, including the east coast of Kintyre, are considered to have been in Gall-Ghàidheil territory (Clancy 2008a, 31 and 44–45; also Jennings 2004, 119; Márkus 2012, 39–42). Whatever the origin of this group or groups, there is strong evidence in their alliance with Máel Sechnaill against pagan Norse to support the proposal that Christianity was a key defining aspect of Gall-Ghàidheil identity (Clancy 2008a, 25; Márkus 2012, 40 and 47). This argument demands a corrective to the distracting and late accounts in the *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland* which associate the Gall-Ghàidheil with apostasy and brigandry, defining them as 'men who had forsaken their baptism' who were particularly evil towards churches (FA §260; also §247). Clancy (2008a, 24–25) has convincingly

---

[33] Gall-Ghàidheil is a standardised form based on modern orthographic conventions, as opposed to an OG form.

[34] See, for example, Smyth 1984, 156–58; Jennings 1993, 78–83; Woolf 2004, 96–97; Downham 2007a, 17; Clancy 2008a, 23; Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 124; Márkus 2012, 40–41.

[35] Also MacQueen 2002, 56; Woolf 2007, 296–97; cf. Smyth 1984, 157; Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 145.

argued that FA has a clear literary agenda, namely one devoted to building up a picture of Christian kingship, and the contrasting of Irish kings with perceived heathen opponents, in this case Gall-Ghàidheil, was part of its methodology. As can be seen, this is at odds with the contemporary annalistic evidence which implies that the Gall-Ghàidheil active in Ireland in the 850s should probably be viewed as a product of religious acculturation. If Gall-Ghàidheil are defined as foreigners who speak Gaelic, they are also a product of linguistic acculturation. If they are defined as Gaels who have gone Norse, as it were, the implication is that these Gaels had adopted features of Norse culture from Norse settlers but that they still spoke Gaelic. The fact that the ecclesiastical site of Kingarth is explicitly recorded as being *i nGallgaedelaib* 'in (the territory of) Gall-Ghàidheil' in an important entry in the Martyrology of Tallaght which dates to no later than the early 10th century (Clancy 2008a, 29–30) also implies that Kingarth was being patronised by Gall-Ghàidheil. The implication of the evidence is that the predominant status of Gaelic among Gall-Ghàidheil was closely linked to Christianity.

Within the context of the evidence presented above, the emergence of a group or groups like Gall-Ghàidheil in the Irish Sea region in the mid ninth century should not be surprising. There is evidence for alliances having regularly been formed between groups clearly perceived as being ethnically distinct, i.e. Norse and Irish, from the 830s in Ireland (Downham 2014, 2). Downham (2014, 3, note 13) has identified 23 cross-cultural alliances in total in the ninth-century annals. There were probably economic motives. Downham (2014, 2) has drawn attention to contemporary evidence for the payment of tribute and ransoming of captives. Economic negotiation between Norse and native in Ireland appears to be recorded as early as 798 when pagan Norse burnt Inis Pátraic (identified as Inis Pádraig / Holmpatrick in County Dublin) and "took cattle-tribute of the territories" (*CI* 798.2).[36]

There is a clear implication in the aforementioned discussion of Gall-Ghàidheil that religious and linguistic acculturation was also taking place in the ninth century in areas of south-west Scotland. The nuances of this acculturation occur off the radar of the surviving contemporary annals and the settlement-names of Forsa and Moloros must be considered within this context, particularly given the evidence for the continued prominence of a major centre of Christianity in neighbouring Iona.

---

[36] For discussion of the potential implications of this entry, see Woolf 2007, 46.

4.7.3 Lawmen, Chieftains and 'Farmer Republics'

In political terms, local societal structure in the southern Hebrides is obscure in the ninth century but in the third quarter of the 10th century, there are references to *Lagmainn* 'Lawmen' of the Isles, a name derived from ON *lǫgmað(r)* (AFM 960.14 (i.e. 962) and AFM 972.13 (i.e. 974)). Ó Corráin (1998, 309) has proposed that these references are to a kindred or group of Hebridean origin. Woolf (2007, 212–13 and 298–300) has since suggested that they provide a rare glimpse of the contemporary social organisation of the Isles. Woolf's proposal is that "farmer republics" existed in the Isles in which a number of small-scale chieftains constantly competed for clients, akin to those which existed in Iceland, Gotland and the provinces of the Swedish interior. Woolf's proposal is that these entries make it look very much as if the Isles were ruled over "by assemblies of freeholders who regularly elected lawmen to preside over their public affairs" and that each island or island-group may have had its own assembly (Woolf 2007, 213 and 298–300). A similar idea is also explored by Downham (2007a, 177–79) who proposes that early uses of the aforementioned Innse Gall may be propagandist and that there is evidence to support the proposal that distinct polities may have existed within particular island-groups. 10th-century politics are discussed in more detail below (see 4.10) but the implication is that the appearance of the Lawmen in the annals in the 960s and 970s might reflect a societal structure in the Isles which had developed in the preceding period.

4.8 Archaeology
4.8.1 Mull

Archaeology will likely play a vital role in studies of the Norse period locally in forthcoming years but to date there is scanty evidence for a Norse presence in Mull. A lost 19th-century report from an unknown find-spot of "one or more" oval brooches, often taken as evidence for female Norse burial, and a sherd from a small oval fort at Mingary in north-west Mull constitute the island's only finds (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 87–88 and 115, Fig. 7.1).

Within the context of continuity in Iona, it is important to note the Early Christian chapel and cemetery recently excavated in north Mull at Baliscate near Tobermory (NM496540). The earliest phase of this ecclesiastical site, comprising a timber sill beam structure with one associated inhumation burial, has been radiocarbon dated to 610–690 AD (Baliscate, 15). The identification of a *leacht* with parallels to a cross-base excavated at Tòrr an Aba in Iona, the deposition of white quartz pebbles, a headstone of Iona marble and a pebble of non-local

red granite very similar to the geology at Fionnphort in the Ross of Mull have been taken to represent a likely association with Iona (ibid., 16; for discussion of OG *leacht*, see Leth Thorcaill in 5.3.3 and Part Two, below). Evidence relating to the site in the Norse period is ambiguous but, importantly, there is evidence that the site was probably used for ecclesiastical purposes in the Norse period. The cemetery was either abandoned in the late eighth century, or its focus moved to another location, and the site may have been abandoned between the 10th and 12th centuries (Ellis 2013, 54). However, the site's rectangular *leacht* and two potential cross-bases were probably erected in the ninth or 10th century (ibid., 54). The evidence from Baliscate should be considered within the context of archaeology from sites on neighbouring islands and mainland areas.

4.8.2 Kiloran Bay (NR400976)

Contextual and comparative analysis is important and, in this regard, the boat-burial discovered in the dunes of Kiloran Bay on the north-west coast of Colonsay may be instructive. This site lies around 28km south-west of Moloros. Here a man of high status aged over 40 was buried in a boat with grave-goods which appear to exhibit connections to the south with Islay, the Irish Sea and Northumbria (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 122; also Ritchie 1993, 79–84). The proposed earliest possible date for the inhumation is the mid ninth century (Ritchie 1993, 83), the overall nature and range of the grave-goods suggesting a date towards the end of that century, or even *c.*900 (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 122). The man's high status is indicated by finds such as the pair of scales and lead weights placed in front of his body (ibid., 119). Three Northumbrian coins were also discovered, two of which were legible. One is of Æthelred II (841–44) and the other of Archbishop Wigmund of York (837–54). Both were perforated and thus demonetarised, "increasing the problem of guessing how old they might have been when they were buried" (ibid., 118). Graham-Campbell and Batey (ibid., 120) have highlighted the possibility that the coins formed part of the weight-set, unless they were being worn as pendants, or had some purely symbolic function in the grave. The deposition of scales, weights and coins suggests that the man may have been involved in local land-assessment. The scales and weights certainly appear to confirm his involvement in trade. Graham-Campbell and Batey (ibid., 122) suggest that this man may have ruled over Colonsay but, even if the island was his to control, Colonsay "would seem to have served him also as a base for forays beyond the Hebrides". Also excavated were a horse and horse-fittings and the horse presumably played an active role in the man's life. It has been suggested that damage to the right metatarsal and tibia of the horse was inflicted in battle (Ritchie 1993, 80; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 120).

An alternative is that the horse was deliberately hobbled and 'sacrificed' in a burial-ritual (Colleen Batey, pers. comm.). The set of bronze harness-mounts are of Insular workmanship, its four ornamental studs most closely paralleled by a bridle from Balladoole in Man which also contained a conical shield-boss of the same Irish Sea type found at Kiloran Bay and Ballinaby in Islay (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 120). A furnished boat-burial is typologically pagan and Graham-Campbell and Batey (ibid., 118) emphasise that "this is a purely pagan burial" in all respects, other than the marking of the grave with two cross-incised slabs. This stone-setting around the grave was orientated east-west, as Christian burials are, and Márkus (2012, 48) has speculated as to whether the man was "hedging his bets", having his grave marked as a Christian but retaining the burial practices of his Norse ancestors. Kiloran Bay takes its name from the nearby Early Christian church- or chapel-site of Kiloran, a name etymologised as G *cill* 'church, chapel; burial-ground' + pn Odhran. There is evidence for a cult of St Odhrán in Iona and the name could be connected with this cult (Márkus 2012, 48, note 63). The intervisibility of Kiloran Bay and Iona may have been especially significant for this Colonsay potentate but the grave-goods certainly indicate that he was aligned to pagan Norse culture. Markus's suggestion is that a desire for protection from Colum Cille might lie behind the boat-burial's chosen location (ibid., 48). Previous analyses of the potentially Christian aspects of the evidence have been more cautious. Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998, 118) have highlighted the possibility that "the man's wife, or some other member of his family, may have been Christian and thus have chosen to mark these two stones with the protective sign of the cross". An alternative suggestion is that some of the stones which had been brought to the site "might first have served as grave-markers in an early Christian cemetery"; in other words, the cross-incised slabs could conceivably have been appropriated and reused without having any Christian significance (ibid., 118). Ritchie (1993, 83) has proposed that "if the slabs were part of the original grave-structure, the crosses imply that this Viking community had encountered and to some extent adopted Christian ideas". Within the context of continuity in Iona throughout the ninth century and acculturation in other areas of the Irish Sea zone, a ninth-century inhumation exhibiting both pagan and Christian aspects should perhaps not surprise.

4.8.3 Swordle, Ardnamurchan (NM546702)

Kiloran Bay is closely parallelled in a boat-burial recently discovered at Swordle, which lies around 13.5km north-east of Mull. Preliminary finds suggest a late-ninth- or early-10th-century date for "a remarkably rich Viking boat burial of a warrior, or at least someone whose material culture created them as such" (Harris *et al.* 2011, 20). Pottery "of local

Hebridean tradition" provides evidence for material acculturation (ibid., 20) but the inhumation is overtly pagan, grave-goods providing evidence for connections with southern Norway (via Orkney) (ibid., 18, 20 and 40) and Ireland (ibid., 18, 20 and 41). The place-name, which is Suardail in Gaelic (Henderson 1915, 161), is also clearly of ON origin. Its generic is ON *dal(r)* 'dale, valley'. The modern forms and local brown earth soils of the Gruline Association (1:250 000 Soil Map; SIFSS; see 1.3, above) make ON *svǫrð(r)* (m), gen. *svarðar* 'sward' the likely specific. This is the etymology proposed by Henderson (1915, 161), who notes that the "name is singularly appropriate, for, the formation being limestone, the meadows and uplands offer the greenest and richest pasture".

4.8.4 Càrn a' Bharraich, Oronsay (NR360883)

Three inhumations during the ninth century have been excavated in dunes at Càrn a' Bharraich on the east coast of Oronsay, the island separated from Colonsay by a tidal isthmus. There is evidence here for a double inhumation, identified as a male and a female, and a female inhumation not thought to be contemporary (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 114). The two female burials are suggested to perhaps represent two successive generations of women of high social standing. There is also evidence for a boat-burning, perhaps in connection with a cremation burial. As regards grave-goods, a "piratical Viking profile" is suggested in relation to a pair of brooches which reused clasps from a shrine-mount (ibid., 118). There are proposed Scandinavian and Irish connections (ibid., 116 and 118).

4.8.5 Cnoc nan Gall, Colonsay (NR358932)

Another male burial with grave-goods which appears to lie within a cemetery has recently been excavated at Cnoc nan Gall near Machrins in Colonsay around 6km south-west of Kiloran Bay. It is of suggested mid- to late-10th-century date (Becket and Batey 2013, 316). It lies in the vicinity of inhumation- and settlement-radiocarbon dated to the early ninth century, the evidence pointing towards a cemetery used over a long period (ibid., 307). The knife and the use of coarse cloth to wrap the body, considered alongside the lack of weapons in the grave, suggest that this was a craftsman of some kind (ibid., 316). Distinctive aspects of the burial within the context of local inhumations of this period are the layer of birch bark and the possible heather cord identified in archaeobotanical analysis (ibid., 314). These suggest that the body and grave had been carefully prepared before burial and that some kind of bier or coffin had been built around the body. Similar features are known in Viking Age burials from cemeteries such as Birka in Sweden but have not been previously identified in

a Scottish context. Birch bark appears to have had a special significance in early Christian graves in Scandinavia. In summary, it is difficult to establish whether this burial-rite is unusual, exotic, or part of an established local tradition without further study of the cemetery (ibid., 316). Cnoc nan Gall, the name applying to the cemetery, is classified by Morgan as an antiquarian name (Morgan 2013, 239 and map 25). Morgan's proposal is that its origin lies in local understanding of there having been earlier human activity here. Thus, the specific, G *Gall*, which in some names indicates Norse ethnicity (ibid., 254), is not considered to be have been applied to ON-speakers in this instance, or to illustrate ongoing, contemporaneous interaction between disparate ethnolinguistic groups.

4.8.6 Summary

To summarise, there is evidence for local inhumation incorporating pagan burial-rites in the ninth century in Oronsay and perhaps into the early 10th century at Swordle. Further excavation at Cnoc nan Gall may shed more light on the mid- to late-10th-century burial there but the grave-goods again appear to identify this man as having been affiliated with pagan Norse culture. In Norse Scotland generally, pagan burials with grave-goods are found from the second half of the ninth century to the early part of the 10th (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 154). Paganism was a feature of Norse society in the Norse homelands throughout the 10th century and in Dublin and York "the old gods seem to have provided Hiberno-Scandinavian kings with political capital until the 940s" (Abrams 2007, 172). Norse settlement in Mull must be considered within the context of lasting cultural impact of Norse settlement in the Outer Hebrides, Dublin and Orkney (Montgomery *et al*. 2014, 55). The grave goods certainly suggest that local inhabitants of high status were well-connected with the Irish Sea but also with the Northern Isles and Scandinavia. These connections should not come as a surprise, given that the Hebrides were on a trade-route which connected western Norway to Ireland and beyond to France (Imsen 2014, 15–16) and the "precocious development" in commerce in the Irish Sea region from the beginning of the 10th century (Hudson 1999, 42). This archaeology certainly suggests that acculturation was gradual in relation to burial-rites.

The key question for current purposes is the bearing this evidence has on our understanding of linguistic acculturation locally. It is initially important to highlight that material culture is not synonymous with linguistic or ethnic identity (see, for example, Forsyth 1997, 12; also Calderwood 2013, 8–9). In other words, those depositing grave-goods need not necessarily have been speaking ON. It is interesting to note that, in general terms, only a modest number

of burials that are characteristically Scandinavian have been identified anywhere in Britain and Ireland to date (Montgomery *et al.* 2014, 55), including in Mull. While reduced archaeological visibility is an issue, rapid conversion to Christianity and the adoption of indigenous burial-customs by settlers have recently been proposed as likely explanations from an archaeological perspective (ibid., 55). The evidence suggests that in many areas of Britain and Ireland the cultural impact of ON-speaking settlers was fleeting, with the exception of the Outer Hebrides, the Northern Isles and Dublin (ibid., 55). Within the context of local acculturation in the ninth century, the Kiloran Bay burial is potentially significant. The evidence for the religious acculturation of this man or those who buried him should not be surprising, given the evidence presented above, and neither should the specific connection to Iona suggested by Márkus.

4.9 Gaelicisation

Continuity in Iona certainly meant continuity in terms of a resident local community of Gaelic-speakers on the island. As regards acculturation among ON-speakers settling locally, the focus to this point has been on Norse élite but it is important in analysis of settlement-toponymy to consider acculturation at lower levels of society. In terms of the adoption of Christianity, this process is likely to have been gradual, occurring at different rates in different areas among the lay population (see, for example, Abrams 2007; Edmonds 2014, 58). A gradual process should not be surprising given that, in encountering Christianity, pagan Norse were confronted with "a world of signs and symbols that were utterly alien to them" (Rekdal 2014, 113). Márkus (2012, 47–48) cites the Kiloran Bay boat-burial as "the most striking illustration" of the processual character of religious acculturation. Linguistically, recent commentators have tended to see Gaelicisation as having been rapid in areas where Norse settlement was less large-scale and transformative than has been proposed by Macniven in Islay. Barnes (2004, 133), for example, has proposed that ON "is unlikely to have lasted beyond the second or third generation anywhere the Norse settlers were more thinly spread".

4.9.1 Toponymic Evidence

Rapid Gaelicisation in areas where Norse settlement was less dense has been proposed on the basis of toponymic analysis. Along the western littoral of Scotland, a model for Gaelicisation has been developed and advanced by Jennings and Kruse (see also Jennings 1993). They have proposed a division into two zones, explained thus:

"the outer zone was an area where Norse settlement, represented by the topographical generics, developed and secondary settlements were created within a Norse-speaking milieu, while the inner zone was an area where Norse settlements did not develop beyond the primary phase" (Jennings and Kruse 2009b, 138–39).
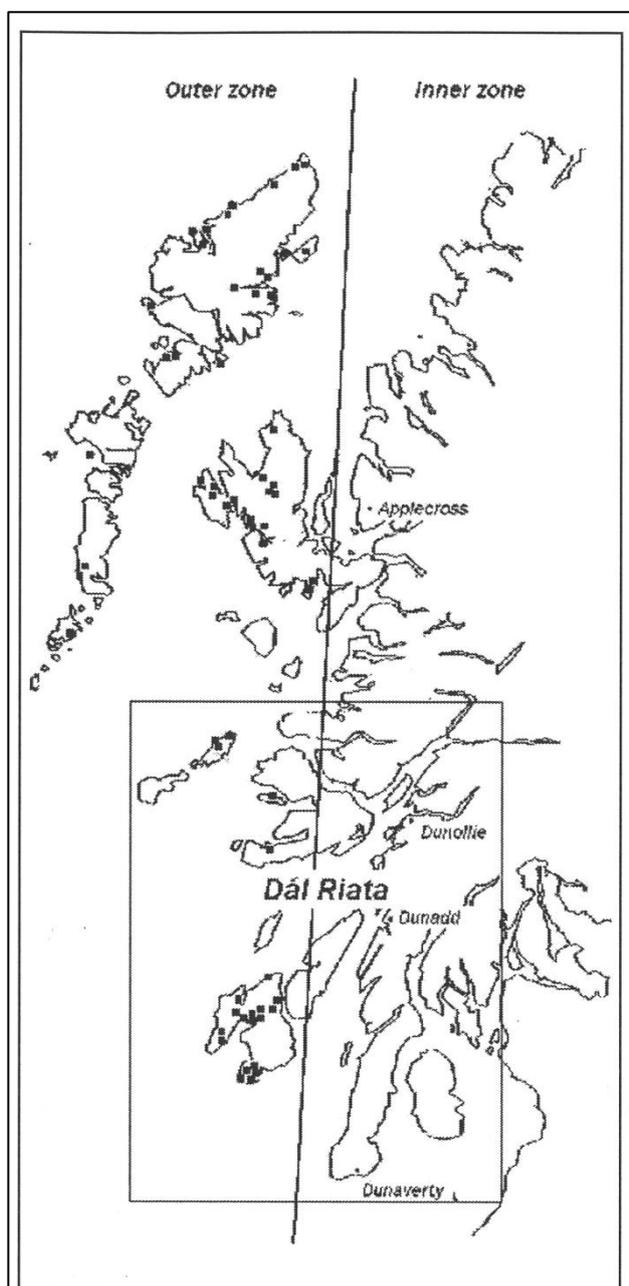
Figure 2. The two zones of the west coast of Scotland. The squares represent place-names with the Norse element *bólstaðr* (adapted after Gammeltoft 2001, 81). The extent of eighth-century Dál Riata is indicated as a box.

Map 9. Jennings and Kruse's zonal map of Norse settlement in western Scotland, after
Jennings and Kruse (2009b, 135, Fig. 2).
© Andrew Jennings and Arne Kruse

The zones are defined by the presence in the outer zone of what are referred to as "traditional habitative elements" (ibid., 141); in other words, place-name elements referring explicitly to human settlement and indicating the subdivision of farms or the taking of land into agricultural use. Contrastingly, there is "hardly any use" of these 'secondary' elements in the inner zone (ibid., 141). The outer zone is characterised by "complete discontinuity in the onomastic record" (ibid., 140). Thus, the proposal is that the community of ON-speakers responsible for the coining of ON names in the inner zone did not remain ON-speaking for long but was rather using Gaelic for the coining of secondary settlement-names (ibid., 141). The very existence of ON place-names, however, clearly indicates the presence of a resident ON-speaking user-group in both zones (Kruse 2004). The evidence of place-names, Jennings and Kruse (2009b, 143) suggest, indicates the clustered settlement in the inner zone of an ON-speaking population among a Gaelic population. The proposal is that the "process of naturalization" in the inner zone, in other words the process of Gaelicisation, "might not have taken longer than a generation or two" (ibid., 143).

Mull's position in the zonal model of Jennings and Kruse is slightly ambiguous. The above map places the eastern part of Mull, an area effectively equivalent to the extent of the parish of Torosay minus the district of *Leth'r nan Cailleach, in the inner zone. Jennings and Kruse (2009b, 143) propose that a Gaelic-speaking population probably survived in Mull, as is proposed more clearly to have been the case in Arran, Bute and within the mainland territories of Dál Riata. The survival of place-names such as the aforementioned Lorn, reflexes of Cenél mBáetáin and, perhaps, Morvern itself are taken as direct evidence of the survival of an indigenous Gaelic-speaking population (ibid., 143; see 4.2, above). Mull's ambiguity in the Jennings and Kruse model, however, is highlighted by the fact that it is listed alongside other Inner Hebridean islands in the outer zone elsewhere by Jennings and Kruse in the same article (2009b, 135). In an earlier article, the divide is clearly perceived as being between the Isles and the mainland (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 75). Jennings and Kruse's analysis of Mull is based on Johnston's local toponymic analysis (Johnston 1990). As is highlighted above, some of Johnston's analysis is problematic (see 2.3). This ambiguity underlines the importance of systematic toponymic study in Mull. It should be noted that Kruse elsewhere (2005, 147) has stated that "nothing definite" can be said about

the place-names of the Inner Hebrides and the west coast littoral until thorough, in-depth local investigations have been carried out.

Bute is included in Jennings and Kruse's inner zone and Márkus's analysis of place-names there has identified a lack of ON secondary, i.e. habitative, elements, an absence which Márkus suggests points most convincingly to the early acquisition of Gaelic by Norse settlers (2012, 37–38). In relation to Gaelicisation, Márkus (ibid., 38, note) has envisaged a number of situations in which this process might have occurred: areas where neighbouring estates were held by speakers of Gaelic and ON; where principal estates were under Norse control or occupation while some of their land was occupied or worked by Gaels; as a result of external influence from more distant Gaelic-speaking polities in Scotland or the Irish Sea. Márkus (ibid., 29) links this process of Gaelicisation to land-assessment in the period, suggesting that by "leaving in place lesser lords of native Gaelic stock" as the administrators of a pre-existing tributary system, ON-settlers quickly became Gaelic-speakers. The implication is of the survival of a Gaelic-speaking population in Bute.

Crawford and Taylor's toponymic analysis of Norse settlement in Strathglass and around the Beauly and Glass river-systems is also pertinent within this context, given that this area is identified as "a frontier society in which incoming Norse settlers mingled with the established population" (2003, 69). The lack of habitative elements such as *bólstað(r)*, *staðir* and *bý(r)* "could be the result of relative brevity of occupation" and one conclusion which can be drawn from the evidence is that "by the time subdivision was taking place, Norse was no longer being spoken" (ibid., 32).[37]

An important chronological consideration is that the settlement of ON-speakers in Forsa and Moloros occurred in different phases. In other words, we should be cautious in assuming that there was a single period of Norse settlement and that thereafter a straightforward process of acculturation and Gaelicisation occurred, rapidly or gradually depending on local circumstances, which left descendants of these initial ON-speaking settlers speaking Gaelic. Later phases of settlement directly from Scandinavia might have occurred off the radar of contemporary sources, on the analogy of Danish settlement in the Danelaw in England.[38] The expulsion of pagan Norse (*gennti*) from Dublin in 902, for example, might be seen as a

---

[37] For discussion of ON *bólstað(r)*, see Gammeltoft 2001 and Cox 1994 and 2002a; for ON *staðir*, see discussion of Crosta # in 5.4.3, below; ON *bý(r)* is discussed presently.

[38] For discussion, see Crawford and Taylor 2003, 2.

potential avenue by way of which ON-speakers came to settle in Forsa and Moloros (*CI* 902.2). As Downham (2007a, 9) has pointed out, descendants of the aforementioned Ívarr and Óláfr, leaders of the Norse of Dublin, were certainly active in north Britain in the subsequent period (see 4.7.2, above). For example, Ímar grandson of Ímar, i.e. grandson of the aforementioned Ívarr, as he is known in the contemporary Irish annals, and many around him were killed by the men of Fortriu in eastern Scotland in 904 (*CI* 904.4; see also *CI* 904.8). There is evidence that some of those expelled from Dublin in 902 established a community in the Wirral in Cheshire. It is worth noting that the evidence there indicates that the ON place-names began as the names "of minor and insignificant farmsteads that are subsidiary settlements in hitherto unused land within the framework of English townships and parishes" (Dodgson 1957, 309; also Crawford and Taylor 2003, 17–19). Within a Lowland Scottish context, there is convincing evidence that the aforementioned ON *bý(r)* reflects settlements of relatively low status (*PNF5*, 94; Clancy 2013a, 309).[39]

However, Norse settlement in these areas appears to be contrasted in Galloway and southern Argyll, where a later phase of Norse settlement is suggested to have included the renaming of primary settlements; in other words, the ON-speaking settlers established themselves at the top end of society. In Galloway, Clancy (2008a, 41) has suggested that we might imagine "a restricted Norse nomenclature, perhaps applied to main centres of lordship of various types". In relation to the east coast of Kintyre, Jennings (2004, 107) has argued that the area's ON names are most likely to have been applied in the second half of the ninth century, perhaps as a result of a secondary wave from the Norse colonies already established in the Hebrides or Ireland. The basis of this argument is the presence of the ON loan-word *ærgi*, borrowed from OG *áirge*, and application of ON *gil* in the sense 'small valley'.[40] Alternatively, Jennings (2004, 119) has proposed that Kintyre itself might be seen as the genesis of this language contact. Place-names indicate that the settlement-pattern on the west coast of Kintyre was different, however. Jennings (ibid., 119) has suggested on the basis of the survival of names including G *dùn*, best defined within this context as 'dun, fort', that immigrant ON-speakers avoided the local Early Medieval power-centres bearing these names.[41]

---

[39] Also Fellows-Jensen 1984, 156; Taylor 1995; Crawford and Taylor 2003, 32; Taylor 2004, 144–45; Taylor 2009a, 10.

[40] For ON *ærgi* and OG *áirge*, see 5.3.2, below.

[41] For G *dùn*, see 5.3.3, below.

There is significant evidence here with which to compare the settlement-names of Forsa and Moloros. There are a variety of different avenues by way of which ON and Gaelic may have influenced the toponymy of these Mull districts. The place of south-east Mull in the Jennings and Kruse model is of particular interest, given Macniven's proposal that his model for large-scale and culturally transformative Norse settlement in Islay might be applied across the Inner Hebrides (see 4.1, above). The analysis which follows includes an appraisal of the applicability of Macniven's model to these two Mull districts and of the Jennings and Kruse model as it relates to Mull (see 5 and 6).

4.10 The Late Norse Period

Most of the historical framework outlined to date has focussed on the ninth century and the early 10th but there can be little doubt that ON was still spoken in parts of Britain and Ireland beyond the ninth century. Norse settlement in Mull must be considered within the context of the Outer Hebrides, for example, where it has been argued that a language of Norse origin continued to be spoken into the 13th century (Jennings and Kruse 2009a, 97). An active trade link with the Northern Isles may have been a key factor (Colleen Batey, pers. comm.; also 4.8.6, above). Macniven's proposals regarding Islay have already been highlighted. Norse settlement in Mull must also be considered within the context of Dublin. The AU entry for 902 recording the expulsion of Norse from Dublin is instructive, given the implication that those expelled were pagan. Recent commentators have tended to see the history of the Isles, including Mull, as being closely linked to that of Dublin.[42] In terms of the linguistic situation in the Isles, it is worth noting that the population of the Isles was generally perceived as 'foreign', i.e. Norse, by contemporary Irish annalists referring to the islands' inhabitants generally as *Gaill*. The name Innse Gall, used contemporaneously in 989, has been discussed (see 4.5, above). In 1098, the annals record conflict between Ulaid and *Gaill* of the Isles (AU 1098.2; ALCé 1098.1; AFM 1098.10). It is unclear whether or not this should be understood to reflect perceived linguistic otherness, as well as political/cultural otherness. Despite the growing political complexity of the Irish Sea region and the growing need to distinguish amongst the *Gaill* (Clancy 2008a, 26; also Etchingham 2001; Woolf 2002, 34–35), it may still have been convenient for annalists to refer to inhabitants of Dublin, Man and the Isles generally as *Gaill*, i.e. non-Gaels. Societal nuances in the Isles did not interest Irish annalists, the main contemporary sources for the period. Within the context of the kingdom of Man and the Isles, it is worth noting that epigraphic

---

[42] For a useful summary, see Clancy 2011, 378.

evidence suggests that ON was a feature of local society until *c.*1200 (Barnes 2004, 133). However, as is highlighted above, Gaelic influence within the kingdom is considered to have escalated enormously, to paraphrase Macniven, in the first half of the 12th century (see 4.1, above).

This leaves the political history of the 10th and 11th centuries in the Isles untold. To return to the ninth century initially, the proposed societal structure in which small-scale chieftains constantly competed for clients has been discussed (see 4.7.3, above). It is difficult to establish the geographical extent of the hegemony established by Ívarr and Óláfr of Dublin in the third quarter of the ninth century. Ívarr is identified as "king of the *Nordmanni* of all Ireland and Britain" on his death in 873 (*CI* 873.3) but it is not known whether this included the Isles and what linguistic consequences this might have had on the ground. In the mid 10th century, we are provided with evidence for potentates of Norse descent establishing dominions spanning the Irish Sea region; in other words, over Dublin and other large Irish ship-ports or *longphuirt*, Man, parts of what are now northern England and south-west Scotland and the Isles. Woolf (2004, 95–96), for example, has referred to the "Uí Ímair *imperium*"; i.e. the dynasty which claimed descent from the aforementioned Ívarr or Ímar of Dublin. Woolf (2004, 96) has proposed that there was a "natural tendency to fission" but that "Strong kings like Olaf Guthfrithsson (d. 941) and his cousin Olaf Cuarán (d. 981) could bring all the territories together under their rule". Downham (2007a, 183–84) has suggested that this Olaf Guthfrithsson, alias Amlaíb mac Gofraid / Óláfr Guðrǫðssonr, also king of York and Dublin during his career, held power in the Hebrides in the 930s and 940s. His alliance with Constantine II, alias Constantín mac Áeda, king of Gaelic-speaking Alba, at the battle of Brunanburh in 937 indicates affiliation with a contemporary Gaelic-speaking ruler at least.[43]

4.10.1 Amlaíb Cúarán

A potentially important aspect of the contemporary political dynamic with regard to analysis of Mull toponymy is the career of Amlaíb Cúarán, alias Óláfr Sigtryggssonr, the figure referred by Woolf above as Olaf Cuarán. The proposal that local fiscal change may have occurred in the time of Amlaíb has been presented above (see 1.7). As is highlighted above, Clancy (2008a, 27–28; 2011b) has suggested that the Isles may have comprised one part of a tripartite dominion carved out in 960s and 970s by Amlaíb Cúarán, who is commonly

---

[43] For Brunanburh, see, for example, Campbell 1938; Dodgson 1957, esp. 314–15.

referred to using this Gaelicised form of his name. Amlaíb Cúarán's career is of particular interest in discussion of Mull because he went to Iona in repentance and in pilgrimage after leading the men of Dublin and Isles in the battle of Tara in 980 and it was in Iona he died (AT 980.6; CS s.a. 980; AFM s.a. 979.5 (i.e. 980)). In this same year, Mugrón, "abbot of Iona, scribe and pre-eminent bishop of the Three Parts", also died (*ARC* §290; Clancy 2011a, 95). Clancy (ibid., 95) has tentatively proposed that the 'Three Parts', which appear to be otherwise unattested, were Dublin and its hinterland, Man, and the Isles. Thus, Mugrón is seen as potentially having been bishop over Amlaíb's "sole and stable dominance of Dublin and the Scandinavian settlements of the Irish Sea and Hebrides generally" between 964 and 980, exactly the period for which Mugrón was *comarba Coluim Cille* 'coarb of Colum Cille' (ibid., 93–95). Mugrón's predecessor Fothad mac Brain is described on his death in 963 as *episcopus Innsi Alban* 'bishop of the Isles of Alba' (ibid., 95). Bhreathnach (1999, 11) has previously speculated that some religious foundations in the Dublin hinterland which commemorate Columba may have been established, or at least patronised, by Amlaíb. Clancy (2011a, 91) has suggested that Amlaíb's programme of expanding church patronage began in the Isles and was later developed further in Brega and Leinster. The implication is that patronage of Iona and veneration of Colum Cille in the time of Amlaíb may be represented in Mull toponymy, particularly given its proximity to Iona.

The Christian aspects of Amlaíb's career must have involved a significant amount of interaction with Gaelic-speaking clerics and other Gaelic affiliations are recorded. He married in turn two Irish noblewomen (Duffy 1992, 95–96, note 10). Carey (2004) has drawn attention to the fact that several manuscripts of 'Achall ar aicce Temair', a poem attributed to Amlaíb's contemporary Cináed ua hArtacáin (†975) conclude with a quatrain acknowledging receipt of a horse as payment for the poem from 'Amlaíb of populous Dublin'; this Amlaíb has been identified as Amlaíb Cúarán (see also Gwynn 1903, i 46–53 and 80–82, esp. 80). Carey (2004) has also suggested that two other poems attributed to Cináed, 'Étar étan ri dílind' and 'A chloch thall for elaid uair', were composed for Amlaíb.[44] The evidence points towards Amlaíb being a Gaelicised potentate of Norse descent with close ties to Iona. Given the historical framework established for the ninth century, Amlaíb's Gaelic affiliations and a strong link to Iona should not be surprising and it appears likely that Amlaíb followed in the footsteps of rulers of Norse descent before him in patronising Iona and Colum Cille.

---

[44] See also Woolf 2002; Clancy 2008a, 25; Calderwood 2013, 39.

To summarise, the evidence suggests that we might be cautious in identifying the establishment of the kingdom of the Isles or the emergence of Somerled mac Gille Brighde as the pivotal events for linguistic change in Mull, as Macniven has done for Islay (see 4.1, above). As can be seen, Mull's proximity to Iona is an important consideration in analysis of the Norse period.

4.10.2 The 'Haraldson' dynasty

After Amlaíb's death and a period of internal war among potentates of Norse descent for local hegemony, the evidence suggests that Gothfrith mac Arailt, alias Guðrǫðr Haraldssonr, identified as *rí Innsi Gall* 'king of the Isles' on his death in 989 (see 4.5, above), came to dominate in the Isles. Clancy (2014) has convincingly argued that the Christmas Eve massacre in Iona in 986 (AU 986.3) was led by Gothfrith and that the attack should be seen as part of the factional war between alliances in which ecclesiastical houses were on opposing sides; specifically in this case the Columban houses of Kells and Iona. Other commentators have suggested that Gothfrith and his brother Maccus ruled in the Isles in the 970s, i.e. in the time of Amlaíb Cúarán, given that Maccus is recorded leading the Lawmen of the Isles in the aforementioned entry for 974 (see, for example, Etchingham 2001; Woolf 2004, 99; Downham 2007a, 185–90; also 4.7.3, above). The 'Haraldsson' dynasty has already been discussed in relation to land-assessment (see 1.7).

Whatever the contemporary political dynamic in the Isles, the implication is that Gothfrith was acting on the Kells side of a Christian war between ecclesiastical houses. Thus, in the second half of the 10th century, potentates bearing names of Norse origin were fighting Christian wars, just as mid-ninth-century potentates such as Caittil Find are portrayed to have done. Smyth (1984, 213) described Gothfrith and his son Ragnall, alias Rǫgnvaldr, who is identified as *rí na n-Innsi* 'king of the Isles' on his death, as "Gaelicized warlords" (AU 1005.1; also 1.7, above). The extent of the Gaelicisation of these potentates is debateable but the many Gaelic affiliations of Amlaíb Cúarán in particular, given his close associations with Iona and Colum Cille, are important considerations within analysis of Mull toponymy.

4.10.3 *c.*1000–1266

In truth, we know little about what the political dynamic across this period means in terms of linguistic development in Mull or its vicinity. The contemporary sources provide us with only fleeting glimpses of the Isles in the 11th century. As Duffy (1992, 98) has pointed out, "There is an almost total silence by Irish writers about the affairs of Man and the other Irish Sea islands for the first two-thirds of the eleventh century". There may have been a "decentralisation of power" in the Isles after Gothfrith mac Arailt's death (Downham 2007a, 196–97) and it is within this context and on the basis of later Icelandic textual sources that some commentators have posited the extension of Orkney control into the region (see 1.7, above; also Downham 2007a, 196–97). There is certainly contemporary evidence for Earl

Sigurðr II having been active in the area, given that he died in the battle of Clontarf near Dublin in 1014 (AU 1014.2). There is evidence that Mael Coluim mac Cinaeda, king of Alba (1005–1034), was active in the Hebrides and specifically in Islay (*ES* i 574).[45] The silver hoard deposited in Inchkenneth in *c.*1000 should be considered within this context (see 1.7, above). Political ties between the Isles, Dublin and south-west Scotland appear to be evident again in the much-discussed career of Echmarcach mac Ragnaill (†1064) (see 1.7, above).[46] As is highlighted above (see 4.1), the last quarter of the 11th century saw the establishment of the kingdom of Man and the Isles and references in *CRMI* to "all the noblemen of the Isles [*omnes p<ro>ceres insular<um>*]" (f.33v.) and "all the chieftains of the Isles [*om<ne>s p<ri>ncipes insular<um>*]" (f.33v.) suggest that local potentates had sway in particular islands or island-groups. After Godred's death, there appears to have been a "period of rapid intensification" of Irish, specifically Munster dominance in the Isles up to 1098 (Duffy 1992, 109–10). At the end of the 11th century, contemporary sources record that Magnús III of Norway, alias Magnús Berbeinn (or Berfœtr) 'Barelegs' Óláfssonr (r.1093–1103), established hegemony in the Hebrides and in Man from 1098 until 1103, when he was killed in Ulster (*CRMI* f.35r.; AFM 1103.11; *AT* 1103.5; CS s.a. 1103; for recent discussion, see Oram 2011, 49).[47] This is cited as a turning point for Norwegian kings taking an active role in enforcing Norwegian overlordship in the Isles (Imsen 2014, 16; also Ó Corráin 1998, 297) but Imsen, writing from a Norwegian perspective, has also proposed that Norwegian political ambitions overseas were "pushed somewhat into the background" after Magnús's death and that intra-Scandinavian priorities were the predominant focus until the invasion of Hákon IV of Norway in 1263 which led to the Treaty of Perth (Imsen 2014, 16; also Duffy 1992, 113; McDonald 1997, 39).[48] Márkus's tentative proposal that Rothesay is a name of ON origin coined in the 13th century is a consideration but Márkus (2012, 64–66 and 506–12) considers it unlikely and it may be anomalous. There was further Munster involvement in the Isles after Magnús's death in Ulster in 1103 and that preceded the 40-year reign of the aforementioned Óláfr Bitlingr or Amlaíb, son of Godred Crovan, who died in 1152, and whose reign has been seen by Macniven as a period of increased Gaelic influence in Islay at least (see 4.1, above).

4.11 Summary

---

[45] Also Hudson (1994, 106); Woolf (2007, 253–254); Clancy (2008a, 37).
[46] For a useful summary of his career, see Clancy 2008a, 28–29.
[47] For the personal name of this Norwegian king, see *Íslendingabók* (77) but note this form of the personal name employs ON orthography.
[48] This personal name is also recorded using ON orthography.

The local political landscape is characterised by attempts by various potentates to incorporate the Isles within a dominion which typically included other parts of the Irish Sea region. At a level below this top level of secular society, there is evidence in the form of the Lawmen recorded in the 960s that men held power locally in particular islands or island-groups. There may be a suggestion of this in 12th-century Gaelic literary texts such as *Acallam na Senórach* and *Cath Ruis na Ríg*, as Clancy (2008a, 35) has pointed out. As Clancy (2011, 378) has suggested, the political porosity of the Irish Sea region probably has major implications for our understanding of its development in linguistic and in ethnic terms.

The nuances of linguistic development on these islands and in these island-groups occurs off the radar of the contemporary sources and they are difficult to detect in archaeology. The best witnesses are probably local place-names. In relation to Mull specifically, its location is an important consideration. The island's proximity to Iona, a prominent and prestigious ecclesiastical power-centre throughout the period likely to have been patronised by élite of Norse descent from an early period, means that Christian (and Gaelic) influence was inevitably greater in Mull than on other Hebridean islands. Mull's relative proximity to mainland Argyll, too, where the toponymic evidence suggests ethnolinguistic continuity, is important. Continuity in Iona would have meant that Gaelic remained a prestige language locally in the ecclesiastical domain at least. Mull's proximity to Iona provides a platform for religious and linguistic acculturation among local ON-speaking settlers at all levels of society. Calderwood (2013, 43–48) has recently discussed Gaelicisation through religious acculturation as a possible factor in language shift in the Outer Hebrides. Linguistic development would naturally have occurred at different rates in different areas, dependent on the density of local Norse settlement. Multiplicity on a micro-sociological level probably also occurred (ibid., 28). As Calderwood (ibid., 27) has suggested, we may describe settlement and interaction as "a shifting diachronic process rather than an event". The settlement-names of Forsa and Moloros provide invaluable evidence by which to judge this process locally.

CHAPTER 5
SETTLEMENT, SOCIETY AND LANGUAGE: THE EVIDENCE OF SETTLEMENT-NAMES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents discursive analysis of the medieval district-names of the parish (see 5.2) and the settlement-names of Forsa (see 5.3) and Moloros (see 5.4). The overarching focus is on settlement, society and language and particular attention is therefore given to the distribution of settlement-names of Gaelic and ON origin within the districts and chronological analysis of individual names, with a view to presenting conclusions on the ethnolinguistic situation of the districts in the Norse period.

To facilitate discursive writing in this chapter, etymological analysis is for the most part presented in Part Two. Aspects of the entries in Part Two, which also present detailed spatial information on the names and their early forms, are therefore cross-referenced throughout chapter 5. For the purposes of chapter 5, an etymological overview is provided in tables for each district.

As regards chronological analysis, ON names are certainly easier to date than those of Gaelic origin, given that Gaelic was the language of the districts' inhabitants in the pre-Norse period and the language in which new place-names were coined for several centuries after the end of the Norse period. However, analysis of the syntax of Gaelic settlement-names and analysis of their distribution within both the distribution of known Early Medieval secular and ecclesiastical power-centres and of ON settlement-names in the districts is potentially instructive.

It is worth reiterating at this point that the earliest sources significantly post-date the Norse period. The fiscal sources do not provide a window directly onto society in the ninth, 10th or 11th centuries. There is potential for displacement of names and it is worth noting that a number of the settlement-names of the earliest fiscal sources did not survive long enough to be recorded by the OS. That said, the surviving ON names themselves provide explicit evidence for the longevity of settlement-names. The elements present in these ON settlement-names provide the best evidence for the nature of local Norse settlement, particularly when considered alongside local minor names of ON origin where identifiable.

The fiscal extents recorded for settlements are also potentially instructive, with regard to the status of local ON- and Gaelic-speaking communities. Thus, the relative values of holdings and the relationships between settlement-units are analysed where possible. The extents of the settlements recorded in the two earliest fiscal sources are included in the tables for each district. The focus on the settlement-names recorded in these earliest fiscal sources precludes systematic analysis of settlement expansion in the Early Modern period and the names applied to secondary and tertiary settlements. As is highlighted above, local minor names of ON origin are highlighted when identified but analysis of settlement expansion must form the basis of future studies.

5.2 District-Names

The scope of this thesis precludes thorough analysis of the district-names of the parish but some discussion of these names is important within the context of analysis of local settlement-names.

District-Name	Proposed Language of Origin	Generic	Specific
*Ard(i)nis	G	'peninsula'	'high' or 'height' or 'eminence'
Forsa	ON	'river'	'waterfall'
Glen Cannel	G	'glen/(deep) valley'	pn Cainner
Leth'r Mhuileach	G	'(one) side, edge'	'of/pertaining to Mull'
Leth'r nan Cailleach	G	'(one) side, edge'	'nuns'
Moloros	ON	'rocky ridge' or 'loch-mouth'	'shingle/pebbles/gravel'
Torosay	ON	'island' or 'river'	(ON) pn Þór-

Table 1. District-names in Torosay parish.
As in Tables 2, 3 and 4 and in Part Two below, colours are used to indicate the level of confidence in proposed etymologies. The colour code is as follows: certain; probable.

5.2.1 Forsa

forsay 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [printed in *ALI* no. A42 and *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Glenforssay 1509 NRS E38/339 [the district of *Glenforssay* and *Leth'r Mhuileach (Leremulach)*; printed in *ER* xiii 214]

forsay 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

forsay 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

ON *fors* (m), gen. *fors* 'waterfall; rapids; stream' + ON *á* (f), acc. *á* 'river'.

ON *Forsá 'Waterfall River'.[49]

[ˈfɔrsə]

As is highlighted above (see 1.4.1), Forsa is no longer applied as a district-name but it is the existing name in Glen Forsa (NM625375) and River Forsa (NM600432). The 1509 form is clearly an historical form of Glen Forsa, whose generic is G *gleann* 'glen, (deep) valley'. *Glen* is the Scotticised/Anglicised form; G *gleann* was borrowed into Scots as *glen*, which is itself a productive toponymic element (*PNF5*, 388). The ON existing name in Glen Forsa is *Forsá. The consistent *-ay* of the historical forms is likely to represent a long or clear vowel and it suits the ON generic *á*. *Forsá was surely originally applied to what is now the River Forsa. The waterfall near the mouth of the river at NM600432 is the most likely referent of its specific. Although ON *fors* is defined as 'waterfall' in *Zoëga*, it is worth noting that it can be applied in place-names by semantic extension as 'rapids' and 'stream' (Sandnes 2010, 114, 341 and 388).

---

[49] ON names are assumed to have been perpetuated in accusative forms (see Cox 2001 and 2007, 74) and reconstructed ON names are therefore in the accusative, unless otherwise stated.

5.2.2 *Leth'r Mhuileach

Leremulach 1509 NRS E38/339 [the district of Glen Forsa (*Glenforssay*) and *Leremulach*; printed in *ER* xiii 214]

LEIR MVLLACH 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [district-name]

's an Leth'r-Mhuilich 1879 Mac-na-Ceàrdadh (207) [dat. case; 'in *Leth'r Mhuileach']

An Leathair Mhuileach 1922 Macbain (184)

G *leth-oir* (f) '(one) side, edge' + G *Muileach* 'of/pertaining to Mull'.

This name is no longer known locally. *ER* identifies it as a sub-district of the district referred to as Forsa in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours*. Blaeu's map clearly indicates that the district-name applied to a strip on the Sound of Mull coastline. The reconstructed form is based on the dative form recorded in the phrase *'s an Leth'r-Mhuilich* 'in *Leth'r Mhuileach' in a song composed in 1870 by local bard Dùghall MacPhàil (Dugald MacPhail) (Mac-na-Ceàrdadh 1879, 207). Slenderisation of the adjective which forms the specific, G *Muileach* 'from, or pertaining to, Mull' (*TYGD*), indicates that the generic is feminine. Although Blaeu's form does not indicate expected lenition of the adjective in the nominative, Macbain's form does.

The generic is less straightforward. The same element is likely to be present in *Leth'r nan Cailleach, a name which also applies to a coastal district (see 1.5, above and 5.2.3, below), and in several other Mull place-names, which I hope to discuss elsewhere. Given the variance in the historical forms of these names and the constraints of this thesis, definitive etymological analysis is not attempted here without further analysis of these other instances. That said, there is evidence to support G *leth-oir*, also *lethoir*, meaning '(one) side, edge' (Dwelly s.v. *leth-oir*; *Mac Eachainn* s.v. *lethoir*).

5.2.3 *Leth'r nan Cailleach

Leirnacalloch 1635 *Argyll Sasines* 2 no. 550 (cited in MacDonald 2010, 234–35)

Lorinaballoch 1674 *HP* i 294 [the context suggests that this is the same name and that *b* is recorded in error for *c*]

G *leth-oir* (f) '(one) side, edge' + gen. pl. def. art. *nan* + G *cailleach*, gen. pl. *cailleach* 'nun; hag, (old) woman'.

The generic is very likely to be the same as that in *Leth'r Mhuileach, as is clear in this reconstructed form. MacDonald (2010, 234) has defined the generic as "hillside", identifying it as G *leththìr, explained as a non-standard and possibly dialectal form of *leth-tìr*. G *leitir* 'steep, even slope' (Fraser 2008, 186), as MacDonald suggests, has been proposed to derive from *leth-tìr*; i.e. G *leth* 'half, side; hillside, slope' + G *tìr* 'land, country, ground' (*Macbain*; Watson 1928; *PNF5*, 423–24). MacDonald's explanation is not viable, however, given that Leiter, a medieval settlement-name in Forsa, contains this element and is consistently recorded in the standard form *leitir* from 1494 (see Leiter in Part Two, below). G *leitir* is a common toponymic element in Mull.

As is highlighted above, G *cailleach* can be applied as 'hag, (old) woman' (Márkus 2012, 533) but it is best translated as 'nun' in this name and it refers specifically to the fact that the lands were cultivated by the Iona Nunnery up to 1573 (see 1.5, above). MacDonald (2010, 234–36) has discussed this district within the context of the Iona Nunnery's lands and churches in Argyll and the Isles. The district comprised the following settlement-units: Derryguaig (NM488356), Dhiseig (NM496356), Scarisdale (NM519374) and Knock (NM544388) on the southern shoreline of Loch na Keal; the island of Eorsa (NM483378) in Loch na Keal; and Clachaig (NM568364) on the south side of Loch Bà. Inchkenneth (NM436356), the aforementioned island in Loch na Keal which was also possessed by the Iona Nunnery (see 1.6.5, above), appears to have been used as a district-name in 1509 (1509 NRS E38/339; also *ER* xiii 216). The district of Inchkenneth included the settlements subsequently recorded in *Leth'r nan Cailleach but these settlements are not included within a sub-district in this source. Their combined value is 106s 3d / 5l 3d. Kynnebir # appears to have been considered a sub-district of the district of Inchkenneth in 1509, its lands being valued at 43s 9d. The likelihood is that Kynnebir #, a district-name which does not appear to be recorded elsewhere, included the settlements of the district now known locally as

Gribun KKV (NM446338), given that the settlements of Gribun are not named individually in *ER*. The lands in this district were also possessed by the Iona Nunnery and Gribun may be first recorded as a district-name in 1616 (MacDonald 2010, 237–38). MacDonald does not discuss *ER* 1509 and therefore does not discuss Kynnebir #. Rixson (LAS. 'South Mull Table') considers Kynnebir # and Gribun to be separate entities.

5.2.4 Moloros

moloros 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [printed in *ALI* no. A42; *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Mullinros 1509 NRS E38/339 [printed in *ER* xiii 212]

molorous 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

molorous 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Molorowis 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732

Molrowis 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663

Molorowis 1615 *Retours* i no. 15

Mallarous 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1)

Mullorowis 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2)

Moravis 1663 *Retours* i no. 73

ON *mǫl* (f), gen. *malar* 'shingle, pebbles, gravel' + ON *ás(s)* (m), acc. *ás* 'rocky ridge' or ON *ós(s)* (m), acc. *ós* 'mouth or outlet of a river or lake; fountain-head'.
ON *Malarás 'Rocky Ridge of the Shingle/Pebbles/Gravel' or ON *Malarós 'Loch-Mouth of the Shingle/Pebbles/Gravel'.

This name is obsolete and it appears to have been displaced by Tòn Tire (NM606203) as the local district-name by the time of Pont's survey in the late 16th century (Blaeu (Pont) Mull, *TON-TYR*).[50] In the OS record, Tòn Tire applies specifically to the south-west end of the peninsula.

ON *mǫl* has been borrowed into Gaelic as *mol* 'shingly beach' (Taylor 2004, 31) and G *mol* is very productive in the Outer Hebrides (Stahl 1999 s.n. *mol*; Cox 2002 s.n. *mol*). The consistent *o* of the earliest forms probably indicates pronunciation of /ɔ/ in the initial syllable, whereas the vowel in the initial syllable of *Malarás would have been pronounced /ɑ/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 266). Closing and rounding of this vowel is not unlikely. Variation between orthographical *o* and *a* in a local settlement-name of ON origin is recorded in Scallastle in Forsa (see Scallastle in Part Two, below). It is also illustrated in the *a* of the 1625 form of Moloros.

---

[50] For Tòn Tire, see Tomslèibhe in Part Two, below.

As regards the name-final element, G *ros* is a possibility in a Gaelic coinage and would be supported by the *-ros* of the two earliest forms. However, the *-rous* and *-rowis* of subsequent forms suggests that the vowel-sound in the final syllable was not short /ɔ/. The likelihood is that these forms indicate pronunciation of a long vowel and the proposal is that the underlying long vowel is either the *á* in ON *ás(s)* or *ó* in ON *ós(s)*. Scallastle's etymology is difficult but *-ow* in its earliest forms may be explained by an underlying ON *á* or ON *ó*.

The likely referent of *Malarás is the peninsula defined by Loch Buie, Loch Spelve and Loch Uisg, a conspicuous feature of the landscape of about 14km in length. It is characterised by rocky precipices and ON *mǫl* might refer to its rocky coastline. ON *ás(s)* is primarily defined as 'thick pole, main beam (in a house)'. From this developed the figurative sense 'rocky ridge' and the figurative sense is recorded in *Zoëga*. Ás and Ásar are frequent local names in Iceland and Norway (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). The likely referent of *Malarós is the narrow mouth of Loch Spelve, which forms the district-march between Moloros and the district of Torosay to the north. There are shingle strands on both sides of the loch-mouth.

5.2.5 Glen Cannel

 Glenkener 1390 *RMS* ii no. 2264 (2) [also *ALI* no. 11]

 Glenkennir 1496 *RMS* ii no. 2329

 Glenkennyr 1509 NRS E38/339 [printed in *ER* xiii 213]

 Glenkannyr 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull

 Gleann Cainneir 1926 *CPNS* (276 and 518, note) [Gaelic form]

G *gleann* 'glen, (deep) valley' + (G) pn Cainner.

G **Gleann Cainner* 'St Cainner's Glen'.

[ˌglɛnˈkanəl]

The historical forms indicate that the final consonant was historically *r*, rather than *l*. The ecclesiastical site depicted here on Blaeu's map and recorded in Canmore is discussed above (see 1.6.10). Glen Cannel was proposed as a hagiotoponym by Watson (*CPNS*, 276 and 518, note; also *LSS*, 368). There are several Irish saints named Cainner, var. Cainer, now Cainnear, whose name is Latinised as Kennera. Lessons of St Kennera are recorded in the Aberdeen Breviary and the close correspondence between these and a *Sermo in die festo* dated to the 14th century for St Cunera, to whom a church is dedicated at Rhenen in the Netherlands, has been interpreted as providing evidence that the legend of a German or Netherlandish saint has been transferred to a similar-sounding Celtic saint; the proposal is that the borrowing of St Cunera's legend may reflect commercial and cultural links with the Low Countries in the later Middle Ages (*LSS*, 368). However, dedications to Cainner are recorded in the west of Scotland and Cainner of Rinn Allaidh, an unidentified church probably located in County Meath or County Louth in Leinster, is the most likely saint of Kirkinner WIG (NX423514) (Ó Riain 2011, 142; *LSS*, 369; cf. *CPNS*, 276 and 518, note).

Maclean (1997, 145) records the local tradition of Lachie Maclean, Knock (NM544388) that the chapel in Glen Cannel was dedicated to another female saint, Brigit. The pre-eminent saint bearing this name is Brigit ingen Dubthaig (of Kildare), a Leinster saint whose death is recorded in the 520s and who is widely commemorated in Scotland. Clancy (2013c, 23) has identified Brigit's cult as the most widespread of all cults in Scotland outside that of the Virgin Mary (also DoSH, 'Brigit ingen Dubthaig (of Kildare)'). The densest cluster of Brigit commemorations in Scotland is in the south-west, in southern Argyll and south-west Scotland (Clancy 2013c, 27–30). There is good evidence for churches in the region

dedicated to Brigit having been established between roughly 900 and 1100 (Clancy 2013c, 29). This evidence and the density of the cult in the area has prompted Clancy (ibid., 27) to advocate the suggestion that Brigit was particularly venerated by Gall-Ghàidheil (see 4.7.2, above). Edmonds (2014, 57) has recently proposed that it is likely that veneration of Brigit developed in at least some of the Solway region's churches during the Viking Age and that Norse settlers directly from Dublin and its hinterland might have been responsible for local Brigitine dedications. Given the proposal that Brigit had "particular cachet for Scandinavian Christians whose saintly allegiances were particularly Leinster-based" (Clancy 2013c, 30), the recorded dedication to Brigit in Glen Cannel should be considered within the context of local Norse settlement. While this analysis of Brigit's cult and the dedication to Brigit at Kirkinner invite analysis of Glen Cannel within the context of Gall-Ghàidheil, it is worth noting that other saints bearing the name Cainner are recorded as having been subject to Brigit (Ó Riain 2011, 141–42).

5.2.6 Torosay

Torosay 1390 *RMS* ii no. 2264 (2) [the ounceland of *Torosay*; also *ALI* no. 11]

Toresay 1496 *RMS* ii no. 2329 [the lands of *Toresay*]

Torsay 1509 NRS E38/339 [the lands of *Torsay*; 15l in extent; printed in *ER* xiii 213]

Thorrissay 1510 *RMS* ii no. 3440 [the lands of *Thorrisay*]

Torresay 1540 *RMS* iii no. 2065 [the lands of *Torresay*]

(ON) pn Þór- + ON *ey* (f), acc. *ey* 'island' or ON *á* (f), acc. *á* 'river'.

['tɔrəse]

The specific is likely to be a personal name of ON origin formed in Þór-. It is worth considering the possibility that *Tore-* in the 1496 form might reflect an underlying ON *ó*, pronounced /oː/. Names formed in Þór- are of West Scandinavian origin; they differ from their East Scandinavian equivalents which are formed in Þur- (Nicolaisen 1967, 234). They are numerous and definitive identification of individual names in this group is difficult. That said, one particularly frequent name within a British and Irish context is Þórir, gen. Þóris. Þórir, Gaelicised as Tomar and Tomra(i)r, is a name which frequently appears in Irish annals. Downham (2007a, 7–8) has highlighted that at least three Viking leaders active in Ireland bore the name Þórir. Earl Tomrair, for example, identified as leader of *gennti* 'pagans' and deputy to the king of *Laithlinn* (*tánaise ríg*), was defeated by Ólchobor, king of Munster and Lorcán son of Cellach with the Leinstermen at Scé Nechtain in 848 (*CI* 848.6; also Woolf 2007, 304; Etchingham 2014, 34). 'The ring of Þórir', along with the 'the sword of Carlus', served as royal insignia in Norse Dublin; Þórir and Carlus have not been securely identified (Downham 2007a, 7–8). Downham (2007a, 7) has suggested that these emblems may have had a dynastic significance for Uí Ímair (see 4.10, above). Þórir of the ring may be the eponym in Caill Tomair # '(The) Wood of Tomar/Þórir' (AI 1000.2); Downham (2007a, 80) has located this to the north of Dublin, proposing that Hogan's identification of the place in Thomond in the territory of Dál gCais (1910, 139) is based on a misinterpretation. While Þórir is a likely specific, the likes of the similar Þoris, gen. Þoriss should also be considered (Lind 1905, 1180).

In the sources which provide Torosay's earliest forms, Torosay is applied as a district-name. It appears to have displaced Killean as the parish-name only after the medieval parish church of Killean fell into disrepair in the first half of the 17th century (see 1.6.1, above) and not until *c.*1730, according to *NSA* (vii 296) and *OPS* (II i 304).[51] Torosay was applied solely as a parish-name in OSNB and on the OS 6 inch 1st and 2nd edition maps. It has since displaced Achnacroish as the name applied to the stables and steading (NM727353) of Torosay Castle (NM728352). Achnacroish, a medieval settlement recorded in the earliest fiscal evaluation of the district of Torosay, survives on the modern map in Upper Achnacroish (NM723349). Torosay Castle has itself replaced Duart House (OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/10/1) as the name of the Victorian mansion completed in 1858 for John Campbell, replacing Achnacroish House (Canmore ID 123014).

Johnston (1990, 202–03) incorrectly identifies Torosay as a settlement-name. Johnston's 1510 form "Thorrissan", the only one of her forms to include final *n*, in fact appears as *Thorissay* in this charter (*RMS* ii no. 3440). Johnston (1990, 202–03) proposes an etymology of (ON) pn "Thorr" + ON *ey* (f) 'island' under the early forms but goes on to propose that the specific is "almost certain" to derive from the personal name Þórir, which she records as "Thorir".

The generic could be either ON *ey* 'island' or ON *á* 'river'. *-ay* is common in the earliest forms of Forsa, for example, and that would support an identification of ON *á*. Forsa also provides strong evidence that it is not unusual for ON names with topographical generics to be applied as district-names. Given that Torosay was applied first as a district-name and only later to a specific area within the district, it is difficult to be sure of the referent. There are several islands which might be considered. Among these is Eilean Amalaig in Loch Spelve (NM707299). Immediately to the north of Eilean Amalaig, whose generic is G *eilean* 'island' but whose specific is difficult in the absence of historical forms, there is a fortified tidal islet which has no recorded history but whose fortifications may be of medieval date (Canmore ID 22643). Neither the age nor the purpose of the rectangular building on Eilean Amalaig itself has been identified (Canmore ID 22646). If this island was a medieval power-base, it might be considered a likely referent for Torosay's generic. However, there are a number of large rivers in the district which might also be considered.

---

[51] See also *Fasti* (104).

5.2.7 *Ard(i)nis

Arduis de Mulle 1393 *HP* iv 144–46 ["parrochialis ecclesia Sancti Johannis Apostoli et Evangeliste in Arduis de Mulle Sodorensis diocesis"; i.e. 'the parish church of St John the Apostle and Evangelist in *Arduis de Mulle* in the diocese of Sodor'; see 1.6.1, above]

Ardinis 1425 *CPL* vii 406 ["parish church of St. John the Evangelist *in Ardinis*"]

Ardnis 1431 *CSSR* iii 167 ["vicarage of St John Evangelist in *Ardnis*"]

G *àrd* 'high' or G *àrd* (m and n) 'high place, height' or G *àird(e)* 'height, eminence, promontory' + G *innis* 'peninsula, headland'.
Àrd Innis 'High Peninsula' or 'Peninsula of the Height' or *Àird(e) Innis* 'Eminence-Peninsula'.

These three sources may provide the only forms of this toponym which does not appear on the historical maps and is no longer known locally. The later forms suggest that the *u* of the 1393 form has been recorded in error for *(i)n*. The parish church of St John the Evangelist is Killean (NM709283; see 1.6.1, above). While ON *nes* 'ness, headland' is always a possibility for names containing *-nis* and *-inis* and an underlying ON simplex *Nes might be considered, the *-inis* of the 1425 form suits G *innis* and the initial element is of Gaelic origin. Thus, a Gaelic close compound is preferred, on the basis of the known forms and in the absence of local pronunciation. G *innis* probably refers to the peninsula in the medieval district of Torosay defined to the south by Loch Spelve, to the north by Loch Don and to the north-west by the wetlands of An Leth Fhonn (NM725324), literally 'The Half Land', and Loch a' Ghleannain (NM726313). G *innis* may be applied locally in the sense 'peninsula' in Fishnish (see Fishnish in 5.3.2 and Part Two, below).

As regards the specific, it may be either G *àrd* 'high', perhaps this term used nominally as 'high place, height', or G *àird(e)* 'height, eminence, promontory' (see Márkus 2012, 522). Whichever term is present, it probably refers to the elevated nature of this peninsula compared to what may be described as another peninsula on the north side of Loch Don, at the north end of which is Duart (NM748352). The highest point of the Duart peninsula is no higher than 40m; Carn Bàn (NM721289), at the southern end of the Killean peninsula, stands at 248m and the area is generally more elevated. *Ard(i)nis appears to have been a sub-district of the district of Torosay.

5.2.8 Summary

This preliminary study indicates that district-names of the parish are of both Gaelic and ON origin. It is interesting to note within the context of analysis of settlement-names in Forsa and Moloros that both of these district-names are of proposed ON origin. Further analysis of Glen Cannel may assist in determining whether the dedications to Cainner and Brigit should be considered products of the Norse period, or if they might reflect continuity from the Early Christian period. Further analysis of the generic in *Leth'r Mhuileach and *Leth'r nan Cailleach, which was clearly still used locally in the late 19th century, might reveal more on its etymology and chronology. As regards the ON names, we might imagine names such as Forsa, Moloros and Torosay as having been established within a dominant Norse secular milieu. These districts are likely to have been key administrative and fiscal entities in the period in which ON-speakers held tenurial contol locally.

5.3 Forsa

Settlement-Name	1494 Extent	1509 Extent	Proposed Language of Origin	Generic	Specific
Bradhadail	pennyland	16s 8d (two parts: 8s 4d + 8s 4d)	ON	'dale'	(ON) pn Bragi
Callachally	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'wood'	'hazel'
Còrrachadh	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'marsh'; or 'pointed' or 'projecting part / end / corner / peak; heron; well / pool'	none
Fishnish	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'peninsula / headland'	'ash-tree'
Gaodhail	pennyland	16s 8d	ON	'field(s)'	'she-goat'
Garmony	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'peat-moss; moor'	'rough; broad'
Gruline	2 pennylands	16s 8d	ON	'assembly' or 'stones'	'stones'
Killbeg	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'wood' or 'church / chapel / burial-ground'	'small' or (G) pn Béc or Becc
Leiter	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'slope'	none
Leth Thorcaill	pennyland	16d 8d	G	'flagstone / slab / flat stone'	uncertain
Pennygown	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'pennyland'	'smith'
Rhoail	pennyland (of two parts)	16s 8d (combined extent of two parts)	ON	'field(s)'	'horse / mare'
Scallastle	2 pennylands (two parts at 1 pennyland each)	33s 4d	ON	'(cattle-)milking-place'	'pail' or 'shelter' or (ON) pn Skalli / Skalli or 'natural basin' or 'hut / shed / hall'
*Teamhair	halfpennyland	8s 8d	G	'sacred place; eminence'	none
Tomslèibhe	farthingland	8s 4d	G	'rump / end'	'grazing'
Torlochan	n/a	16s 8d	G	'small loch'	'(conical) knoll'

Table 2. The settlement-names of Forsa.
All of the information in the table is included in entries for individual names in Part Two, including full details on the sources for the earliest forms. Colours are used to indicate the level of confidence in proposed etymologies. The colour code is as follows: certain; probable.

5.3.1 Linguistic Origins

Five of the 16 settlement-names (31%) of the two earliest fiscal sources for Forsa are proposed to be of certain or probable ON origin.[52] The remaining 11 (69%) are considered to be of certain (nine) or probable (two) Gaelic origin.

5.3.2 ON Names

Gruline and **Scallastle**, situated in the far north-west and far south-east of the district respectively, are distinct from the other settlements of Forsa in that there is explicit evidence in the fiscal evaluation that they were two-pennyland units.[53] They were therefore of greater extent than the pennyland/16s 8d extent typical of the district. Both are of proposed ON origin. It is useful to consider these names together.

Scallastle was divided into two parts, the names of which both incorporate Scallastle as an existing name: *Scallastle Mòr 'Big Scallastle', with G *mòr*, and *Scallastle Beag 'Small Scallastle', with G *beag*. *ER* 1509 provides explicit evidence that the holding referred to as Gruline in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* was also divided into two parts: one half bearing the name Gruline; the other called **Torlochan**, a name of Gaelic origin. Each part was of equal extent (16s 8d). Torlochan is not recorded in *RMS*, *RSS* or *Retours* and its absence suggests that it was of lesser status than neighbouring Gruline, despite the equal extent recorded for both in *ER*. Torlochan, to judge from its historical forms, is a name of noun + article + defining genitive structure. Its earliest known form is *Torulochan* in 1509 and it is recorded as *Torranlochain* in OSNB (see Torlochan in Part Two, below). While we have little access to micro naming practices in the medieval period and general statements regarding chronology are risky, there is evidence to suggest that place-names containing the definite article are unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century (Toner 1999, 22–23; *PNF5*, 169 and 283). The definite article was undoubtedly a feature of place-naming by the end of the 11th century (Toner 1999, 22–23; *PNF5*, 169 and 283). Thus, Torlochan is likely to be a younger name than Gruline. One interpretation of this evidence is that Torlochan was a secondary holding formed through subdivision of Gruline. The implication is of a primary settlement named in ON and a hived-off secondary settlement named in Gaelic. This is typical of settlement-toponymy in Jennings and Kruse's inner zone (see 4.9.1, above).

---

[52] This is considering the two parts of Bradhadail, Rhoail and Scallastle as one settlement-name, given that these names are applied to both parts.
[53] See 1.4.1 for a map indicating the locations of Forsa's settlements.

The fiscal sources identify Gruline and Scallastle as the most valuable of Forsa's settlements in the Late Medieval period and the implication is that Gruline and Scallastle were the most valuable settlements in the period which precedes the earliest sources; in other words, they were probably the most valuable holdings in the Norse period. It is therefore of particular interest in analysis of the Norse period that both Gruline and Scallastle are proposed to be of certain ON origin. Soil analysis corroborates the fiscal evidence. The coastal areas around both Gruline and Scallastle are characterised by relatively large areas of the fertile lowland brown earth soils of the Gruline Association (see 1.3, above). These soils are of local importance in providing arable and at Gruline there is explicit evidence in local Gaelic toponymy for the cultivation of corn in the form of Tòrr an Arbhair (NM544405), probably best translated as '(The) (Conical) Knoll of the Corn' (Whyte 2014, 134). Areas where these brown earth soils predominate have clearly long been settlement-centres and local prehistoric archaeology indicates that this is true of both Gruline and Scallastle (see Gruline and Scallastle in Part Two, below). The proposed ON origins of both settlement-names provide incontrovertible evidence that ON-speakers held control of the most valuable lands of Forsa during a period of the district's history.

The elements proposed in Gruline and Scallastle provide further information about the nature of local Norse settlement. Gruline's etymology is perhaps more ambiguous than I have suggested elsewhere. I have previously suggested that the underlying ON name is *Grjótþing*, probably best translated as 'Assembly of/at the Stones' (Whyte 2014; see also Gruline in Part Two, below). An alternative is ON *Grjýting*, a productive compound seemingly derived from ON *grjýt* and probably best translated as 'Place of/at the Stones'. If this derived name does lie behind Gruline, the evidence suggests that it is likely to be a commemorative name, rather than an original coinage formed in the suffix -*ing(r)*. This suffix is very rare in island-names in the Northern Isles, probably the first features named by ON-speaking settlers, on the basis of analysis of Scandinavian toponymy (Gammeltoft 2005, 119–120). This is potentially important, given Kruse's recent proposal that, as a naming motive, commemoration is likely to have been "a minor, even negligible factor until we reach more modern times" (Kruse 2007, 29–30). There are comparative names in both Norway and Shetland (see Gruline in Part Two, below).

Scallastle's proposed generic is ON *stǫðul(l)* '(cattle-)milking-place'. Its generic is thus habitative and in this regard the settlement-name is significant. The implication of the position of east Mull in the inner zone in Jennings and Kruse's model is that habitative

generics are unexpected locally (see 4.9.1, above). Scallastle has typically been proposed to contain the ON topographical generic *dal(r)* 'dale, valley' (see Scallastle in Part Two, below). If accepted, ON *stǫðul(l)* provides evidence for pastoral farming in a period in which ON was spoken locally. The name contains a habitative generic but, rather than being of secondary status, the fiscal sources identify Scallastle as a primary settlement of high status; there is no evidence that its lands ever formed part of a pre-existing larger holding.

That said, there is an ON name containing a topographical generic not recorded by the OS in the vicinity which should be considered within the context of local primary and secondary settlement. Rubha Chuitheirnis # is recorded in a mid-17th-century song attributed to Eachann Bacach, a Maclean poet patronised by Maclean chiefs of Duart (Ó Baoill 1979, 26–33 and 186–96).[54] The song is certainly likely to have been composed in Mull, given the numerous Mull place-names it records (ibid., 187). MacQuarrie (1982, 77) has suggested that Rubha Chuitheirnis # is the displaced name of Java Point (NM716377). It has been suggested as an alternative form of Quinish Point (NM408571) in north Mull (Ó Baoill 1979, 193) but this seems unlikely, given that there is no evidence for medial *r* in the historical forms of Quinish; for example, it is *Cowinis* in 1528 (ALI no. A70; *RMS* iii 712) and *Cuinnish* in the local 19th-century poetry of Dùghall MacPhàil (Mac-na-Ceàrdadh 1879, 190). The context of Rubha Chuitheirnis # within the song attributed to Eachann Bacach certainly aligns with MacQuarrie's proposal, given that it appears to constitute the northern coastal march of Duart lands; Java Point is proposed to have formed the march between Forsa, held by Maclean of Lochbuie, and the medieval district of Torosay, held by Duart, to the south (MacQuarrie 1982, 77; see 1.4.1, above). Rubha Chuitheirnis # is a Gaelic coinage. Its generic is G *rubha*, an element primarily defined as 'point, promontory'. The existing name which forms its specific is probably of ON origin. Its generic is probably ON *nes* 'ness, headland'. There are two possibilities for the specific. ON *kvið(r)* (m), gen. *kviðar* 'belly, abdomen; womb' should be considered. G *th* for intervocalic ON *ð* is common (Watson 1904, lix) and the genitive singular form *kviðar* works linguistically. Further analysis of historical forms of this name, if extant, might investigate the productivity of ON *kvið(r)* in the implied figurative sense; i.e. in applying to a feature of swollen appearance in the landscape. The most likely referent of this figurative sense in *Cuitheirnis, the nominative form of the ON existing name, would be Druim an Dubhair (NM710384), a ridge which forms the most elevated part of the promontory between Scallastle Bay and Craignure

---

[54] I follow Ó Baoill's standardised orthography of the name, which is *rutha chuitheirnis* in *Eigg* (91).

Bay. A particularly noteworthy alternative for the ON specific within the context of a nearby *stǫðul(l)*-name is ON *kví* (f), gen. *kvíar*, nom. pl. *kvíar* 'fold, pen'. In Modern Icelandic *kví* relates especially to sheep-milking (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). Local pronunciation of *Cuitheirnis is unknown but intervocalic slender *th* is likely to represent hiatus on the basis of comparable examples in *SGDS* (e.g. §792 *soitheach* 'vessel', point 81; see also Ó Maolalaigh 2010, 380–85).[55] In other words, the absence of medial *ð* in *kví* and potentially productive oblique forms does not rule this element out. There are comparable names including oblique cases of ON *kví* elsewhere in the Outer Hebrides: Quier in Lewis (Nicolaisen 2001, 125; Cox 2002, 346); and Cuier, two separate instances in the Barra group (Stahl 1999, 185 and 186; cf. Borgstrøm 1936, 295). ON *kví*, in the nom. sing., appears likely to form the specific in the aforementioned Quinish, as Nicolaisen (2001, 125) has proposed. The location of *Cuitheirnis is uncertain but there is good evidence to suggest that it was applied by ON-speakers to an area in the vicinity of Scallastle. Given that it contains a topographical generic, *Cuitheirnis could conceivably have been the primary settlement-name in the locality, in the period which precedes the fiscal sources. Scallastle, a name containing a habitative generic, might thus conceivably have originally applied to a secondary settlement linked to the primary settlement of *Cuitheirnis.

Scallastle may have been linked to *Gaorsaig. This ON existing name is preserved in Camas Gaorsaig (NM722369), which lies opposite Java Point across what is now called Craignure Bay. Camas Gaorsaig is syntactically comparable to Rubha Chuitheirnis # in that it is of Gaelic origin and incorporates an ON existing name. G *camas*, its generic, is applied in this context as 'bay, creek, harbour'. The proposed generic of *Gaorsaig is ON *vík* 'inlet, small bay'. A linguistic fit for the specific is ON *geir(r)* (m), gen. *geirs* 'spear, the point of an anvil'. There is evidence elsewhere in the local settlement-toponymy to suggest that ON *ei*, when found in ON existing names perpetuated by Gaelic-speakers, produced the monophthong [ɤ:] locally (see Bradhadail and Gaodhail in Part Two, below). In terms of the element's application in *Gaorsaig, ON *geir(r)* appropriately describes the spit of land which defines Camas Gaorsaig on its west side and which has been utilised in more recent history in the construction of a pier. This etymology might also be considered for *Gaorsaig* in Kintail, an ON existing name which is recorded in three Gaelic names by Watson (1904,

---

[55] Three Mull informants, one from each civil parish, are recorded in *SGDS*: points 81 (TOY), 82 (KKV) and 83 (KKE). References to *SGDS* are to point 81, the Torosay informant, Dugald MacArthur, unless otherwise stated. Pitch movement is the phrase used in *SGDS* (i 121) to describe a break in pitch from higher to lower across two syllables, occasionally used "simply to show a pitch shift from the first syllable to the second, without regard to the actual pitch movement involved, whether from higher to lower or vice versa."

182). Watson doubtfully suggested G *gaorr*, defined as "a thrill", as the initial element. This interpretation seems very unlikely. Whilst ON *geir(r)* is very plausible in Camas Gaorsaig, an alternative is the derived personal name Geirr, declined in the same way as the noun (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). *Gaorsaig could be 'Spear/Anvil-Point Inlet', or 'Geirr's Inlet'.

Thus, *Gaorsaig, *Cuitheirnis and Scallastle constitute a cluster of ON names in the locality. They certainly provide evidence for the presence of a local ON-speaking community. Previous analysis of topographical and habitative ON names in Scottish toponymy would suggest that *Cuitheirnis and *Gaorsaig predate Scallastle. Names containing *vík* in particular have been identified as particularly good indicators of primary settlement-sites (Jennings and Kruse 2009, 92). The existing sources preclude definitive analysis of the chronology of local Norse settlement.

In the interior of the district, in Glen Forsa, is **Rhoail**, a settlement-name which, like Scallastle, is proposed to contain an ON habitative generic which relates specifically to pastoral farming. The earliest historical forms of this name, which consistently contain medial *s(s)*, provide evidence for a name probably best translated as 'Horse-/Mare-Field(s)'.[56] The implication is that ON-speakers applied this name to a settlement utilised for the rearing of horses. Rhoail's component soils would certainly provide pasture for horses (see Rhoail in Part Two).

ON *hross* + ON *vǫll(r)*, the proposed compound, is relatively common in the ON toponymy of Scotland. Comparable names are found in Lewis, in Wester Ross near Loch Kishorn, where there are two examples in close proximity, and in Strathnaver, Strathfleet and Glen Cassley in Sutherland (Crawford 2004, 119–24). Crawford includes **Rossal**, a settlement in Moloros, in her analysis of these 'Rossall'-names. The compound was also proposed to lie behind Rossal by Nicolaisen (2001, 125) and analysis of the historical forms supports this etymology (see Rossal in Part Two, below). Thus, it is appropriate to discuss Rhoail and Rossal together. Rhoail has not previously been identified as a 'Rossall'-name, no doubt because medial *s(s)* is not present in its most recent forms. Linguistic development in Rhoail is analysed below.

---

[56] For linguistic analysis of the loss of intervocalic -*s(s)*- in the name, see Rhoail in Part Two, below.

Within the context of two proposed 'Rossall'-names in the parish, it is interesting to note accounts of Mull's famous native breed of pony. *OSA* (iii 267) records the transportation of large numbers of cattle and horses from Grass Point (NM748309) at the mouth of Loch Don in the district of Torosay across the Firth of Lorn for mainland markets; it also records that a horse-market was held annually on 21 August in the parish of Torosay in the last decade of the 18th century . The School of Scottish Studies holds several local recordings providing oral accounts of this annual market (e.g. TAD, Track IDs 79111, 17808 and 57446). MacCormick (1923, 30–31) describes the annual market still held in his time as the largest in the West Highlands but laments the fact that growing contemporary interest in stock-breeding on the island had not extended to the "wiry little ponies for which Mull was once famous". While the ponies are said to have been very numerous 40 or 50 years before MacCormick's time, there were very few by the 1920s (ibid., 30). Rhoail and Rossal provide strong evidence for the rearing of horses by ON-speaking communities locally.

It is worth returning at this point to Crawford's analysis of 'Rossall'-names. Crawford's proposal, considering these names alongside 'Langwell'-names, i.e. names compounding ON *lang* and ON *vǫll(r)* and translated as 'Long Field', is that their combined distribution may reflect the political organisation of the earldom of Orkney and an extended Orcadian dominion which led to the standardised naming of farms in these compounds (2004, 122). A similar proposal has been advanced by Crawford in relation to the *dal(r)*-names of the river-valleys of the Conon, Beauly, Carron and Oykel. These are suggested to reflect Orcadian control of woodland resources in south-east Sutherland and Easter Ross (ibid., 111 and 115; also Crawford and Taylor 2003, 6–9). The implication of Crawford's analysis for Rossal, and therefore Rhoail, is that Orkney's political dominance stretched as far south as Mull and Crawford has suggested elsewhere, on the evidence of the later Icelandic literature, that the Hebrides were dominated from Orkney under Earl Sigurðr *digri* Hloðvissonr (†1014) and his son Þorfinnr *hinn ríki* Sigurðarsonr, earl of Orkney from the 1020s to the early 1060s (Crawford 2004, 111; Crawford 2013, 139). As is highlighted above (see 1.7 and 4.10.3), the role of the Orkney earls in southern Hebridean politics has been played down in other recent commentaries. Oram (2011a, 68), for example, has proposed that claims of extended Orcadian dominion in this area "are part of the same thirteenth-century saga-tradition of inflated territorial authority being projected back in time to legitimate contemporary circumstances".

While Crawford has suggested that 'Rossall'-names reflect remote Orkney hegemony in Torosay, alternative circumstances for the coining of these names should be considered. It is worth stressing initially that knowledge of the 'Rossall'-names of the northern Scottish mainland would not have been prerequisite for the coining of similar names in Mull. The circumstances in which Rhoail and Rossal were coined might be compared to those of Roseland BUT, a settlement-name for which Márkus (2012, 505) suggests a likely etymology of ON *hrossa* + ON *land,* translated as "Horse farm", or "horse field". Roseland is distinct within the ON toponymy of Bute. The presence of the generic ON *land* means that Roseland is best categorised as a habitative name (see Rixson 2010, 137) but its extent makes it a far more modest holding than other Bute settlements bearing ON names (Márkus 2012, 36). Márkus's suggestion is that Roseland could represent the establishment of a specialised horse-farm early in the period of Norse occupation of Bute, perhaps a farm where the ON-speaking settlers of the 'proto-urban' defended port-town of what would later be called Rothesay kept and perhaps bred horses (ibid., 37 and 506). The implication is that some names including ON habitative generics such as *land* may have been applied to primary settlements, or to secondary settlements established soon after local primary settlements; in other words, names including ON habitative generics need not necessarily be chronologically late.

There is no fiscal evidence to suggest that Roseland was ever part of a pre-existing larger holding and the same may be said of Rhoail and Rossal, which are also proposed to contain an ostensibly habitative generic in ON *vǫll(r)* (Crawford and Taylor 2003, 9; Rixson 2010, 135–36). Rhoail had already been subdivided by 1494, when it is recorded as *duabus russillis* '(the) two Rhoails'. Its two parts are specified by the Gaelic affixes *mòr* 'big' and *beag* 'small' in 1509. Valued at a pennyland/16s 8d in total, Rhoail's lands were lesser in extent than those of Gruline and Scallastle but there is no suggestion in the fiscal sources that it was ever part of a larger holding. Rhoail's pennyland-extent is on a par with its neighbouring settlements in Glen Forsa. On the basis of this fiscal evidence, it is difficult to imagine Rhoail as a secondary settlement formed by division of a pre-existing holding in Glen Forsa. It might be argued that Rhoail could represent the taking of new land into agricultural use in this interior part of the district and that it could thus be categorised as a settlement of secondary status. However, Rhoail's status among the settlements of Forsa is clearly primary.

The earliest fiscal evidence suggests that Rossal, too, is of primary status among the settlements of Moloros, being consistently valued at a pennyland/16s 8d. There is no fiscal evidence to suggest that it ever formed part of a pre-existing larger holding. That said, there are probable ON topographical names in the vicinity of Rossal which might have originally applied to local primary settlements; Rossal is perhaps comparable thus to Scallastle, *Gaorsaig and *Cuitheirnis. The ON settlement-names in the vicinity of Rossal are discussed below (see 5.4.3).

To summarise, there are perhaps two ways of interpreting the evidence. The typical ON settlement model of primary settlements bearing topographical generics and secondary settlements bearing habitative generics would identify Rhoail, Rossal and Scallastle as secondary settlement-names. The fiscal evidence for Forsa and Moloros does not support this analysis and the possibility must be considered that ON names bearing habitative generics were originally applied to primary settlements, as Roseland appears to have been in Bute. The hiatus between the period in which these names are likely to have been coined and the earliest fiscal sources, however, certainly allows for the possiblity of the displacement of primary settlement-names. This may explain the situation of Scallastle. It is difficult to provide definitive analysis of contemporary settlement in the Norse period on the basis of sources which significantly post-date the period. However, despite the challanges presented by the evidence in this regard, it is important to reiterate that in Scallastle, Rhoail and Rossal, there are three ON names containing habitative generics which have not hitherto been identified.

Less than 3km WNW of Rhoail in Glen Forsa is **Gaodhail**. Its proposed habitative generic is ON *vǫll(r)*, the same generic proposed in Rhoail, and Gaodhail should therefore be added to the list of ON habitative names in Forsa. The proposed specific is ON *geit* 'she-goat' and the implication is that ON-speakers applied this name to a settlement primarily associated with the rearing of goats.[57] Valued at a pennyland/16s 8d, the fiscal evidence identifies Gaodhail as a primary settlement. Like Rhoail, it is difficult on the basis of the known fiscal evaluation to imagine Gaodhail as a secondary settlement created through division of a pre-existing larger holding.

---

[57] For analysis of *dh* in the modern written form of Gaodhail, see Gaodhail in Part Two below.

There may be an ON *ærgi*-name linked to Gaodhail. A' Bhog-airigh (NM588386) applies to an extensive flat area upland and WNW of Gaodhail, the name clearly having been understood latterly as G *bog* + G *àirigh*, a close compound. G *bog*, an adjective meaning 'soft', is a possibility; as is the related Gaelic noun *bog*, a productive toponymic element defined as 'bog, soft ground' (Márkus 2012, 528). It was the adjective that was understood in OSNB, the name being translated as "The soft Shealing" (ARG OS1/2/74/52/4).

As is highlighted above (see 4.9.1), G *àirigh* is the modern reflex of OG *áirge*, primarily defined as 'place for milking cows, byre, cowshed' (eDIL s.v. *áirge*). The modern reflex *àirigh* has come to be applied more generally as 'shieling, summer pasture' (*Mac Eachainn* s.v. *àiridh*). A Gaelic close compound in which *àirigh* forms the generic is plausible for A' Bhog-airigh but the name is unusual and analysis of its syntactic structure and local toponymy highlights the possibility of an underlying ON name containing *ærgi*, a borrowing of OG *áirge*. ON *ærgi* (n) is typically defined as 'shieling', perhaps specifically 'home shieling, pasture near to the farm' (Márkus 2012, 518; also 4.9.1, above), but when borrowed into ON, OG *áirge* is understood to have related to a milking-place (Cox 2002, 122).

A strong candidate for the specific in the potential ON *ærgi*-name, particularly given the proposed etymology of Gaodhail, is ON *bukk(r)* (m) 'buck, he-goat'. There is strong evidence associating this area with goats in local Gaelic toponymy in the form of Sròn nam Boc (NM572398), a name which applies to a feature overlooking Loch Bà at the north-western limit of the extensive flat area to which the name A' Bhog-airigh applies. Its generic, G *sròn*, is applied in place-names as 'nose, ridge, point, promontory'. Its specific, in the genitive plural, is likely to be G *boc* (m) 'buck', a cognate of ON *bukk(r)*, which is commonly applied to young male goats and young male roe deer (*Mac Eachainn* s.v. *boc* 'buck, he-goat, roebuck', *boc-earba* 'roebuck' and *boc-gaibhre* 'he-goat'). It is productive in Scottish toponymy (Taylor 2005, 11). OG *boc*, the term from which G *boc* derives, is primarily defined as 'he-goat' (eDIL s.v. 2 *boc*). The form A' Bhog-airigh, however, makes it unlikely that G *boc* is this name's specific. It seems very unlikely that an original Gaelic close compound *Boc-Àirigh would be reinterpreted as A' Bhog-airigh, unless by reinterpretation and element substitution. G *bog* is pronounced locally as [b̥og̊], whereas G *boc* is pronounced as [b̥o̧xg̊]; [x] in the latter indicates preaspiration of the final voiced velar plosive (see *SGDS* §116 *bog* and §490 *boc-goibhre*).

Given the proposal that Gaodhail was applied by ON-speakers to a settlement associated with the rearing of goats, and considering local names such as Sròn nam Boc, it is tempting to propose ON *bukk(r)* as the specific in an ON coinage: *Bukkærgi 'He-Goat Shieling'. One potentially significant implication of this proposed ON etymology is that the language of the ON-speakers coining the name had been influenced by Gaelic, specifically in relation to the borrowing of OG *áirge*. As is highlighted above, the presence of ON *ærgi* in place-names in Kintyre has led Jennings (2004, 107) to suggest that local names are most likely to have been coined in the second half of the ninth century, perhaps as a result of a secondary settlement-wave of ON-speakers who had previously settled in the Hebrides or Ireland; the alternative is that OG *áirge* was borrowed by ON-speakers in Kintyre (see 4.9.1). It is very unlikely that the term was borrowed into ON in several different locations but the proposals advanced by Jennings in relation to *ærgi*-names in Kintyre should also be considered for Forsa. *Bukkærgi, if accepted, may be best regarded as a place-name of relatively late date, having been coined after OG *áirge* was borrowed into ON. Considering the local toponymic evidence, Forsa could conceivably have been the area in which this term was borrowed through local interaction between ON- and OG-speakers.

The component soils of A' Bhog-airigh are peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association, the typical shallow, peaty soils having been improved in some areas but only for use by sheep (see Gaodhail in Part Two, below). Goats can probably be added to this description, on the basis of the toponymic evidence. Within this context, it is interesting to note Carmichael's reference to the rearing of goats of Mull in the second half of the 19th century, allegedly to reduce the numbers of serpents on the island (*CG* iv 205).

Around 3.5km SSE of Gaodhail and a similar distance south-west of Rhoail in an offshoot of Glen Forsa is the ruined settlement of **Bradhadail**. This name appears certain to be of ON origin, its name-final generic surely ON *dal(r)* 'dale, valley'. Its proposed specific is the personal name Bragi, a name of ON origin. The implication is that a man bearing a name of ON origin was in some way linked with this settlement. The Norse period in Britain and Ireland occurred at a time in which individuals were beginning to be named in place-names in Norse society and personal names are therefore not unsurprising in place-names of ON origin in Scotland (Kruse 2007, 15). Kruse (2004, 104) has proposed that the existence of personal names in settlement-names of ON origin overseas illustrates a move towards social organisation in which the individual played a more important role than the extended family unit. In this way, Norse personal names may be viewed as statements of tenurial control.

Those naming Bradhadail may have been consciously asserting Bragi's rights to this land in the interior of Forsa. Scallastle's specific is difficult but it, too, may be a personal name of ON origin (see Scallastle in Part Two, below).

The possibility that the local societal dynamic could have prompted the use of personal names in local toponymy is explored presently but it is worth initially highlighting the topographical situation of Bradhadail, its status among the settlements of Forsa, and the recorded subdivisions of its lands. The settlement is situated on ground over 100m above sea-level and might thus be considered peripheral. Its component soils are peaty gleys whose moraines typically support grasses of low grazing-value. However, fiscal evidence and local toponymy suggest that this was another medieval settlement of primary status. There is no indication in the fiscal sources that Bradhadail was of low fiscal status. Conversely, the evidence suggests that the pennyland/16s 8d of Bradhadail, which comprised two parts from at least 1509, was among the district's primary settlements, having the same value as neighbouring Rhoail and Gaodhail, as well as the majority of Forsa's medieval settlements. Neighbouring **Tomslèibhe**, a settlement valued at farthingland in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* and at 8s 4d in *ER* 1509, is explicitly attached to Bradhadail in 1542 and in later fiscal sources (see Bradhadail and Tomslèibhe in Part Two, below). Tomslèibhe is certainly of secondary status and it is probably a secondary settlement, in that it is likely to have been created upon subdivision of Bradhadail, on the basis of the earliest fiscal sources. A name of Gaelic origin, Tomslèibhe provides further evidence that Gaelic was the language used to coin secondary settlement-names locally; it may be compared in this sense to Torlochan, although Torlochan was of greater extent. It is interesting within this context to note Calderwood's recent suggestion (2013, 42) that the distribution of *sliabh*, the proposed generic in Tomslèibhe and an element which is particularly productive in the Rhinns of Galloway, Islay and Tiree and is found in Mull (see Taylor 2007), is a result of language contact between Gaelic- and ON-speakers in the Kingdom of the Isles and reflects "growing political and economic cohesion". Taylor (2007, 116) has previously proposed that the high density of *sliabh*-names in the Rhinns of Galloway can be assigned to the close contact throughout the middle ages with other Gaelic-speaking groups in Man and the north of Ireland. One interpretation of the distribution of *sliabh*, then, is that language contact between ON- and Gaelic-speakers might provide one context in which *sliabh* arrived in Mull as a productive toponymic element. While the distribution of *sliabh* might reflect growing cohesion within the Kingdom of the Isles, perhaps specifically in relation to land-use, it could be the result of linguistic development in the Isles in an earlier part of the Norse period, before the

emergence of this kingdom. While *sliabh*-names could certainly have been coined in the pre-Norse period, the implication of Tomslèibhe's low fiscal status is that it was probably coined in a phase of settlement-expansion which post-dates the period in which ON was used to coin place-names in Glen Forsa. By the time Tomslèibhe was established, the local community, perhaps one of ultimately Norse origin who had applied ON names to local settlements of primary status, were coining new place-names in Gaelic. This aligns with the Jennings and Kruse model for settlement in the inner zone. While the potential *ærgi*-name analysed above is sequentially secondary, it need not have been established much later than the primary settlement-name of ON origin to which it was linked. The Norse settlers coining the proposed *Bukkærgi could have been utilising a pre-existing local settlement-structure which involved transhumance. Thus, we might imagine a local settlement-chronology in which the primary settlements of Bradhadail, Gaodhail and Rhoail were coined by ON-speakers who perhaps also coined the local transhumant name *Bukkærgi. Subsequently, the descendants of these ON-speakers perpetuated the local ON names but named settlements created in a subsequent period of settlement-expansion in Gaelic. The longevity of the ON names provides good evidence of ethnolinguistic stability locally after the ON settlement-names were established. The application of *sliabh* in Tomslèibhe is discussed in more detail below (see Tomslèibhe in Part Two).

The suggestion that personal names may have been employed in local ON settlement-names as explicit statements of tenurial control has been made. As regards Bragi in Bradhadail, however, there may instead, or also, have been a practical, functional aspect to the employment of a personal name. There are several other names in ON *dal(r)* in the area and it might therefore be considered unsurprising for the ON user-group coining the name to have recourse to the names of tenants in order to distinguish one dale from another (see Fellows-Jensen 1984, 159). ON *dal(r)* may form the generic of the existing name in Beinn Chàisgidle (NM607326), the hill which lies immediately to the south of the ruined settlement of Bradhadail. It may also form the generics of nearby Sgaorasdail (NM592334), Breapadail (NM585328) and An Coiredail (NM590309), located to the south and south-west, although this preliminary etymological analysis is necessarily speculative, being based only on the OS forms. While a Gaelic etymology for An Coiredail is suggested by the OS form, namely G masc. nom. sing. def. art. *an* + G *coire* 'corrie, hollow on the side of a hill or between hills (literally 'cauldron')' (Taylor 2005, 16) + G *dail* 'water-meadow, haugh' (*PNF5*, 349), a potential ON etymology in *dal(r)* is difficult to rule out. As regards the specific, the masculine personal name Kori, gen. Kora, is a linguistic fit. This personal name is suggested

by Márkus (2012, 329) in Corval Hill BUT and it is found in English toponymy. The systematic collection of unpublished forms of these potential ON names will be required for definitive etymological analysis. It is interesting to note that none of these names is recorded as a settlement-name in the fiscal sources. The names may never have applied to settlements, although there are ruins at Sgaorasdail, for example, not recorded in Canmore.

While personal names of ON origin were often employed in secondary settlement-names in Norse Scotland, distinguishing the new holding from the old primary farm (Jennings 1993, 12), the fiscal evidence relating to Bradhadail, as has been shown, explicitly indicates that the settlement was of primary status in the Late Medieval period and the implication is that it was of similar status in the Norse period. An alternative possibility, but one for which there is no fiscal evidence, is that Bradhadail was linked to the nearby two-pennyland/33s 4d unit of Glen Cannel (see 1.5 and 5.2.5, above). The ruined settlement of Bradhadail lies only 1km ENE of the old burial-ground in Glen Cannel. Tomslèibhe aside, Rhoail is Bradhadail's nearest settlement in the district of Forsa and it lies well over 3km north-east of Bradhadail as the crow flies; further still round the northern slopes of Beinn Talaidh (NM625347; 763m) and Beinn Bheag (NM632351; 537m), the latter now known locally as Wee Beinn Talaidh. It is likely that the aforementioned *dal(r)*-names of the area in and around Glen Cannel were coined by the same ON user-group who named Bradhadail. In the period which precedes the known fiscal evaluation, Bradhadail might conceivably have been linked to a larger holding in Glen Cannel and it may thus represent a secondary settlement. As is highlighted above, Glen Cannel is a name of Gaelic origin and a likely hagiotoponym. The implication of a fiscal relationship between Glen Cannel and Bradhadail is of a primary settlement-name of Gaelic origin linked to the Church and a nearby secondary settlement bearing a name of ON origin. The dearth of sources for the period before 1494 means that such a proposal can only be speculative. Despite Bradhadail's geographical marginality within the context of Forsa, its pennyland/16s 8d extent in the Late Medieval period makes it dangerous to rule it out as a primary settlement in the Norse period. It is worth reiterating that ON *dal(r)* is applied as a primary settlement-generic in east Kintyre (Jennings 2004, 119; also 4.9.1, above).

It is worth returning at this point to Beinn Talaidh (NM625347; 763m), given that its specific may also have been coined by ON-speakers. Beinn Talaidh is Mull's third-highest hill. Its relative isolation and distinctive form make it a conspicuous topographical feature. The OS form reflects modern pronunciation of the name within an English-speaking context. This

pronunciation is well-represented in Bentalla Crescent, the name of a modern housing estate in the nearby village of Salen (NM578432). Pronunciation of the name within a local Gaelic-speaking context, however, contains initial /t′/ and, although Blaeu's *Bin Tallow* is difficult to reconcile with /t′/, the process whereby *Ta-* came to represent /t′/ in OS forms of the name is presumably the same as that which accounts for Blaeu's form. Initial /t′/, represented in Gaelic orthography as *Te-*, is clearly represented in *Beinn Tealladha*. This form is recorded in a Gaelic short story published in 1911 by local writer Iain Mac Cormaic (John MacCormick) (Mac Cormaic 1911, 19–20): " "Seall, a rùin, c' àite 'm bheil an Grioglachan!" arsa fear an tighe ris an nighinn. "Tha e os cionn Beinn Tealladha," ars an nigheanag." ".[58] It is also well represented in *Bentealluidh*, the form recorded by Clerk in 1843 (*NSA*, 278). Maclean (1997, 44) also notes initial /t′/ in Beinn Talaidh, proposing G *sealladh* (m), gen. *seallaidh* 'sight, view' as the name-final element. There is evidence to suggest that *sealladh* was a productive element in Torosay's toponymy; for example, in Bealach an t-Seallaidh (NM695248) in Moloros, the specific is preceded by the masc. gen. sing. def. art. *an (t-)*. However, neither of the forms recorded by Mac Cormaic and Clerk suit an etymology in *sealladh* and this Gaelic element was clearly not thought to be present by Mac Cormaic, a native local Gaelic-speaker. An alternative proposal is ON *hjall(i)* (m), gen. *hjalla* 'ledge in a mountain side'. Development of ON *hja-* to G *tea-* has been proposed elsewhere in Scottish toponymy specifically in relation to this element, seemingly as a result of back-formation. Watson proposes *hjall(i)* as the specific, with ON *dal(r)*, in *Tealladal* ROS (Watson 1904, lx). Cox (2002, 74, 109 and 204) proposes G **ceall*, defined as 'ledge, terrace', as a borrowing from ON *hjallr* (*recte* ON *hjall(i)*). The initial consonant of Cox's proposed loan-word where it is recorded in modern place-name forms is realised as /k′/ but it is interesting to note within the context of Beinn Talaidh that the earliest forms of these names contain *Te-*: *Teallan* and *Téalan Ard* (ibid., 63 and 204, s.n. *Na Ceallan* and *Na Ceallan Ard*). In Modern Icelandic *hjall(i)* is defined is 'a shelf or ledge in a mountain's side' and it is productive in local toponymy (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). It is also productive in the Wirral in Helsby (Dodgson 1957, 308).

Beinn Talaidh is ostensibly a Gaelic coinage formed in G *beinn* (f) '(high) hill, mountain' (*PNF5*, 295). The proposal is that its specific may be an ON existing name formed in an

---

[58] The following translation is my own: ' "Look, my love, at the position of The Pleiades", said the man of the house to the girl. "It is above Beinn Talaidh", said the little girl.'

oblique case of *hjall(i)*. It may have been a simplex, *Hjalla, from which a Gaelic reflex *Tealla might conceivably have developed. Alternatively, its specific may represent a Gaelic loan-word with initial /tʹ/: *tealla*. The *-adha* in MacCormick's form is odd. While

-a > -adh could be explained by articulation of final [ɣ] in the name within a Gaelic-speaking

context, a feature which could have developed as a way of closing an otherwise open final syllable[59], this does not account for *-adha*.

The referent ledge of ON *hjall(i)*, or the potential Gaelic loan-word, may be the aforementioned Beinn Bheag, which could certainly be described as a ledge protruding from the east side of Beinn Talaidh (see Fig. 1, below). On the other hand, it may be a reference to the ledges or shelves which are referred to in the specific of Allt nan Clàr (NM617380), the name of the large stream which rises near the summit of Beinn Bheag and flows through Gleann Lèan. G *clàr*, here in the gen. pl. on the basis of the OS form, is a productive element in Scottish toponymy defined as 'board, table, flat place' (*PNF5*, 332). Allt nan Clàr is probably best translated as '(The) Stream of the Flat Places'. Thus, a plural form of ON *hjall(i)* might be considered in relation to Beinn Talaidh. *Hjalla* is also the accusative plural and the genitive plural form.

---

[59] This feature is known is other contexts and has been discussed specifically in relation to ON existing names in which ON *bólstað(r)* is proposed in the Hebrides; see Cox (1994, 46; 2002, 14); Gammeltoft (2001, 92); and Crosta # in Part Two, below.

Fig. 1. Beinn Bheag and Beinn Talaidh.
Looking SSE from the northern end of Glen Forsa towards Beinn Bheag (537m) and Beinn Talaidh (763m) which are just right of centre, framed by the telegraph poles. Beinn Bheag is proposed as the possible referent of ON *hjall(i)* 'ledge in a mountain side', the element suggested to lie behind the specific of Beinn Talaidh.
The white building left of centre beside the track is the modern house at Killbeg.
Image Credit: Alasdair C. Whyte

To recap, there is significant toponymic evidence for Norse settlement in Forsa: in Glen Forsa; in south-east Forsa; and at the head of Loch na Keal at Gruline. The ON names discussed above are presented in the following table and map:

District-name	Forsa
Settlement-names	Bradhadail; Gaodhail; Gruline; Rhoail; Scallastle
Transhumant name	A' Bhog-airigh (Gaodhail)
Topographical names	An Coiredail; Breapadail; *Càisgidle; *Cuitheirnis (possibly in Forsa); *Gaorsaig (in district of Torosay); Sgaorasdail; *Talaidh

Table 3. ON names in Forsa.
Colours are used to indicate the level of confidence in the proposed language of origin. The colour code is as follows: certain; probable; maybe.

Map 10. ON names in and around Forsa (certain, probable and possible).

5.3.3 Gaelic Names

The ON names of Forsa must be considered within the context of the 11 settlement-names of Gaelic origin, 69% of the total number of settlement-names, which are recorded in the district's earliest known fiscal evaluation. Analysis is focussed on the syntactic structure of these Gaelic names, their fiscal relationships with other settlements and their distribution within both the context of Early Medieval power-centres and ON settlement-names, with a view to gauging local settlement-chronology.

As regards syntax, Gaelic name-structures can be diagnostic of date. As is highlighted above, there is evidence to suggest that names containing the definite article, for example, are unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century (see 5.3.2). As regards the oldest names, simplex names are considered to form the earliest stratum in Gaelic toponymy, these often being lexically opaque (Flanagan 1980). In analysis of the Gaelic place-names in the earliest Scottish records, Clancy (2013, 228), noting that there are proportionally few names that fall into this category in Scotland, has posed the question as to whether Gaelic has a shallower time-depth in Scotland than in Ireland, at least in Argyll.

Two simplex names are proposed in Forsa: **Còrrachadh** and ***Teamhair**. **Còrrachadh** applies to the large ruined settlement in Glen Forsa around 4km SSE of the mouth of the River Forsa. Definitive etymological analysis of the name is difficult. Its earliest forms and modern pronunciation are markedly different to the OS Explorer form. The earliest forms highlight two possibilities: a simplex, *Corrach, probably applied in the sense 'marsh, bog, fen' and derived from OG *cuirrech* 'marsh, fen'; or a name formed in G *corr*, a noun and adjective which has a broad semantic range, and the suffix *-ach*, which is probably best translated as 'place' for current purposes (see Còrrachadh in Part Two, below). G *corrach* is recorded in Scottish toponymy carrying the sense 'marsh, bog, fen' but these senses have fallen out of use. Names formed in OG *-ach* are recorded in the earliest stratum of Irish toponymy (Flanagan 1980). Hamp (1974, 260) has described the suffix as having been "moribund and archaic" in OG as a micro-toponymic. Russell (1990, 23) has proposed that in Ireland "derivative adjectives as local names or as part of local names are extremely rare". However, as Clancy (2014) has recently highlighted, this is less true of Gaelic Scotland where names potentially derived from *-ach* are found fairly frequently. Further in-depth local toponymic research will be required to assess how common these names are in the Hebrides. While *corrach* no longer carries the sense 'marsh, bog, fen' in the modern

language, these senses are likely to have been carried by the term until fairly recently, given that the sense 'bog, marsh' is recorded in *Dwelly*. Thus, Còrrachadh is difficult to date.

*__Teamhair__ lies in the southern part of Glen Forsa, 3km SSE of Rhoail. The name is obsolete. A halfpennyland-unit, it is of lesser status than the typical Forsa pennyland. It is of secondary status but there is no evidence in the fiscal evaluation to suggest that it formed part of a larger holding. The original sense of 'sacred place' carried by G *teamhair*, the term proposed to lie behind the simplex, is likely to have been opaque to speakers of OG (see *Teamhair in Part Two, below). However, it developed the figurative sense 'height, eminence, place with a view' and it is applied in this figurative sense elsewhere in Scotland, although the element is rare. *Teamhair could also be a transferred name. If it is a transferred name, or if it was applied in a figurative sense, it could conceivably have been coined in any period before 1494. If it was applied in the sense 'sacred place', relating to a pre-Christian cultic site, it could conceivably be of pre-Christian origin. If there is evidence of a pre-Christian cultic site here, *Teamhair might be categorised as a lexically opaque simplex name. Thus, differing chronologies might be proposed for *Teamhair, given the various circumstances in which it might have been coined.

Gaelic close compounds, in other words names of noun-noun or adjective-noun structure in which specific precedes generic, were productive in the Early Medieval period. This is an atypical syntactic structure in modern Gaelic and involves lenition of the name-final generic which is in the nominative. It is common in Continental Celtic place-names, providing an indication of its chronology. As regards nominal compounds, a later structure is when the generic, a common noun or proper name, is found in name-initial position and is followed by a specific in the genitive, a structure termed noun + defining genitive (Tempan and Drummond 2009). This is the structure proposed in the aforementioned Tomslèibhe (see 5.3.2). Later still are names such as Torlochan in which the genitive article precedes the specific, as its historical forms indicate. As regards adjective-noun compounds, this structure has been replaced by the structure in which the adjective follows the noun and is declined in agreement with it.

The implication is that close compounds are potentially early. As regards their dating, it is worth noting initially the likelihood that that both noun-noun and adjective-noun structures were fatally weakened by the sixth century (Tempan 2009, 75). However, there are a number of reasons why close-compound structures cannot in isolation be considered diagnostic of

date. In relation to adjective-noun compounds, it is clear that in Ireland this structure was still utilised after the OG period (AD 600–900), albeit with a dwindling group of adjectives, chiefly *dubh*, *fionn*, *sean* and *nua* (ibid., 64–5). As in Modern Irish, there are a number of commonly-used adjectives in Gaelic which can or must precede the noun, such as *deagh* 'good, excellent', *droch* 'bad, wicked, evil', *nua(dh)* 'modern, new' and *seann* 'old, aged'. Watson (1904, xli) proposed that the number of preposed adjectives productive in Scottish toponymy is small, each one relating to colour or some other physical feature. Taylor (*PNF5*, 169) has recently proposed within the context of Fife toponymy that adjectives relating to colour and size often precede the noun which they qualify. For example, *fionn* 'white' precedes the noun in all nine or so names in Fife in which it has been identified, with one exception. In the same county, the aforementioned *dubh* 'black, dark' occurs in roughly equal numbers before and after its noun in the identified examples. The implication is that some adjectives, specifically those relating to colour, size or some other physical feature, were and still are apt to be employed in close compounds and that they cannot therefore be diagnostic of date in isolation, despite the weakening of this structure by the sixth century. As regards the chronology of noun-noun compounds, it is possible that this structure never completely died out (Tempan 2009, 76). Moreover, it is often difficult to distinguish between noun-noun compounds and pre-existing compounds, also known as common compound appellatives (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1981, 151; *PNF5*, 168). There is another aspect which should be considered in chronological analysis of close compounds: register. Tempan (2009, 76) has highlighted Caorghleann 'berry-glen' in County Tipperary as one of a number of close compounds which might be best described as "fossilised romantic or poetic names", as opposed to exhibiting the continuation of a "truly productive structure capable of combining a variety of elements in an innovative way". The employment of close compounds in Gaelic place-names may, however, illustrate a more conscious naming process; in other words, a desire on behalf of the namers to use a higher register which was deemed appropriate in place-naming. It may ultimately have developed from perception of local close compounds as archaic, illustrious names. It may have been influenced by Classical poetry in which noun-noun and adjective-noun close compounds, often innovatory ones, are very frequent; in other words, users of the language never stopped being able to create and understand compounds with this syntax. Future systematic analysis of local micro-toponymy may identify lexical and distributive patterns in terms of elements employed in local close compounds. Without the evidence of historical forms from the Early Medieval period, it is difficult to definitively date names of Gaelic origin in isolation. However, analysis of syntactic structure can undoubtedly highlight names of potentially

early date and these names are therefore analysed below within their respective spatial contexts.

Callachally is the name of the modern farm whose lands lie on the west side of the River Forsa at the river-mouth. Callachally is etymologised as G *call* + G *caille* 'Hazel-Wood'. Thus, it is proposed as a name of noun-noun structure in which the word-final generic *caille* is the lenited nominative. Its historical forms suggest *caille* rather than the typical modern form *coille*. OG *caill*, var. *coill* is one of the 10 generics which account for 95% of close-compound place-names in Ireland; species of tree such as hazel are also among the most common specifics (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1981, 159–60). G *calltainn* has replaced OG/MG *call*, var. *coll* as the predominant term for a hazel-tree in the modern language and this term is productive in Forsa's toponymy; e.g. Cnoc Challtainn (NM684315). OG/MG *coll*, the most common form, is found in several compound appellatives. Among these is *coll-choille* (f) 'hazel-wood', recorded, albeit as obsolete, in *Dwelly*. This compound appellative is in fact one of a number of commonly attested pre-existing compound nouns of this type which have as their second element *caille* or *coille*. Comparison may be made with *leamh-choille* 'elm-wood', the pre-existing compound which probably lies behind *Leuchat FIF (NT157828) (*PNF1*, 272–3, and *PNF5*, 168).[60] Gallchoille (NR767903) in North Knapdale ARG is a Scottish toponym which can be directly compared to Callachally (Dr. Peadar Morgan, pers. comm.).[61] Morgan's proposed etymology is G *call* + G *coille*. There is both literary and toponomastic evidence for the compound appellative *coll-chaill* or variants within an Irish context. It is recorded in a hymn to the Blessed Virgin in the dative form *chollcaill* (Strachan 1904) and in the adjectival form *collchailltig* (eDIL s.v. 1 *coll*). Hogan (1910, 151) includes two noteworthy entries, both of which refer to the same piece of *dindshenchas* 'history of notable places (lit. hill-lore), topography, legendary lore' (eDIL s.v. *dind*). In discussing Tara, County Meath, in *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, the poet says "Dobí tan ba coll-chaill cháin" 'There was a time when it was a pleasant hazel-wood' (Gwynn 1991, i 2). In reference to this text, Hogan proposes *coll-chaill* as an alias of Tara but *Locus* follows Gwynn in interpreting the compound as a common appellative (Dr. Kevin

---

[60] See *PNF1* (272–73) for discussion of a name in Dalmeny parish WLO which may have been transferred from Fife.

[61] The head-name and NGR is of the deserted original settlement named on the OS 25 inch map. Gallachoille (NR768899) is signed as a farmhouse but is not included on the modern OS 6 inch map. Discussion of this name is provided with reference to Dr. Peadar Morgan's personal database, with his written permission. Morgan has suggested that Gallochoille (NR653479), the name of a cottage on the island of Gigha ARG, may be a transferred name from North Knapdale.

Murray, pers. comm.).[62] Thus, while Callachally's close-compound structure identifies it as a potentially early settlement-name, its structure cannot in isolation be chronologically diagnostic, given the existence of the compound appellative *coll-choille* and the numerous pre-existing compounds including the same generic.

That said, Callachally's context may be instructive. Within the context of a potential pre-Norse name, it is worth considering the long-cist cemetery of potentially Early Christian date in Cùil Mhurchaidh, a field attached to the modern farm of Callachally (see 1.6.6, above). The medieval parish church of **Pennygown** lies around 1.5km north-east of the modern farmhouse of Callachally (see 1.6.2, above) and there is also a disused burial-ground at **Killbeg**, Callachally's neighbouring settlement to the south, although its chronology is unknown (see 1.6.7, above and Killbeg in Part Two, below). In other words, Callachally certainly lies in the centre of an ecclesiastical landscape and there may have been an Early Christian site in the locality.

It was considering Callachally's context further. The predominant soils in the coastal area around Callachally and neighbouring Pennygown are the same lowland brown earth soils of the Gruline Association found at Gruline and Scallastle (see 1.3, above). The implication is that this area is likely to have long been a centre of settlement and there is toponymic evidence for this in the form of Faoileann na Corraigh (NM586430), a name recorded in OSNB (see Callachally in part Two, below). This name's etymology is G *faoileann* + fem. gen. sing. def. art. *na* + G *corragh*, var. *carragh*, gen. *corraigh* '(The) Coastal Field of the (Undecorated) Monolith'. The referent monolith is no longer in situ and is not recorded in Canmore. There are numerous other local prehistoric monuments (see Callachally in Part Two, below).

In terms of fiscal status, Callachally and Pennygown are consistently recorded as settlements of equal extent at a pennyland/16s 8d. There is no suggestion that these settlement-names apply to divisions of a pre-existing larger holding. However, **Pennygown** is one of the few Gaelic names in the parish whose generic allows close chronological analysis. The name's proposed specific is G *gobha(i)nn* 'smith'. Its proposed generic is G *peighinn* 'penny, pennyland'. Thus, the name is unlikely to have been coined before the second half of the 10th century at the earliest; in other words, subsequent to the local establishment of land-

---

assessment systems based on units relating to the pennyland. On the basis of this fiscal evidence, both Callachally and Pennygown are settlements of primary status. However, the syntactic structure of these names and their component elements allow for the possibility that Callachally was applied to a large local holding in the pre-Norse period and that Pennygown was later applied to a newly-created holding on the east side of the river. Given the component soils of Pennygown, it is unlikely to constitute a secondary settlement created when virgin land was taken into agricultural use.

The etymology of **Killbeg** is pehaps less obvious than the modern form suggests. It may be G *caille* + G *beag* 'Small Wood'. It may thus be a contrastive name, coined with reference to the neighbouring (larger) hazel-wood of Callachally, or another larger wood in the vicinity. However, the generic element may be G *cill* 'church, chapel; burial-ground'. Again, it may be a contrastive name with G *beag* as the specific, perhaps coined in reference to the ecclesiastical site at Pennygown, or the ecclesiastical site at Cùil Mhurchaidh. It need not be a contrastive name at all. A further alternative is that the specific is a hagionym; there are several potential saints who might have been commemorated using the name Béc or Becc (see Killbeg in Part Two, below). Thus, Killbeg's chronology is difficult. In terms of its status, it is consistently valued at a pennyland, identifying it as a settlement of primary status.

These settlement-names of Gaelic origin at the northern end of Glen Forsa should be considered within the context of the settlement-names of *Leth'r Mhuileach, Forsa's coastal strip. Each of these names is of proposed Gaelic origin, Scallastle excepted. Each is also valued at a pennyland/16s 8d in the earliest fiscal sources. There is no indication that the settlements of *Leth'r Mhuileach were of anything other than primary status. Among the settlement-names of *Leth'r Mhuileach are two proposed close compounds: **Garmony** and **Fishnish**.

Garmony is of proposed adjective-noun structure. An existing name of identical etymology is proposed in Garmonyreoch in Moloros. The proposed name-initial element in Garmony and in the existing name in Garmonyreoch is G *garbh*, an adjective derived from OG *garb* 'rough, rugged, coarse; rude, harsh (of physical and moral qualities)' (eDIL s.v. 1 *garb*). G *garbh* and Irish *garbh* are common in adjective-noun close compounds (Ó Maolalaigh 2003, esp. 211–12; Tempan 2009, 73; Drummond 2009, 55). The compound 'Garbh-Allt', translated as "rough stream", is recurrent in Scottish toponymy (Drummond 2009, 55) and G *druim*, a common generic in Scottish close compounds, is usually compounded with an

adjective of colour, or with *garbh* (Tempan 2009, 73). Ó Maolalaigh (2003, 211–12) has demonstrated that *garbh* is much more frequently combined with generics relating to land than to water and has proposed, on this basis, that *garbh* came to describe water features through analogy with its use in describing the landscape. Ó Maolalaigh's proposal (ibid., 211) is that this development may have occurred in Scotland after G *al(l)t* came to refer to a stream, this element having originally denoted a 'height'or 'cliff' (eDIL s.v. 2 *alt, allt*). However, Ó Maolalaigh (ibid., 211) has noted that *garbh* is also found as a simplex in river-names and the proposal is that, in these instances, *garbh* may refer to the sound of the river. Within the context of hydronyms, it is worth noting that OG *garb*, a variant of *gairb*, is recorded as a noun defined as 'a torrent' (eDIL s.v. 2 *garb* and *gairb*; also Ó Maolalaigh 2003, 238, n. 68).

As regards the sense carried by G *garbh* in place-names relating to the landscape, Ó Maolalaigh (2003, 212) has demonstrated that in certain names it undoubtedly refers to infertile, unproductive land and that it is an appropriate adjective in describing an uneven, rough landscape, especially ground which is rocky and stony. While these senses may lie behind the adjective's application in Garbh Fhaoileann (NM605432), a subdivision of Pennygown, it may alternatively be applied in Garbh Fhaoileann and in Garmony as 'broad, thick, large' (see Garmony in Part Two, below).[63]

It is worth noting here that in Mull, a preliminary survey of the names in which G *garbh* is recorded in the parish highlights that seven of 10 (70%) of these names are close compounds. The adjective is found in a number of commonly-used compound appellatives in Gaelic: e.g. *garbh-fhras* is 'a boisterous shower'; *garbh-shian* is 'rough weather'; *garbhshlios* is 'a rough side of a hill'; *garbh-thonn* is 'a rough wave' (*Mac Eachainn*). The term is clearly one of the adjectives in the modern language which can prepose the noun it qualifies. That said, the presence of *garbh* in three names of noun + declined adjective type in the parish could suggest that the seven names in which the element is preposed belong to an earlier stratum of naming in the parish than those in which it is postposed.

As regards Garmony's agricultural capability, its predominant coastal soils are the aforementioned brown earth soils of the Gruline Association (see 1.3) and Garmony has undoubtedly long been a settlement-centre. While these coastal soils would probably have

---

[63] Garbh Fhaoileann is not recorded on OS Explorer but is recorded in OSNB and on earlier OS maps.

supported arable farming as they did elsewhere in Forsa, G *mòine*, Garmony's generic, may indicate that parts of the holding were utilised for the extraction of peat (see Garmony in Part Two, below). Garmony's status as a valuable holding is corroborated by the nearby dun or fort likely to have been constructed in the Iron Age. Dùn Earba (NM676401) lies 760m ESE of Garmony farmhouse and encloses an area of 26m by 12m (Canmore ID 22457). Although G *dùn* has developed a series of secondary meanings such as 'hill, heap, tower', the name clearly applies to the dun or fort. G *dùn* is derived from OG *dún*, primarily defined as '(high-status) fort'. On the basis of the OS form, Dùn Earba's specific is G *earb* (f), gen. *earba*, typically defined as 'roe deer' (Taylor 2005, 21). The OG term from which this term is derived, OG *erp*, var. *eirp* and *erb*, is more broadly defined as 'she-goat; doe; roe' (eDIL s.v. *erp, eirp, erb*). Dùn Earba's specific is probably better defined more loosely in these OG senses, given the possibility that the name was coined in the Early Medieval period. In other words, Dùn Earba may be the pre-Norse name of this feature. Without dateable archaeology, it is not possible to say whether or not Dùn Earba was still occupied at the beginning of the Norse period, or through the early Norse period. However, it is worth drawing a comparison with the west coast of Kintyre where Jennings has proposed continuity from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period on the basis of the surviving local *dùn*-names (see 4.9.1, above). If Dùn Earba is accepted as a pre-Norse coinage, the implication is that the name was perpetuated locally by a pre-existing Gaelic-speaking population. The potential for toponymic continuity here must be considered within the context of Scallastle, however, where ON-speakers renamed the most valuable settlement in south-east Forsa. Scallastle lies around 3km south-east of Dùn Earba. Norse appropriation of the most valuable local settlement suggests Norse hegemony during a period of Forsa's history and it may be that the survival of Dùn Earba as the name of a pre-Norse power-centre does not require the power-centre to have been occupied into the Norse period. Garmony's close-compound structure is not chronologically diagnostic in isolation but, given the possibility for toponymic continuity from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period in the form of Dùn Earba, Garmony could conceivably be a settlement-name of pre-Norse date. Its syntactic structure does not rule this out. Both Dùn Earba and Garmony should also be considered within the context of Lag na Cille (NM670406), a nearby ecclesiastical site whose chronology is uncertain (see 1.6.9, above).

Within the context of potential continuity in this part of Forsa, it is worth drawing attention to Dùn da Ghaoithe (NM672362; 766m), one of the chain of hills which separates the settlements of *Leth'r Muileach from the settlements of Glen Forsa. This name is one of a handful of potentially early toponyms discussed by Ó Maolalaigh (1998, 20) which might

include the OG genitive definite articles *inda* and *ind*. Ó Maolalaigh etymologises this name as either **Dùn inda gaoithe* (sing.) or **Dùn inda gaoth* (pl.) '(The) Hill of the Wind(s)' (cf. Maclean 1997, 54; MacNab, 2007, 25). The earliest forms may be Blaeu's *Bin Dountagek* (Blaeu (Pont) Mull) and *Bin Dountagch* (Blaeu (Pont) Lorn), in which the existing name follows G *beinn* (f) '(high) hill, mountain'. It is interesting to compare application of G *dùn* in its secondary sense 'hill' in Dùn da Ghaoithe with its application as '(high-status) fort' in nearby Dùn Earba.

The medieval settlement situated immediately to the north of Garmony was **Leth Thorcaill**. The settlement-name is recorded on the OS 6 inch 1st edition map but is not recorded on OS Explorer. Its etymology is difficult, given significant variance in the historical forms, but the earliest of these suggest that the initial element is G *leac* 'flagstone, slab, flat stone'. The eponymous *leac* may have had a specifically Christian function and it is worth noting Leth Thorcaill's proximity to the aforementioned Lag na Cille (see 1.6.9, above). Leth Thorcaill's specific is difficult.

Leth Thorcaill is one of two medieval settlements on what is locally referred to as the Fishnish Peninsula. This SSE/English name is not recorded in OS sources but it explicitly indicates local perception of the feature defined on the west by Fishnish Bay as a peninsula. Application of G *innis* as 'peninsula, headland' is proposed in Fishnish, the other settlement on the peninsula. Fishnish is a proposed noun-noun compound of Gaelic origin. The proposed specific is G *foinnse* 'ash-tree'. These elements are discussed below (see Fishnish in Part Two) but it is worth discussing G *innis* here within the context of other close compounds. G *innis*, like *caille*, the proposed generic in Callachally, is among the 10 predominant Irish close-compound generics (Tempan 2009, 154), although it is interesting to note that neither is included among the common close-compound generics identified by Tempan in Scotland (ibid., 73). Clancy's analysis of the Gaelic place-names in the earliest Scottish records suggests that *innis* is more common than Tempan has suggested (Clancy 2013). As is highlighted above in analysis of Callachally, species of tree are often identified as the specifics in Irish noun-noun close compounds (Mac Giolla Easpaig 1981, 159–60). Mac Giolla Easpaig (ibid., 154) has proposed OG *inis*, which he defines as 'island', as one of the most common generics in these compounds: e.g. *Dairinis* 'oak-island'; *Beithinis* 'birch-island'; *Eoinis* 'yew-island'. There are Scottish examples with which these can be compared. Watson's interpretation of Farness in the Black Isle ROS was *Fearninnis*,

translated as "Alder Haugh" and etymologised as G *feàrn(a)* + *innis* (1907, 241).[64] Selvage FIF, which survives in two modern street-names in Rosyth, may be "Willow(y) meadow or haugh" from G *seileach* + *innis*, although Taylor (*PNF1*, 386) notes G *salach* 'dirty' as an alternative for the specific. Thus, there is substantial comparative evidence for the coining of a name in G *foinnse* + G *innis*. There is little evidence, however, to suggest that this was a common compound appellative like *call-chaille*. Fishnish, if an etymology of G *foinnse* + *innis* is accepted, could be a noun-noun close compound of early date.

Both Fishnish and Leth Thorcaill are consistently valued at a pennyland and there is no evidence in the earliest fiscal evaluation that they were anything other than primary settlements of equal extent. However, it is easy to imagine the peninsula here having being considered as a single settlement-unit in the period which predates the known fiscal sources; in other words, Fishnish could conceivably be the name of a pre-existing holding subsequently retained by one of the two holdings formed after subdivision. This is necessarily speculative on the basis of the available fiscal sources. The situation of Fishnish and Leth Thorcaill may in this way be compared to that of Callachally and Pennygown.

The other settlement-name of *Leth'r Mhuileach recorded in the earliest fiscal sources is **Leiter**, situated on the Sound of Mull coastline between Fishnish and Pennygown. Although it is a simplex in its modern form, formed in G *leitir* 'slope', its historical forms illustrate that it previously contained an existing name as its specific. The suggested existing name is *Àrd nan Crèil or *Àird(e) nan Crèil, probably best translated as '(The) Height of the Creel(s)'. It includes the definite article and current evidence suggests that it is therefore unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century (see 5.3.2, above).

In summary, the earliest fiscal evaluation of Forsa records a chain of settlement-names of proposed Gaelic origin along the Sound of Mull coastline to the north-west of Scallastle. There is also a cluster of Gaelic settlement-names at the northern end of Glen Forsa. *Teamhair is an outlying Gaelic name in southern Glen Forsa. Tomslèibhe and Torlochan are probably secondary settlement-names of relatively recent date. It may be significant that there are no ON settlement-names in the vicinity of the ecclesiastical sites of Lag na Cille and (perhaps) Leth Thorcaill, or in the vicinity of Cùil Mhurchaidh, Killbeg and Pennygown. As yet, we do not know the chronology of these sites and they could conceivably all have

---

[64] Watson (1904, 125) had previously interpreted the name as G *feàrn(a)* + *-ais*, translated as "place of alders".

been established after the beginning of the Norse period but the potential for ecclesiastical continuity from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period in these areas should be considered within the context of contemporary continuity in nearby Iona (see 4.3, above). It is important to note that eight of the 11 (73%) of the settlement-names of Gaelic origin apply to settlements of primary status. If these names do provide evidence for the survival of Gaelic-speaking communities, the implication is that these communities were not marginalised, despite the explicit evidence in the form of Gruline and Scallastle that ON-speakers appropriated the most valuable settlements in the district and settled both in Glen Forsa and at the head of Loch na Keal. The evidence presented in the settlement-names of the earliest fiscal sources at least is that Norse settlement in Forsa was clustered and that it occurred in and around Gaelic-speaking communities.

Map 11. The Gaelic settlement-names of Forsa (certain and probable).

5.4 Moloros

Settlement-Name	1494 Extent	1509 Extent	Proposed Language of Origin	Generic	Specific
*Aon Stapall		8s 4d	ON	'inner pillar / raised platform'	none
Ardnasalyne #	pennyland		G	'height' or 'promontory / eminence'	'willows; beams'
Barachandroman	halfpennyland	8s 4d	G	'rocky prominence'	'single small ridge'
Cameron	pennyland	8s 4d	G	'nose' or 'portion'	'crooked'
Cowillay #	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'club'	none
Croggan		33s 4d (two parts: 16s 4d + 16s 4d)	G	'hand / paw / claw / fist'	none
Crosta #	halfpennyland	8s 4d	ON	'stead' or 'harbour'	'cross'
Derrynaculen	halfpennyland	8s 4d	G	'grove / thicket'	'clubs'
*Dibidil (now Glenlibidil)	pennyland (with *Dìosgaig)	8s 4d	ON	'dale'	'deep'
*Dìosgaig	pennyland (with *Dibidil)	8s 4d	ON	'shank (of land)'	'bog / quagmire'
Drimnatain	pennyland		G	'ridge'	'dwellings'
Garmonyreoch	halfpennyland	8s 4d	G	'peat-moss / moor'	'rough / broad'
Glenbyre	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'glen'	'point / pinnacle'
Iaradail	halfpennyland	8s 4d	ON	'dale'	'gravel'
Inagart	halfpennyland	8s 4d	G or ON	'farm / enclosure'	'precipice'
Kinlochspelve	pennyland	16s 8d	G	'head / end'	(G) en Loch Spelve
Laggan	2 pennylands	33s 4d	G	'monastery / monastic site'	none
Moy	pennyland	16s 4d	G	'plain'	none
Rossal	pennyland	16s 4d	ON	'field(s)'	'horse / mare'

Table 4. The settlement-names of Moloros.
All of the information in the table is included in entries for individual names in Part Two, including full details on the sources for the earliest forms. Colours are used to indicate the level of confidence in proposed etymologies.
The colour code is as follows: certain; probable; maybe.

5.4.1 Linguistic Origins

Of the 19 settlement-names recorded in the earliest two fiscal sources, six (32%) are considered to be of certain or probable ON origin. Inagart's linguistic origin is ambiguous. Thus, 12 names (63%) are considered to be of certain or probable Gaelic origin. The distribution of proposed ON names in Moloros and the implications of the fiscal sources for inter-settlement relationships mean that analysis of Moloros is best presented geographically, rather than linguistically.

5.4.2 Fiscal Evaluation

It is initially important to highlight that there are significant differences between the 1494 and 1509 sources for Moloros. *ER* 1509 records three medieval settlement-names not recorded in 1494. **Croggan** is recorded in two parts, *Croggan Mòr (*Croganemoir*) and *Croggan Beag (*Croganebeg*), with the Gaelic suffixes *mòr* 'big' and *beag* 'small'. The third is ***Aon Stapall**. **Croggan** is now the name applied to the small village at the mouth of Loch Spelve, the biggest modern settlement on the shores of this sea-loch. In 1509, *Croggan Mòr and *Croggan Beag are each valued at 16s 8d. The implication is that the combined extent of this unit was 33s 4d, i.e. two pennylands. An apparent exception in the fiscal evaluation is **Cameron**, which is valued at a pennyland in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* but as 8s 4d, the equivalent of a halfpennyland, in *ER*. This anomaly is explained by the presence of ***Aon Stapall** in 1509. The fiscal evidence confirms that *Aon Stapall was applied to lands incorporated within the holding of Cameron in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* (see also LAS, 'South Mull Table'). Thus, the situation of Cameron and *Aon Stapall is comparable to that of Gruline and Torlochan in Forsa, although their respective values vary (see 5.3.2, above). While Torlochan survives as a modern settlement-name, *Aon Stapall is preserved only as an existing name in Druim an Aon Stapuill (NM603248), a name which is itself only recorded in the historical OS sources.[65]

Returning to **Croggan**, the fiscal evidence suggests that the two parts referred to as *Croggan Mòr and *Croggan Beag in *ER* are those named Ardnasalyne # and Drimnatain respectively in the other fiscal sources. Ardnasalyne # and Drimnatain are each consistently valued at a pennyland and neither is recorded in *ER*. *Croggan Mòr and *Croggan Beag are each valued at 16s 8d, i.e. a pennyland, in *ER*, as is highlighted above. In relation to the longevity of these medieval settlement-names, it is interesting to note that Croggan, the name recorded

---

[65] Modern orthographic conventions necessitate *stapall* rather than *stapull*; *stapuill*, now *stapaill*, is the gen. form.

in *ER*, is the name which survives as the principal modern settlement-name in the locality. Croggan's longevity is contrasted by the obsolescence of Ardnasalyne #.

Within the context of fiscal evaluation it is also worth noting that the lands of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig are consistently recorded together as one pennyland in the earliest fiscal sources, with the exception of *ER*, in which there is no indication of a fiscal link between the two. The implication of the other sources is that the holdings were contiguous.

5.4.3 Analysis

Some analysis of **Rossal** is provided in discussion of Rhoail in Forsa (see 5.3.2, above). Both settlement-names are etymologised as 'Horse-/Mare-Field(s)' and are proposed to have been applied by ON-speakers to settlements primarily associated with horse-rearing. As is highlighted above, the earliest fiscal sources identify Rossal as a settlement of primary status at a pennyland/16s 4d and there is no evidence that its lands ever formed part of a larger holding. Thus, it is closely comparable to Rhoail: an ON name bearing a habitative generic applied to a settlement of primary status.

Rossal is geographically isolated within fiscal evaluation of Moloros. It is separated from the settlements around Loch Buie by around 6km and mountainous terrain which includes Beinn na Croise (NM559251; 503m). Its nearest neighbouring settlement is the halfpennyland of **Derrynaculen** around 2.5km to the north-east. Derrynaculen is a name of Gaelic origin probably best translated as '(The) Grove of the Clubs'. Its proposed specific is *cuaillean*, the genitive plural form of *cuaille*, a noun probably best translated as 'club'. It is an important name in that, if this etymology is accepted, it represents one of the earliest attestations of the plural marker *-(e)an* in Scottish Gaelic (see Watson 1927, 270–71; Ó Maolalaigh, forthcoming). This plural marker is proposed to be recorded in two other settlement-names in Moloros in the same 1494 charter.[66] G *cuaille* is productive elsewhere in Mull toponymy. It is recorded in Doire na Cuaille KKE (NM466504) in north Mull and it is proposed in Cowillay #, another medieval settlement of Moloros (see Cowillay # and Derrynaculen in Part Two, below). Derrynaculen includes the definite article and current evidence suggests that it is therefore unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century (see 5.3.2, above). Derrynaculen's extent identifies it as a settlement of secondary

---

[66] See Ardnasalyne # and Drimnatain, below, and especially Ardnasalyne # in Part Two.

status but there is no suggestion in the fiscal sources that it was created through subdivision of a pre-existing holding.

Rossal and Derrynaculen are isolated within the context of Moloros but they are not isolated when the settlements of the neighbouring districts of Brolass and Ardmeanach around the head of Loch Scridain are considered. Detailed analysis of these settlements is outwith the scope of this study but a general overview of their relative extents and their linguistic origins is important in analysis of Rossal's status in the Norse period. There are two names in the vicinity which may contain an ON topographical generic, namely ON *nes* 'ness, headland'. *Skaylinis is the existing name which forms the specific of Ardskaylinis #, a name which appears to be recorded only once, in the district of Brolass, in 1509 (NRS E38/339; see also *ER* xiii 214). It is probably an older name for Aird of Kinloch (NM528285), the peninsular promontory which extends into Loch Scridain around 1km WNW of Rossal Farm (see also LAS, 'South Mull Table' s.v. 'Glen Leidle & Ardskaylinis'). Ardvergnish (NM538295) lies around 1.5km NNW of Rossal across the wetlands of An Leth Fhonn, literally 'The Half Land', at the head of Loch Scridain in the district of Ardmeanach. Ardvergnish, like Ardskaylinis #, is a Gaelic coinage incorporating an existing name as its specific. Significant variation in its historical forms makes definitive etymological analysis difficult. The name-initial element in both Ardskaylinis # and Ardvergnish is probably G *àird* 'height, promontory'. While ON *nes* is an attractive candidate for the name-final generic in both existing names, the historical forms identify G *innis* as an alternative; both elements could certainly be applied in the sense 'promontory'. There are Gaelic elements which might be proposed for the specifics in both existing names and further engagement with the available historical forms will be required to produce definitive etymological analysis.

Further analysis of settlement around the head of Loch Scridain will necessarily investigate the possibility that one or both of these settlement-names contains an existing name including ON *nes* and that one or both represents a primary Norse settlement at the head of this sea-loch. Rossal, an ON name with a habitative generic, could conceivably have been a name applied subsequently to a secondary settlement. However, to return to Late Medieval fiscal evaluation, there is no indication that Rossal was of lower status than neighbouring settlements. Ardvergnish is consistently valued, as Rossal is, at a pennyland/16s 8d (e.g. 1509 NRS E38/339; 1510 *RMS* ii no. 3440). The lands of Ardskaylinis # appear to be of lesser extent, given that the lands of both Glen Leidle (*Glenledill*; NM532242) and Ardskaylinis # combined are valued at 16s 8d in 1509 (NRS E38/339). *Leidle, the existing

name in Glen Leidle, is likely to include ON *dal(r)* 'dale, valley' as its generic. The referent of this ON generic is likely to be the same as that of G *gleann* 'glen, (deep) valley', the generic in the later Gaelic coinage. Thus, *Leidle should also be considered among the ON names of the wider area around Loch Scridain.

Thus, the fiscal evidence, when considered alongside analysis of ON settlement-names in Forsa, highlights the possibility that Rossal, an ON name bearing a habitative generic, was applied to a primary settlement. The alternative is that the Late Medieval fiscal sources mask Rossal's original secondary status. If Rossal originally applied to a settlement which was formed after division of a larger holding in this area, this is not visible in the extant fiscal sources.

Rossal is likely to have long been a settlement-centre because of its component brown-earth soils of the Gruline Association (see 1.3, above). This is confirmed in local archaeology. There was probably a secular power-centre in the vicinity of Rossal in the Early Medieval period. It may have been occupied when ON-speakers first arrived in the area. Sean Dùn (NM533279) lies around 800m west of Rossal Farm (Canmore ID 22212). The name is probably best translated as 'Old Fort'. Sean Dùn has clearly replaced an earlier name and, within the context of significant local Norse settlement, it might be suggested that the dun was abandoned after the arrival of ON-speaking settlers. Alternatively, it may have been Sean Dùn before the beginning of the Norse period. It is worth comparing this name with Dùn Earba in Forsa whose context highlights the possibility that it is a pre-Norse survival (see 5.3.3, above). The chronology of the unnamed burial-ground a little over 300m NNW of Sean Dùn is unknown (see 1.6.12, above).

While there is toponymic evidence to support ethnolinguistic continuity in *Leth'r Mhuileach in Forsa, it is difficult to imagine the continued hegemony of a pre-existing Gaelic-speaking élite in the area around the head of Loch Scridain, in light of Rossal and the other certain and probable ON settlement-names of the earliest fiscal sources. It may be significant that neither the earlier name of Sean Dùn nor the ecclesiastical site near Rossal has survived. The toponymic evidence clearly indicates the presence of a resident ON user-group around the head of Loch Scridain. This user-group was responsible for coining Rossal, *Leidle and perhaps also the existing names in Ardskaylinis # and Ardvergnish.

There is also evidence for an ON user-group along the south coast of Moloros, both on the peninsula between Loch Spelve and Loch Buie to which this district-name might originally have referred (see 5.2.4, above) and around Loch Buie. Two settlement-names on the peninsula contain ON *dal(r)* 'dale, valley' as their generic: **Iaradail**, proposed as *Jǫrfadal 'Gravel-Dale'; and ***Dibidil**, proposed as *Djúpadal 'Deep Dale'. Iaradail is not recorded on OS Explorer but it is preserved on the historical OS maps. *Dibidil is the preferred form of the latter because it best represents the medieval settlement-name. It is represented on the modern map in the form *Libidil, the existing name in Glenlibidil (NM667223). The generic in Glenlibidil is G *gleann* 'glen, (deep) valley'. Both *gleann* and *dal(r)* refer to the same feature, as they do in the aforementioned Glen Leidle. The development from *Dibidil to Glenlibidil is analysed below (see *Dibidil in Part Two, below). In the fiscal sources, Iaradail and *Dibidil are valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d. The settlements are of secondary status and this is supported by local soil analysis.

With the exception of *ER* 1509, *Dibidil is consistently recorded with ***Dìosgaig** in the earliest fiscal sources, as is highlighted above (see 5.4.2). The fiscal sources indicate that *Dìosgaig was also of halfpennyland/8s 4d extent. *Dìosgaig is the existing name which forms the specific of Abhainn Dìosgaig (NM624240). The low status of *Dìosgaig is explicit in its fiscal extent and this is further illustrated by comparison with the two-pennyland/33s 4d extent recorded for the neighbouring settlement of **Laggan**. Laggan was the most valuable medieval settlement in Moloros. It is the only settlement to be consistently valued at this extent. Its component soils are the same lowland brown earths of the Gruline Association which offer arable elsewhere in the parish (see 1.3, above). Laggan is of Gaelic origin. While it could be a topographical name formed in G *lag* 'hollow, cavity' (*Mac Eachainn*), or the derived diminutive *lagan* 'little hollow/cavity', the preferred etymology is OG *locán*, a term defined as 'dwelling-place; monastery, monastic site; little hollow' (eDIL s.v *locán*; see also Clancy 2016). The proposal is that this element was specifically applied to an ecclesiastical site. Importantly, in relation to this name's chronology, Laggan is the site of a medieval parish church, features of which are incorporated within Caibeal Mheomhair (NM626236; see also 1.6.5, above), and there is good evidence for an Early Christian site at the head of Loch Buie. St Cainnech was commemorated at Laggan and this saint may also be commemorated in the name Airigh Choinnich (NM663240). This Gaelic name is best translated as 'Coinneach's Shieling'. Its generic, G *àirigh* 'summer pasture, shieling', is discussed above (see 5.3.2). Airigh Choinnich is clearly of Gaelic origin. The specific, Coinneach, need not be a hagionym but it is the standardised form of Cainnech in

modern Gaelic and is recorded in *cill*-names commemorating this saint (see 1.6.5, above). Airigh Choinnich lies around 3.7km ENE of Laggan Farm and around 1.6km north of the ruined settlement of *Dibidil. Barachandroman, the medieval settlement on the isthmus between Loch Uisg and Loch Spelve, lies a similar distance to *Dibidil from this shieling but local terrain makes it likely that Airigh Choinnich was part of the agricultural landscape of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig. Thus, a transhumant name of Gaelic origin is linked to settlements bearing ON names, as well as to the ecclesiastical site of Laggan. The evidence supports an identification of Airigh Choinnich as a probable hagiotoponym. G *àirigh* appears to be a productive element in hagiotoponymy (see, for example, DoSH, 'Airyolland, Mochrum' and 'Airigh Mhuire, Lochs (Shiant Islands)').

This toponymic and fiscal evidence has significant implications. Laggan, the principal settlement in Moloros, is of Gaelic origin. The medieval parish church here is likely to reflect continuity in terms of this area at the head of Loch Buie being an ecclesiastical centre from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period and beyond (see 1.6.5, above) and the settlement-name could conceivably have been coined in the Early Medieval period. Airigh Choinnich is probably a hagiotoponym and it appears likely to have comprised part of the wider agricultural landscape of Laggan and its church. The settlements of low fiscal status bearing ON names in the locality also appear likely to have comprised part of this ecclesiastical landscape, given that Airigh Choinnich is most likely to have been utilised by those farming in *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig. *Dìosgaig is proposed as either ON *Dý-skika or *Dýs-skika, both probably best translated as 'Shank of Land of/at the Bog/Quagmire'. As is highlighted above (see 5.4.2), *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig are explicitly linked in the fiscal sources and *Dìosgaig, given its proximity to Laggan and the relative extents of the settlements, appears likely to have been a secondary settlement created through subdivision of Laggan. Thus, there is evidence to support the proposal that the lands of *Dìosgaig and *Dibidil were at one time part of a larger Church-estate to which the name Laggan might conceivably have applied from the Early Medieval period. It is worth noting at this point that Johnston (1990, 221) noted a correlation between the distinct geographical districts in Mull and the oldest parochial divisions, indicating the need for further exploration "of the degree to which the presence of the early Christian church on the island, and the continuing presence of ecclesiastical estates, influenced or has helped to preserve these divisions." Johnston (ibid., 221) noted that many of the primary settlements in Mull show a correlation with Early Christian sites, citing examples furth of Torosay parish. Johnston's proposals regarding other districts in Mull will be subject to systematic analysis of the earliest

historical forms but there is some evidence in the form of Laggan to support the continuing presence of a local ecclesiastical estate through the Norse period. Local Norse settlement is confirmed by names such as *Dibidil, *Dìosgaig and Iaradail.

In relation to Church tenure of local lands, there is explicit evidence that Iaradail belonged to the Church in the early 16th century, albeit to the parish church of Killean in the district of Torosay to the north-east. *ER* 1509 records that Iaradail was mortified to the church of St John the Evangelist (see 1.6.13, above). Iaradail's extent identifies it as settlement of secondary status and it could conceivably have been part of the Church-estate of Laggan in the period which precedes the known fiscal sources; *ER* would thus indicate continuity at least in that Iaradail was still held by the local Church. It is worth noting that Iaradail lies around 5.3km east of Laggan and around 6km south-west of Killean across the mouth of Loch Spelve.

The Late Medieval fiscal sources suggest that Norse settlement in Moloros differed from that in Forsa. In Forsa, the principal settlements of Gruline and Scallastle bear ON names, whereas Laggan, the most valuable settlement of Moloros, bears a Gaelic name. The three other proposed ON settlement-names of Forsa are attached to settlements of primary status but *Dibidil, *Dìosgaig and Iaradail apply to settlements of low status. These differences might be explained by the status of the local Church in Moloros. It might be explained by the relatively low status of the ON-speakers who settled locally. One possible settlement-model is that the local Church granted land to ON-speakers in return for patronage of the local ecclesiastical foundation and its saint, Cainnech. The strength of the link between the Church and local settlements may have played a crucial role in defining the cultural and linguistic alignment of the settlements' inhabitants. Airigh Choinnich is a name of particular interest in local societal analysis. This transhumant name is of Gaelic origin but settlements to which it was probably linked bear ON names. The transhumant name could conceivably have been coined at any time up to its first recording and this is a difficulty when analysing minor names not recorded in the earliest fiscal sources. It might be a relatively recent coinage. On the other hand, it could predate the Norse period. It might even have been coined by a Gaelicised community of ultimately Norse origin who had settled locally, perhaps with the blessing of the local Church. In other words, these settlers may have chosen to name the transhumant site linked to their settlements in Gaelic, after naming their settlements in ON. The situation of *Dibidil, *Dìosgaig and Airigh Choinnich provides a

potential contrast with the possible *ærgi*-name in Glen Forsa (see 5.2.2, above). The key factor may have been the sway held by the local Church at Laggan.

In terms of local secular power-centres, Moy Castle (NM616247), located around 1.5km north-west of Caibeal Mheomhair, was certainly the Late Medieval power-centre, having been the seat of Maclean of Lochbuie. However, the castle does not appear to have been built on the site of an earlier power-centre (Thomas 2008, 115; Canmore ID 22392). The predominant secular Early Medieval power-centre appears to have been the dun named Dùnan Mòr (NM625234) in the OS record. It lies just 160m south-west of Caibeal Mheomhair. Roughly sub-rectangular in plan, it measures about 17m from north-east to south-west by 14m transversely (Canmore ID 22399). Its etymology is G *dùnan* 'small fort' + G *mòr* 'big'. In the pre-Norse period, there is likely to have been a relationship between the local ecclesiastical site at which the Early Christian cross-incised stone once stood and this dun. Thomas (2008, 358) has highlighted the proximity of Laggan and Dùnan Mòr, noting the similarly close spatial relationship between ecclesiastical and secular power-centres of the medieval period throughout Mull and in Skye. The situation of Dùnan Mòr in the Norse period cannot be evaluated without further archaeological analysis and, while ecclesiastical continuity at Laggan is suggested, this dun may but need not have continued to function as the residence of a Gaelic-speaking élite.

There is also clear toponymic evidence for a resident ON-speaking population to the west along the shoreline of Loch Buie. ***Aon Stapall** is proposed to be a Gaelic reinterpretation of an original ON topographical name *Inn-Stǫpul, probably best translated as 'Inner Pillar/Raised Platform'. Its 8s 4d extent and its appearance only in *ER* 1509 among the earliest fiscal sources have been discussed (see 5.4.2, above). *Aon Stapall, like *Dibidil, Dìosgaig and Iaradail, is a settlement bearing an ON name of low fiscal status.

Cameron is proposed as an adjective-noun close compound. Its specific is G *cam* 'crooked'. G *cam* or its Pictish cognate *cam are proposed or suggested in seven Fife place-names and the likelihood is that some of these names are of Early Medieval date. In Fife, these adjectives are always preposed (*PNF5*, 320). However, G *cam*, like the aforementioned G *garbh* (see 5.2, above), is found in several compound appellatives in the modern language and with *sròn* 'nose' in the common personal name Cameron, literally 'crooked nose' (see Cameron in Part Two, below). G *sròn* may be the generic in Cameron in Moloros and the personal name makes it unlikely that G *cam* would be post-posed in a compound with G

sròn. An alternative generic is G *roinn* 'division, share, portion'. Whatever the generic, it is very difficult to provide Cameron with a definitive chronology.

We cannot be sure about the relationship between **Cameron** and *Aon Stapall in the period which precedes the earliest fiscal sources or in the Norse period, when *Aon Stapall was coined, but both *Aon Stapall and Cameron should be discussed within the context of **Moy**. Moy is consistently valued at a pennyland/16s 8d in the fiscal sources. To put the spatial relationship into perspective, Moy Castle lies less than 1.5km east of Druim an Aon Stapuill (NM603248), the Gaelic coinage which incorporates *Aon Stapall as its existing name. The plain of Moy extends to within a few hundred metres of Cameron and *Aon Stapall. Moy is a simplex of Gaelic origin. The underlying form is proposed to be *Moigh, a dative form of the generic whose standardised modern form is *magh* 'field, level country, plain'. Simplex names are difficult to date and Moy could conceivably have been coined at any point before 1494. Mac Mathúna (2004, 151) has highlighted that the element continued quite strongly into the earlier part of the Modern Irish period, i.e. from around AD 1200 on. Indeed, it tended to be used in the dat. sing. cases *maigh* or *muigh* as the Modern Irish period progressed from *c.*1200, "both as a free lexeme and as a place-name element" (ibid., 151). However, Moy could conceivably be a pre-Norse survival. OG *mag* was a productive element in Ireland in the Early Medieval period. Charles-Edwards (2000, 13) has proposed that it was applied to "areas of well-cultivated land" which were contrasted with mountain, bog or woodland and formed the core of small kingdoms or *túatha* (see also Mac Mathúna 2004, 156). Adomnán also provides explicit evidence in *VC* that OG *mag* was a productive element in the Hebrides in the Early Medieval period. Mag Lunge in Tiree is identified as the most important daughter house of Iona in the Hebrides (Sharpe 1995, 21; also Clancy 2013, 241). Moy could have been applied to the central cultivated area and focal point of a local Early Medieval polity, perhaps one whose main power-centre was the aforementioned Dùnan Mòr.

There may be support for an early chronology for Moy in the form of Loch Buie and Ben Buie. There is strong evidence to suggest that the specific in each of these names is a genitive form of G *magh*, or Moy, as an existing name (see Moy in Part Two, below). Thus, Moy may have originally applied to a much larger area around the head of Loch Buie. Both Cameron and *Aon Stapall may have been secondary settlements created upon subdivision of the original holding of Moy. Moy might even have applied to an area incorporating Laggan and Dìosgaig. This would not preclude Laggan being a pre-Norse coinage, however.

If Moy and/or Laggan are pre-Norse survivals, their persistence must be considered within the context of significant local Norse settlement.

There is one other settlement-name of certain ON origin in the earliest fiscal evaluation of Moloros to the west of Moy, Cameron and *Aon Stapall. **Crosta #** is consistently valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d. It is another settlement of secondary status. Its proposed generic is either ON *staðir*, a plural noun perhaps best defined as 'stead' in the sense 'place; a property or estate in land; a farm' (OED s.v. *stead*, n. II 2 and 6), or ON *stǫð*, probably best defined as 'landing-place'. As regards ON *staðir*, there is disagreement as to the specific application of this element, the status of settlements to which this element was applied and the chronology of *staðir*-names in different areas. The specific local application of element is discussed in more detail in Part Two but it is worth addressing status and chronology here. Nicolaisen's proposal was that *staðir* represents the extent of Norse settlement within the first generation or two of settlers from Norway (1969, 9–11 and map 1; also Nicolaisen 2001, 116). The generic became extremely common in Iceland, however, and this chronological explanation is now considered untenable (Fellows-Jensen 1987, 44; Jennings 1993, 11). In Iceland, *staðir*-farms appear to have been dependent farms of comparatively low status (Fellows-Jensen 1987, 44). Fellows-Jensen (1984, 159; 1987, 56) has proposed the likelihood that *staðir* denotes some kind of secondary settlement applied, in Norse colonies, to settlements detached from, or dependent upon, an estate centre. As regards *staðir*-names in Shetland, Orkney and Caithness, Waugh (1987, 71 *et passim*) states that the general impression is that the farms to which names containing this generic applied were situated close to an early Scandinavian settlement but were not the focal point of that settlement. Jennings (1993, 11–13) has similarly proposed that *staðir* applied in the Hebrides to some kind of secondary farm, a view shared by Márkus (2012, 33). Macniven (2015, 74–75) has recently identified *staðir* as the second most common ON cultural (i.e. habitative) generic in Islay, where it is proposed as an early settlement-generic applied to primary settlements. If ON *staðir* is the productive generic in Crosta #, it appears likely to have been applied to a secondary settlement, given its halfpennyland extent. Crosta # lies less than 1km south-west of Cameron and *Aon Stapall and it might conceivably have comprised part of this settlement-unit. Alternatively, it may have been a holding created after subdivision of **Glenbyre**, a settlement lying around 1.3km south-west of Crosta # and valued at a pennyland/16s 8d. Alternatively, Crosta # may have originally applied to land newly taken into agricultural use.

Crosta's specific reveals something of the nature of local Norse settlement. Its proposed specific is ON *kross* 'cross'. It highlights an alternative situation, namely that the lands of Crosta # were linked to the local Church. ON *kross* can be applied as 'junction, crossing-place' in Scottish toponymy but it was also applied to the Christian symbol and this latter sense is considered predominant in Scottish toponymy (Gammeltoft 2001, 110). This religious application reflects borrowing from OG/MG *cros* and the implication is that the name is a relatively late coinage. There is strong local evidence to suggest that the referent in Crosta # was a Christian cross. There are three related names in the vicinity in which the specific is G *cràbhaiche* (m), a term defined as 'devout man, devotee; worshipper; hypocrite; ascetic' (*Dwelly*): Tòrr a' Chràbhaiche (NM595243), Eilean a' Chràbhaiche (NM594242) and Uamh a' Chràbhaiche (NM595242). A more specific application of *cràbhaiche* may be suggested by the term from which these modern terms derive. OG *crábud* is defined as 'piety, devotion, religion; devotional practice; especially asceticism, mortification; (more specifically) the religious life, religious rule' (eDIL s.v. *crábud*). A specifically ascetic sense of *cràbhaiche* is supported by application of the term in Uamh a' Chràbhaiche, perhaps best translated as '(The) Cave of the Ascetic'. An OSNB search suggests that these three toponyms are the only instances of *cràbhaiche* in both this uninflected form and its lenited form in Scottish toponymy.[67] A well no more than 100m north of Uamh a' Chràbhaiche commemorates Colum Cille: Tobar Choluim-chille (NM591243). Its generic is G *tobar* 'spring, well'. This is a name of particular interest, given Márkus's suggestion that the distribution of dedications specifically to Colum Cille effectively maps Norse appropriation of this saint's cult (see 4.7, above). The implication is that this well may provide direct evidence for linguistic and religious acculturation of people ultimately of Norse origin. Thus, local toponymy strongly supports identification of the specific in Crosta # as having been applied as 'Christian cross'. The eponymous *kross* could conceivably have been in situ when ON-speakers arrived in the Loch Buie area and settled at Crosta #. There is no known evidence of an in-situ cross-incised stone in the locality but Crosta # could conceivably have been the original site of the cross-incised stone now built into St Kilda's Episcopal Church which lies around 1.6km to the east (see 1.6.5, above). The referent could alternatively have been another free-standing cross of which nothing is now known.

The suggested model is that other settlements bearing ON names in Moloros originally comprised part of a local Church-estate and there is evidence here to support the proposal that the lands of Crosta # were also closely linked to the local Church. A situation might be

---

[67] 'ScotlandsPlaces | Make the Connections', <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/>.

imagined in which immigrant ON-speakers were allowed to settle on this land in return for patronage of the local Church. An in-situ cross-incised stone and pre-existing religious landscape might have prompted ON-speakers to name this settlement Crosta #. Alternatively, the ON-speaking settlers might have chosen to erect a cross-incised stone themselves after settling the land. Small cruciform stones used as gravemarkers were popular in the Christian Norse period along the western littoral of Scotland, throughout the Hebrides and in the Northern Isles (Fisher 2001, 9). Tobar Choluim-chille indicates that Colum Cille was locally venerated and the likelihood is that he was venerated by the ON-speakers who settled at Crosta #, whatever the chronology of this name. While the great majority of crosses were at ecclesiastical sites, some marked the sites of holy wells (ibid., 9) and the eponymous *kross* of Crosta # might have been erected to mark the site of Tobar Choluim-chille.

As is highlighted above, Glenbyre neighboured Crosta # to the south-west. Its extent identifies it as the most valuable of the three medieval settlements of south-west Moloros which might be considered together; the others are Crosta # and Inagart to the south-west of Glenbyre, discussed presently. The likelihood is that Glenbyre was also the main local holding in south-west Moloros in the Norse period and it is striking that its generic is of certain Gaelic origin. Its extent probably indicates that it was utilised for fairly large-scale pastoral farming. It is still utilised as a local centre for sheep-farming, sheds and enclosed fields lying adjacent to the derelict steading at the foot of the glen. Glenbyre's etymology is difficult but it is cautiously proposed as *Gleann Bèir(e) 'Glen of the Point'. Definitive chronological analysis of names of noun + defining genitive type is difficult.

Inagart provides further evidence for the influence of the local Church. Inagart's etymology is ambiguous. It could be a Gaelic noun-noun compound, *Aoineadh-Ghart, meaning 'Precipice Farm/Enclosure', or the similar ON *Ennigarð 'Farm/Enclosure at the Steep Crag'. Inagart is the south-westernmost settlement of the parish, the settlement-name being preserved in Cruach Ianagairt (NM563230). Inagart is the preferred form of the settlement-name, given its historical forms (see Inagart in Part Two, below). Inagart, like Crosta #, is valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d. It is of secondary status. It may have originally applied to a secondary holding formed after subdivision of Glenbyre. It may have been a name applied to land newly taken into agricultural use. Its situation is peripheral, its terrain steep and its soils relatively poor.

Its link to the Church is explicit in *ER* 1509 which records that Inagart's lands were mortified to the church of St Kenneth (i.e. Cainnech) by Maclean of Lochbuie (see 1.6.5 and 1.6.13, above). Inagart was subsequently among the lands granted by the prioress of Iona to Eachann Maclean of Duart in 1574, thereafter returning to the possessions of Maclean of Lochbuie (see 1.6.5 and 1.6.13, above). This link between the Church and Inagart may predate the settlement's recorded fiscal history, given the suggestion the local Church may have maintained its prominence from the Early Medieval period into the period in which ON-speakers settled locally; in other words, the Late Medieval fiscal sources may record the continued association of Inagart's lands with Laggan. Thus, there is evidence in the etymology of Crosta # and the explicit link between Inagart and the Church to suggest that a local Church-estate included these two settlements. There is strong evidence to support continuity in the local ecclesiastical landscape from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period.

Map 12. ON settlement-names in and around Moloros (certain, probable and possible).

While there is incontrovertible evidence for Norse settlement in the western part of Moloros, medieval settlement-names around Loch Spelve in the eastern part of the district present no evidence for local Norse settlement there. Each of the seven medieval settlement-names recorded in the earliest fiscal sources is proposed to be of certain or probable Gaelic origin.

Map 13. The Gaelic settlement-names of Moloros (certain, probable and possible).

Croggan's fiscal status and its two parts have already been discussed (see 5.4.2, above). The local Gaelic form An Crògan, with the definite article, indicates that the vowel in the initial syllable is long and the generic is probably G *cròg*. The *-an* of these Gaelic forms and the OS Explorer form is probably explained by the Gaelic suffix *-an* and the name is probably best translated as either '(The) Little Hand/Paw/Claw/Fist' or 'Place of (Large) Hands/Paws/Claws/Fists'; in other words, the suffix could have either a diminutive or collective force. As a simplex, Croggan is difficult to date but it is worth reiterating that simplex names are likely to form the oldest stratum of Gaelic toponymy (see 5.3.3, above).

Ardnasalyne #, the proposed alias of *Croggan Mòr, is of ostensibly Gaelic origin. This is a particularly interesting name given that its proposed specific is G *sailghean*, a genitive plural form of G *sail*. This plural may have been applied as 'willows', a sense for *sail* which is recorded as obsolete in *Dwelly* but which is found in Scottish place-names. Alternatively, it may have been applied as 'beams'. The presence of the definite article following its generic, G *àrd* 'high place; height' or G *àird* 'height, eminence, promontory', means that the

name is perhaps unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century, on the basis of existing evidence (see 5.3.2, above).

Drimnatain, the proposed alias of *Croggan Beag, is also of proposed noun + article + defining genitive type and current evidence suggests that it is therefore unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century (see 5.3.2, above). Drimnatain is etymologised as G *druim* 'back, ridge' + gen. pl. def. art. *nan* + G *taighean* 'dwellings, houses', '(The) Ridge of the Dwellings'. As is highlighted above, Ardnasalyne # and Drimnatain are important names in that they appear to be two of the earliest attestations of the plural marker *-(e)an* in Scottish Gaelic (see Derrynaculen, above, and Ardnasalyne # in Part Two, below).

Drimnatain's neighbouring settlement to the west is **Cowillay #**. It is a proposed simplex derived from G *cuaille,* the element which is proposed in the genitive plural in the aforementioned Derrynaculen. Cowillay # may be best translated as 'Club-Shaped Feature'. A simplex name, it is difficult to date.

Garmonyreoch is discussed within the context of Garmony in Forsa (see 5.3.3, above). Garmony, etymologised as G *garbh* + G *mòine* 'Rough or Broad Peat-Moss or Moor', is the proposed existing name in this Gaelic coinage. An adjective-noun close compound, the existing name could be of pre-Norse date, although it could conceivably have been coined at any time up to 1494. G *riabhach* 'speckled, variegated' is the proposed affix in the modern form but it does not feature in the earliest forms. The affix may well have been used to distinguish this settlement-name and Garmony in Forsa. Both settlements were held in the Late Medieval period by Maclean of Lochbuie.

Barachandroman, the settlement on the south side of the isthmus between Loch Spelve and Loch Uisg, has already been mentioned within the context of Airigh Choinnich and Bacan Seilich. The stress pattern in modern pronunciation of the name suggests that it is a name of noun + defining genitive type. The proposed specific is G *aondroman*, a compound appellative formed in G *aon* 'one; single, solitary' + G *droman* 'small back or ridge'. The proposed generic is G *beirgh(e)*, a borrowing from ON *berg*, and most likely to have been specifically applied as 'rocky prominence'. Given the potential for *beirgh(e)* and *aondroman* to have applied to the same topographical feature, *Aondroman should be considered as an existing name. On the other hand, *aondroman* could have applied to a single feature of a perceived, larger, rocky prominence in the landscape. If G *beirgh(e)* is

accepted as the name's generic, the name must have been coined after *c*.800 AD and the borrowing of ON *berg* into Gaelic.

Kinlochspelve, the settlement on the north side of the same isthmus between Loch Spelve and Loch Uisg and lying around 700m north-west of Barachdroman, contains Loch Spelve as an existing name. The existing name is preceded by the generic G *ceann* 'head, end' in a name best translated as 'Head of Loch Spelve'. It is also a name of noun + defining genitive structure. The specific of the existing name is difficult but it may be best represented as *speileadh*, a genitive singular form of G *speil* (f) 'cattle, herd; drove, particularly of swine; flock (of birds)' (see Kinlochspelve in Part Two, below). Kinlochspelve is valued at a pennyland, twice the value of Barachandroman, and the implication is that Barachandroman could be a secondary settlement created upon division of a pre-existing holding at the head of the loch. Kinlochspelve could conceivably have been the name of this pre-existing holding, subsequently coming to refer only to the settlement on the northern side of this isthmus. If pre-existing holdings on the south shoreline of Loch Spelve were divided in the period which precedes the earliest known fiscal sources, Garmonyreoch, valued at a halfpennyland, may also be a secondary settlement; each of the other settlements around Loch Spelve is valued at a pennyland.

5.4.4 Summary

The settlement-names around Loch Spelve in the earliest fiscal evaluation present no evidence for local Norse settlement. This is contrasted by settlement-names of ON origin to the south and west: on the Firth of Lorn coastline; around Loch Buie; and at the head of Loch Scridain. As is the case in Forsa, there are ON names bearing habitative generics: Crosta # and Rossal. Inagart, too, may bear an ON habitative generic. Norse settlement in Moloros contrasts significantly with that in Forsa, given that ON names in Moloros each apply to settlements of low status, with the exception of Rossal at the head of Loch Scridain. The fiscal sources certainly provide no evidence for the renaming of the most valuable local settlements by ON-speakers. One interpretation of this evidence is that the Norse immigrants were of low social status, settling on poor, peripheral land. Alternatively, the circumstances in which they settled precluded the renaming of the most valuable settlements and/or pre-existing Gaelic names were stabilised by local Gaelic-speaking communities. Names of valuable holdings such as Moy and Laggan may have persisted through the Norse period and these names, considered alongside the settlement-names of Gaelic origin around Loch Spelve, provide good evidence for continuity in terms of the continued local presence of Gaelic speaking-communities. There is good evidence to suggest that Norse settlement in Moloros was linked to the local church at Laggan, where an ecclesiastical foundation may have continued to function from the Early Christian period through the Norse period. One interpretation of the evidence is that ON-speakers settling locally forged a mutually beneficial relationship with the local Church. To recap, the proposed ON names of Moloros are highlighted in the following table.

ON settlement-names bearing topographical generics	*Aon Stapall; *Dibidil; *Dìosgaig; Iaradail
ON settlement-names bearing habitative generics	Crosta #; Inagart; Rossal

Table 5. ON settlement-names in Moloros.
Colours are used to indicate the level of confidence in the proposed language of origin.
The colour code is as follows: certain; probable; maybe.

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this thesis was to provide new insights into local settlement and society, by way of etymological, chronological and distributive analysis of the settlement-names of the medieval districts of Forsa and Moloros. In relation to etymology, there are several new proposals. While many of the settlement-names of the two districts have been analysed before, the lack of systematic engagement with the earliest forms in previous studies means that new and more robust proposals have been advanced. The new etymologies proposed for local settlement-names have a significant impact on understanding of the extent of local Norse settlement. Johnston's ratio of 11% ON to 89% Gaelic settlement-names in coastal areas of Torosay parish is not directly comparable to a ratio from Forsa and/or Moloros: Johnston did not analyse all the settlement-names recorded in the earliest fiscal sources for Forsa, and Moloros fell outside Johnston's study area (1990, 219–220). However, it is worth restating that five of the 16 settlement-names (31%) recorded in the two earliest fiscal sources for Forsa are proposed to be of certain or probable ON origin (see 5.3.1, above). In Moloros, six of the 19 settlement-names (32%) in the same sources are of certain or probable ON origin (see 5.4.1, above). While direct comparison is unhelpful, these ratios certainly indicate that there was greater Norse influence on local settlement-toponymy than has previously been suggested, on the basis of the earliest fiscal sources. Johnston (1990, 220) compared the Torosay ratio to a ratio of 15% ON to 85% Gaelic settlement-names in Kilninian and Kilmore in north Mull and 17% ON to 83% Gaelic settlement-names in the Ross of Mull, proposing on this basis that there was a "far greater density of Norse settlement in the west of the island, decreasing to the east." The percentages proposed here highlight the need for reappraisal of that thesis.

On the nature of local settlement in the coastal areas of Torosay, it is worth comparing and contrasting the proposals put forward by Johnston with those more recently made by Jennings and Kruse. Johnston's proposal was that "the range and type of Norse names is limited and there are few habitative generics" and that within each Mull parish the ON names cluster in certain areas (ibid., 220). Another important feature of Johnston's analysis is her suggestion that the high proportion of Gaelic names in Mull as a whole reflects "not only the infilling of the settlement pattern by Gaelic speakers after the end of the era of Norse domination but also poses the question of the extent of bilingualism on the island, the degree of contact with a Gaelic speaking mainland and the degree of overall control by

Scandinavians in the island" (ibid., 221). Johnston's analysis has, in part, informed Jennings and Kruse's analysis of Mull within the zonal model and it is worth reiterating the main implications of Torosay's position in the inner zone:

that a resident ON user-group was responsible for coining and perpetuating the parish's ON topographical names;
that ON-speakers settled in clusters;
that a Gaelic-speaking population survived through the Norse period;
that ON-speakers were Gaelicised within a generation or two, meaning that no ON habitative names were established.

There can be no doubt that there was a resident ON user-group in both Forsa and Moloros. The evidence also suggests that ON-speakers settled in clusters in some areas of these districts. There is evidence for clustered Norse settlement in Glen Forsa in the form of the ON settlement-names Bradhadail, Gaodhail and Rhoail. There is strong evidence for an enclave in south-east Forsa and across the probable district-march with Torosay in the form of Scallastle, *Gaorsaig and perhaps also *Cuitheirnis. The evidence also suggests the presence of an enclave in Moloros between the mouths of Loch Spelve and Loch Buie in the form of Iaradail, *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig.

Analysis of the earliest fiscal sources also suggests that a Gaelic-speaking population survived through the Norse period in Forsa and Moloros. There is no evidence in the earliest fiscal sources for the kind of large-scale and culturally transformative plantation of Norse settlers to the extreme disadvantage of the established Gaelic-speaking population proposed in Islay and suggested for the Inner Hebrides generally by Macniven (see 4.1, above). As expected, none of the settlement-names of Gaelic origin can unequivocally be categorised as pre-Norse coinages but there are areas of the districts in which there is no evidence for Norse settlement. There are seven names of proposed Gaelic origin and none of ON origin around Loch Spelve in Moloros, for example. In Forsa, there are eight settlement-names in *Leth'r Mhuileach and the northern part of Glen Forsa of Gaelic origin in an area in which there are no ON names. These were not marginalised Gaelic communities on poor, peripheral land; many of these settlements were on arable land where the component soils were fertile brown earths of the Gruline Association (see 1.3, above).

In terms of the nature of Norse settlement in the districts, the new etymological analysis presented above allows for the development of a more nuanced view. The ON origins of Gruline and Scallastle, the two most valuable settlements in Forsa, provide strong evidence for Norse appropriation of the best local land. The implication is of a dominant Norse élite during a particular phase of the Norse period. We cannot be sure how long this lasted but the longevity of the names suggests ethnolinguistic continuity after these names were established. Scallastle is proposed to bear a habitative generic and this suggests a stable ON-speaking community over a significant period. This must be considered alongside the evidence suggesting that Norse settlement did not occur along the *Leth'r Mhuileach coastline to the north-west.

In addition to Scallastle, four other certain or probable local ON habitative generics are proposed: Crosta #; Gaodhail; Rhoail; and Rossal. The identification of these names constitutes a significant departure from the Jennings and Kruse model for settlement in the inner zone. Gaodhail and Rhoail provide evidence for an ON-speaking community employed in pastoral farming in Glen Forsa. Significantly, Gaodhail is linked to a possible *ærgi*-name. If A' Bhog-airigh is accepted as an *ærgi*-name, it may be the direct result of localised language-contact. The absence of ON settlement-names in certain areas of the districts implies the continued presence of Gaelic-speaking communities and, on this basis, Forsa and Moloros should be considered as potential settings for language-contact. Whether or not A' Bhog-airigh is a product of localised language-contact, an ON etymology would clearly identify it as an ON name established in a phase of Norse settlement which occurred after OG *áirge* had been borrowed into ON.

Comparison with Moloros is important. As in Forsa, there are ON names bearing topographical and habitative generics. Crosta # and Rossal are proposed to fall into the latter category. The striking aspect of the fiscal evidence is that the settlement-names of certain and probable ON origin in Moloros apply uniformly to settlements of low status, with the exception of Rossal. Rossal is geographically peripheral within the context of settlement in Moloros and its situation will be important in further research of the area around the head of Loch Scridain, where there appears to have been significant Norse settlement. The implication of the Norse settlements of low fiscal status around Loch Buie and along the Firth of Lorn coastline, however, is that Norse settlers in Moloros settled on peripheral land of poor agricultural capability. There is no evidence in Moloros of Norse appropriation of the most valuable settlements, as there is in Forsa. The most valuable settlements of Moloros

bear Gaelic names. The most valuable of these, the two-pennyland unit of Laggan, may be the key to unlocking the door on local society in the period in which these ON-speakers settled. We cannot be sure about the chronology of the ecclesiastical site at Laggan without further archaeological research; but there is evidence for an Early Medieval ecclesiastical site in the locality and toponymic evidence supports the proposal that the local Church remained strong from the Early Medieval period through the Norse period in Moloros. The evidence comes in the form of potential toponymic stability in Moy and Laggan and possible evidence for a local Church-estate which held significant landholdings. It is perhaps within the context of a strong local Church that we should view Crosta #, a name which implies the settlement of ON-speaking Christians.

In Forsa, the distribution of ON settlement-names might also be better considered within the context of local ecclesiastical continuity. The lack of ON toponymy around the mouth of the River Forsa and the northern part of Glen Forsa, for example, might be explained by a functioning ecclesiastical site or sites at Cùil Mhurchaidh, Killbeg and Pennygown from the Early Medieval period through the ninth century and beyond. There is, as yet, no archaeological evidence to provide a more nuanced chronology for these sites. Further analysis of the area around Lag na Cille and Leth Thorcaill too might investigate the kind of continuity at the advent of the Norse period for which there is significant evidence at nearby Iona. Iona's role in stabilising the local ecclesiastical landscape during the final decade of the eighth century and the first decades of the ninth has not, as yet, been explored, but the links to Iona discovered at the Early Christian chapel at Baliscate in north Mull provide good evidence for a relationship between a Mull church and Iona in the Early Medieval period at least. Further research at Baliscate and at the aforementioned ecclesiastical sites in Forsa and Moloros might prove invaluable in analysis of local society in the Norse period. Toponymic analysis will be important too and the potentially saintly landscapes around Glen Cannel and the medieval parish church of Killean (see Killbeg in Part Two, below) might prove fruitful in establishing links with other areas of the Irish Sea region through saints' cults.

This potential model for Norse settlement in and around potentially powerful ecclesiastical communities is worth testing in other areas of Mull and further afield. The proposal that there are five certain or probable settlement-names bearing habitative generics in Forsa and Moloros invites reappraisal of the Jennings and Kruse zonal model for Norse settlement. To summarise the local situation, there is evidence for significant local Norse settlement in and

around Gaelic-speaking communities and pre-existing ecclesiastical sites which continued to function. The ON-speakers settling in Gruline and Scallastle are likely to have been dining at the top table of contemporary society. Those ON-speakers settling in peripheral settlements such as *Dibidil, *Dìosgaig and Iaradail are likely to have been of relatively low social status. As it stands, models for Norse settlement in Scotland do not necessarily accommodate Norse immigrants of low social standing, or indeed different phases of settlement, even from an early period, by ethnic groups with differing linguistic and cultural alignments. Considering the porous nature of contemporary society across the Irish Sea region, linguistic development and local toponymy must be analysed with these factors in mind.

PART TWO
PLACE-NAME SURVEY

The following gazetteer-style entries are based on the blueprint developed in *PNF1–5* and Márkus 2012 (see, for example, *PNF3*, 11–14). What follows is a brief summary of the employed lay-out, which consists of four sections.

First Section
Place-name; the current form is supplied by OS Explorer, unless otherwise indicated. This is known as the head-name. If followed by #, the name is obsolete. If followed by *, the name is reconstructed.

Three-letter parish abbreviation. Always TOY (Torosay).

Classification of the type of feature to which the head-name refers. These single-letter abbreviations are included in Abbreviations (above). One additional abbreviation has been added to the categories developed in *PNF* and Márkus 2012: D represents 'Deserted Settlement'.

National Grid Reference (NGR).

The single digit (1-5) following an NGR indicates its accuracy.
>   1 Accurate Location.
>   2 Assumed Location.
>   3 General Location within 1km.
>   4 General Location within 5km.
>   5 Vague Location.

Sheet number of OS Explorer map, if the head-name appears on OS Explorer maps.

Approximate height in metres.

Second Section

This consists of the early forms of the place-name in question and is set out as follows:

 1. The early form, which is always italicised. Reconstructed letters are placed in angled brackets < >.

 2. The date or date-range (indicated by a medial ×) of the source from which the early form is taken.

 3. The source reference.

 4. In square brackets, any other information about the source, especially whether it is an original document or a late copy, as well as relevant wider context in which the form occurs.

Third Section

The elements analysis summary gives the elements (both words and names) which can be identified with varying degrees of certainty as making up the head-name. Degrees of certainty are indicated by use of colour, as in the tables above (Tables 1–5): certain; probable; maybe. Reconstructed Gaelic and ON forms and translations of the proposed forms are provided for each name where appropriate. This section ends with an indication of pronunciation in IPA, when available.

Fourth Section

This consists of discursive notes, which are arranged into sub-sections, employed where appropriate:

 Etymology (which usually contains sub-sections);

 Subdivision;

 Previous Analysis;

 Chronology;

 Location;

 Soils/Topography;

 Status;

 Associated Names;

 Tenure.

AON STAPALL *   TOY D NM602248 2 X 30m

Instaple 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; follows Cameron, precedes Crosta #; in Moloros; printed as *Instaple* in *ER* xiii 212]

Druim an Aon Stapuill 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/63/3 ["Applies to a rocky ridge, situated 1/8 of a mile S. of Cameron and a short distance N. of Port Màire. Sig "Ridge of the one staple". "]

Druim an Aon Stapuill 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Druim an Aon Stapuill 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

ON *inn-stǫpul(l)* (m) 'inner pillar; raised platform'.
ON *Inn-Stǫpul 'Inner Pillar / Raised Platform'.

Etymology

The ON compound appellative *inn-stǫpul(l)* is proposed for this settlement-name which is recorded in 1509 but is absent in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours*. *Aon Stapall, the existing name preserved in Druim an Aon Stapuill (NM603248), is proposed as the Gaelic reflex of the underlying ON name. Druim an Aon Stapuill is not recorded on OS Explorer but is recorded in OSNB and on historical OS maps. It is a Gaelic coinage, its generic being G *druim* (m) 'back, ridge'. The proposed existing name is in the genitive and would be *Aon Stapall in the nominative, according to modern orthographic conventions (see 5.4.2, above). The proposal is that the underlying ON name has been reanalysed by Gaelic-speakers as G *aon* 'one' + G *stapall* (m), gen. *stapaill* 'bar, bolt, staple; link; torch' (*Dwelly* s.v. *stapull*). *Dwelly* also records *stapall* as a variant of G *stàbull* 'stable, stall', now *stàball*, but this sense is very unlikely in the settlement-name.

ON *stǫpul(l)* (m) is defined as 'steeple, tower; pillar'. In analysis of ON *stǫpul(l)*, it is worth considering its OE cognate, *stapol*, the modern reflex of which is *staple* (OED s.v. *staple*, n.1). The various applications of cognates in the Germanic languages seem traceable to a general sense of 'something supporting' (OED s.v. *staple*, n.1). OE *stapol* carried the sense 'post, pillar, column (of wood, stone, metal)', an obsolete sense carried by the modern reflex *staple* and a sense closely comparable to that carried by ON *stǫpul(l)*. ON *stǫpu(l)* is not identified as a productive element in England by Smith but OE *stapol* is. Smith (1956, ii 146) records an allusion to "buildings erected above ground level on a raised platform on a number of supporting posts". In Scotland, Williamson (1942, 16) has proposed OE *stapol*,

which she defines as "post, staple", in Staplegordon and Stapleton (both DMF; see also *DOST* s.v. *stapil(l)* n.1). In addition to a sense of 'post, pillar, column', OED records that OE *stapol* seems to have carried a sense of 'foundation and steps or raised platform in front of an outer door', where it appears in Beowulf (s.v. *staple*, n.1). It is possible that similar senses were carried by the ON cognate. English *steeple* is recorded as a variant of *staple* (OED s.v. *staple*, n.1 and *steeple*, n.2) although *steeple* itself is ultimately derived from a separate root, **staup-* (OED s.v. *steeple*, n.2; cf. *Cleasby-Vigfusson* s.v. *stöpull*).

Discussion of OE *stapol* and its modern reflex *staple* is important given the translation of Druim an Aon Stapuill in OSNB as "Ridge of the one staple". G *stapall* is identified as a loan-word from English *staple* in *Macbain* where the Gaelic term is defined as 'bar, bolt, staple' (see also *MacLennan*). The senses recorded in *Macbain* and *Dwelly* for G *stapall* and variants suggest that the term is a borrowing from English *staple*, but the possibility should not be ruled out that ON *stǫpul(l)* was borrowed into Gaelic locally in Moloros and that for a time the Gaelic term carried the sense 'pillar'; in other words, the name could conceivably be a Gaelic name formed in G *aon* + G *stapall*, coined after ON *stǫpul(l)* was borrowed locally. G *aon* is proposed in the local settlement-name Barachandroman (see Barachandroman, below). Further research might investigate applications of G *stapall* locally or furth of Mull. It does not appear to be a productive element in Scottish toponymy.

Thus, ON **Inn-Stǫpul* is the most convincing etymology for this settlement-name. This ON name was probably applied to the rocky ridge to which Druim an Aon Stapuill was later applied, perhaps a specific feature of it. The ridge is an imposing feature of the local landscape, the cliff here rising steeply to a height of around 30m from the low-lying ground immediately to the south which extends for a little over 150m to Loch Buie. The entire ridge might be described in the same terms as those used in the definition of OE *stapol*, the feature certainly being comparable to a raised platform. Further research might investigate application of the ON element in this sense. Alternatively, **Inn-Stǫpul* may have been applied specifically to a pillar-like rock in this ridge. The image below is of the most likely referent (see Fig. 2, below). The ON prefix *inn* 'inner' would reflect the situation of this ridge slightly inland from the coast. Accepting the proposal that **Aon Stapall* is the Gaelic reflex of an original ON **Inn-Stǫpul*, ON *inn* must have been reinterpreted by Gaelic-speakers as G *aon*, which is realised locally as [ɤ̈ˑn] (*SGDS* §49, pt 81).[68]

---

[68] On local pronunciation of G *aon* and the half-long vowel recorded in *SGDS*, see Cox (2011, 260 *et passim*).

Fig. 2. *Aon Stapall.
Looking east along Druim an Aon Stapuill. The distinctive rock-formation in the centre of the photograph may be the referent of ON *stǫpul(l)* 'inner pillar'.
Image Credit: Simon Taylor.

Subdivision

It may originally have been a secondary settlement created following subdivision of Moy (see 5.4.3, above).

Previous Analysis

The settlement is not discussed in *ALI* because it is not recorded in 1494. Rixson (LAS) tentatively locates the settlement at Port a' Bheòil Mhòir (NM598245) just a short distance to the west of Druim an Aon Stapuill; this is the same general location proposed above.[69] Neither Maclean nor MacQuarrie engage with *ER* 1509 and therefore neither analyses the settlement-name. Maclean (1997, 53) translates Druim an Aon Stapuill as "Ridge of the single bar, or more likely, the single stable", preferring G *stàball* as the name-final element in a Gaelic coinage.

Chronology

*Aon Stapall is a topographical name of ON origin and it would typically be identified as a name coined in an early phase of local Norse settlement and applied as a primary settlement-name. It may have been coined in an early phase but its extent identifies it as a settlement of secondary status.

Location

The NGR provided with the head-name is of Druim an Aon Stapuill and the settlement must have been in the vicinity of this ridge, probably at its western end; i.e. around Port a' Bhèoil Mhòir. This would align with *ER* 1509 which implies a location between Crosta # and Cameron. The ridge of Druim an Aon Stapuill lies just over 200m south of the modern farm of Cameron and less than 1km east of the proposed location of Crosta # (see Crosta #, below).

Soils/Topography

The soils of the ground south of the ridge and between the ridge and the sea are brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols, peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association, which locally support arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). The ground to the south of the ridge is enclosed and is now utilised pastorally. The equal extent recorded for *Aon Stapall and Cameron probably indicates that each settlement

---

[69] All references to LAS in Part Two are to Rixson's analysis of local settlements in 'South Mull Table', unless otherwise stated.

had a share of these productive soils. Their relatively low extents probably indicates that the holdings were of limited size.

Status

Secondary. It is 8s 4d, i.e. a halfpennyland, in 1509. Its absence from *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* indicates that its lands were incorporated within the holding of Cameron for the purposes of these sources.

ARDNASALYNE # TOY D NM716266 2 X 70m

ardnesaleyn<e> 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Moloros; first settlement listed in district; precedes Drimnatain; identified erroneously as Arinasliseig (NM654316) in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Ardnesaleyne* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

ardnesalene 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; first settlement of Moloros listed; precedes Drimnatain; printed as *Ardnesaleyne* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; the final grapheme is unclear but there is certainly no *y* in this form; cf. second form in same charter below]

ardnesaleyn<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; first settlement of Moloros listed; precedes Drimnatain; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Ardnesaleyn 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Ardnesaleyne 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Ardnesaldyne 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros; *d* of this form can probably be attributed to scribal error]

Ardnasaleyne 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Ardnasalyne 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros]

G *àrd* 'high place, height' or G *àird(e)* 'height, eminence, promontory' + gen. def. art. *nan* + G *sail*, gen. pl. *sailghean* 'willow; beam'.

G **Àrd/Àird(e) nan Sailghean* '(The) Height/Promontory of the Willows/Beams'.

Etymology

This settlement-name is obsolete. The form of the head-name is that of the most recent historical form. G *àrd* and G *àird(e)* are very difficult to distinguish. As regards the specific, the plural form of G *sail* may have been applied as 'willows' or 'beams'. OG *sail* (f), gen. *salach*, the term from which G *sail* derives, is defined as 'willow, sallow, (sometimes) osier; beam, joist, plank; (of persons) a prop, support(er)' (eDIL s.v. *sail*). The typical modern sense of G *sail* is '(roof-)beam, joist, large sawn piece of wood' (*TYGD*; *Mac Eachainn*) and the most common term for willow in modern Gaelic is *seileach* (*TYGD* s.v. *willow*). Indeed, the term recorded for 'willow' in the Ross of Mull in 1967–68 was *seileach* (DASG, 'Measgaichte/Miscellaneous', Ross of Mull). *Dwelly* records G *sail* (f), gen. *saile*, pl. *sailean* 'willow tree (*salix*)' as obsolete. However, OG *sail* and derivatives such as OG *sailech* 'willow, sallow' (eDIL s.v. *sailech*) are applied as 'willow' in Scottish toponymy

(Watson 1904, 187 and 205; *CPNS*, 142 and 381); for example, OG **salchán* 'willow-copse', a derivative of *sailech*, has been proposed as the specific in *Coire Salcháin*, a name recorded in Adomnán's Life of St Columba whose location is disputed (*VC* i 46 and 308, note 3; *CPNS*, 78; Sharpe 1995, 310, note 197; Clancy 2013, 237).[70] In Ulster, Irish *sailextán*, defined as "willow grove", is productive (McKay 2007, 155). Ballysillan, a suburban district of Belfast in County Antrim, and Lough Sillan, County Cavan, Republic of Ireland, are etymologised as *Baile na Saileán* "townland of the willow groves / sally groves" and *Loch Saileán* "lake of willow groves" respectively (ibid., 18 and 102). Joyce (1910–13, ii 356–58) proposed the same element in several other Irish place-names. The *-eán* suffix in these instances is proposed to have a collective force (see also Watson 1904, xxxvii). Importantly, as regards Ardnasalyne #, G *sailean*, a derivative of *sail* formed in the masculine diminutive suffix *-(e)an*, is recorded for 'willow' in Arran (Kennedy 1897, 128; *Dwelly* s.v. *sailean*). Considering the above evidence, and given that willows are found locally around the proposed location of Ardnasalyne #, application of a plural form of *sail* to willows should not be ruled out. There are willows in the lee of the south-east-facing raised shoreline which rises sharply to around 20m in height. The high ground above the raised shoreline is probably the referent of G *àrd* or G *àird(e)* in Ardnasalyne #. The track from the modern village of Croggan (NM707272) to Portfield (NM716260) runs alongside this raised shoreline.

There is strong evidence in the historical forms of Ardnasalyne # to suggest that the genitive plural form in the name is *sailghean*. The consistently-recorded *y* is likely to provide evidence for the velar stem in oblique forms. This plural form, specifically applied to 'beams' rather than to 'willows', is recorded in South Uist in the phrase "seachd sailghean daraich", translated as "seven oaken beams" (MacLellan 1997, 212, n. 4). There is also support for gen. pl. *sailghean* in Ardnasalyne # in the form of nearby Rubha nan Sailthean (NM722272), probably best translated as '(The) Point of the Willows/Beams'. It refers to the point on the south side of the mouth of Loch Spelve just over 800m north-east of the assumed location of the medieval settlement. Rubha nan Sailthean is translated as "Promontory of the beams" in OSNB (ARG OS1/2/76/11). G *sailthean*, which is recorded as a plural form of G *sail* and defined as 'beams' in *Dwelly*, was clearly understood as applying to beams in 1868 × 1878. Local Gaelic writer John MacFadyen (1902, 99) records

---

[70] The form of the toponym here is that recorded in the 'Dorbbene manuscript' (A), as it is referred to in *VC*, minus the two over-dashes above *coire*. The variants *co'ire salcani'* (BI) and *coire salcani* (B3) provided in other manuscripts are later (*VC*, 308, note 3).

the variant plural form *saileathan* in the phrase "Talla nan cruth saileathan", which is translated in *Dwelly* as "the hall of the engraved beams" (s.v. *mala*).[71] The *th* of these more recent local forms *sailthean* and *saileathan* is used as a hiatus filler and, on the basis of the historical forms of Ardnasalyne #, provides evidence of development from medial *gh*. There is clearly also support here for application of *sailghean* to 'beams' in Ardnasalyne #.

If gen. pl. *sailghean* is accepted as the specific in Ardnasalyne #, this is one of the earliest attestations of the plural marker *-(e)an* in Scottish Gaelic. As Watson (1927, 270) pointed out in analysis of vernacular Gaelic in the Book of the Dean of Lismore, produced between 1512 and 1529, a distinguishing feature of modern Scottish Gaelic is "the almost universal use of plurals in nouns in -an, whereas in Irish and in the literary language generally this formation is confined to the comparatively small class of nouns whose stems end in -n". Watson (ibid., 270) highlights "a few plural forms after the modern style, but not many" in the Book of the Dean of Lismore and, on this basis, suggests that it might be inferred that "the fashion of -n plurals was coming in during this time [i.e. 1512–29], but not yet established". The *-eyn<e>* of Ardnasalyne #, if it does represent gen. pl. *-(e)an*, is therefore a very early example of this feature, given that it is first recorded in 1494. It is worth noting that there are two other probable instances of gen. pl. *-(e)an* in settlement-names recorded in the same 1494 charter in Moloros (see Derrynaculen and Drimnatain, below). The fact that these are genitive plural forms is in keeping with one of the suggested origins of the plural *-(e)an* marker in Scottish Gaelic as deriving from the genitive plural. Ó Maolalaigh (forthcoming) has drawn attention to orthographical representations of gen. pl. *-(e)an* in place-name forms in the Middle Ages as *-in* and *-yn*. Elision of final *n* in the gen. pl. def. art. *nan* would not be surprising in historical forms; it is proposed to be a feature of the historical and modern forms of both Derrynaculen and Drimnatain.

In summary, whilst the specific proposed in Ardnasalyne # and in Rubha nan Sailthean may have been applied as 'beams', there is good evidence to support application as 'willows'. The short vowel in the initial syllable of Rubha nan Sailthean is also likely to be represented in the historical forms of Ardnasalyne # and this evidence militates against identification of the specific in the names as G *sàilean* 'creek, little inlet or arm of the sea, deep bay' (Márkus 2012, 569), or G *sàil* 'heel'.

---

[71] *Dwelly* records MacFadyen's form as *sailthean* (s.v. *sail*).

Subdivision

Balgamrie (NM714266) and Barnashoag (NM716266) are probably applied to secondary settlements created through subdivision of Ardnasalyne #. The OS form of the former suggests a Gaelic name, *Baile Geamhraidh 'Winter Farm' (see *CPNS*, 431–32 and 507; *PNF5*, 386). The form of the latter suggests an etymology of G *bàrr* 'hill, top, uppermost part, point' (*PNF5*, 293) + fem. gen. def. art. *na* + G *seobhag*, var. *seabhag* 'hawk' (Taylor 2005, 34). *Baile* and *bàrr* were clearly productive elements in the naming of local secondary settlements.

Previous Analysis

The settlement-name is erroneously identified as Arinasliseig (NM654316) in *ALI* no. A42. Rixson (LAS) proposes that "Ardnesaleyne" is "probably a version of Rubha nan Sailthean and an alternative name for either Croganmore or Croganbeg." *Croggan Mòr is proposed above as an alias of Ardnasalyne # (see 5.4.2). Rixson locates it at *c.*NM7126; i.e. in the same general area as is proposed here. Neither Maclean nor MacQuarrie discuss the name. Maclean (1997, 112) translates Rubha nan Sailthean as "Point of the logs of wood", defining the specific as "Beam, log of wood". Maclean (ibid., 31) refers to the townships of Balgamrie and Barnashoag as "Old Croggan".

Chronology

A name of noun + article + defining genitive structure, it is perhaps unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century, on the basis of existing evidence (see 5.3.2, above).

Location

Its assumed location is that of the ruined townships of Balgamrie and Barnashoag.

Soils/Topography

The component soils in the area of Balgamrie and Barnashoag are brown earths of the Darleith Association which are largely freely drained and are consequently important agriculturally (1:250,000 Soil Map of Scotland; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 60, Map Unit 158). Deeper soils of this type are frequently cultivated; shallow soils are surface seeded and provide good grazing. Sites not suitable for improvement carry vegetation of high grazing value. Balgamrie and Barnashoag are situated around 300m west of the aforementioned raised shoreline at around 70m above-sea-level.

Status

Primary. It is consistently valued at a pennyland.

Associated Names

The specific in Port na Saille (NM719278), lying not far from Rubha nan Sailthean on the north side of the mouth of Loch Spelve opposite the modern village of Croggan, may also refer to willow. It is defined as "Port of the fat" in OSNB (ARG OS1/2/76/108/1); i.e. G *port*, primarily 'port, harbour, haven' (Márkus 2012, 567) + fem. gen. def. art. *na* + G *saill* (f), gen. *saille*, 'fatness; fat, blubber; suet, grease; pickle, brine' (*Dwelly*). However, the proposals regarding Ardnasalyne # and Rubha nan Sailthean highlight the possibility that the specific in Port na Saille is a genitive form of G *sail*, rather than *saill*.

BARACHANDROMAN   TOY S NM657255 1 375 10m

     berch antroman<e> 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; identified as Barachandroman in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Berchantromane* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

     Barchantromane 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; printed as *Barchantromane* in *ER* xiii 212]

     berch antromam 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Berchantromane* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

     berch antroman<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

     Barthantromair 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; *-ir* is probably in error for *n*]

     Barchantroman 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

     Barchancroman 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; *-croman* is surely in error for *-troman*]

     Barchantroman 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

     Barchantrum 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in red; no indication of contraction of ending]

     Barchantroman 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

     Barachandroman 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/128/3 ["A farmhouse with offices attached situate immediately E. of the W. end of Loch Spelve and about ½ mile S.E. from Kinlochspelve. The pro:– of M. G. MacLaine Esqʳ of Lochbuy."; no translation recorded]

     Barachandroman 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

     Barachandroman 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

G *beirgh(e)* 'hill, cliff, prominence in the landscape, crag, cliff-face; boulder, rock; (as material) rock, stone, rocky ground, foundation of rock; promontory' + G **aondroman,* gen. *aondromain* 'single small ridge' or (G) en *Aondroman.

G *Beirgh Aondroman 'Rocky Prominence of the Single Small Ridge' or 'Rocky Prominence of/at *Aondroman'.

[ˌbarəˈhandrəmən]

Etymology

There is evidence in the form of the *e* in the initial syllable of three of the four earliest forms of this name to suggest that the vowel in this initial syllable was historically higher than the [a] of modern pronunciation. *Berch* in these three forms points towards G *beirgh(e)* as the name-initial generic. Cox (1998) has identified G *beirgh(e)* as a borrowing of ON *berg*. Based on its application in Carloway in Lewis, Cox (2002, 70) has defined the Gaelic element, which is only known in place-names, as a "promontory or point with a bare, usually vertical, rock-face, sometimes with a narrow neck to land". Cox (2008, 1 and 6) has more recently defined the element more generally as a "type of promontory".[72] ON *berg* is defined as 'hill, cliff, prominence in the landscape, crag, cliff-face; boulder, rock; (as material) rock, stone, rocky ground, foundation of rock' (ONP). If G *beirgh(e)* is accepted as Barachandroman's generic, the element is likely to have been applied to a rocky, inland prominence in the local landscape. While modern derivatives of *berg* in Swedish, Danish and Norwegian have come to carry the sense 'mountain', Modern Icelandic *berg* is primarily defined as 'a rock, elevated rocky ground' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*) and, as Cox (1998, 63) has pointed out, Norn *berg* can be defined as 'mass of firm rock'. G *beirgh(e)* may well have been applied to the same element to which G **aondroman*, the name's proposed specific, applied. The consistently-recorded *ch* in the historical forms may be an approximation of Gaelic *gh* in slender *rgh*, if G *beirgh(e)* is accepted as Barachandroman's generic.

G **aondroman*

The proposed specific is a compound formed in G *aon*, the numeral 'one', and G *droman*. *Mac Eachainn* defines G *droman* (m), gen. *dromain* as 'little hill, eminence'. It is proposed as the specific in Barrandroman in Lorn (Fraser 2004, 251). Variants are G *drumon* (m) 'a little back', also boortree [i.e. bourtree] (*Mac Eachainn*), and G *druimean* 'ridge, hill' (*Dwelly*). These are diminutives of G *druim* 'back, ridge', the most common modern reflex of OG *druim(m)* (eDIL s.v. *druim(m)*). Taylor (*PNF3*, 453) has proposed that Thrummond FIF "may represent Gaelic *druiman*, a diminutive of *druim*, 'little ridge'." Thus, G **aondroman* is best defined as 'single small ridge'. The ridge immediately to the east of the farmhouse is a distinctive local feature and is the most likely referent of **aondroman* (see Fig. 3, below).

---

[72] Cox (2010, 1) defines it in Gaelic as "seòrsa rubha", i.e. 'a type of promontory'.

OG *óendruim* 'single ridge' is a productive element in Ulster. Its modern Gaelic reflex would be *aondruim; i.e. *aon* + *druim*. Nendrum, the anglicised name of the Early Christian monastery on what is now known as Mahee Island in County Down, is probably derived from OG *nÓendruim*, an eclipsed form of *óendruim* (McKay 2007, 104; PNI, 'Nendrum Monastic Site, County Down'). The proposed referent is the local drumlin. Aontroim, a modern reflex of *óendruim*, is now the accepted Modern Irish form of Antrim, although this is in fact a reinterpretation of earlier Aontreibh "single house/habitation" (McKay 2007, 5). G *aon* is found in other compound appellatives in Scottish toponymy. For example, Taylor (*PNF3*, 62) has proposed that Anstruther FIF may be derived from G *aon* + G *sruthair*, translated as "(place of or on) one burn".

The proposed fluctuation between *d* and *t* in modern and historical forms of Antrim also appears to be visible in historical and modern forms of Barachandroman, if *aondroman is accepted as the name's specific. The implication is that there is minimal difference between *d* and *t* in this linguistic environment. This should perhaps not surprise, given that the forms *drumon* (*Mac Eachainn*; see above), *troman* and *droman* (both *Dwelly*) are all recorded for 'bourtree' in Gaelic. The implication is that the opposition between *t* and *d* may have been neutralised in this compound following -*n*.

Given that *aondroman also refers to prominence in the landscape, the possibility is that both *beirgh(e)* and *aondroman refer to the same feature. Thus, *Aondroman could conceivably be an existing name in Barachandroman. On the other hand, *aondroman could have been applied to a single feature of a perceived, larger, rocky prominence. Local topography does not rule this out.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Barachandroman in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 20) proposes G *Bàrr a' Cheann Droman, translated as "Top of the ridge end". The short vowel in the initial syllable militates against this. MacQuarrie (1982, 48) proposes "Barach an Droman (correct spelling dromain)", translated as "Brushwood of the Ridge". MacQuarrie's proposed noun + definite article + defining genitive structure does not suit the stress-pattern but it is worth noting that *droman* is considered to have been productive by this local Gaelic-speaker.

Chronology

If G *beirgh(e)* is accepted as the name's generic, the name must have been coined after *c.*800 AD and the borrowing of ON *berg* into Gaelic.

Location

The NGR is of the modern house here on the narrow isthmus between the head of the western arm of Loch Spelve and Loch Uisg to the west. The 1879 OS depicts four buildings in the locality.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association, the topographically characteristic moraines of which support vegetation of low grazing-value and provide very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 547, 102). Uphill of the modern settlement the component soils are brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). Where site conditions allow these soils are responsive to improvement and the map unit often carries long ley grassland (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 101–02, Map Unit 546).

Status

Secondary. It is consistently valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d. Neighbouring Kinlochspelve is valued at twice the extent at a pennyland. Barachandroman could be a secondary settlement created upon division of a pre-existing holding at the head of the loch (see 5.4.3, above).

Fig. 3. Barachandroman.
Looking south-west towards Barachandroman from Faoileann Ghlas on the north side of Loch Spelve. The modern house at Barachandroman is visible behind the small ridge proposed as the referent of G *aondroman 'single small ridge'.
Image Credit: Alasdair C. Whyte

BRADHADAIL   TOY D NM610347 1 X 120m

brayadill 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; recorded as *Bradhadail* in *ALI* no. A42, on the basis of the orthography in Màm Bhradhadail (NM628334; see below); printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Bradullemore 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Bradullemore* in *ER* xiii 213]

Bradull bege 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Bradull-bege* in *ER* xiii 213; no hyphen in manuscript form; the two words are separate; cf. *Bradullemore* above]

brayadill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

brayadill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS*]

Brayadillis 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland, with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe;[73] in Glen Forsa]

Brayadillis 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland, with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe; in Glen Forsa]

Bryadillis 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Bryadillie 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland, with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe; in Glen Forsa; final *e* likely to be in error for *s*]

Bra adil M<oir> 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in red; *Bra adil* probably a typesetting error; cf. Blaeu's other form, below]

Bradil beg 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in red; west of *Bradhadail Mòr (*Bra adil M<oir>*)]

Brayadillie 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland, with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe; in Glen Forsa]

Bradilaltach 1750 Dorret [east of Loch Bà (*L.Ba*)]

Bradildu 1750 Dorret [east of Loch Bà (*L.Ba*); north of *Bradilaltach*]

Bradilaltrich 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Bradildubh 1801 Langlands [farm-houses; north-east of *Bradilaltrich*; separated from farm-houses at Liath-Dhoire (*Liaderry*) (NM609368) to the west by rivulet; rivulet to north between this settlement and farm-houses of Tomslèibhe]

---

[73] See 5.2, above and Tomslèibhe, below.

Bradilaltrich 1832 Thomson [settlement; upstream and south-west of Tomslèibhe on west side of stream]

Bradildubh 1832 Thomson [settlement; upstream and south-west of Tomslèibhe and east of *Bradilaltrich* on east side of stream]

Màm Bhradhadail 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/61/3 [the settlement-name is lenited in the genitive as the existing name in this name; "Applies to a pass at the top of Allt a' Mhaim [NM612340] and about 1¼ miles N. of Clachvuale [NM624315]"; no translation offered]

Màm Bhradhadail 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Màm Bhradhadail 1900 OS 6 inch 2st edn

Màm Brathadail 1941 *CG* iv 277 [one of 12 *màm*-names recorded in Mull in this source]

(ON) pn Bragi, gen. Braga + ON *dal(r)* (m), acc. *dal* 'dale, valley'.
ON *Bragadal 'Bragi's Dale'.
[ˈbraːtəl]

Etymology

Intervocalic ON *g* was pronounced /ɣ/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 269). The *y* recorded in the majority of historical forms, including the earliest form, and the *dh* of Màm Bhradhadail (NM628334) are proposed to represent continuity in terms of articulation of intervocalic /ɣ/ by local Gaelic-speakers perpetuating an original ON *Bragadal. Accepting *Bragadal as the underlying name, it is noteworthy that the vowel recorded in the initial syllable of modern pronunciation of the name within an English-speaking context is long [aː]. The vowel in the initial syllable of ON *Bragadal would have been short [a]. The implication is that the quality of the underlying ON vowel has been retained. In the absence of modern pronunciation of the name within a Gaelic-speaking context, phonological analysis must be based on the OS form Bradhadail, which suggests a short vowel preceding /ɣ/. In this linguistic environment, /ɤ/ would be expected before /ɣ/ locally, on the basis of the raised vowel in the initial syllable of G *tadhal*, for example, which was historically //a// (Ó Maolalaigh 2006, 49; *SGDS* §819). The quality and quantity of the vowel in the initial

syllable of Bradhadail recorded in modern pronunciation within an English-speaking context might be explained by reinterpretation by Gaelic-speakers of the initial element as G *bràghad* 'neck, throat' (*Mac Eachainn*) or G *bràghaid* 'upper part' (*CPNS*, 143), terms with a long initial vowel. In Torosay, *SGDS* records front unrounded open [a] in *bràghad* before hiatus for *gh* (§121, point 81) and [aˑ] in north Mull and the Ross of Mull (ibid., points 82 and 83).

The fricative /ɣ/ proposed above to be represented by *y* in the majority of historical forms and *dh* in Màm Bhradhadail appears to have been vocalised within a local English-speaking context. This development is probably indicated in the *Bradil*-forms recorded on the 18th- and 19th-century maps of Dorret, Langlands and Thomson. It may be traceable to 1509 and the *Bradull*-forms recorded in *ER*. -*th*- in the 1941 form, recorded within a Gaelic-speaking context, may reflect further development of /ɣ/ to hiatus. More late 19th- and early 20th-century forms will be required to analyse this potential development. Future research might also investigate *Br*- where *Bhr*- might be expected in the 1941 form, on the basis of the OS form. The OS form suggests that lenition was a feature of local pronunciation and it would be expected here in the genitive case following *Màm*. Future research of Carmichael's original notes will also provide an opportunity to investigate the 11 other *màm*-names recorded in Mull in this source.[74]

Bragi

Bragi is a famous name in Norse literature. Bragi is the Norse god of poetry. The name appears to have been current in the ninth century; in other words, during the period when ON-speakers are likely to have been coining place-names in Mull. Bragi Boddasonr, alias Bragi inn gamli 'the Old', is the skald credited with *Ragnarsdrápa*, which is traditionally regarded as the earliest surviving poem in ON (Whaley 2005, 479). The earliest attestations of *dróttkvætt*, which is considered the most distinctive and prestigious of the ON metres (Poole 2005, 269), are linked with Bragi Boddasonr and considerations of metrical taxonomy make the putative ninth-century dating of this skald reasonably secure (ibid., 276–77). Whaley (2005, 480) has proposed that Bragi Boddasonr may in fact have given rise to the divinity.

---

[74] http://www.carmichaelwatson.lib.ed.ac.uk/cwatson/.

This personal name is found in English toponymy. Fellows Jensen (1968, 61–62) has proposed Bragi as the specific in Brawby in the North Riding of Yorkshire. It is recorded as *Bragebi* (1086) and *Brahebi* (1165).[75] The personal name's rarity in modern Scandinavia has been noted by Fellows Jensen, although she has also noted that the similar *Braghœ* is recorded in Denmark. Lind (1905, 161–62) suggested that Bragi forms the specific of the parish-name Brastad in Stångenäs, Bohuslän in Sweden.

Subdivision

The affixes recorded in 1509 and on Blaeu's map are G *mòr* 'big' and G *beag* 'small'. The *-is* recorded in 1542 and in subsequent forms is the Scots plural suffix *-is* and it confirms that the contemporary settlement comprised two parts. There is no indication of these two parts in 1494 and 1524 × 1538.

The affix recorded in *Bradildubh* by the likes of Dorret, Langlands and Thomson is surely G *dubh* 'black, dark'. The affix in *Bradilaltrich* is less clear-cut. It may be G *altrach* (m), gen. *altraich* 'fosterer, nurse', or one of its variants *altradh* or *altraiche* (*Dwelly*). A more likely alternative is OG/MG *alltarach* 'further, outer, on the other side' (eDIL s.v. *alltarach*). The historical maps suggest that Bradilaltrich # displaced *Bradhadail Mòr and that the large ruined settlement later known simply as Bradhadail at NM610347 (Canmore ID 79952) was its location. This has also been suggested by Maclean (1997, 21).[76] The historical maps depict *Bradhadail Beag, alias *Bradhadail Dubh, to the north-east and this settlement is probably represented by the ruined structures at NM616367 (Canmore ID 152129). The ruins on the west side of Allt na Liath-dhoire centred around NM613369 probably represent the ruined settlement of Liath-Dhoire, recorded as *Liaderry* by Langlands and Thomson.[77] Liath-Dhoire was probably a secondary settlement created upon division of the lands of Bradhadail but further systematic analysis of unpublished Early Modern sources will be required to confirm this preliminary analysis. Rixson (LAS) has suggested that Liath-Dhoire was previously part of either Tomslèibhe or Bradhadail. Tomslèibhe's low fiscal status makes it unlikely that Liath-Dhoire was a subdivision of that settlement. The combined pennyland of the two parts of Bradhadail is recorded with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe from 1542, provides explicit evidence for a link between Bradhadail and Tomslèibhe (see

---

[75] For analysis of the various representations of ON *g* in the historical sources for Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, see Fellows Jensen (1968, §135, xcvi–xcvii).

[76] Canmore does not identify Bradhadail as the name of this settlement; the entry is entitled "Mull, Beinn Talaidh".

[77] Allt na Liath-dhoire is erroneously recorded as Allt na Laith-dhoire on OS Explorer.

5.3.2, above). The latter settlement was clearly of secondary status. Tomslèibhe's specific suggests that its lands were utilised as grazing (see Tomslèibhe in Part Two, below).

Previous Analysis

It is identified as "Bradhadail" in *ALI* but its location is unidentified. Rixson (LAS) records the head-name as "Bradull". He correctly locates it in upper Glen Forsa, referring to Maclean (1997), but the suggested location of *c.*NM6136/6137 is slightly out. Rixson adds "I am not sure of its precise relationship to Tomsleibhe and Liath Dhoire." Maclean (1997, 20–21) records the name as "Bradil", the accompanying NGR referring to the ruined settlement at NM610347 identified above as the settlement's location. Maclean's 1882 source for this form is not specified. He notes that the township is unnamed in the OS record but that two distinct townships are depicted on older maps, as is highlighted above. Maclean etymologises Bradhadail as 'broad dale', from ON *breið(r)* + ON *dal(r)*. *Bradha-* is not a likely reflex of ON *breið(r)* (see Watson 1904, lviii; Cox 2002, 191). ON *ei* was pronounced /ɛi/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 266) and locally this digraph would be expected to produce [ɤː] within a Gaelic-speaking milieu, on the basis of Gaodhail (see Gaodhail, below). Thus, *breið(r)* does not suit the historical forms, the modern form in Màm Bhradhadail, or the [aː] of modern pronunciation. Maclean (1997, 21) proposes an existing name, *Allt Riabhach, as the specific in Bradilaltrich #. This proposed stream-name is not recorded in OS sources and *-rich* is unlikely to represent the diphthong in the initial syllable of *riabhach*, probably pronounced locally as /iɤ/ (cf. *SGDS* §57 *a-riamh*). *-rich* does not compare well with *-reoch* and *-roch*, reflexes of *riabhach* recorded in forms of Garmonyreoch in Moloros (see Garmonyreoch, below). Maclean (1997, 21) also proposes G *beag* in *Bradhadail Beag, G *mòr* in *Bradhadail Mòr and G *dubh* in *Bradhadail Dubh.

MacQuarrie (1982, 83) discusses Bradhadail only within the context of Màm Bhradhadail, which he records as *Mam Bhradail*. In MacQuarrie's proposed etymology, ON *dal(r)* is compounded with "Bra", a putative personal name. This does not suit either the *-aya-* of the earliest forms, the *-adha-* of OS orthography, or the long vowel of modern pronunciation.

Johnston (1990, 212–13) discusses the settlements of Bradilaltrich # and *Bradhadail Dubh only within the context of proposed shielings in Glen Forsa, analysis which is undermined by a lack of engagement with the pre-18th-century sources identified above. Johnston offers no etymological analysis.

Chronology

It is difficult to provide this name with a definitive chronology on the basis of its etymology.

Location

ON-speakers applied the name Bradhadail to the steep-sided glen running north-west and south-east on the west and south sides of Beinn Talaidh (NM625346; 763m). Despite its absence from the OS record, the name is still applied locally to the large ruined settlement at NM610347 (Canmore ID 79952).

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association which typically provide very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use and support vegetation of low grazing-value (1:250 000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 547).

Status

Bradhadail and its two combined parts are consistently valued at a pennyland/16s 8d. While the fiscal sources clearly illustrate that Bradhadail was among the primary settlements of Forsa, a settlement-model might be proposed in which Bradhadail was in fact more closely linked with the nearby two-pennyland unit of Glen Cannel (see 5.3.2, above).

Associated Names

Màm Bhradhadail (NM628334) is probably best translated as 'Mountain Pass of Bradhadail'. Màm Bhradhadail leads from Bradhadail south-east into Glen More.

CALLACHALLY   TOY S NM591422 1 375 20m

calchelle 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; printed with initial capital and identified as Callachally in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Callo hailȝe 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Callohailye* in *ER* xiii 213 but name appears over two lines and in two distinct parts in original source; the penultimate grapheme is Scots yogh]

calchele 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

calchele 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Calchele 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Calchele 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Calchele 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Calchill 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Kalchaille 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; on opposite side of watercourse from Pennygown (*Bingaun*) and further inland]

Kalchaille 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black; on opposite side of watercourse from Pennygown (*Bingaun*) and Còrrachadh (*Korady*)]

Calchill 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Galchayle 1750 Dorret

Calachaly 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXII [settlement]

Callichilly 1801 Langlands [slated house or farm; west side of River Forsa opposite Pennygown]

Callachally 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/15/1 [alternative orthography *Callachilly* replaced by *Callachally*; applied to "a dwelling house with barns, out offices, & gardens attached"; no translation offered]

Callachally 1882 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Callachally 1900 OS 6 inch 2st edn

G *call*, var. *coll* 'hazel' + G *caille*, var. *coille* 'a wood, woodland'.
G *Callchaille 'Hazel-Wood'.
[ˈkaləxle]

Etymology

This noun-noun close compound is highly likely on the basis of the earliest known forms, the name-initial stress and the presence of hazel in the area. There is hazel in the vicinity of the settlement itself (Reay Whyte, pers. comm.). Coille na Sròine (NM578426) applies to the scrub, including hazel, which lies on both sides of the modern road near Callachally. The etymology of Coille na Sròine is G *coille* 'a wood, woodland' + fem. gen. def. art. *na* + G *sròn* (f), gen. *sròine* 'nose, ridge, point, promontory'. G *caille* is the proposed form of the element, which is commonly found as *coille*, on the basis of the 1509 form and the Blaeu forms. *Caill(e)* is a common form in OG. As regards the initial element, G *coll* is also more common than the variant G *call* but the historical forms consistently record initial *a*. The medial *a* in the OS form is proposed to be epenthetic. Epenthesis also appears to be evident in the 1509 form, in the form of medial *o*, but it is noteworthy that historical forms as late as 1663 do not appear to record svarabhahkti. This includes the Blaeu forms which are independent of the fiscal tradition.

Subdivision

The same pennyland extent is recorded for neighbouring Pennygown but Pennygown is very unlikely to have been coined before the 10th century (see 5.3.2, above). A settlement-chronology is therefore speculatively suggested in which Callachally was the name applied to a large pre-existing holding in the locality, Pennygown subsequently being applied to a subdivision of this pre-existing holding (see 5.3.3, above).

Previous Analysis

It is correctly identified in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 21) has proposed G *caladh* + G *coille*, translating the name as "Wood at the sheltered shore", although Maclean proposes G *cill* as an alternative name-final element. The "old burial ground" to which Maclean refers (ibid., 145) is the long-cist cemetery at Cùil Mhurchaidh (see 1.6.6, above). Neither of Maclean's proposals are linguistically viable. The stress on the initial element identifies the name as a close compound. The consistent *Calch-* of the earliest historical forms does not support G *caladh*. Fraser (1985, 200) has in fact observed that G *caladh* is scarce in Argyll.

MacQuarrie (1982, 53) interpreted the toponym as "Grey brushwood area" from ON *kyarr* (*recte* ON *kjar(r)*) + G *achadh* + G *liath*. There is no support for this in the historical forms.

Johnston (1990, 196) reiterated MacQuarrie's proposed Gaelic elements, proposing that the initial element must also be of Gaelic origin.

Chronology

Given the syntactic structure and the proposed name-initial specific *call*, which is *calltainn* in modern Gaelic, Callachally could be a relatively early name. G *coll-choille*, however, is recorded in *Dwelly* as a compound appellative and the name cannot in isolation be considered diagnostic of date (see 5.3.3, above).

Location

The NGR is of the building to which the name Callachally refers on the OS maps. This is now a self-catering property named Callachally House. The modern farmhouse of Callachally lies a short distance to the north-west at NM590423. Callachally's lands lie on the west side of the River Forsa at the river-mouth.

Soils/Topography

Lowland brown earth soils of the Gruline Association which are utilised as arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). *Cnoc an Arbhair* (NM593427; OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/15/3) provides explicit evidence for local arable, its specific being G *arbhar* (m), gen. *arbhair* 'corn'.

Status

Primary. Its soils identify it as an area likely to have long been a centre of settlement. There is clear toponymic evidence for this in the form of Faoileann na Corraigh (NM586430; OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/11/2), probably best translated as '(The) Coastal Field of the (Undecorated) Monolith'. The name applies to the field on the north-west side of Cùil Mhurchaidh (NM588429) and is known locally within an English-speaking context as The Faoileann (Reay Whyte, pers. comm.). Local Gaelic writer John MacFadyen (1912, 313) defines *faoileann* as "meadow near to the seaside" and the element is applied in this sense as the generic in seven names in the parish recorded in OS sources, including Faoileann na Corraigh. *Faoileann* is locally productive in names applying to subdivisions of pre-existing settlements. *Corragh* is a variant of *carragh* (f), gen. *carraigh* 'rock, pillar stone' (*PNF5*, 323), a modern reflex of OG *coirthe*, primarily defined as 'rock; pillar, standing stone' (eDIL s.v. *coirthe*). Taylor (*PNF5*, 337) has suggested that in Fife *coirthe* refers only to undecorated stones, whereas G *clach* applies to carved stones (ibid., 330 s.v. *clach*; see also

Forsyth 2008, 399; *CPNS*, 412). Faoileann na Corraigh is not included in the surveys of MacQuarrie or Maclean.

There are several other local prehistoric monuments. The remains of a short cist are visible on the crest of an esker about 190m east of Callachally House (NM593422; Canmore ID 22284) and a number of Bronze Age artefacts are suggested to have come from this site (Canmore ID 22285; Canmore ID 22286; NMS Online ID 000-190-004-228-C). A broken macehead of coloured stone was found near the mouth of Glen Forsa (Canmore ID 22282). The mound at NM598419, located between Callachally and the track through Glen Forsa, has been identified as a possible cairn (Canmore ID 22281). The area has clearly long been a settlement-centre. Johnston's proposal that Callachally comprised part of the settlement-unit of Pennygown is not supported by the fiscal sources (1990, 195–97).

Associated Names

There is an Early Christian or medieval long-cist cemetery in Cùil Mhurchaidh (NM588429), the name of a field attached to the modern farm of Callachally (see 1.6.6, above).

Tenure

Callachally was Major Lachlan Macquarie's preferred choice of headquarters for the newly formed Jarvisfield estate in 1804 but this was prevented by the contemporary tenant's existing lease and the headquarters were instead established at Gruline (Currie 2000, 214; Whyte 2014, 115–17). The inn in which a celebratory dinner was held following the purchase (ibid., 214) is locally believed to be the building now known as Callachally House.[78] Canmore (ID 233787) provides no construction-date for this building. The building referred to as Glenforsa House on the OS 2nd edition map of 1900 near the site of the modern Glenforsa Hotel (NM594428) is a transferred name from what is now Gruline House (NM551393), the headquarters of the Jarvisfield estate and subsequently the headquarters of the united estate of Jarvisfield and Glenforsa (1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn; Currie 2000, 261; Whyte 2014, 115; for Gruline House, see Canmore IDs 22241 and 22240). The name Glenforsa House has been transferred recently to the self-catering property on the east side of the River Forsa at NM599430.

---

[78] Callachally House, 'History', <http://www.largeholidayhousemull.co.uk/history/>.

CAMERON TOY S NM602250 1 375 35m

Camroyn<e> 1494 *RMS* ii no. 2200 [pennyland; in Moloros; identified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Camroyn* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Carmerovne 1509 *ER* xiii 212 [8s 4d; in Moloros; printed as *Carmeroune* in *ER* xiii 212; *-rm-* is unique to this form; *v* is probably in error for *u*, as the printed form implies]

camroyn<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Camroyne* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; there is a faint flourish above the final *n* which is proposed to represent *-ne*]

camroyn<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Camroyne 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Camoryne (vel *Camroyn*) 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Camroyne (vel *Camioune*) 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Camroun 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Camroun 1636 *RMS* ix no. 467 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Kamren 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

Camroun 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Cameron 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Cameron 1807 Arrowsmith

Cameron 1832 Thomson [settlement; woodland to north]

Cameron 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/73/2 ["Applies to the Farm of Cameron which comprises a considerable portion of Hill ground, and situated about ¾ of a mile West by North from Lochbuy. The property of M. G. Maclaine Esq"; no translation offered]

Cameron 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn [district-name]

Cameron 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn (1) [applies to what is Benbury Lodge (later Benbuie Lodge) on the 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn map]

Cameron 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn (2) [district-name]

Nighean gobha Chamrain MacFadyen (1902, 31) ['The daughter of the smith of Cameron'; lenited gen. form; the nominative is *Camran or *Camrain]

G *cam* 'crooked' + G *sròn* (f) 'nose (of land), ridge, point, promontory' or G *roinn* (f) 'division, share, portion'.

G *Cam Shròn 'Crooked Nose' or G *Cam Roinn 'Crooked Portion'.

[ˈkamərən]

Etymology

G *cam*

This is the proposed name-initial specific in the proposed adjective-noun close compound. The *-rm-* of the 1509 form is an anomaly. This productive element is frequently preposed in names of this type (see 5.3.3, above). In Ross and Cromarty, Watson (1904, xli) lists *cam* among the adjectives occasionally preposed. Cox (2002, 17) records that the element is both preposed and post-posed in Carloway in Lewis ROS. In Fife, G *cam* and Pictish **cam* are difficult to distinguish but the adjectives are always preposed (*PNF5*, 320; also 5.3.3, above). G *cam* is also preposed in several compound appellatives, such as *cam-shùil* 'squint eye' and *cam-chasach* 'bow-legged' (*Mac Eachainn*), and it is the initial element in the common personal name Cameron, etymologised as *cam + sròn*, literally 'crooked nose'. The personal name and the settlement-name may share the same etymology. Taylor (*PNF2*, 420; *PNF3*, 90) has proposed that the most recent written and spoken forms of three place-names whose modern form is Cameron, two in Fife and one in Midlothian, have no doubt been influenced by this personal name.

There is supporting evidence for a name including G *cam* in local toponymy in the form of Maol an Fhiar-Bhealaich (NM608254). The generic of this name is G *maol*, applied here as 'bare top; bare round hill'. The specific is the existing name **(Am) Fiar Bhealach*. This existing name is also an adjective-noun close compound, on the basis of its OS form. The name-final generic is G *bealach*, primarily 'mountain- or hill-pass' (*PNF5*, 294). The specific is G *fiar* 'crooked, bent' (*Mac Eachainn*). The implication is that the local landscape was perceived in some way as being crooked. G *fiar*, like *cam*, is also preposed in compound appellatives; e.g. *fiar-shùil* is 'squint eye' (*Dwelly*). Cox (2002, 17 and 281) records Am Fiar Allt "the winding stream" in Carloway in Lewis ROS in which *fiar* is also preposed.

G *sròn*

The historical forms and the resemblence between the personal name Cameron and the modern form of the settlement-name identify G *sròn* as the possible generic. This productive element could have been applied to a local nose-like ridge.

G *roinn*

An alternative is G *roinn*. While the *y* in the *-oyne* ending of the earliest forms may reflect the long *ò* of *sròn*, or even -[ɲ] in an oblique case of *sròn*, e.g. dat. *sròin*, an alternative is

that they reflect -[ɲ] in *roinn*. G *roinn* is derived from OG *rann*. The modern reflex *roinn* is a variant of *rainn*, the acc. and dat. sing. form which came into use as the nom. sing. in the MG period and gradually supplanted *rann* in the sense of 'part' (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *rann*; *PNF5*, 481). The form *rann* is productive in Hebridean toponymy, being proposed by Watson in The Rhinns of Islay (*CPNS*, 496). In relation to Cameron, it is noteworthy that it may be productive in an adjective-noun close compound in mainland Argyll in the parish of Lismore. Crom Rainn (NN001581) applies to a cultivated promontory near Kentallen (OSNB ARG OS1/2/48/9/1).[79] The specific in Crom Roinn appears to be G *crom* which is typically carries the sense 'crooked' in Scottish toponymy (Taylor 2005, 18). Its application is therefore very similar to that of G *cam*. While the generic in Crom Rainn appears to be G *rainn*, the aforementioned variant of *roinn*, an alternative is G *rinn* 'point, promontory', also a productive element (*CPNS*, 495–96; *PNF5*, 480). The consistent *o* in the historical forms of Cameron makes G *rinn* unlikely in this Moloros settlement-name.

MacFadyen's Gaelic form *Camran or *Camrain supports an etymology including G *cam*. MacFadyen's form probably indicates that the generic was opaque.

Subdivision

*Aon Stapall was incorporated within the holding of Cameron in *RMS, RSS* and *Retours*. Both *Aon Stapall and Cameron may have originally been subdivisions of Moy (see 5.4.2, above). The OSNB entry records that the contemporary farm of Cameron comprised a considerable portion of hill-ground and this pastureland might historically have provided grazing utilised as part a single agricultural holding whose arable core was the holding of Moy.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Cameron in *ALI* and by Rixson. Maclean (1997, 22) prefers an etymology in G *cam* + G *sròn*, drawing comparison with the personal name Cameron. MacQuarrie does not analyse the name.

---

[79] The form is taken from the OS 1st edn map, the *ò* in the specific of the OSNB and OS 2nd edn map forms not recorded in standardised modern orthography of G *crom*.

Chronology

The name's adjective-noun close-compound structure cannot in isolation be considered diagnostic of date.

Location

The NGR is of the modern farm of Cameron, to which the name refers on OS Explorer. It lies at the head of Loch Buie around 1.5km WNW of Moy Castle. The historical OS maps indicate that historically the name was applied as a local district-name. The original application of Cameron may specifically have been to the hill-ground described in OSNB.

Soils/Topography

As is highlighted above, the OSNB entry records that the farm comprised a considerable portion of hill-ground. The soils around the modern farm are brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). These typically carry a bent-fescue grassland or oak-birch woodland but, where site conditions allow, they are responsive to improvement and they often carry long ley grassland (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 546). Between the farm and the shore there are brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association which locally provide arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). The equal extent recorded for both Cameron and neighbouring *Aon Stapall in 1509 probably indicates that each settlement had a share of these productive soils but that their extents were relatively small.

Status

It is of primary status in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours*, when the holding included the lands of neighbouring *Aon Stapall, but the 8s 4d extent of both Cameron and *Aon Stapall in 1509 identifies both as settlements of secondary status. As is highlighted above (see 5.4.3), Cameron and *Aon Stapall may originally have been secondary settlements created upon subdivision of the lands of Moy.

CÒRRACHADH   TOY D NM613395 1 375 50m

    coroch 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; printed with initial capital but unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

    Corrachy 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed in *ER* xiii 213]

    coroch 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed with initial capital and erroneously with a final *e* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

    coroch 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in abridged *RMS* version of charter]

    Corauche 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

    Carrauch 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa; the initial *a* here may be a misreading of *o*]

    Corauche 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

    Corrauiche 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa]

    Corrauch 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

    Corrauch 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa]

    Korady 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; appears likely to be a typesetter's error for *Korachy, given previous historical forms]

    Korady 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black; inland from Leiter (*Letir Ardintrail*)]

    Corrauch 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

    Còrrachadh 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/20/1 (1) ["Applies to a number of ruins on the E side of River Forsa, about ½ a mile N. of Gaodhail"; translated as "Odd Fields"]

    Corrachadh 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/20/1 (2) [alternative form; another alternative form, Còrr Achadh, is scored out]

    Còrrachadh 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

    Còrrachadh 1897 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

    Corachie 2016 [a modern house-name (NM572429) in Salen]

G *corrach* 'marsh, bog, fen'; or G *corr* 'pointed' or G *corr* 'projecting part, end, corner, peak; heron; well, pool, depression containing water' + G *-ach*.

G *Corrach 'Marsh, Bog, Fen'; or G *Corrach 'Pointed Place' or 'Place of the Projecting Part(s)/End(s)/Corner(s)/Peak(s)' or 'Place of Herons' or 'Place of the Well(s)/Pool(s)/Depression(s) Containing Water'.

[ˈkɔrəxe]

Etymology

The short vowel of local pronunciation is not well-represented by the OS Explorer form which indicates a long vowel in the initial syllable. The OS forms clearly indicate that the name was understood as G *còrr* or *corr* + G *achadh*.[80] While G *achadh* 'field; (small) farm' is frequently recorded in historical forms of local settlement-names as *Ach-* and *Auch-* in stressed syllables and might be expected to produce similar forms as an unstressed name-final generic, *achadh* does not appear to be recorded as a name-final generic in medieval settlement-names locally and there are more convincing explanations for the final element(s) represented in the earliest forms.[81] As regards G *corr*, it carries various senses, including 'odd', and it is toponymically productive (*Dwelly*; see also Taylor 2005, 17). However, the *Cor-* consistent in the earliest forms probably indicates that the vowel in the initial syllable was historically pronounced short, as it is in local pronunciation. The modern house-name *Corachie* is a more accurate representation of local pronunciation than the OS Explorer form and the house-name compares well with the 1509 form, both in terms of the initial vowel and the *-ie* / *-y* ending.

Final *-ie* / *-y* indicates perception of a final vowel but this is only occasionally recorded in the earliest forms, suggesting that it was only occasionally articulated. The *-ie* and *-y* ending may represent either the Gaelic diminutive suffix *-aidh* (Watson 1904, xxxvi; also Márkus 2012, 485 and 519), or the Gaelic suffix *-ach*, in the dative form *-aigh* with a locational sense (Watson 1904, xxxiv–xxxvi).[82] Clancy (2014) has recently suggested that *-ach* may often lie behind place-names containing *-aidh*. Watson (*CPNS*, 438) noted that the Gaelic ending *-(a)idh*, which is found as *-ie* and *-y* in Anglicised forms, is "really not one ending but several which have fallen together, so that it is difficult to disentangle them". Márkus (2012, 485) has suggested that either *-ach* or *-aidh* could lie behind the *-y* of Bogany BUT. Definitive identification of the suffix in Còrrachadh is difficult but it is important to note that it is only

---

[80] Compensatory lengthening of the vowel occurs before *-rr* and this is not always indicated orthographically (see, for example, McConville 2013, 66).

[81] For further discussion of the application of G *achadh*, see Garmony and Tomslèibhe, below.

[82] See also Russell 1990, 23–28 and 86–103; Nicolaisen 1996; Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 38–44; Cox 2002, 60; *PNF5*, 277; Márkus 2012, 518; Clancy 2014.

occasionally recorded in the earliest forms. In defining the sense attached to the suffix *-ach*, it is important to consider the elements to which it may be attached.

G *corr* + *-ach*

OG *corr* carries many senses and this is reflected in its modern reflexes. The adjective *corr* 'pointed' is productive in Scottish toponymy (Taylor 2005, 17). It is derived from OG *corr*, an adjective meaning 'tapering, cuspidated, peaked, pointed, jutting out or up, swelling' and a feminine noun meaning 'projecting part, end, corner, peak' (eDIL s.v. 1 *corr*). Either the adjective or the noun could form the generic in Còrrachadh. Taylor (2009, 86) has proposed the British cognate of G *corr*, *cur or *cor, in Corra LAN, the historical forms suggesting an etymology including the British suffix *-ōc, a cognate of G *-ach* (cf. *CPNS*, 202; also Russell 1990, 32–60). Thus, Còrrachadh could be the Gaelic equivalent of Corra, which is recorded as *elcorroc,* perhaps for *del Corroc* 'from the Corra', in 1147 × 1160 (Taylor 2009, 85). The proposed referent in Corra is the corner of land perched on the dramatic outcrop of rock high above the Clyde where the remains of the Bannatyne stronghold stand at Corhouse beside the waterfall of Corra Linn (ibid., 86). The referent for Còrrachadh could relate to the settlement's situation near Tòrr nan Taghan (NM619390), or a projecting spur of Beinn Chreagach Bheag (NM622398). Defining the sense which *-ach* attaches to nouns and adjectives is difficult. In derived nouns, the suffix is probably best defined as 'having X, having much X, qualified by X' (Clancy 2014). In place-names, Watson (1904, xxxiv) translated the suffix as 'place of X / on X' with nouns and as 'X place' with adjectives but, as Clancy (2014) has suggested, translations generally thin out the deeper, denser sense which it carries. For current purposes, 'place' is useful to indicate a toponymic application.

Returning to G *corr*, there are alternative referents. OG *corr* was also applied as a bird-name, translated as 'heron, crane, stork (occasionally)' (eDIL s.v. 2 *corr*). The typical Gaelic reflex is G *corra* 'heron, crane', also a productive place-name element (Taylor 2005, 17). If this sense does lie behind Còrrachadh, it is probably best translated as 'Place of Herons' (see Watson 1904, xxxiv). OG *corr* is also defined as 'well, pool, depression containing water' and these senses could have been productive in Còrrachadh (eDIL s.v. 3 *corr*).

G *corrach*

G *corrach* is recorded as a noun and an adjective. The adjective is toponymically productive and is defined as 'steep, eminent, lofty' (Taylor 2005, 17). *Dwelly* defines the noun *corrach* as 'fetter, shackle; bog, marsh; boat' but the senses 'bog' and 'marsh', the most likely senses in Còrrachadh, appear to have fallen out of use. *Mac Eachainn* defines *corrach* as 'steep; unsteady; passionate' and *TYGD* defines it as 'steep; rough; unsteady, unstable (e.g. boat)' (see also DASG, Fieldwork Archive, s.v. *corrach*). The senses 'bog' and 'marsh' surely derive directly from OG *cuirrech*, later also *currach*, defined as 'marsh, fen' (eDIL s.v. *cuirrech*). In place-names, *corrach* was identified as a variant of *currach* by Watson who defined the terms as "wet plain" (*CPNS*, 144) or "marshy plain" (ibid., 202; also Dixson 1947, 173). Taylor (2009, 86) has suggested an alternative etymology for the names on the River Clyde LAN, as is highlighted above (cf. *CPNS*, 202), but the entry in *Dwelly* suggests that *corrach* also carried the sense 'bog, marsh'. G *currach* has been proposed in place-names in Fife and Bute, where it is defined by Taylor and Márkus as 'bog, fen where shrubs grow' (*PNF5*, 348; Márkus 2012, 170–71 and 545). An application of *corrach* as 'marsh, bog, fen' would be topographically appropriate in Còrrachadh (see 'Soils/Topography', below).

Previous Analysis

It is unidentified in *ALI*. Rixson (LAS) identifies the earliest forms with "Corrachadh" and tentatively identifies the Blaeu form *Korady* with the settlement. There is little doubt that the Blaeu form relates to Còrrachadh. Maclean (1997, 23) interpreted the name as "principal field or taper field", from G *corr* + G *achadh*. As is highlighted above, G *achadh* is unlikely as the name-final element. Johnston does not include Còrrachadh in analysis of settlement in Glen Forsa. MacQuarrie does not discuss the name.

Chronology

Simplex names are difficult to date. They are considered to form the earliest stratum of Gaelic place-names but names formed in *-ach* are found fairly frequently in Scottish toponymy (see 5.3.3, above).

Location

Còrrachadh applies to a large ruined settlement of around 24 unroofed buildings (Canmore ID 22406), most of which now lie within a Forestry Commission plantation, on the east side of the River Forsa around 4km SSE of the river-mouth.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association which typically support grasses of low grazing-value and provide very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use (1:250,000 Soil Map; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 547). Uphill of the settlement there are brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association which typically carry a bent-fescue grassland or oak-birch woodland. Where site conditions allow these are responsive to improvement and they often carry long ley grassland (1:250,000 Soil Map; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 546). Douglass (1988, 21) records a fairly well-preserved corn-drying kiln here, suggesting the presence of cultivable land. One of the tributaries of the River Forsa in the vicinity of Còrrachadh is Allt Goirtein nan Crann (NM609397). On the basis of this OS form, the etymology of *Goirtein nan Crann, the most likely form of the existing name, is G *goirtein*, var. *goirtean* 'small field; enclosed land for both arable and pastoral activities; small arable field; small farm' + gen. pl. def. art. *nan* + G *crann* 'tree; plough'.[83] Its specific, if applied as 'plough', suggests cultivable land and *Goirtein nan Crann could conceivably have been utilised for cultivation of corn. While *goirtein* is sometimes applied specifically to arable, it was locally productive in the naming of secondary settlements and it is likely to have applied locally to both pastoral and arable.

Several tributaries of the River Forsa, the majority of which are unnamed in the OS sources, flow down the slopes of Beinn Chreagach Bheag in and around the settlement and the likelihood is that the area was prone to waterlogging. Thus, local topography would suit an etymology of *Corrach, meaning either 'Marsh, Bog, Fen', 'Heron-Place' or 'Place of the Well(s)/Pool(s)'. The local Forestry Commission plantation makes it difficult to identify the most likely referent in a name originally meaning 'Pointed Place' or 'Place at the Projecting Part/End/Corner/Peak' but these alternatives cannot be ruled out.

Status

Primary. Còrrachadh is consistently valued at a pennyland and there is no indication that it formed part of a larger pre-existing holding.

---

[83] *Goirtein* appears to be the most common nominative form in local place-names; *goirtean* is the more common form.

COWILLAY #   TOY D NM686261 2 X 80m

 kowillay 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Moloros; unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200; follows Drimnatain, precedes Garmonyreoch]

 Caulȝea 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; follows *Croggan Beag, precedes Garmonyreoch; in Moloros; printed as *Caulyea* in *ER* xiii 212]

 kowillay 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 kowillay 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 Kowyllay 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Kowilay 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Kowillay 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Cowillay 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Coulle 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black between Drimnatain and Barachandroman on southern shore of western arm of Loch Spelve]

 Covillan 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Coale 1750 Dorret [on the southern shoreline of the western arm of Loch Spelve]

G *cuaille* '(large) club, staff, cudgel, pole, stake, post, rafter, baton'.
G *Cuaille 'Club-Shaped Feature'.

Etymology

This name is obsolete. There are more recent forms than *Cowillay* but it closely parallels the earliest form and probably best represents the name. G *cuaille* is proposed as the element best suited to the vowel represented by *-owi-* and *-au-* in the earliest forms. /ʎ/ would be expected in pronunciation of intervocalic slender *ll* locally and this is likely to explain the yogh in the 1509 form (see, for example, *SGDS* §129 *buachaill: buachaille*). G *cuaille* is primarily defined as 'club, baton, bludgeon' in *Dwelly*, whose other definitions are also recorded above. *Mac Eachainn* defines it as 'large club, baton'. It derives from OG *cúaille*, earlier *cúalne*, 'stake, pole, post', which was commonly applied to the material of (wooden) structures, fences etc. (eDIL s.v. *cúaille*). G *cuaille* does not appear to be particularly common in Scottish toponymy but it is found locally. It is the specific in Doire na Cuaille KKE (NM466504) in north Mull, a feature on the west side of Loch Frisa at the northern

end of the loch. OSNB (ARG OS1/2/69/89/2) records that Doire na Cuaille applies to a small craggy hill and translates it as "Cudgel Wood". The generic, G *doire*, is better defined as 'grove, thicket' (Taylor 2005, 20). This is the same generic proposed in Derrynaculen, a medieval settlement of Moloros, whose specific is proposed as *cuaillean*, the genitive plural form of *cuaille* (see Derrynaculen, below).

G *cuaille* is productive elsewhere in Scottish toponymy. Elsewhere, Cnoc na Cuaille in the parish of Kilmorack INV is translated as "Hillock of the Cudgel" in OSNB (INV OS1/17/48/8/4). It applies to "an eminence". A minor name, Cnoc na Cuaille is not included in the place-name survey of Kilmorack carried out by the AHRB-funded 'Beauly, The Aird and Strathglass Place-Name Survey' (Beauly). The comparative evidence suggests that G *cuaille* is applied to hills figuratively associated with a club or cudgel, the latter being the preferred OSNB definition.[84] The element may thus be compared with the likes of G *stob* (m) 'point, stake' (Taylor 2005, 36) and G *saidh* (f) 'upright beam, post' (Taylor 2005, 34).

Subdivision

There is no suggestion of subdivision of the lands of Cowillay # in the fiscal sources.

Previous Analysis

The settlement is unidentified in *ALI*. Rixson (LAS) tentatively proposes its location as *c*.NM6826; i.e. in the same area as is proposed above. Maclean does analyse Blaeu forms in discussion of other settlement-names but does not include *Coulle* in his survey. MacQuarrie does not include the settlement-name in his survey.

Chronology

A simplex name, Cowillay # is difficult to date. They are considered to form the earliest stratum of Gaelic place-names (see 5.3.3, above) but the name could conceivably have been coined at any point up to 1494.

Location

The fiscal sources suggest that the settlement was located between Drimnatain and Garmonyreoch. The situation of Cowillay # on Blaeu's map aligns with this evidence. The

---

84 On metaphorical Gaelic place-names, see Ó Maolalaigh 2003.

ruined township above the modern house at Dalnaha (NM685263) is therefore the most attractive location and the NGR is of this ruined township (Canmore ID 152144).

Soils/Topography

The component soils around both this ruined settlement and the modern settlement at Dalnaha are brown earths of the Darleith Association which are largely freely drained and are consequently important agriculturally (1:250,000 Soil Map of Scotland; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 60, Map Unit 158). Deeper soils are frequently cultivated; shallow soils are surface seeded and provide good grazing. Sites not suitable for improvement carry vegetation of high grazing-value.

Status

Primary. It is consistently valued at a pennyland.

Associated Names

An etymology of G *dail* 'water-meadow, haugh' + G *àth* (m), gen. *àth* 'ford' is attractive for Dalnaha given the two fords indicated on the OS maps in the vicinity of this settlement. However, the OS form suggests the fem. gen. sing. def. art. *na* and G *àth* (f), gen. *(h-)àtha* 'kiln'. Maclean (1997, 24) prefers G *àth* (f) 'kiln', noting "the remains of several kilns". MacQuarrie (1982, 66) prefers G *àth* (m) 'ford'. The name is not translated in OSNB (ARG OS1/2/76/140/3). Dalnaha may have been a name originally applied to a subdivision of the medieval settlement of Cowillay #.

CROGGAN   TOY S NM707272 1 375 10m

Croganemoir 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Moloros; printed as *Croganemoir* in *ER* xiii 212; *o* unclear due to blotch on original manuscript but this vowel is consistent in subsequent forms]

Croganebeg 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Moloros; first *e* unclear but likely given the above form *Croganemoir*; printed as *Croganebeg* in *ER* xiii 212]

Krogan 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black near mouth of Loch Spelve and Firth of Lorn coastline]

Crogan 1750 Dorret

Crogan 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI [settlement]

Crogan 1801 Langlands [farm-houses near mouth of Loch Spelve and Firth of Lorn coastline]

Crogan 1807 Arrowsmith

Crogan 1832 Thomson [settlement near mouth of Loch Spelve; headland to the east]

Crogan 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/105/2 (1) ["A district comprising Leckruah, Kenandroma, Balgamrie, Barnashoag, Gortendoil & Portfield. The district is situated on the south side of Loch Spelve. Opposite Gualachaolish. Prop: of M.G. Maclaine Esq: of Lochbuy."]

Croggan OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/105/2 (2) [alternative form; this form preferred on later OS maps]

Crogan 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn [applied as a district-name]

's a Chrògan 1890 MacFadyen (1890, 96) *An t-Eileanach* ['in Croggan'; dat. case; nom. would be *An Crògan]

Croggan 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn [applied as a district-name]

Lachann Dubh a' Chrògain Lobban (2004) [the title of a printed collection of the songs of Lachann Dubh a' Chrògain, literally 'Lachann Dubh of Croggan', and his grandsons by a local author; settlement-name in the gen.; nom. is *An Crògan]

G *cròg* '(large) hand; paw; claw; fist' + G *-an*.
G (An) Crògan '(The) Little Hand/Paw/Claw/Fist' or 'Place of (Large) Hands/Paws/Claws/Fists'.

['krɔgən]

Etymology

Importantly, the vowel in the initial syllable of the local Gaelic forms is long, suggesting that the generic is G *cròg*. In the modern language, G *cròg* is defined as 'large hand; palm of the hand' (*TYGD*). *Dwelly* primarily defines the term as 'large or clumsy hand', also recording the following senses: 'clutch; palm of the hand; paw; claw; fist'. *Mac Eachainn* defines the term as 'hand, paw'. An associative application of the Manx cognate is proposed by Broderick in Croak in the parish of Braddan (Douglas); Manx *croag* is proposed to apply to a "sharp-pointed rock" (2006, 91). Cox (2002, 110) has proposed that the referent of the specific of Staca na Cròige in Carloway, in which the element is found in the genitive, is a claw-like rock formation (ibid., 374). A figurative application of G *cròg* as '(large) hand; paw, claw; fist' seems likely in Croggan.

The definite article is recorded in the Gaelic forms of the name, suggesting that the name was understood as applying to a single feature; i.e. '(The) Little Hand/Paw/Claw/Fist'. However, the article might have been attached to the place-name after its original application had become opaque. As well as having a diminutive force, G *-an* has a collective force in place-names (see Watson 1904, xxxvii). There is evidence for this collective force being present in Croggan in the form of Crogan Mòr (NM701253; 243m) and Crogan Beag (NM700257; 241m). These names apply to local hills to the south-west of the modern settlement of Croggan. These cannot be the locations of the settlements *Croggan Mòr and *Croggan Beag which are recorded in the earliest fiscal sources (see 'Subdivision', below). However, these features, and perhaps other similar local features, might collectively be the referents of an original *Crògan; in other words, these features were figuratively associated with a (large) hands/paws/claws/fists. The short vowel in the initial syllable of the hill-names does not rule out *cròg* as the underlying generic, given that the long vowel explicitly recorded in local Gaelic forms of the settlement-name is not recorded in the OS Explorer form.

Subdivision

ER 1509 provides explicit evidence for the two parts of Croggan. Affixed to the settlement-name in *Croganemoir* and *Croganebeg* respectively are G *mòr* 'big' and G *beag* 'small'.

Previous Analysis

Croggan is not discussed in *ALI* because the settlement-name is not recorded in 1494. Rixson (LAS) locates Croggan at NM7025, proposing that the modern settlement is north of where it was in the past. He clearly identifies it with the locations of the hills called Crogan Mòr and Crogan Beag. Settlement here is very unlikely, as is highlighted above. Maclean (1997, 24 and 155, note 93) has translated Croggan as "The little crag or the little handful". Maclean (ibid., 155) cites Watson's discussion of *Crog Reth* in *VC* (i 46; *CPNS*, 78) in proposing that "Cròg stands for early Celtic Cruoc, g. Cruach, a Hill". However, the Gaelic reflex of Early Celtic *cruoc-* is *cruach*, in OG *crúach* (eDIL s.v. 1 *crúach*) and Croggan is an unlikely reflex of a name formed in this element. G *cruach* 'heap, stack, bold hill' is a productive element in the parish, being recorded by the OS as the name-initial element in seven place-names. This total includes Cruach na h-Airighe (NM695253; 296m), a hill situated around 2.3km south-west of the proposed location of *Croggan Mòr. In discussion of Croggan, Maclean (ibid., 31) draws attention to the aforementioned hill-names Crogan Mòr and Crogan Beag. Maclean also refers to the ruined townships of Balgamrie and Barnashoag as "Old Croggan". The site of these townships is the proposed location of Ardnasalyne # (see Ardnasalyne, above). Maclean's local form "Crogan" is recorded with a short vowel (ibid., 155) but this does not correlate with the local Gaelic form, as is highlighted above. MacQuarrie does not discuss the settlement-name but defines *crogan* as 'fold, pen, enclosure', apparently identifying it as a derivative of G *crò* 'sheep pen, fold, circle' (Taylor 2005, 18). These senses do not appear to be recorded elsewhere and it is difficult to imagine *crogan*, which MacQuarrie appears to record with a short initial vowel, being a derivative of *crò*.

Chronology

Simplex names are difficult to date. They are considered to form the earliest stratum of Gaelic place-names (see 5.3.3, above) but the name could conceivably have been coined at any point before 1494.

Location

The NGR refers to the modern settlement which lies on the south side of the narrow entrance of Loch Spelve opposite the ruins of the medieval parish church of Killean on the north side of the channel. *Croggan Mòr applied to the medieval settlement also known as Ardnasalyne # and *Croggan Beag is an alias of Drimnatain (see Ardnasalyne #, above and Drimnatain, below). Croggan came to be applied locally as a district-name.

Soils/Topography

See Ardnasalyne # and Drimnatain.

Status

Primary. Both *Croggan Mòr and *Croggan Beag are valued at a 16s 8d, i.e. a pennyland.

Associated Names

Crogan Mòr (NM701253; 243m) and Crogan Beag (NM700257; 241m) are discussed above. The settlement-name is probably the existing name in both Maol a' Chrogain (NM712262), probably best translated as '(The) Bare Top/Bare Round Hill of Croggan', and Airigh Mhòr a' Chrogain (NM692249), '(The) Shieling/Summer Pasture of Croggan'. The latter area was surely utilised for local transhumance.

CROSTA #   TOY D NM593247 2 X 60m

crosta 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Crosta* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; printed as both *Crosta* and *Crosca* in *OPS* (II i 305 and 313), highlighting minim confusion between *t* and *c*]

Le croft 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; printed as *le Croft* in *ER* xiii 212; *Le* is the Anglo-Norman definite article, discussed below; *f* indicates confusion with long *s*, both in this form and in later forms; the generic has been reinterpreted as Sc *croft*, discussed below]

crosta 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Crosta* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

crosta 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Croft 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Crost 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Croft 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Crost 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Charest 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; near coastline between Cameron (*Kamren*) and Glenbyre (*Glenba*)]

Croft 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

ON *kross* (m), gen. *kross* 'cross' + ON *staðir*, nom. pl. of *stað(r)* (m), applied as 'stead, place, farm-settlement unit' or ON *stǫð* (f) 'landing-place, berth, harbour; place'.
ON *Krossstaði (acc. pl.) 'Cross-Stead' or ON *Krossstǫð 'Landing-Place of the Cross'.

Etymology

Cros(s)- is typical in both historical forms and modern reflexes of toponyms proposed to include ON *kross* as a specific in Hebridean toponymy (see, for example, Gammeltoft 2001, 109–10 and 304–05). The *f* recorded in a number of forms is proposed to have been produced as a result of misreading of long *s*. Where *f* is recorded, it probably also indicates reinterpretation of the generic as Sc *croft* 'smallholding (of land), piece of enclosed land, small field (used for tillage or pasture)' (*PNF5*, 343). This interpretation is likely to account for use of *Le* in 1509. *Le* is the Anglo-Norman masc. sing. def. art. frequently used in Latin contexts when citing place-names in the vernacular; this idiomatically required the definite article (*DOST* s.v. *Le* def. art.). In this case, the vernacular is that of the Scots-speaking

scribes likely to have recorded these forms. Thus, in *ER*, the settlement-name has been reinterpreted as 'The Croft'. Taylor (*PNF5*, 282) notes that, when older French *lie*, *le*, *ly* appears with place-names, it probably means that the name in question was used with the definite article in local speech, even if this has not survived. The implication is that the def. art. was prefixed to Crosta # by Gaelic-speakers to whom its etymology was opaque.

The majority of forms, however, including the earliest form, record long *s* as opposed to *f*. Thus, Crosta # is the preferred form of this settlement-name because it is proposed to more accurately reflect the underlying etymology than the more recent form *Croft*. The *s* in Blaeu's form is important evidence in support of the proposed original *s*.

ON *kross*

The religious sense of ON *kross*, which can also be applied to crossing places, reflects borrowing from OG/MG *cros*, itself a borrowing from Latin *crux* (eDIL s.v. *cros*; see also Taylor 2004, 130 and 141). *Zoëga* defines ON *kross* as 'cross, crucifix; sign of the cross'. In Modern Icelandic, *kross* is defined as 'cross; the holy rood, crucifix; the sign of the cross; a cross used to summon people to a meeting (the Scottish *Fiery cross*)' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). Discussing ON *kross* in Scottish toponymy, Gammeltoft (2001, 110) defines the term as "a cross, a junction" but proposes that the referent in the majority of place-names is probably a standing cross rather than a road junction. The sense "cross as a religious symbol" is proposed by Fellows-Jensen in six *bý*-names in north-west England (1985, 19). Local toponymy makes it very likely that the referent of ON *kross* in Crosta # is a religious cross (see 5.3.3, above).

ON *staðir*

As is highlighted above, the singular form of this masculine noun in *stað(r)*. Where the element is productive, the consensus is that it was applied in the nom. pl. *staðir* or oblique cases thereof. In Shetland, the typical reflex of *staðir* when the element is in name-final position is *-sta* (Fellows-Jensen 1984, 158; Waugh 1987, 70) and Nicolaisen's list of Hebridean *staðir*-names, whilst not exhaustive and not including Crosta # in Moloros, illustrates that in the Hebrides, too, the element typically produces Scotticised/Anglicised forms in *-sta* (2001, 116). This aligns with the historical forms of Crosta #.

Reflexes of simplex *bólstað(r)*-names in the Hebrides are of particular interest in analysis of Crosta #. ON *bólstað(r)* is a compound appellative and productive toponymyic element in

which masc. sing. *stað(r)* is the final element (see Gammeltoft 2001). Gammeltoft's analysis of *bólstað(r)* in the North Atlantic has highlighted that modern reflexes of simplex names in the west of Scotland have final [st], [stɑ] or [stɑɣ] (2001, 91). Cox (1994, 46; 2002, 14), in a study of the same element, also records -[st], -[stɑ] and -[stɑɣ]. Final [ɣ] is not considered to be a reflex of ON *ð* but rather a way of closing an otherwise open syllable within a Gaelic-speaking context.[85] It is represented orthographically in some Hebridean names in the form -*sta(i)dh* (Fellows-Jensen 1984, 158). While it may historically have been a feature of spoken forms of Crosta #, it is not a feature of the historical forms. The earliest forms of Crosta # suggest final -/stɑ/.

Application of *staðir*

Toponymic application of *staðir*, both in modern Scandinavia and in areas of Norse influence in the North Atlantic, has been much debated. The range of meanings recorded for ON *stað(r)* is large and diverse. The primary definition recorded in *Zoëga* is " 'stead', place, spot". Gammeltoft's proposal that the term "carries the general notion of 'a place' " aligns with this definition but he expresses uncertainty as to how 'place' should be conceived (2001, 31–32). In *bólstað(r)*, it is suggested that *stað(r)* could refer to the farm building(s) on the cultivated land, to the cultivated and settled area itself, or to a section of an entire cultivated and settled area, in which case "*bólstaðr* would refer to a subdivision of a township or farm" (2001, 32).

Fellows-Jensen has proposed the likelihood that "colonial names" in -*staðir* have always denoted settlements (1984, 158), considering it likely that the term originally had a general significance such as 'place, site for', later acquiring the secondary sense 'farm' (1987, 44). *Staðir*-names are considered to be characteristic of areas of mainly Norwegian, as opposed to Danish, settlement (Fellows-Jensen 1987, 56). Given the fact that the plural form of the element is toponymically productive, Waugh (1987, 72) has envisaged a *staðir*-farm as comprising a small group of dwellings forming a unit; the unit is considered to have had a purely farming function within a larger community, the emphasis being on communal living. Macniven (2015, 74–75) defines ON *staðir* as 'steading', identifying it as the second most common ON cultural (i.e. habitative) generic in Islay.

---

[85] See Cox (1994, 46; 2002, 14); Gammeltoft (2001, 92); and analysis of Beinn Talaidh in 5.3.2, above.

Crosta # certainly applied to a settlement in the Late Medieval period and its original application was surely to a settlement in the Norse period. English *stead* is the definition preferred above, given that it can be defined as 'place; a property or estate in land; a farm' (OED s.v. *stead*, n.II 2 and II 6). ON *stað(r)* is a cognate of OE *stęde*, the term from which *stead* derives. Specifically within the context of ON *kross*, it is also worth noting application of *stað(r)* as 'church establishment, church, convent' (*Zoëga*; also Gammeltoft 2001, 31–32). However, there is no evidence for an ecclesiastical building here and 'stead' is considered the most appropriate translation.

ON *stǫð*

In Orkney and Norway, Sandnes (2010, 361) has noted the tendency for assimilation of ON *staðir* and ON *stǫð* (f), gen. *stǫðvar* 'landing-place, berth, harbour; place, position, context', itself a variant of ON *staða* 'dwelling-place, abode'. Where the specific is overtly maritime and where there are local mooring places, as in Knarston in St. Ola and Knarston in Rousay, ON *stǫð* is preferred. Sandnes (ibid., 361) defines ON *stǫð* as 'boat-stance'. Port a' Bheòil Mhòir (NM598245), probably best translated as '(The) Port of the Big Mouth or Opening', lies around 350m south-west of the probable location of the medieval settlement of Crosta # and ON *stǫð* cannot be ruled out as the name's generic.

Subdivision

Crosta # lies less than 1km south-west of Cameron and *Aon Stapall and it might conceivably have comprised part of a settlement-unit whose focal point was Moy. Alternatively, the pennyland/16s 8d of Glenbyre, the principal settlement of south-west Moloros, lies around 1.3km south-west of Crosta # and Crosta # may have been a secondary settlement created upon subdivision of its lands (see 5.4.3, above).

Previous Analysis

The settlement-name is unidentified in *ALI*. *OPS* (II i 305 and 313) erroneously locates Crosta # in the parish of Kilvickeon (*Kilviceuen*). Nicolaisen did not identify any instances of *staðir* in Mull (1969; 2001, 114, fig. 5). Rixson (LAS) tentatively identifies its location as that of Gortenasroine (NM593247), the location proposed here. Maclean (1997, 22) records the Blaeu form but offers no etymological analysis. His NGR is of the modern buildings at the neighbouring medieval settlement of Glenbyre. MacQuarrie does not include the name in his study.

Chronology

The name was certainly coined in the Norse period. It applies to a settlement of secondary status but chronological analysis is difficult given that the primary settlements to which the settlement might have been linked bear Gaelic names. It could conceivably have been coined in a phase of local Norse settlement facilitated by the local Church (see 5.4.3, above).

Location

Listed between Cameron and Glenbyre in the fiscal sources and depicted between these two settlements on Blaeu's map, the location of Crosta # is likely to be that of the ruined settlement of Gortenasroine, a name of Gaelic origin discussed below (Canmore ID 152002). The NGR is centred on this ruined township.

Soils/Topography

The soils around Gortenasroine are brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). These typically carry a bent-fescue grassland or oak-birch woodland but, where site conditions allow, they are responsive to improvement and they often carry long ley grassland (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 546). On the coast around Port a' Bheòil Mhòir there is a small area of brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association which are utilised locally as arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above).

Status

Secondary. The name may have been applied to land newly taken into agricultural use, or the holding may have been created upon subdivision of the lands of neighbouring Glenbyre or Moy. Its proposed specific may provide evidence that the lands of Crosta # were linked to the local Church.

Associated Names

Gortenasroine is a Gaelic coinage which has probably displaced Crosta # as the local settlement-name. Its generic, probably G *goirtein* as opposed the more common G *goirtean* (see Còrrachadh, above), is defined as 'small field; enclosed land for both arable and pastoral activities; small arable field; small farm'. It was locally productive in the naming of secondary settlements. Its specific, which follows the fem. gen. sing. def. art. *na*, is G *sròn*, gen. *sròine* 'nose (of land), ridge, point, promontory'.

There are several ecclesiastical names in local toponymy. G *cràbhaiche*, perhaps best defined as 'ascetic', is the specific in three names: Tòrr a' Chràbhaiche (NM595243; with G

tòrr '(conical) knoll'); Eilean a' Chràbhaiche (NM594242; with G *eilean* 'island'); and *Uamh a' Chràbhaiche* (NM595242; with G *uamh* 'cave' (see 5.4.3, above). Tobar Choluim-chille (NM591243) '(The) Well of Colum Cille' lies around 400m south-west of the ruined township of Gortenasroine.

DERRYNACULEN TOY D NM566291 1 375 35m

darnakowlane 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Darnakowlane* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Derymi<n>guillam 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; printed as *Deryminguillam* in *ER* xiii 213; *m* surely in error for *n*]

derrnakowlane 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Darnakowlane* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; *rr* is unclear]

darnakowlane 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; only form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Darnakowlane 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Darnacowlane 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Darnakowlane 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Derncullane 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Derutulane 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; *u* surely in error for *n*; *t* surely in error for *c*]

Dornacullen 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Derrynaculen 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/109/1 (1) ["Applies to a farmhouse with outbuildings attached situated a quarter of a mile S.E. of Torbreck [NM561294] and about a mile S.W. of Craig [NM584296]. The property of M. G. Maclaine Esqr of Lochbuy."; no translation offered]

Derrynacullen 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/109/1 (2) [alternative form]

Derrynacullin 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/109/2 [in entry on Cruach Doire nan Cuilean; see below]

Derrynacullen 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/110/1 [in entry on Caigeann Doire nan Cuilean; see below]

Cruach Doire nan Cuilean 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/109/2 ["Applies to a hill situated immediately N.W. of Lochan na Cruaich [Lochan na Cruaiche (NM572286)] and about a quarter of a mile S.E. of Derrynacullin."; translated as "Hill of the grove of the whelps"]

Caigeann Doire nan Cuilean 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/110/1 ["Applies to a part of footpath which leads between Derrynacullen and Craig about half a mile from the latter."; no translation]

Derrynaculen 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Cruach Doire nan Cuilean 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Caigeann Doire nan Cuilean 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Derrynaculen 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Cruach Doire nan Cuilean 1900 OS 6 inch 2ndedn

Caigeann Doire nan Cuilean 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

G *doire*, var. *daire* 'grove, thicket' + gen. pl. def. art. *nan* + G *cuaille*, gen. pl. *cuaillean* 'clubs'.

G *Doire nan Cuaillean '(The) Grove of the Clubs'.

Etymology

A Gaelic form of the settlement-name, Doire nan Cuilean, is recorded as the existing name in Cruach Doire nan Cuilean (NM570287; 305m) and Caigeann Doire nan Cuilean (NM577292; 190m) (see 'Associated Names', below). This Gaelic form supports a genitive plural formation including G *cuilean* 'pup; darling; warrior' as the specific (*Mac Eachainn*; *Dwelly*; eDIL s.v. *cuilén*). Nearby Cruach nan Con (NM573269), probably best translated as '(The) Bold Hill of the Dogs' (see 'Associated Names', below) may have prompted reinterpretation of the settlement-name as Doire nan Cuilean.

However, the *-ow-* consistently recorded in forms up to and including the *Retours* form of 1615 suggests a long vowel in the first syllable of the name-final specific. When this feature is compared to the *-ow-* consistently recorded in forms of Cowillay # in Moloros (see above), there is strong evidence to suggest that the specific in Derrynaculen is in fact *cuaillean*, the genitive plural form of *cuaille* which is proposed in the simplex Cowillay # (see Cowillay #, above). The singular form is also the specific in Doire na Cuaille KKE (NM466504) in north Mull, a name translated in OSNB as "Cudgel Wood" (see Cowillay #, above). If gen. pl. *cuaillean* is accepted as this name's specific, this is one of the earliest attestations of the genitive plural marker *-(e)an* in Scottish Gaelic (see Ardnasalyne, above).

The majority of historical forms provide evidence for elision of the final *n* of the gen. pl. def. art. *nan* before *c*, although it appears to be recorded in 1509 in the form *-ng-*. The *g* of this form may reflect nasalisation of the following *c*.[86]

---

[86] For analysis of the development of eclipsis / nasalisation in Gaelic, see Ó Maolalaigh 1996 and 2008, 241–59.

Medial *ll* in *cuaillean* is likely to have been articulated as /ʎ/ and the lack of ʒ in the historical forms is surprising, given that ʒ for medial *ll* is recorded in the 1509 forms of Cowillay # (*Caulʒea*) and Callachally in Forsa (*Callo hailʒe*; see Callachally, above). However, the historical forms of Cowillay # and Callachally indicate that /ʎ/ is not consistently recorded in these sources.

G *doire*, var. *daire*

Doire is the common modern form of this element but *daire* is a recorded variant (*Dwelly*) and initial *a* in some of the earliest forms may reflect articulation/perception of /a/. Both forms are recorded in OG (*eDIL* s.v. *daire*, *doire*). The ultimate root is OG *dair* 'oak' (*eDIL* s.v. *dair*). G *cuaille* is perhaps likely to have been applied to a club-shaped feature in Cowillay # and while the plural form may have been applied to club-shaped features, it could conceivably refer to wooden clubs in Derrynaculen. In other words, this grove or thicket may have been utilised specifically by the local populace for the manufacturing of wooden clubs.

Subdivision

There is no indication that Derrynaculen was a subdivision of any neighbouring settlement.

Previous Analysis

It is unidentified in *ALI*. The earliest forms are identified as Derrynaculen by Rixson (LAS). Both Maclean (1997, 24) and MacQuarrie (1982, 66, s.v. *Derry na Culen*) propose G *doire* and G *cuilean*, translating the name as "Wood of the puppies" and "Grove of the pups" respectively.

Chronology

The presence of the definite article means that the name is perhaps unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century, on the basis of existing evidence (see 5.3.2, above).

Location

Derrynaculen refers to an old fank at NM566290 on OS Explorer. The NGR above is of the derelict barn and farmhouse around 200m to the north (Canmore ID 157718). Derrynaculen lies on the edge of a Forestry Commission plantation at the west end of Glen More on the south side of Coladoir River. The modern road through Glen More lies around 1.4km to the

north. Derrynaculen's nearest neighbouring settlement in Moloros is Rossal around 2.5km to the south-west at the head of Loch Scridain.

Soils/Topography

Derrynaculen lies on a flat piece of ground on a bend in Coladoir River at the foot of the aforementioned steep slopes of Cruach Doire nan Cuilean. The predominant soils are dystrophic basin peats of the Organic Soils Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). This unit produces low-quality rough grazing land, though some flushed areas have slightly richer pastures (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 37–38, Map Unit 3). Surrounding areas of peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association also provide vegetation of low grazing-value (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Units 547 and 548).

Status

Secondary. It is consistently valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d.

Associated Names

As is highlighted above, the name's Gaelic form is recorded as the existing name in Cruach Doire nan Cuilean (NM570287) to the south-east and Caigeann Doire nan Cuilean (NM577292) to the ENE. The generic in the former is G *cruach* 'heap, stack, bold hill' (Taylor 2005, 18). The generic in the latter, G *caigeann* 'rough mountain pass, pair, couple, brace', is probably applied in the former sense, given the fact that OSNB records the name as applying to part of a footpath. As is highlighted above, nearby Cruach nan Con (NM573269) may have prompted reinterpretation of the name as Doire nan Cuilean. Its generic is the aforementioned G *cruach*, applied in this instance as 'bold hill'. Its specific is the genitive plural of G *cù* 'dog'. OG *cú* can also mean 'wolf' and, like OG *cuilén*, it is laudatorily used of persons (*eDIL* s.v. *cú*).

DIBIDIL * TOY D NM667223 1 375 30m

    debedell 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros; follows Iaradail, precedes Laggan; tentatively identified as Glenlibidil in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Debedell* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

    Debadill 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; follows Iaradail; printed as *Debadill* in *ER* xiii 212]

    debedill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros; printed as *Debedill* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

    debedill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

    Debedyll 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

    Debedill 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

    Debedill 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

    Debedill 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

    Dibadil 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

    Dabedill 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

    Dibadil 1750 Dorret

    Glenlibidil 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/170/3 ["Applies to a house situated in Glen Libidil and a quarter of a mile E. of Sròn a' Ghlinne. The property of M. G. MacLaine Esqʳ of Lochbuy"; no translation offered]

    Glen Libidil 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/170/2 ["Applies to a small glen extending from Coill' a' Bhealaich Mhòir [Coille a' Bhealaich Mhòir] to Port a' Ghlinne."; no translation offered]

    Glenlibidil Burn 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/170/4 ["Applies to a large stream, rising immediately N. of Leac Airidh Choinnich [Leac Airigh Choinnich] and flows in a S. Westerly direction till it comes to Coill' a' Bhealaich Mhòir from when it takes a southern course through Glen Libidil and enters the Sea at Port a' Ghlinne."; no translation offered]

ON *djúp(r)* 'deep; heavy, severe' + ON *dal(r)* (m) 'dale, valley'.
ON *Djúpadal 'Deep Dale'.

Etymology

ON *djúp(r)* is frequently compounded with ON *dal(r)* (*Zoëga* s.v. *dalr*; *Cleasby-Vigfusson* s.v. *djúpr*) and the compound is common in Hebridean and Scottish toponymy (see, for example, Watson 1904, 7–8). There are several comparative examples which align with the historical forms of *Dibidil containing *Deb-* and *Dib-*. Dibidale in Kincardine ROS is recorded as *Debadaill* in 1623 (ibid., 7). The historical OS maps record Dibidil (NM392927) in Rum, as well as Glen Dibidil and Dibidil River; Cox (2008, 12) uses the form "Dibidale".

The underlying ON *Djú-* of *Djúp(r)-* appears to have produced *Dìo-* in reflexes of the compound in a Gaelic-speaking milieu. In Carloway in Lewis, Cox (2002, 254) proposes *Dìobadal as the existing name in Creagan Dhìobadail. In Hynish in Tiree, the reflex is Dìobadal (Holliday). In Jura, the Gaelic reflex *Dìobadal or *Dìobadail is preserved in Creag Mhòr Ghleann Dìobadail (NR630943; OSNB ARG OS1/2/66/143/1). The Scotticised/Anglicised reflex in Jura is the similar *Debadel, recorded in nearby Glen Debadel and Glendebadel Burn. The implication of the Gaelic forms including *-ìo-* is of long vowel in the initial syllable.

These comparative examples align with the development of ON *Djú-* to *De-* and *Di-* in Scotticised/Anglicised forms of this Moloros settlement-name. However, subsequent development to *Li-* in *Libidil is atypical. The *l* could conceivably be the result of an error in OSNB. Future analysis of unpublished forms predating OSNB will be required to assess whether forms including *l* are recorded before the initial OS survey. Thus, the development from *d* to *l* may be purely a feature of the written record. It is interesting to note that Watson (1904, 8) records *Glen Dibidil* for Glenlibidil, apparently disregarding the OS form. If the development is linguistic, the apparent development is from /ɗ′/ to /ʎ/. There does not appear to be a parallel for this development in local dialects but development from medial broad *d* to *l* is a feature of forms of Gruline, whose earliest form is *growding* (see Gruline, above and Whyte 2014, 120–21). Thus, further research of local dialects might investigate the potential for a development from /ɗ′/ to /ʎ/.

In relation to application of ON *djúp(r)*, the referent 'deep' dale is likely to be one characterised by steep sides. In Orkney, for example, Sandnes (2010, 154 and 211) has commented that the *djúp(r)* + *dal(r)* compound is applied locally to steep valleys.

Subdivision

There is no evidence in the sources listed above for subdivision of the lands of *Dibidil. Its relationship with *Dìosgaig is discussed below.

Previous Analysis

*Dibidil is tentatively identified as Glenlibidil in *ALI*. In relation to these historical forms, Rixson (LAS) proposes "This is likely to be Glenlibidil". Both Nicolaisen (2001, 124) and Fraser (2006, 254) propose ON *dal(r)* as the name final element in Glenlibidil but do not discuss the specific. Maclean (1997, 27) proposed ON *djúp(r)* + ON *dal(r)*, translating the compound as "Deep valley". Maclean (ibid., 27) also identifies the Blaeu form *Dibadil* as an historical form of Glenlibidil, which is translated as "Deep valley glen". The name is best translated as 'Glen of *Libidil', given that *Libidil, or *Dibidil, is an existing name. MacQuarrie (1982, 74) proposed ON *dal(r)* as the generic, preferring the putative personal name Lib as the specific. This analysis is based on the initial *l* of the modern form.

Chronology

Topographical names such as *Djúpadal are typically considered to have been among the earliest names coined by ON-speaking settlers and have been applied to primary settlements. It may have been sequentially early but its extent identifies it as a settlement of relatively low status.

Location

There can be little doubt on the basis of the fiscal evidence that *Dibidil is to be associated with Glenlibidil. The NGR above refers to the ruined settlement of Glenlibidil which is categorised as a farmstead and head-dyke in Canmore (ID 79949). As the OSNB entries highlight, Glenlibidil applies to the ruined settlement, Glen Libidil applying to the glen to which the ON existing name originally applied. The referent of G *gleann* 'glen, (deep) valley' is the same as that of ON *dal(r)*.

Soils/Topography

The coastal soils of *Dibidil are peaty gleys with peaty rankers with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). These are typically rocky, often very shallow and peaty, having been improved in some areas but only for use by sheep (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102–03, Map Unit 550). Inland, the component soils are similar peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association, the topographically characteristic

moraines supporting vegetation of low grazing-value and providing very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 547, 102).

Status

Secondary. *ER* 1509 records its value as 8s 4d, i.e. a pennyland, the combined lands of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig being consistently valued at a pennyland. The name might have been applied to land newly taken into agricultural use by ON-speakers (see 5.4.3, above).

Associated Names

The medieval settlement-name is the existing name in Glenlibidil (NM667223), Glen Libidil (NM662226) and Glenlibidil Burn (NM666220). Airigh Choinnich (NM663240), probably best translated as 'St Cainnech's Sheiling', is a transhumant name likely to have been linked to the settlement of *Dibidil (see 5.4.3, above). It lies around 1.6km north of the ruined settlement to which the name Glenlibidil now applies.

Tenure

*Dibidil is not explicitly linked to the Church in the known fiscal evaluation but both *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig might historically have comprised part of the Church-estate of Laggan (see 5.4.3, above).

DÌOSGAIG * TOY D NM630237 2 X 20m

desgaig 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros; erroneously identified as "Dishig" on Loch na Keal [*recte* Dhiseig (NM496356)] in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Desgaig* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Deescage 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; printed as *Deestage* in *ER* xiii 212; *c* and *t* are difficult to distinguish in this source but *c* in this name may be compared to medial *c* in the form of Kinlochspelve (*Canloch Spelledoc*) recorded in this source]

deisgaig 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros; printed as *Deisgaig* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

deisgaig 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Deisgaig 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

Deisgaig 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

Deisgaig 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

Desgaig 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

Daskaig 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in red; on east shoreline of Loch Buie (*Loch Buy*) on south side of major watercourse, probably Abhainn Dìosgaig, discussed below]

Desgag 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; in Moloros]

Abhuinn Dìosgaig 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/91/2 ["Applies to the continuation of Allt na Cuinneige and Allt na Doire Duirche after they join to its being discharged into Loch Buy [Loch Buie] at Tràigh Bhàn Lagain."; no translation offered]

Abhuinn Dìosgaig 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Abhuinn Dìosgaig 1900 OS 6 inch 1st edn

ON *dý* (n), gen. *dýs* 'quaking bog, quagmire + ON *skik(i)* (m) '(riverside) shank (of land)'. ON *Dý-skika or *Dýs-skika 'Shank of Land of/at the Bog/Quagmire'.

Etymology

ON *dý*

The orthography of the Gaelic reflex *Dìosgaig, preserved in the river-name Abhainn Dìosgaig (NM624240), implies initial /dʹiː/. As regards the initial consonant, *De-* is also proposed to represent /dʹ/ in the neighbouring settlement of *Dibidil (see *Dibidil, above).

ON *Dýs-* was probably realised as /dyː/ (Gordon/Taylor, 266) and the implication of the Gaelic form is of unrounding of the underlying ON vowel, if this etymology is accepted. The following slender vowel *i* would necessitate /d′/, as opposed to original /d/, within a Gaelic-speaking milieu.

The stressed vowel represented in *Dee-* in the 1509 form is probably /iː/. Considering this form and the later Gaelic reflex *Dìosgaig, *De-* and *Dei-* in forms recorded between 1494 and 1663 are also likely to represent /iː/. This apparent incongruity can be explained by the Great Vowel Shift in Scots which was well under way or completed by the mid 15th century. This shift saw raising of Early Scots /eː/ to Middle Scots /iː/ and *e* and *ei* for /iː/ in the historical forms of Dìosgaig can be compared to the considerable number of words in which Middle French tonic *ī* /iː/ was identified with Early Scots /eː/ > Middle Scots /iː/ (Aitken 2002, 97–98 and 108–17). Thus, *e* and *ei* for /iː/ in forms likely to have been mediated by Scots-speakers should not be surprising within a Gaelic-speaking context.

Application of ON *dý*

In Modern Icelandic, *dý* is defined as 'a bog' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). Sandnes (2010, 186) notes that the element is "quite frequent in place-names", defining it variously as 'gutter, bog' (ibid., 166), 'gutter, mire' (ibid., 186) and 'filth, mud, ditch' (ibid., 211). In Dees, it applies to a boggy area (ibid., 186). Jakobsen (1936, 35) defines the element as 'mire' in Shetland, noting its application as a farm-name to swampy arable land and grass-land and to a swamp containing a spring, or well.

ON *skik(i)*

Reflexes in *-a(i)g* are common in Scottish place-names in which name-final *skik(i)* is proposed. Watson (1904, 189), defining the element as 'strip', proposed the ON existing name *Á-Skik(i) "river-strip" in *Strathasgag* in Lochalsh ROS, which is *Srath-àsgaig* in Gaelic. Elsewhere, Watson (1922, xv) etymologised *Oskaig* in Skye INV as ON *Óss-skik(i) "Stream-mouth Strip", contradicting Macbain's interpretation of the toponym as "Osk's bay or the Desire bay" (ibid., 37).

Rixson (2010, 138) has proposed that ON *skik(i)*, though occurring in fair numbers in the far north and north-west, is seemingly unrecorded in mainland Argyll. In discussion of the element, Rixson (2010, 150–51) identifies Abhainn Dìosgaig as the most doubtful of five proposed *skik(i)*-names in Mull but no alternative is suggested. The modern reflexes of three of these proposed instances contain -*sgaig*, the identical ending recorded in the modern reflex of *Dìosgaig: Gleann Alasgaig KKV (NM503207), Allt Ghreagasgaig TOY (NM580374) and Uisge Fealasgaig KKV (NM531242).[87] Maclean (1997, 106, 70 and 85) proposes ON *skik(i)* in each of these names, albeit tentatively in Uisge Fealasgaig. Maclean's analysis of *Dìosgaig, not proposed to contain *skik(i)*, is discussed below. Rixson's fourth name, "Girgiscaig by Tobermory", is recorded as *Gurasgag* (1668), *Girgiscaig* (1718) and *Girkiskay* (1751) but is not found in the OS record and its precise location is therefore unidentified. Rixson's proposal that it lies near Tobermory in the district of Mishnish KKE is based on the fact that it is recorded alongside Erray KKE (NM504561) and Rairaig KKE (NM491568) in 1718 and 1751 (see also LAS, 'North Mull Table'). Its location on the north side of Tobermory appears secure. The name is not discussed by Maclean.

Application of ON *skik(i)*

The underlying sense of the term is probably 'shank' and where the element is applied in Scottish toponymy its application is figuratively to a shank-like piece of ground. Modern Icelandic *skiki* (m), a cognate of English *shank* and German *schinken*, is defined as 'a strip, lap, skirt, of skin, cloth, land' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). The compound appellative *land-skiki*, literally 'land-shank', is recorded in *Cleasby-Vigfusson* (s.v. *skiki*). These terms are derived from the same root as ON *skekill* (m), pl. *skeklar* 'shank of a hide'. ON *land-skekill* is recorded in *Zoëga*.

Rixson categorises ON *skik(i)* as a habitative element on the basis that it relates specifically to cultivable ground. The proposal is that "Farmers do not graze animals on strips but they do grow crops thereon" (Rixson 2010, 138). This is also suggested by Maclean in his analysis of the aforementioned Allt Ghreagasgaig and Uisge Fealasgaig. In the former, ON *skik(i)* is translated as "Cultivated strip" (1997, 70). In the latter, the element is translated as "pasture" (ibid., 85). The element is translated as "strip" in Gleann Alasgaig (ibid., 106). Given that the proposed underlying sense of *skik(i)* is 'shank', the element need not

---

[87] The latter is Uisage Feallasgaig on OS Explorer but the first word is clearly in error for Uisge and Uisge Fealasgaig is the form used here. *Uisge Fealasgaig* is the form on the OS 1st and 2nd edn maps.

necessarily be of habitative type. It may be compared to application of G *lurg* 'shank, shank-like strip of land' (*CPNS*, 412; *PNF5*, 433), a productive toponymic element. While *skik(i)* is proposed in a medieval settlement-name in the form of *Dìosgaig and the name would have applied to an area utilised agriculturally, the original application could have been purely topographical; i.e. to the shank-like area of ground between Abhainn Dìosgaig and Allt a' Bhàird (see 'Location', below).

*Dìosgaig's proposed location between two convergent watercourses and its appearance as the existing name in a river-name align with the situations of proposed *skik(i)*-names elsewhere. Watson's aforementioned analysis of *Strathasgag* and *Oskaig* provides ON *skik(i)* with an explicit connection to water in the form of specifics relating to a river and a stream and this connection is also highlighted in Rixson's analysis of the element. In the aforementioned Allt Ghreagasgaig and Uisge Fealasgaig in Mull, the proposed ON existing names in *skik(i)* are also compounded in later Gaelic constructions with elements specifically relating to water. In Allt Ghreagasgaig, G *allt* is likely to have been applied as 'burn, stream'. In Uisge Fealasgaig, G *uisge* is 'fresh water, stream, burn' (Márkus 2012, 251 and 578). It is difficult in the absence of precise locations for the original ON toponyms to analyse distribution patterns but it should be noted that the topographical situation of Uisge Fealasgaig is markedly different to that proposed for Dìosgaig. Uisge Fealasgaig refers to a stream which empties into Leidle River at an altitude of over 130m in the uplands of the district of Brolass over 2.5km from the sea, both to the north and south. The specific of *Fealasgaig, the existing name, is probably ON *fjall* 'mountain, fell', as has been proposed by Maclean (1997, 85). This existing name is closely comparable to *Feallasgaig*, the Gaelic form of *Palascaig* in Lochalsh INV, which Watson (1922, xvii and 1904, 189) etymologised as ON *fjall* + ON *skik(i)* "Hill-strip". The proposed that ON *fjal(l)* is present in Uisge Fealasgaig in Brolass is particularly noteworthy given Drummond's proposal that *fjall* as a generic is absent from Mull and Jura (2009, 54). *Leidle, the existing name in the aforementioned Leidle River and proposed to contain ON *dal(r)* as its generic, is discussed elsewhere (see 5.4.3, above).

Returning to topographical analysis of *skik(i)*-names, Dìosgaig is proposed to refer to low-lying ground around 600m from the sea at the head of Loch Buie. The respective situations of Uisge Fealasgaig and *Dìosgaig are not comparable in terms of altitude, or in relation to distance from the sea, but there is strong evidence to suggest that the sense carried by ON *skik(i)* in these Mull names, and perhaps in Scottish toponymy generally, relates specifically

to land contiguous to a river or stream. This is clearly a sense secondary to its application to a shank-like area of ground.

Subdivision

*Dìosgaig's secondary status marks it out as a potential subdivision of nearby Laggan (see 5.4.3, above).

Previous Analysis

In *ALI* no. A42 it is erroneously identified as "Dishig" on Loch na Keal, *recte* Dhiseig (NM496357). Rixson (LAS) records the head-name as "(Abhainn) Diosgaig", tentatively proposing that it includes ON *skik(i)*. Maclean (1997, 24) cites the Blaeu form and identifies the name as the existing name in Abhainn Dìosgaig. The existing name is etymologised as G *diosg* (*recte* G *dìosg*), which he defines as "dish", + ON *vík*, defined as "bay" (ibid., 65). A name compounding elements from two separate languages is not viable. While it is possible that the Gaelic reflex was influenced by interpretation of the initial element as G *dìosg*, this element is not known to be productive in local place-names and it is very unlikely to be present in this settlement-name. MacQuarrie does not discuss the name.

Chronology

It is difficult to provide a more precise chronology for this name other than that it was coined in the Norse period.

Location

As is highlighted above, the settlement-name is proposed as the existing name in Abhainn Dìosgaig (NM624240), a river which enters the sea at Tràigh Bhàn Lagain '(The) White Beach of Laggan' at the head of Loch Buie. Abhainn Dìosgaig is probably the major watercourse depicted on Blaeu's map immediately to the north of Dìosgaig. *Dìosgaig probably applied to the area of land between Allt a' Bhàird and Abhainn Dìosgaig. The land between these two convergent watercourses is low-lying and wet. ON *skik(i)* could have been applied to both the shank-like appearance of this portion of ground and the land's contiguity with the aforementioned watercourses. Abhainn Dìosgaig was presumably named in reference to its location close to the settlement.

Soils/Topography

There is a small area at the confluence of Abhainn Dìosgaig and Allt a' Bhàird where brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association predominate (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279). These soils typically support arable locally (see 1.3, above). Uphill, the brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association typically carry a bent-fescue grassland or oak-birch woodland but, where site conditions allow, these are responsive to improvement and they often carry long ley grassland (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 546).

Status

Secondary. *ER* 1509 records its value as 8s 4d, i.e. a pennyland, the combined lands of *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig being consistently valued at a pennyland in total. Neighbouring Laggan is consistently valued at 33s 4d/two pennylands and *Dìosgaig may have been the name applied by ON-speakers to a secondary settlement created following subdivision of the lands of Laggan (see 5.4.3, above).

Associated Names

As is highlighted above, Abhainn Dìosgaig (NM624240) is a Gaelic coinage which includes the existing name Dìosgaig as its specific. G *abhainn* is 'river, stream' (*Dwelly*) and the name is probably best translated as 'Dìosgaig River'.

Tenure

*Dìosgaig is not explicitly linked to the Church in the known fiscal evaluation but both *Dìosgaig and *Dibidil might historically have comprised part of the Church-estate of Laggan (see 5.4.3, above).

DRIMNATAIN   TOY D NM697269 1 375 60m

 dru<m>natyin 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Moloros; identified as "Drumnatain" in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Drumnatym* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; the final three minims are probably *in* rather than *m*, on the basis of subsequent forms]

 dru<m>natyin 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Drummatyin* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 dru<m>matyin 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745; *ma-* likely to be recorded in error for *na-*]

 Drunnathyn 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros; initial *n* likely to be recorded in error for *m*]

 Druminathyin 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Drumnachym 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Drumnathyne 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Drumnadayen 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

 Drumnachyne 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Drumnatayan 1750 Dorret

 Drimninʃayn 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI [settlement in vicinity of woodland; long *s* is surely recorded in error for *t*]

 Drimnatayne 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

 Drimnaldyne 1807 Arrowsmith [*l* appears to be a copying error]

 Drimnaldyne 1832 Thomson [settlement; *l* appears to be a copying error]

 Drimnatain 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/174/3 ["Applies to a small farmhouse and ruins Situate a short distance W. of Crogan and immediately N. of "An Grianan." Was formerly a small district. The pro: of M.G. MacLaine Esqʳ Lochbuy."; no translation offered]

 Drimnatain 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

 Drimnatain 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

G *druim* 'back, ridge' + gen. pl. def. art. *nan* + G *taigh*, nom. pl. *taighean* 'dwellings, houses'.

G *Druim nan Taighean '(The) Ridge of the Dwellings'.

Etymology

The historical forms are inconsistent are sometimes garbled but *drum-*, consistently recorded in the earliest forms, is a common reflex of G *druim* in Scotticised/Anglicised place-names. The *i* in *Drim-* in the most recent forms probably indicates articulation of /i/ for *ui* in this linguistic environment. This aligns with local pronunciation of G *druim* recorded in 1957 in *SGDS* (§351).

Final *n* is predominant in the historical forms and is recorded by both Blaeu and in the OS form. This suits an etymology in G *taighean*. If accepted, this is one of the earliest attestations of the plural marker *-(e)an* in Scottish Gaelic (see Ardnasalyne #, above). Of the forms listed above, only the Mackenzie form suggests articulation of final *n* in gen. pl. *nan* before *t*. The other historical forms suggest the dropping of nasal *n* before *t*. A local name of comparable structure in that it includes a plural form of *taigh* is Allt nan Seann Tighean (NM622233), probably best translated as '(The) Stream of the Old Houses'.[88]

Subdivision

The fiscal sources do not record subdivisions of Drimnatain. *Croggan Beag, recorded in 1509, is proposed as an alias of Drimnatain (see 5.4.2, above).

Previous Analysis

Rixson (LAS) proposes that it is "probably the other half of Crogan to match Ardnesaleyne above" but does not identify it specifically as *Croggan Beag. Maclean (1997, 25) also G *druim* and G *taighean*, translating the name as "Ridge of the houses". The alternative "Druim na Tàin = Ridge of the cattle" is unlikely. G *tàin* (f), gen. *tàine* 'cattle, herd or drove of cattle; spoil, plunder; mental endowments; goods; wealth in flocks' (*Dwelly*) does not appear to be productive in Scottish toponymy. *Dwelly* also records G *tàin* (m and f), gen. *tàine* 'land, country' but neither element is likely in Drimnatain, given the consistent *-ty-* of the earliest forms. MacQuarrie (1982, 67) has also proposed G *druim* + *nan* + G *taighean* "Ridge of the houses".

---

[88] The standard genitive plural form is now *taighean*, according to modern orthographic conventions.

Chronology

A proposed name of noun + article + defining genitive type, Drimnatain is perhaps unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century, on the basis of existing evidence (see 5.3.2, above).

Location

The NGR refers to the large ruined structure to which the settlement-name refers on the modern map. Also depicted on this map are a cluster of ruined structures and an enclosure centred around NM699268. The 1880 OS map preserves the name of the hill on which this cluster lies, *Cnoc nam Ban* '(The) Hill or Knowe of the Wives or Women'.

Soils/Topography

Brown earths of the Darleith Association which are largely freely drained and are consequently important agriculturally (1:250,000 Soil Map of Scotland; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 60, Map Unit 158). Deeper soils are frequently cultivated; shallow soils are surface seeded and provide good grazing. Sites not suitable for improvement carry vegetation of high grazing-value.

Status

Primary. It is consistently valued at a pennyland.

FISHNISH　TOY D NM648417 2 X 40m

fynchenis 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; identified as Fishnish in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Fenschenis 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed in *ER* xiii 213]

finchennis 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Finchenis* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; cf. the second form of the settlement-name in this charter]

finchenis 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Finschennis 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Finschenis 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Fynschenis 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Fyinscheines 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Finchiness 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black, near tip of headland likely to be Fishnish Point]

Finchiness 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [as on Blaeu (Pont) Mull above]

Symsheinis 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa; initial *S* in error for *F*, probably having been interpreted as long *s*; *m* probably in error for *n*]

Fishnish 1750 Dorret

Fishnish 1801 Langlands [farm-houses; inland, south-west of Leth Thorcaill (*Leadirkle*)]

Rishnish 1807 Arrowsmith [initial *R* for initial *F* is a copying error]

Rishnish 1832 Thomson [settlement; south-west of Leth Thorcaill (*Leadirkle*); initial *R* recorded in error for *F*]

Fishnish Point 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/23/3 ["Applies to the point on the N.E. side of Fishnish Bay & extending E for about a ¼ of a mile. It is about ¾ of a mile E of Rudha na Leitreach [Rubha na Leitreach] & about ¼ of a mile N. of Cnocan Rainich."]

Fishnish Bay 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/33/3 ["Applies to an arm of the sea situate one [sic] the south side of the sound of Mull & about 5½ miles east of Salen Village & a quarter of a mile North of Corrynachenchy Farm."]

Fishnish Point 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Fishnish Bay 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Fishish Point 1897 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Fishnish Bay 1897 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

> *Fishnish* 2016 [Caledonian MacBrayne sign at modern slipway]
>
> *Fisnis* 2016 [Gaelic form of toponym on Caledonian MacBrayne sign]

G *foinnse*, var. *fuinnse* 'ash-tree' + G *innis* 'peninsula, headland'.
G *Foinnse Innis* 'Ash Peninsula/Headland'.
['fiʃniʃ], also ['fɪʃnɪʃ]

Etymology

Both pronunciations are found within an English-speaking context, the vowels of the former likely to have been influenced by local Gaelic pronunciation. Articulation of the vowels in the latter is likely to represent a relatively recent development within a SSE/English context. It has probably developed via perceived similarity between the more recent forms and SSE/English *fish*. However, the consistently-recorded *n* of the earliest forms militate against *fish* and suggest an underlying noun-noun close compound of Gaelic origin: *Foinnse Innis*.

G *foinnse*

G *foinnse* 'ash-tree' is recorded by Cameron in 1883. It is subsequently recorded as obsolete in *Dwelly*. The *y* and *i* which consistently follow initial *f* in the historical forms are proposed to represent G *oi* in *foinnse*. The *e* which follows initial *f* in the 1509 form, although early, is an anomaly when all the historical forms are considered. To provide a comparison in terms of the linguistic environment, G *oi* is locally realised as /ɤi/ before *nn* in G *coinnleir* 'candlestick' (*SGDS* §231). G *foinnse* would explain the medial /ʃ/ indicated in both the *-ch-* and *-sch-* of the earliest forms and recorded in modern pronunciation. Dropping of nasal *n* before *s* is typical in modern Gaelic dialects and is recorded locally in *SGDS* (§76 *bainnse*; §521 *dh'innis*). Elision of final *e* in *foinnse* would be expected before the initial vowel of *innis* in the spoken form.

The initial *f* in *foinnse* is prothetic. The common term for 'ash-tree' in the modern language is *uinnseann*, derived from OG *uinnius* (f) (eDIL s.v. *uinnius* and *F*). Several variants and related terms with an initial *f*, however, are recorded in the modern language. In addition to *foinnse* (f), defined as 'ash-tree', *Dwelly* records *foinnseag* (f) 'ash-tree', with the same initial vowel, *fuinnseann* (m) 'ash' (see also Cameron 1883) and *fuinseag-coille* (f) 'goldenrod (*solidago virgaurea*); mountain ash'. *Armstrong* records *fùinnsean* (m) 'ash',

noting that it is "Written more frequently *uinnsean*". *Mac Eachainn* records only *uinnseann*. Prothetic *f* in forms of this term had developed by at least as early as the eighth century. Kelly (1997, 657 and 380) has highlighted an eighth-century reference to *fuinnside*, a related adjective defined as 'ashy, with ash trees' in *Corpus iuris hibernici*. As regards gender variation in the nouns recorded in *Dwelly*, it is worth noting that the underlying OG term *uinnius* is feminine. G *(f)uinnsean(n)* (m) is formed with the masculine diminutive suffix -*(e)an(n)*, derived from OG -*án*, thus explaining its masculine gender. The terms recorded in *Dwelly* in -*eag*, both feminine nouns, are formed in the feminine diminutive suffix -*(e)ag*, derived from OG -*óc*.

Although several Scottish Gaelic dictionaries record forms including prothetic *f*, it is unclear whether these forms are productive in Scottish toponymy. Joyce (1910–13, i 506) records several examples in Irish toponymy, proposing that there are three names for the common ash in the south and west of Ireland: *fuinnseóg*, *fuinnse* and *fuinnseann*. The former is "almost universally used", the latter two "nearly forgotten". Joyce proposed that the prothetic *f* found in the south and west of Ireland is not a feature of place-names in the north and it is noticeable that no form in an initial *f* is recorded in Ulster by McKay, who records only *uinse* 'ash(-tree)' in the index of productive elements (2007, 156). Thus, while *Funshinagh* is recorded as a common Connemara name by Joyce (1910–13, i 506), Unshinagh, in Irish Uinseannach, recorded as *Unsanagh* in 1669 and translated as 'place of ash-trees', is the name of a townland in County Antrim (McKay 2007, 144). The forms including prothetic *f* in *Dwelly*, when considered alongside these similar western and southern Irish forms, highlight the possibility that there may be examples in Scottish toponymy as yet unidentified. They may prove difficult to identify where the element is lenited in name-final position. Lenition of *fuinnsean(n)*, for example, produces *fhuinnsean(n)*, which is identical in pronunciation to *uinnsean(n)*. Genitive forms of *uinnseann* are common in OSNB, where it is recorded as both *uinnsinn* and *uinnseinn*, but there appear to be no examples containing a form with an orthographical *f*.

The historical forms of Fishnish suit G *foinnse* as the name-initial element and Fishnish is comparable to Joyce's Irish examples. Further research of this element might explore the possibility that Scottish dialectal forms containing prothetic *f* exist. There is no known evidence of forms including prothetic *f* in the dialects of Mull. MacFadyen (1902, 39–40) records *uinnseann* and *an t-uinnseann*, with the masculine definite article. *Uinnsean*, the initial vowel being articulated as [ɤ], was the term recorded for 'ash-tree' in the Ross of Mull

in 1967–68 (DASG, 'Measgaichte/Miscellaneous'). However, these 19th-century sources are far removed from the era in which this place-name was coined.

G *innis*

The consistent *-enis* and *-ennis* of the earliest forms is proposed to represent G *innis*. The name-final /ʃ/ expected in Gaelic pronunciation is not evident in the historical forms, given that *ch* and *sch* in the same forms are proposed to represent this phoneme in *foinnse*. However, rather than indicating articulation of /s/, these forms are more likely to represent assimilation of G *innis* and Sc *ness* 'headland, promontory', itself a productive toponymic element (*PNF5*, 455). The scribes recording Fishnish in the fiscal sources are likely to have been Scots-speakers. Specifically regarding the historical forms of Fishnish, it is worth noting that *nis* is a variant of Older Scots *nes* (*DOST* s.v. *Nes* n.). Indeed, it is likely that Scots-speaking scribes commonly interpreted or consciously chose to represent name-final G *innis* as Sc *ness* and this probably explains the *-s* of earliest forms of Fishnish. Thus, neither *-ch* nor *-sch* in Scots orthography are prerequisite for names including G *innis* as a name-final element.

OG *nes(s)*

An alternative explanation which would be supported by the earliest forms is that the name-final element is in fact OG *nes(s)*, a term defined as 'island' and which has been interpreted as a probable borrowing from ON *nes* 'ness, headland', or Old English *næss* 'promontory, headland, cape'. In Old English a rare weak noun *næssa* or *næsse* existed alongside strong *næss* (eDIL s.v. 4 *nes(s)*; OED s.v. *ness*, n.1; *DOST* s.v. *Nes* n.). However, there is plenty of comparative evidence to suggest that G *foinnse* could be compounded with G *innis* in a noun-noun close compound (see 5.3.3, above). Modern pronunciation and the historical forms recorded from at least as early as 1801 clearly indicate *-*/ʃ/, its absence in earlier sources explicable via Scots mediation of the name, as is highlighted above, rather than the *-*/s/ expected in OG *nes(s)*.

ON *nes*

Although the *-enis* and *-ennis* of the historical forms are proposed to provide evidence for underlying G *innis*, ON *nes* 'ness, headland' is topographically appropriate. The phonological and semantic similarity of ON *nes* and OG *inis*, the term from which G *innis* derives, means that assimilation of the two elements probably occurred in areas where there

was contact between speakers of the two languages. As regards an ON specific, ON *fen* (n), gen. *fens* 'bog, quagmire' is worth considering, given its productivity in place-names in the Northern Isles (Jakobsen 1936, 39; Sandnes 2009, 155, 182, 194 and 304). However, the historical forms do not suit ON *fen*. Firstly, Gaelic reflexes of ON *e* are typically *e* and *ea* (Watson 1904, lvii). This suits the 1509 form, *Fenschenis*, but the initial *Fyn-* and *Fin-* of the other earliest forms is less well-suited. Moreover, the consistent *-ch-* and *-sch-* of the earliest forms surely indicates articulation of /ʃ/, as is highlighted above. The Gaelic reflex of ON *fens-* is more likely to have been *Feans-*, or similar, with /s/ rather than /ʃ/.

G *innis*

As is highlighted above, G *innis* is derived from OG *inis* which is primarily defined as 'island'; it is a productive place-name element (eDIL s.v. 1 *inis*). In relation to the referent of G *innis* in Fishnish, the element certainly does not refer to an 'island' in the sense of land completely insulated by a body of water. In fact, the term has not carried this sense for centuries (Watson 1907, 239). It is productively locally, though, in Inchkenneth KKV (NM436356), the island lying opposite Gribun in the mouth of Loch na Keal (see 1.6.5, above). However, the proposed application of G *innis* in Fishnish is in one of the term's many secondary senses (see *PNF5*, 412).[89] The most likely of these in Fishnish is G *innis* 'peninsula'. Application in this sense is a feature of Ulster toponymy, where Irish *inis* is defined as 'island; peninsula; river meadow' (McKay 2007, 153). Inishowen, in Irish Inis Eoghain, is the large peninsula defined by Lough Swilly to the west and Lough Foyle to the east. It forms the north-east portion of Donegal. Inishowen is translated as "Owen's peninsula", the eponymous Eoghan, according to tradition, being one of the sons of Niall Naoighiallach (Niall of the Nine Hostages) (ibid., 83).

On this side of the North Channel, 'headland' is included among definitions of G *innis* in *Dwelly*. However, the sense 'peninsula' is not a feature of Fife toponymy (*PNF5*, 412) and, where *innis* is proposed by Watson (1907, 240–41) as the generic in close compounds, it is consistently defined as 'haugh' (see 5.3.3, above). Further analysis of *innis* in the sense 'headland' requires attention to the aforementioned ON *nes* 'ness, headland'. Watson (1907, 241) remarked that the element is "apt to be confused by the unwary" with the ON term. Watson (ibid., 241) also suggested that the Gaelic term may have been influenced by ON *nes*. Given that OG *inis* was applied as 'peninsula', it is easy to imagine the semantic range

---

[89] See also Watson 1907; Macbain 1922, 122; Ó Mainnín 1990; Fraser 1993, 218.

of G *innis* extending to be applied as 'ness, headland' in areas where Gaelic-speakers and ON-speakers were in contact. Locals refer to the Fishnish Peninsula and translation of G *innis* in Fishnish as either 'headland' or 'peninsula' is considered likely.

Previous Analysis

The earliest forms are identified as Fishnish in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). Previous analysts have proposed an ON etymology including *nes* 'ness, headland'. The specific has been proposed variously as ON *fiskr* (m), gen. *fisks* 'fish' (Johnston 1990, 197; Maclean 1997, 26) and ON *fjós* (n), gen. *fjóss* 'cow-house, byre' (MacQuarrie 1982, 72). Nicolaisen (2001, 72–73) proposes ON *nes* in Fishnish but does not discuss its specific. The historical forms, particularly the consistent *n* in the initial part of the forms, rule these specifics out.

Chronology

The name's close-compound structure and its situational context in *Leth'r Mhuileach identify it as a name of potential pre-Norse origin (see 5.3.3, above).

Location

Fishnish is the existing name in Fishnish Bay (NM642423), Fishnish Point (NM647426) and Fishnish Cottage (NM646415). Fishnish is applied to the Caledonian MacBrayne pier, the local salmon farm and it is the existing name in the Fishnish Peninsula, a name in frequent local use but which does not appear in the OS record.

Fishnish does not actually apply to a settlement, ruinous or otherwise, in the OS record but the 1880 6 inch 1st edn OS map depicts several ruined structures between Lòn a' Chapuill (NM651415) and Creagan nan Nighean (NM647420) and the NGR recorded with the head-name above is centred on these ruins (Canmore ID 22464). Both Creagan nan Nighean (ARG OS1/2/46/1/24/1) and Lòn a' Chapuill (ARG OS1/2/46/1/38/2) are recorded as applying to relief features in OSNB and the ruined structures are not discussed in this source. Maclean (1997, 26) records NM648417 as the NGR for Fishnish. Maclean (ibid., 31) categorises Lòn a' Chapuill, its NGR recorded as NM650414, as a distinct settlement. There is another cluster of ruined buildings at nearby Cnocan-buidhe (NM654418) (Canmore ID 22450). Maclean (1997, 23) records "Cnocan Buidhe" as a distinct settlement.

From the earliest fiscal evaluation in 1494, two settlements are recorded on the peninsula: Fishnish in the west and Leth Thorcaill in the east (see 5.3.3, above and Leth Thorcaill,

below). The locations of these settlements are confirmed on the historical maps. The 1880 OS map illustrates that the land roughly to the west of Cnoc an Teine was divided into thin strips of land running north and south between the course of the road, now the widened A849, and the Sound of Mull (see also Canmore ID 22450). Douglass (1988, 21) recorded "Many settlements, named and unnamed, including evidence of run rig crofting" in the area. Maclean (1997, 151, note 54) records that the Fishnish peninsula had "two distinct halves" characterised by the division of ground. These field-systems are imperceptible now within the Forestry Commission plantation but the fertility of the peninsula is well-known locally (Reay Whyte, pers. comm.).

Soils/Topography

Brown earths of the Darleith Association which are largely freely drained and are consequently important agriculturally (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 51, Map Unit 158). The deeper soils of this unit are frequently cultivated, shallow soils being surface seeded and providing good grazing. Areas not suitable for improvement carry herb-rich bent-fescue grassland and rye-grass-crested dog's tail pasture of high grazing-value which is often invaded by bracken. In this regard, it is worth noting Cnocan Rainich (NM652419), whose etymology is G *cnocan* 'hillock' + G *raineach*, gen. *rainich* 'bracken'. As is highlighted above, the area is now dominated by a Forestry Commission plantation but this soil analysis and the 1880 OS map clearly indicate that the Fishnish area was historically productive in agricultural terms. It clearly supported a large population in the Early Modern period. Currie (2000, 216) records that the township of Fishnish had a resident population of over 100 in the early 1800s. *SLCFA* (59) analysis of the Darleith Association records that soils of this association had been extensively planted in Mull and Morvern in the years preceding the survey in 1982. In addition to forestry, the principal industry recorded for areas of this soil association is stock farming.

Status

Primary. Neighbouring Leth Thorcaill is also consistently valued at a pennyland in the known fiscal sources. Modern application of Fishnish to the entire peninsula undoubtedly creates an impression that its status is greater than Leth Thorcaill and the peninsula may once have been considered as a single entity (see 5.3.3, above).

GAODHAIL TOY S NM610386 1 375 35m

gyeddrill 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as "Goadhaill(?)" in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Gydgraule 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed in *ER* xiii 214]

gyeddrol 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Gyeddroll* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; the *ro* is unclear and the *r* may in fact be a *y*; cf. the other form in this charter, below]

gyeddyoll 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745; the *r* in *Drummatyin* (Drimnatain, Moloros) in the same section of this charter does not compare well with the grapheme in Gaodhail, although *r* might be expected; *e* and *o* are frequently indistinguishable in this charter and neither vowel is clear; final *ll*, not a feature of the other form of Gaodhail in this charter, is clear]

Geddyrl 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Gedyell 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Geddiel 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Gyddiell 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Gydiell 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Giddiell 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Ghedirla 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [buildings in black]

Gydiell 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Gudirle 1750 Dorret

Gedderly 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Gedderly 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Gaodhail 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/22/2 ["Applies to a shepherd's house situate on the w. side of River Forsa about 3½ miles S of Co. & a short distance w. of the junction of the two rivers [i.e. River Forsa and Gaodhail River; see below]. Colonel Gardyne proprietor."; Gaodhail is 3½ miles south of the middle of the Sound of Mull and this part of the entry must have been included in error; no translation offered]

Gaodhail River 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/22/1

Gaodhail 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Gaodhail River 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Gaodhail 1881 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Gaodhail River 1881 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Gaodhail River 2007 OS Explorer Series 375

ON *geit* (f), gen. *geitar* 'she-goat' + ON *vǫll(r)* (m) 'field, (level) ground; manured field, meadow'.

ON *Geitarvǫll 'She-Goat Field' or ON *Geitarvǫllu (acc. pl.) 'She-Goat Fields'.

[ˈgɤːtʲəl]

Etymology

The initial consonant is not palatalised in modern pronunciation of the name within an English-speaking context but the consistent *gy(e)-* and, later, *ge-* of the earliest historical forms are proposed to indicate /gʲ/-. ON *geit* would be expected to produce initial /gʲ/ in Gaelic (Cox 2009, 318). The palatalised initial consonant suggested by the historical forms of Gaodhail suggests that neither Proto-Scandinavian **gait*, from which ON *geit* derives, nor ON **gait* is evident in Gaodhail. ON **gait* is proposed by Cox (2009, 320–21) in Goatfell, Arran AYR. ON *geit* has been proposed in Gèideabhal [ˈgʲeːɟʲə ˌvɑɫ], a South Uist mountain-name etymologised by Cox (ibid., 319) as ON *Geit(ar)fjall. The historical forms of Gaodhail suggest similar articulation of the initial consonant to that recorded in this South Uist name.

Modern pronunciation of medial /tʲ/ also suits the proposed etymology. A palatal-alveolar plosive, perhaps voiced /dʲ/ as opposed to voiceless /tʲ/, is suggested by later historical forms of Gaodhail containing *-dy(e)-* and *-die-*, including the *-dy-* of the second 1534 × 1538 form. In fact, the forms recorded between 1612 and 1625 and the 1663 form which contain *-dy(e)* and *-die* probably reflect pronunciation similar to modern pronunciation of the name, with the exception of proposed initial /gʲ/. /dʲ/ is not well-represented by medial *dd*, *dg* and *dd* in the earliest forms but comparative evidence suggests that these phonemes are susceptible to variation and, indeed, that there is variation in relation to reflexes of ON *-it* in Scottish toponymy. Returning to Goatfell, Cox (2009, 320–21) has proposed the earliest phase of the development of this name as Proto-Scandinavian *Gait-fjall > OG *Gaítbᵉál. Parallel traditions are proposed to have developed in later Gaelic forms: *gaoid-*; *gaoit-*; *gaod-* and *gaot-* (ibid., 316). These are variously represented in forms mediated by Scots- and English-speakers and Cox (ibid., 314) has proposed that the medial consonant of Goatfell may have been influenced by Scots/English forms in *goat-*, which were established by at least 1628. A folk-etymological connection with wind is reflected in Gaelic forms of Goatfell containing

initial *gaoth* 'wind' which begin to appear in the 19th century and continue to the present day in pronunciation (ibid., 308). A similar process may be visible in the *dh* recorded in the OS forms of Gaodhail which is not known to feature in forms preceding the 19th century. The following consonant cluster *fj* which is proposed in Goatfell is not comparable to Gaodhail and the preferred specific in Gaodhail is *geit*, as opposed to **gait*, but the susceptibility of ON *-it* to variation appears to be well-documented in the historical forms of Gaodhail, as it is in the historical forms of Goatfell. The initial *Gao(i)-* of Gaelic forms of Goatfell also compares well to the /ɤː/ of modern pronunciation of Gaodhail. As regards

variation between voiced and voiceless plosives in reflexes of ON *geit* in place-names mediated by Scots-speakers, comparison may also be drawn with Gedbys FIF. Taylor (*PNF1*, 485) has suggested an etymology of ON *geit* + ON *bý(r)*, translated as "She-goat farm", for this place-name, the historical forms of which are *Gaidbie* (1647), *Gaitvie* (1665), *Geddie* (1666), *Goatbie* (1782) and *Gedbys* (1856). The 1782 form appears to indicate influence of English *goat*.

Historical forms of Gaodhail, when considered alongside modern pronunciation and comparative place-names, are considered most likely to represent an original ON *Geitarvǫll or *Geitarvǫllu. The *r* of the historical forms proposed to represent the gen. sing. *-ar* ending is consistently recorded in the earliest forms and is recorded at least as late as 1832. The *a* appears to have been elided in the earliest forms.

ON *vǫll(r)*, the preferred specific, is proposed to be productive locally in Rhoail (see below) and, although the linguistic environments vary, proposed reflexes of the element in the two names compare well. For example, *-ill* is proposed to represent *-vǫll(r)* in the earliest form of Rhoail. Plural forms of the element are productive in place-names and a plural form should be considered. Acc. pl. *vǫllu* is the most likely case in Gaodhail, if a plural form is preferred. Final *-u* in *vǫllu* could explain the *-e* of the *ER* and Dorret forms, the *-a* of the Blaeu form and the *-y* of the Thomson and Langlands forms. On the other hand, the variation in the early forms suggests that there was an awkward medial cluster and the final vowels likely to be represented by these graphemes may be the product of the metathesis.

Previous Analysis

The earliest forms are not securely identified in *ALI* but are identified as Gaodhail by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 26) suggested ON *geit* as the specific element, apparently preferring ON *dal(r)* as the specific, given translation of the name as "Goat dale (possibly)". The *r* of

the earliest forms is better explained by *geitar*. MacQuarrie (1982, 72) also proposed *dal(r)* with G *gaoth* being preferred as the specific. This etymology is based on the modern form of the name and a hybrid etymology of this type is not feasible. The same etymology of *gaoth + dal(r)* was also suggested by Johnston (1990, 212), whose earliest historical form dates to 1801. Johnston classifies the settlement as a shielings in Glen Forsa.

Chronology

Gaodhail is clearly a name of habitative type but it need not necessarily relate to a secondary settlement and it need not have been coined relatively late in the Norse period (see 5.3.2, above).

Location

The NGR is of the modern building on the north side of Gaodhail River less than 150m west of the confluence of this river and the River Forsa. A ruined schoolhouse is at NM610385. The pre-Clearance township is represented by clusters of buildings centred on NM606383 and NM603383 on the north side of Gaodhail River south-west of the building to which the name applies on the modern map (Canmore ID 22407). The former cluster lies within the large Forestry Commission plantation which now dominates this area. This was probably the site of the medieval settlement.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 547, 102). The soils of A' Bhog-airigh, perhaps a transhumant name of ON origin linked to Gaodhail (see 5.3.2, above), are peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 548, 102). The vegetation of both these soil types provides little scope for reclamation for agricultural use and probably offers only ground of low grazing-value.

Status

Gaodhail is consistently valued at a pennyland and it is difficult on the basis of the known fiscal evaluation to imagine it as a secondary settlement created through division of a pre-existing larger settlement-unit in the vicinity. It it proposed to bear an ON habitative generic, however, and it may represent a secondary settlement created when the land here was newly taken into agricultural use. That said, it is dangerous to assume that there was no settlement in this part of Glenforsa in the pre-Norse period.

Associated Names

Gaodhail's proposed ON origin identifies it among a cluster of settlements named by ON-speakers in this part of Glen Forsa (see 5.3.2, above). One of the names identified as being of possible ON origin is the aforementioned A' Bhog-airigh (NM588386), a name which applies to an extensive flat area upland and WNW of Gaodhail. Its suggested etymology is ON *bukk(r)* + ON *ærgi* 'He-Goat Shieling' (see 5.3.2, above). Further evidence for the rearing of goats in this area and specific use of this upland area above Gaodhail for the rearing of he-goats is provided by Sròn nam Boc (NM572398), etymologised as G *sròn* + gen. pl. def. art. *nan* + G *boc* '(The) Nose of the Bucks'. Thus, there is significant local toponymic evidence to support the proposed etymology of Gaodhail.

GARMONY TOY S NM669403 1 375 25m

garemown<e> 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; identified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Garemown* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; flourish above *n* represents final *-ne*]

Garmoney 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed in *ER* xiii 214]

garemown<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; flourish on final *n* for *-ne*; printed as *Garemowne* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

garemown 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; no flourish above *-n*]

Garmowiee 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa; *-ie-* surely in error for *-n-*]

Garmowne 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Garmoun 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Garmonuin 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Garmowne 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Garmoun 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

Garmoun 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black]

Garmonum 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Garmony 1750 Dorret

Garmony 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Garmony 1807 Arrowsmith

Garmony 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Garmony 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/41/2 ["Applies to a substantial dwelling house with outbuildings attached, situate about 1¼ miles S.E of *Ballameanach* Farm (Balmeanach) & S. of *Baile Fraoich* (Bailefraoich). Proprietor A.C. Guthrie Esq. Duart House"; the source records the alternative head-name *Garmony Farm*, Farm later scored out; no translation offered]

Garmony Burn 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/41/1

Garmony Point 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/12/2

Garmony 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Garmony Burn 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Garmony Point 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Garmony 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Garmony Burn 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Garmony Point 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Garmony Burn 2007 OS Explorer Map 375

Garmony Point 2007 OS Explorer Map 375

G *garbh* 'rough, rugged, coarse; broad, thick, large' + G *mòine* 'peat-moss, bog; moor, waste'.

G *Garbh Mhòine 'Rough/Broad Peat-Moss or Moor'.

[ˈgarməne]

Etymology

G *garbh* is found in 10 place-names in the parish in the OS record. Seven of these names are close compounds (see 5.3.3, above). In place-names, the element is typically defined as 'rough' (*PNF5*, 383; McKay 2007, 153). It is undoubtedly applied to infertile, unproductive ground in certain places and, given its etymology, it is an appropriate descriptor of uneven, rough ground, especially rocky and stony ground (Ó Maolalaigh 2003, 211–12; also 5.3.3, above). However, it also carries senses relating to size, being defined as 'large' (*Mac Eachainn*) and 'thick; huge' (*Dwelly*). DASG records that in Tiree it is used of people of brawny or muscular appearance (DASG, 'Coltas an Duine / Personal Appearance', Tiriodh [Tiree], Goirtean Dòmhnaill). Garbh Fhaoileann (NM605432) is a subdivision of Pennygown (see 5.3.3, above and Pennygown, below). There is a possibility that *garbh* was applied in this name in the sense 'broad, thick, large', rather than 'rough', given that the neighbouring subdivision of Pennygown is Caol-Fhaoileann (NM601433), a close compound including G *caol* 'narrow'. Given the evidence for local application of *garbh* in the sense 'broad, thick, large', it is difficult to rule out this sense in Garmony.

The *-ow-* and *-ou-* regularly recorded in the earliest forms surely indicates articulation of a long vowel in the initial syllable of the second element in the name, accepting G *garbh* as the name-initial element. These forms suit G *mòine*, although its referent is not clear-cut. The sense 'peat-moss' has been preferred in local analysis of Achadh na Mòine, a name applying to a subdivision of Garmony and containing G *mòine* as its specific (OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/27/1; MacQuarrie 1982, 40 s.v. Allt Achadh na Moine; Maclean 1997, 93). The compounding of *mòine* with *achadh* suggests that the field or (small) farm to which *achadh* refers was utilised for the extraction of peat. An association with peat-extraction may lie behind Garmony's generic. There is support for this is local soil analysis (see

'Soils/Topography', below). However, application of *mòine* in Garmony as 'moor, waste' cannot be ruled out.

G *bh* in *garbh* is represented by *e* in the earliest *RMS* forms and this probably indicates vocalisation of the fricative *bh* in this environment within a local Gaelic-speaking context. In isolation, /v/ would be expected (*SGDS* §462). This vowel is not a feature of the later historical forms and it is not found in modern pronunciation within an English-speaking context. The *-ey* of the 1509 form and the *-y* of the most recent forms represent perception of the final vowel of *mòine*. This is represented in modern pronunciation as -[e].

Subdivision

The aforementioned Achadh na Mòine is one of two local names in G *achadh* 'field; (small) farm'. Both are probably subdivisions of Garmony. The other name is Achadh na h-Uamha (NM672404), whose specific is G *ua(i)mh*, applied in this instance as 'cave'. It refers to one of the caves marked on the modern map at NM674405. G *achadh* is locally productive in names applied to subdivisions of primary settlements, as indeed has been proposed elsewhere (Márkus 2012, 518).[90]

Previous Analysis

Identified as Garmony in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). MacQuarrie (1982, 72), Johnston (1990, 199) and Maclean (1997, 26) each prefer G *garbh* + G *monadh*. None of these analyses makes the connection proposed here between Garmony and Achadh na Mòine. G *monadh* 'hill; area of rough (usually upland) grazing', a loan-word from British or Pictish into Gaelic (*PNF5*, 446), is unlikely. As regards *garbh*, it is interesting to note MacQuarrie's translation of the element, as a native local Gaelic-speaker, as 'rough', rather than 'broad'. Elsewhere, MacQuarrie defines *garbh* as 'rugged' (1982, 72, s.n. Garbh Choire) and 'wild' (ibid., 73 s.n. Garbh Phort, Garbh Shlios and Garbh Shròn). The sense 'wild' correlates with Cox's proposed sense of 'violent' in relation to Garbh Allt in Lewis ROS (2002, 17). Further research of this element might investigate application of *garbh* in this sense locally but it is unlikely to be present in Garmony.

---

[90] There is strong evidence in the 12-century Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer to suggest that MG *achad*, the term from which G *achadh* derives, was applied specifically to cultivable land (see Tomslèibhe, below).

Chronology

Given that *garbh* is frequently pre-nominal in local place-names, Garmony's close-compound structure in isolation is not diagnostic. However, it should be considered alongside other local settlement-names which may be of pre-Norse date (see 5.3.3, above).

Location

The NGR is of Garmony Farm. The name is also used today of the rugby pitch, situated on the ground to which the name Achadh na h-Uamha originally applied.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association around the settlement and inland (1:250 000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 547). G *mòine* may refer specifically to these peaty gleys. The predominant coastal soils are lowland brown earth soils of the Gruline Association which are locally utilised as arable (*SLCFA*, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above).

Status

Primary. It was also an important holding in the Early Modern period for branches of Maclean of Lochbuie.

Associated Names

Garmonyreoch in Moloros is proposed to contain the same elements (see Garmonyreoch, below). The dun or fort of Dùn Earba (NM676401), probably best translated as 'Fort of the Roe Deer' but perhaps as 'Fort of the She-Goat/Doe', lies 760m ESE of Garmony farmhouse (see 5.3.3, above). It was probably an Early Medieval power-centre. Lag na Cille (NM670406), a name probably best translated as 'Hollow of the Church/Chapel/Burial-Ground', is situated around 350m NNE of the modern farmhouse at Garmony (see 1.6.9, above).

GARMONYREOCH   TOY D NM674257 1 375 60m

garmown<e> 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; identified as Garmonyreoch in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Garmown* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Garmoney 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; printed as *Garmoney* in *ER* xiii 212; the *n* is unclear due to blotching on the original manuscript but seems likely given the other historical forms]

garmown<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Germowne* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; faint flourish above *n* proposed to represent *-ne*]

ger mown<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745; settlement-name written across two lines]

Garmowun 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Garmowin 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Garmowin 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Garmonuin (vel *Garmoune*) 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1) [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Garmonum 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Garmonroch 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Garmonroch 1807 Arrowsmith

Garmonroch 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Garmonyreoch 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/139/1 [“Applies to Houses on the S. side of Loch Spelve close to “Lian Mòr.” The property of M. G. MacLaine Esqr Lochbuy.”; no translation offered]

Garmonyreoch 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Garmonyreoch 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

(G) en Garmony + G *riabhach* ‘speckled, variegated, dun, greyish, brindled, drab’.
G *Garbh Mhòine Riabhach ‘Speckled Garmony’.

Etymology

The proposed existing name Garmony is the name of a medieval settlement in Forsa and the earliest forms of the two names are closely comparable, particularly given that the proposed affix *riabhach* does not feature in the earliest forms of the Moloros name.   For example, in 1494 Garmony in Forsa is *garemown<e>* and in 1509 it is *Garmoney*. The same etymology proposed for Garmony in Forsa is proposed for Garmony in Garmonyreoch, namely G *Garbh Mhòine ‘Rough/Broad Peat-Moss or Moor’. Analysis of the potential referents of

garbh and *mòine* are presented elsewhere (see 5.3.3 and Garmony, above). The peaty local soils make it likely that *mòine* was applied in Garmonyreoch as 'peat-moss' (see 'Soils/Topography', below). The settlement, like Garmony in Forsa, may have specifically been associated with local extraction of peat.

G *riabhach*

Reoch is a common reflex of this productive element in Scotticised/Anglicised place-names. In Bute, Márkus proposes *riabhach* in Drumreoch (2012, 185) and Knockinreoch (ibid., 499) and his definition of the element as 'speckled, variegated, dun, greyish, brindled, drab' is recorded above. The affix probably refers either to local variations in vegetation, or to the appearance of the ground itself (ibid., 568).

Subdivision

Subdivision of Garmonyreoch is not indicated in the earliest fiscal sources. The affix is likely to have been attached to distinguish this settlement from Garmony in Forsa (see 5.4.3, above).

Previous Analysis

Identified as Garmonyreoch by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 26) has proposed an etymology in G *garbh* + G *monadh* + G *riabhach*, translating the name as "Rough speckled moor". This aligns with his etymological analysis of Garmony, Forsa (ibid., 26). MacQuarrie (1982, 72) also prefers G *monadh* in both settlement-names, proposing G *garbh* and G *riabhach* as the other elements. However, G *mòine* is preferred to G *monadh* 'hill; area of rough (usually upland) grazing' (*PNF5*, 446) in Garmony, Forsa, on the basis of Achadh na Mòine, a subdivision of that settlement (see Garmony, above). The similarity between the historical forms of these settlement-names and local soils make G *mòine* 'peat-moss' the most likely element in Garmonyreoch.

Chronology

The existing name Garmony is an adjective-noun close compound. Its structure in isolation is not diagnostic of date but it should be considered within the context of potential pre-Norse names around Loch Spelve (see 5.4.3, above).

Location

The NGR is of the ruined township to which the name applies on the modern map (see also Canmore ID 22383). It lies on the southern shoreline of the western arm of Loch Spelve around 1.5km east of the head of loch.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with peaty rankers with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). These are often very shallow, stony and peaty, having been improved in some areas but only for use by sheep (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102–03, Map Unit 550).

Status

Secondary. It is consistently valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d. Neighbouring settlements such as Kinlochspelve and Cowillay # are valued at a pennyland. Garmonyreoch could conceivably have been a secondary settlement created following subdivision of a pre-existing local settlement. The name may have been applied to land newly taken into agricultural use. There is no evidence in the fiscal sources to corroborate or rule out either suggestion. It is interesting to compare its secondary fiscal status with the primary fiscal status of Garmony, Forsa, a settlement consistently valued at a pennyland.

GLENBYRE TOY D NM585235 1 375 5m

glenbayr 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Moloros; identified as Glenbyre in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Glenbayr* with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Glenbaer 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Moloros; printed in *ER* xiii 212]

glenbair 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

glenbair 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Glenbair 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Glenbair 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Glenbair 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Glenbair 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Glenbair 1636 *RMS* ix no. 467 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Glenba 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; east of Inagart (*Innigart*), west of Crosta # (*Charest*); watercourse to west is surely Glenbyre Burn (NM584235); lack of -*r* is odd within the context of historical and modern forms]

Glenbar 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Glenbair 1750 Dorret

Glenbarr 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Glenbarr 1807 Arrowsmith

Glenbarr 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Glenbyre 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/144/1 ["Applies to a farmhouse, with outb<uildings> attached situated at the S. end of Glen Byre and about two miles W. of Lochbuy. The property of M. G. MacLaine Esqr. Lochbuy"; no translation offered]

Glen Byre 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/143/4 ["Applies to a large glen through which the burn of the same name flows [i.e. Glenbyre Burn], it turns nearly north and south from within a short distance of Priosan Dubh [*Prìosan Dubh* (NM573259)] to Glenbyre. The property of M. G. MacLaine Esqr. Lochbuy."; no translation offered]

Glenbyre 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Glen Byre 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Glenbyre Burn 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Glenbyre 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Glen Byre 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Glenbyre Burn 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

G *gleann* (m) 'glen, (deep) valley' + G *beur* (m), gen. *bèire* 'point, pinnacle'.

G *Gleann Bèire 'Glen of the Point or Pinnacle'.

[ˌglɛnˈbaɪər]

Etymology

The generic is ostensibly G *gleann* 'glen, (deep) valley'. In the OS sources, Glen Byre applies to the relief feature and Glenbyre to the settlement at its foot. The specific is less transparent. The *-byre* of the OS forms and modern pronunciation are very likely to indicate recent reinterpretation of the specific as Sc *byre* 'cow-house, cattle-house', a term frequently used in SSE (*DOST* s.v. *Byre* n.; see also *PNF5*, 316). However, the *-bayr*, *baer* and *-bair* of the earliest forms probably represents long /e/, on the analogy of the Sc comparative

adjective and adverb *mar(e)*, *mair(e)*, cognate of English *more*. It is pronounced [meːr].

Historical variants are *mayr(e)*, *mayir*, *maer*, *mer*, *meir* and *meair* (*DOST* s.v. *Mar(e* adj.). The lack of final *r* in Blaeu's form is odd within the context of the other historical forms and, if it does not represent scribal error, it may indicate reanalysis of the specific as G *bà*, a gen. sing. form of *bò* 'cow'. The *Glenbarr* forms of Langlands and Thomson are difficult to reconcile with the proposed vowel sound represented in the specific of the earliest forms and they, too, probably indicate reanalysis, if they have not resulted from misreading of *-ir* as *-rr*.

G *beur*

Expected local pronunciation of *eu* in G *beur* is /eˑ/, on the basis of local pronunciation of G *Beurla* 'English language' in *SGDS* (§100, pt 81). This suits the historical forms, as is discussed above. G *beur* is defined as 'point, pinnacle' (*Mac Eachainn*; *Dwelly*). The related adjective *beur* is primarily defined as 'shrill, sonorous' but it also carries senses such as 'sharp' and 'pointed' (*Dwelly*; *Macbain*). G *bior*, primarily defined as 'thorn, prickle' but applicable more generally to 'any sharp-pointed thing' (*Mac Eachainn*; *Dwelly*), is from the same root, namely OG *bir* 'stake, spit; point; spear; spike' (*eDIL* s.v. 1 *bir*). The two adjectives are prone to assimilation. While the referent of *beur* could be one or more of the pinnicles which surround the glen, a distinctive feature of the glen is the fact that it tapers to a point around 3km from the sea in the area of Prìosan Dubh (NM573259), as the OSNB

entry for Glen Byre indicates. Prìosan Dubh, literally 'Black Prison', perhaps refers to use of the steep-sided, tapering upper reaches of the glen as a area for trapping animals.

Subdivision

Neighbouring Crosta # and Inagart, both valued at half the extent of Glenbyre, may originally have been secondary settlements created following division of the lands of Glenbyre, ostensibly the principal local settlement (see 5.4.3, above).

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Glenbyre in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 27) proposes G *gleann* + G *bàrr*. He translates the name as "Glen of the height". MacQuarrie (1982, 74) proposes the same etymology as Maclean but defines G *bàrr* as "corn harvest". The [ɑˑ] of *bàrr* (*SGDS* §§78 and 79, pt 81) does not align with the /eː/ proposed to be represented in the earliest forms.

Chronology

Glenbyre could conceivably have been coined in the Early Medieval period. OG *glenn* 'valley, hollow' (*eDIL* s.v. *glenn*), the term from which G *gleann* is derived, is found in two place-names recorded in the Iona Chronicle: *[Glenn] Limnae* (AU 704.1) and *Glenn* Muiresan* (AU 638.1) (Clancy 2013, 240). However, it could have been coined at any point up to 1494.

Location

Glenbyre refers to the large derelict steading at the foot of Glen Byre on the shoreline on the west side of Loch Buie. The sheds and enclosed fields lying adjacent are still utilised for sheep-farming. The track which runs along Loch Buie ends at Glenbyre. There are stepping stones, a ford and a footbridge over Glenbyre Burn less than 200m to the south-west. There is a ruined township and fank further up the glen at NM580243 (Canmore ID 152001) and a ruined structure at Strathcaol (NM574245) (Canmore ID152000).

Soils/Topography

The steading, sheds and enclosed fields lie on low-lying flat ground adjacent to a stony strand. The coastal soils are peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association, the typical shallow, peaty soils of this map unit having been improved in some

areas but only for use by sheep (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 548, 102). Inland, in the vicinity of the ruined township and Strathcaol, the soils are of a similar type, providing very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use and support vegetation of low grazing-value (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 547, 102). The steep upper slopes of the glen supports bent-fescue grassland, white bent and flying bent grasslands and rush pastures, all of which are important communities to the grazing animal (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 549, 102–03). Glenbyre's south-easterly aspect is advantageous and its recorded extent probably indicates that the settlement supported fairly large-scale pastoral farming.

Status

Primary. It is principal among the settlements of south-west Moloros.

Associated Names

The settlement-name was originally applied to the glen named Glen Byre in the OS record. Glenbyre Burn (NM584234) enters Loch Buie less than 200m south-west of the derelict steading to which the settlement-name now applies. The OS form of Strathcaol (NM574245) indicates an etymology of G *srath* + G *caol*. It is probably best translated as 'Slender Riverside Meadow'; in other words, the generic *srath* is probably applied here in a secondary sense carried by OG *srath* (*eDIL* s.v. *srath*) and recorded in *Dwelly*, rather than as 'broad-valley, strath' as it is in other parts of Scotland (see, for example, *PNF5*, 504). Further local toponymic research might investigate other local instances of *srath*.

GRULINE   TOY S NM547398 1 375 20m

growding 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [two pennylands; in Forsa; correctly identified in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii. no. 2200]

Crowding 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Crouding* in *ER* xiii 214; the initial *C* probably represents scribal error but it may reflect perception of /k/ rather than /g/]

growding 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [two pennylands; in Forsa; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

growding 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [two pennylands; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Gronding 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [two pennylands; in Glen Forsa]

Grouding 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [two pennylands; in Glen Forsa]

Gronding 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [two pennylands; in Glen Forsa]

Gruiling 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [two pennylands; in Glen Forsa]

Growillie 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

Gruigling 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [two pennylands; in Glen Forsa]

Growillie 1750 Dorret

Gruline 1801 Langlands [slated house or farm]

Gruline 1807 Arrowsmith

Gruline 1824 Thomson [settlement]

Gruline 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/49/1 ["This Name applies to a small District Comprehending the home farm of Glenforsa Bounded on the South by Loch & River Bà, on the West by River Bà, on the North by Abhuinn Tòrr an Arbhair, & on the E. by the West Side of Guala Buidhe; the property of Colonel Gardyne Glenforsa House. Meaning: Not Known."]

Gruline 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Gruline 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Gruline House 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Màm maol Ghrùilinn 1911 MacCormick (1911, 6) [Gruline is in the gen. case, the most likely nom. form being *Grùilinn*, although *Grùileann* is an alternative; the name is not recorded by the OS; see discussion below]

Gruline Home Farm 2007 OS Explorer Map 375

Gruline House 2007 OS Explorer Map 375

ON *grjót* 'stones; gravel; stony ground, cleared and cultivated ground' + ON *þing*, acc. *þing* 'assembly, meeting, especially for purposes of legislation' or ON *-ing(r)* 'place of/at'. ON *Grjótþing (acc.) 'Assembly of/at the Stones' or ON *Grjýting (acc.) 'Place of/at the Stones'.

[ˈgrʉˑlən]

Etymology

I have previously proposed ON *grjót* + ON *þing* as the most likely etymology (Whyte 2014) and there is thorough analysis there of the senses carried by these terms, their possible referents and the locality. Some additional linguistic analysis may be added here. The historical forms appear to indicate development from medial *d* to *l*, i.e. *growding* > Gruline. The significance of *-nd-* in two of the historical forms (1542; 1615) as regards development from *d* to *l* may not have been fully explained in the earlier article. While *Grond-* in these forms may have been recorded in error for *Groud-* (cf. *Grouding* in 1612), it may instead represent an intermediate stage in the development from plosive to lateral; in other words, it may provide evidence for articulation of /N/ and the subsequent development to [l] may be explained by dissimilation of nasals. A comparable example is G *snàithlean* < *snàithnean* 'thread' (SGDS §780; Ó Maolalaigh 2001, 4, note 3).

While there is strong evidence to support ON *Grjótþing (Whyte 2014), an alternative etymology is ON *Grjýting. The suffix *ing(r)* in *Grjýting would provide the preceding noun with a locational sense and there is an implication in Gammeltoft's analysis of island-names in the Northern Isles that this suffix may have fallen out of use before ON-speakers settled in the Northern Isles. However, it is important to note that Jakobsen (1936, 48–49) proposed *Grýting in a number of Shetland names, defining it as "a stony stretch". Jakobsen's analysis appears to have been accepted by Macgregor for Grutin in Delting (HU405684) and three similar names in Shetland (Macgregor 1987, 249 and 181). In these Shetland names, the initial orthographic *u* is certainly comparable to the *u* in Gruline. ON *ý* was pronounced /yː/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 266) and this long vowel could conceivably account for the *ow* consistently recorded in the earliest forms of Gruline and the [ʉˑ] of modern pronunciation within an English-speaking context. The noun to which the suffix is attached appears to be ON *grjýt, a variant or cognate of ON *grjót*. Several terms in ON appear to be derived from a root including *ý*: the primary sense of the verb *grýta* is 'to stone to death';

the adjective *grýtt(r)* means 'stony'. Further research of ON toponymy in Scotland will be required to assess the likelihood of ON *-ing(r)* being productive furth of Shetland and specifically in Hebridean place-names. However, the possibility that Gruline is a commemorative name is highlighted above (see 5.3.2, above). Kruse (2007, 30) has proposed that we should be wary of invoking commemorative names to explain parallel names or peculiar distribution patterns and that there are unlikely to be many instances in the North Atlantic but there are some examples in the Outer Hebrides (ibid., 29–30). *Grýting has been proposed in several Norwegian farm-names where it appears in forms such as Gryting, Grytting, Grøting and Grøtting (*Rygh*). Gruline could conceivably be a commemorative name inspired by one of these name, or one of the aforementioned Shetland names.

IARADAIL   TOY D NM679234 1 X 200m

Iuredill 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; precedes *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Juredill* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; initial letter is *I* rather than *J*, cf. *Jacobus* and *Insula* in same source]

Juredill 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; precedes *Dibidil and *Dìosgaig; mortified to the church of St John the Evangelist by Maclean of Lochbuie (see 1.6.13, above); printed as *Juredill* in *ER* xiii 212; initial letter appears to be *J*, cf. *Joh<ann>is* and *Instaple* in same source]

Iuredill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Juredill* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; *I* and *J* indistinguishable in this source, cf. *Insula* in this source; *I* is preferred on basis of *RMS* ii no. 2200 and modern form]

Iuredill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [halfpennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Juredill 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Juredill 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Inredill 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; *n* surely in error for *u*]

Juredill 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Yrredel 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; north of Loch Uisg and ENE of Laggan]

Juredill 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; preferred form in *Retours* i no. 73 is *Inredill*]

Iaradail 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/166/4 ["Applies to a hillside to the E. of Allt a' Chradh-leathaid [Allt a' Chràdh-leathaid] and about half a mile N.W. of Rudha Traigh Gheal [Rubha Tràigh Gheal]."; no translation offered]

Iaradail 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Iaradail 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

ON *jǫrf(i)* (m), gen. *jǫrfa* 'gravel, gravel bank' + ON *dal(r)* (m) 'dale, valley'. ON *Jǫrfadal 'Gravel-Dale'.

Etymology

J- is proposed in the underlying ON settlement-name and this would have been realised as /j/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 266). The proposed development of *Iar*- in a Gaelic reflex of ON *Jǫr*-,

probably realised as /jɔr/, is viable and this is proposed to later be represented by *Iur-* in the earliest forms and *Iar-* in the modern reflex. Where *J-* rather than *I-* is recorded in the historical forms, it was probably recorded in error for *I-*, on the basis of the Blaeu form and the modern reflex.

For the proposed development of ON *f* in the specific, comparison can be drawn with Gaelic reflexes of ON *Qr-firisey. This ON compound is proposed for the common Hebridean island-name typically Scotticised/Anglicised as Oro(n)say; in Gaelic it is Orosaigh or similar.[91] The proposed initial element in this compound is ON *ǫr-firi* (n) 'out-going, ebbing', the final element being ON *ey* 'island'. Noting hiatus in local realisation of the second *o* in Orosay, the name of four islands in the Barra group, Borgström (1936, 290) refers to the "regular development of *orfi-* to *orofi-* and further to *oro'o*". The Gaelic form of these names is recorded by Borgström as *Oro'osaidh to reflect this hiatus. In this linguistic enviroment, ON *f* would have been realised as /v/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 268) but the development of ON *Qr-firisey indicates a tendency towards vocalisation of *f* within a Gaelic-speaking milieu. The proposal in relation to Iaradail is that its forms also reflect vocalisation of ON *f* in this environment. There is no indication of hiatus in the typical modern reflexes Oro(n)say or Orosaigh and thus an indication of hiatus in written forms of Iaradail is not prerequisite. Hiatus may have been present in spoken forms.

ON *jǫrfi* is productive in Icelandic toponymy. It is proposed in Jörfi in the west and in Jörva-sund, in which it is compounded with ON *sund* 'sound, strait, channel; a narrow passage between houses, lane' (Cleasby/Vigfusson; *Zoëga*). The *v* of *Jörva-sund* indicates articulation of *f* as /v/. Modern Icelandic *jörfi* is defined as 'gravel, gravelly soil' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). As regards ON *dal(r)*, *-dail* is a common local Gaelic reflex of the element in name-final position (see Bradhadail, above).

Subdivision

There is no evidence for subdivision of Iaradail in the fiscal sources or in the OS record. Its secondary status and topography probably precluded settlement expansion.

---

[91] See Watson 1904, lix; Macbain 1922, 36–37, 78, 89 and 169; Borgström 1936, 290; Cox 2002, 275.

Previous Analysis

Iaradail is unidentified in *ALI*. Rixson (LAS) correctly locates the referent dale at NM6822/6723 under the head-name "Juredill", based on the earliest forms. Maclean (1997, 28) proposes a Gaelic etymology in G *iar* + G *dail*, translating the name as "West dale". The modern form may reflect re-etymologisation of the settlement-name as including these elements but G *dail*, more correctly defined as 'water-meadow, haugh' (*PNF5*, 349), is very unlikely given the local topography. Maclean's definition of G *dail* as 'dale' relates to ON *dal(r)*, rather than to the Gaelic element. ON *dal(r)* is also proposed in the neighbouring settlement of *Dibidil to the south-west (see *Dibidil, above). MacQuarrie does not include the settlement-name in his survey.

Chronology

It is difficult to provide a more precise chronology for this name other than that it was coined in a period in which ON-speakers inhabited the area.

Location

Iaradail is recorded in the historical OS sources. The settlement immediately precedes *Dibidil in the earliest fiscal sources. *Dibidil lies around 1.5km south-west of Iaradail. Thus, Blaeu's location of the settlement is inaccurate. The OS maps provide no indication of a settlement in Iaradail. Non-coniferous woodland now dominates the dale and the historical OS maps also depict local woodland.

Soils/Topography

Humus-iron podzols with peaty gleyed podzols of the Darleith Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). When still in agricultural use, soils of the Darleith Association are typically utilised for stock-farming and in the late 1700s supported a substantial population at subsistence levels (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 59, Map Unit 159). Local terrain is very steep, the local land form being strongly terraced hills with steep slopes which are slightly rocky (1:250,000 Soil Map). ON *dal(r)* is topographically appropriate. The eponymous dale is that through which Allt a' Chràdh-leathaid flows on its course to the Firth of Lorn at NM681226. ON *jǫrf(i)* 'gravel, gravel bank' is likely to provide a further indication of the nature of the locality's soils. The south-east aspect of Iaradail may have been advantageous. Nevertheless, its agricultural capacity is extremely limited.

Status

Secondary. It is consistently valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d. Its topography and peripheral location may mean that the name may have been applied to land newly taken into agricultural use.

Tenure

ER 1509 records that the lands of Iaradail were mortified by Maclean of Lochbuie to the church of St John the Evangelist, i.e. the parish church of Killean, around 6km to the north-east. The possibility that Iaradail formed part of a local Church-estate in the period which precedes the known fiscal evaluation is explored elsewhere (see 5.4.3).

INAGART   TOY D NM574228 1 375 135m

Inegard 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Inegard* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Eynnetaig 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Moloros; mortified to the church of St Kenneth by Maclean of Lochbuie;[92] printed as *Eynnetaig* in *ER* xiii 212–13; *-taig* appears to be garbled on the basis of the other forms]

Inegard 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Inegard* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Inegard 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Ennegarg 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; final *-g* is recorded in other forms but does not align with the earliest form or with the *-t* of the modern form]

Eunegarg 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Moloros; *u* probably in error for *n*]

Ennegarg 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Moloros]

Edingart (or *Eningart*) 1617 *RMS* vii no. 1628 (1) [halfpennyland]

Eningart 1617 *RMS* vii no. 1628 (2) [halfpennyland; the reddendo specifies 6 weights of flour (*farine*) and 6 weights of cheese (*casei*), 5s as regards ½ the *grassum*-cow (*grassum-mart*),[93] 3s 4d as regards a supplement (*eik*); or as regards weights of cheese 16d, as regards weights of flour 8d, as regards the cow (*vacca*) 10s]

Eningart 1630 *RMS* viii no. 1610 [halfpennyland; listed among the tenantries of Aros (tenendriam de *Arrois*)]

Innigart 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; Glenbyre (*Glenba*) is located on the opposing east side of a watercourse likely to be Glenbyre Burn (NM584235)]

Inigart 1750 Dorret

Inagart 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/134/2 [“Applies to a ruin, situated a quarterof a mile S.W. of the S. end of Gual’ a Mhairbh and about three quarter of a mile S. of Cruach Inagairt.”; no translation offered]

Cruach Inagairt 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/134/3 [“Applies to a hill, situated a quarter of a mile E. of Loch na Salachan and about ¾ of a mile S. of Boglach Mhòr.”; no translation offered; final *i* indicates that name is in genitive]

---

92 mortificat<o> eccl<es>ie s<anc>ti kenniti per m^cgillane de Louchboye

93 Scots *grassum* is ‘a sum of money paid or promised by a tenant to his landlord at the grant or renewal of his lease or by a feuar to his superior at the grant of the feu-right, in addition to the periodical rent or feu-duty stipulated for in the grant’ (*SND* s.v. *Grassum*, n., v.). Scots *mart*, a borrowing from G *mart*, is ‘an ox or cow fattened for slaughter’ (*DOST* s.v. *Mart*, n.1). Scots *eik*, var. *eke*, is ‘an addition; an additional amount’ (*DOST* s.v. *Eke* n.).

Inagart 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Cruach Inagairt 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Inagart 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Cruach Inagairt 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

G *aoineadh* 'precipice; raised shoreline' + G *gart* 'farm, enclosure'; or

ON *enni* (n) 'forehead; a steep crag' + ON *garð(r)* (m) 'fence, wall; enclosed space, yard; courtyard, court; house, dwelling; stronghold, castle; farm'.

G *Aoineadh Ghart* 'Precipice Farm/Enclosure'; or ON *Ennigarð* 'Farm/Enclosure at the Steep Crag'.

Etymology

Ianagart is the form recorded on OS Explorer but Inagart is the form recorded in the historical OS sources and this is the form preferred here. The historical forms suggest that *Ina-* better reflects local pronunciation than *Iana-*. The earliest known form *Inegard* is very similar to Inagart and suggests that pronunciation of the name did not alter much between 1494 and 1868 × 1878, the time of the initial OS survey. This is advantageous for etymological analysis but the similarity between the Gaelic and ON elements proposed above makes definitive analysis difficult. Local pronunciation of the name has not been found.

G *gart*

Inagart may be a noun-noun close compound of Gaelic origin: *Aoineadh-Ghart. The name is not translated in OSNB and this suggests that its etymology was opaque to the OSNB informants. However, -*gart* may indicate that the name-final element was understood as G *gart*. Lenition of name-final *gart* would be expected in a close compound. There is no indication of lenition in the historical forms but this does not rule out *Aoineadh-Ghart. There is a general tendency in Scotticised/Anglicised forms of Gaelic place-names for an expected lenited consonant to be represented orthographically as the unlenited consonant (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, 22; *PNF5*, 165). There is a comparable example in another settlement-name of the parish, Derryguaig (NM488356). The Gaelic form of this name, Doire Dhubhaig, is recorded in several local names; e.g. Gleann Doire Dhubhaig (NM487353). Comparison of the two forms indicates that *dh* is represented in the Scotticised/Anglicised form by *g*.

OG *gort*, var. *gart*, the term from which G *gart* derives, has a range of meanings but its primary sense is 'a field (of arable or pasture land)' (e*DIL* s.v. 1 *gort*). G *gart* came to be applied more generally as 'farm' and the definition above follows Taylor's definition of the element in analysis of Fife toponymy (*PNF5*, 384). Márkus (2012, 551) defines the element as 'garden, field, enclosure' in Bute. G *gart* is not applied as 'garden' in this Moloros settlement-name.

McNiven (2007, 64) has proposed that the *gart*-names of Clackmannanshire may have been settlements established in clearances in Clackmannan's medieval wood (McNiven 2007, 64) and Márkus has noted that, in the sole recorded instance in Bute, Gartnakeilly, G *gart* is compounded with G *coille* 'wood, forest'. The implication is that *gart* might specifically have applied to settlements established in cleared areas within woodland in Bute as in Clackmannanshire. This specific application should not be ruled out for Inagart, although the specific in Inagart does not specifically relate to woodland as the specific in Gartnakeilly does. Further toponymic research in Mull might investigate the elements with which *gart* is compounded in local names within the context of applications of *gort*/*gart* in other areas, including in Ireland. The scope of this thesis precludes systematic analysis of Mull's *gart*-names but *An t-Eas-ghart* KKV (NM428276) is particularly noteworthy in discussion of Inagart given that *gart* appears to be the generic in a noun-noun close compound in this minor name. The initial noun, on the basis of the OS form, is G *eas* (m) 'waterfall; high-banked stream'. It is preceded by the definite article. The name is not translated in OSNB but it applies to "a rocky ridge" (ARG OS1/2/77/87/1). Given the senses carried by G *gart*, the name is likely to have originally been applied to an enclosure near the referent waterfall. Thus, there is good evidence to support G *gart* in Inagart.

G *aoineadh*

The *Ine-*, *Eynne-* and *Enne-* of the earliest forms are proposed to represent G *aoineadh*. These forms compare favourably with *Innie-*, the typical Scotticised/Anglicised form of this element in name-initial position in Argyll (Gillies 1906, 12). Gillies (ibid., 12) suggested that G *aoineadh* was borrowed from ON *enni* 'forehead; a steep crag (in place-names)' but this is controversial (Macbain (1922, 356). Both ON *enni* and G *aoineadh* certainly have similar applications and both are appropriate for Inagart's location. *Macbain* defines G *aoineadh* as "a steep brae with rocks". *Dwelly* defines it as 'steep promontory; very steep hillside; stretch of steep brae surmounted by rocks'. Gillies' analysis of the element's application was that "This is one of the many words in Gaelic names which the English

language cannot convey" but he added that "It is, as nearly as it can be put, a rocky front rising sheer from the sea" (1906, 12). Gillies' analysis is apt in relation to the element's application in Torosay parish where *aoineadh* applies to steep, if not sheer, coastal cliffs and precipices.

While a borrowing of ON *enni* is conceivable, *aoineadh* could conceivably be a variant of either G *aonach* or G *aonadh*, which carry similar senses. *Aonach* has been defined by Fraser (1985, 192) as "mountain ridge or plateau", noting that the element usually applies to very high areas of ground in place-names. In relation to *aonadh*, Fraser (1985, 198) records that the element is applied to "cliff features", noting that it is common in Mull. The implication is that Fraser considered *aoineadh* to be a variant of *aonadh*, given that there are no names containing either *aonadh* or the genitive *aonaidh* in the OS record for Torosay parish.

Inagart's situation is typical of local names containing G *aoineadh*. The ruined settlement is located on the sloping ground above the brow of the coastal cliffs on the west side of Loch Buie. On the east side of Loch Buie is Aoineadh Fada (NM606218), OSNB recording that this name applies to "a rocky precipice" (ARG OS1/2/76/146/2). Its specific is G *fada* 'long'. Aoineadh Mòr (KKV; NM507194) extends for about five miles in a south-westerly direction from Carsaig (NM540218), a medieval settlement which lies around 3.5km south-west of Inagart. An earlier form of the name includes the existing name Carsaig as its specific: *Enimore-charseg* (1776 *Mackenzie* Plate XXIII). The *Eni-* of this form is paralleled in the forms of Inagart recorded in 1617 and 1630. Aoineadh Mòr is the Anglicised existing name in Inniemore Lodge (NM542217), which is recorded as *Innamore Lodge* on the 6 inch 1st and 2nd edition OS maps. These forms also provide strong comparative evidence for an identification of *aoineadh* in Inagart, given the formal parallels. Aoineadh Mòr is translated as "Big Precipice" in OSNB (ARG OS1/2/74/154/2).

Cursory engagement with the searchable OSNB database indicates that G *aoineadh*, in this nominative form, has a very limited distribution in Scotland. Of the 61 instances of this nominative form found using the database, 27 are in the parish of Jura, the remaining 35 being shared between the three parishes of Mull.[94] If the term was borrowed into Gaelic from ON *enni*, the evidence suggests that the setting for this language contact was the

---

[94] 'ScotlandsPlaces | Make The Connections', <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/>. One of the Jura instances is *Carraig Mhòr nam Frith-aoineadhan*, a toponym which appears to include a plural form.

southern Hebrides, perhaps specifically Mull. Further analysis is outwith the scope of this thesis.

ON *Enni-Garð(r)

The historical forms highlight the alternative possibility that Inagart is of ON origin and that its etymology is ON *enni* + ON *garð(r)*. The alternative ON etymology would require ON *enni* as the name-initial specific in the nominative case, given that the genitive of this neuter noun is *ennis*. There is no evidence for genitive *s* in the historical forms. Thus, if ON *enni* is present, the name is a noun-noun close compound.

ON *enni* is a productive toponymic element in Shetland, the Faroe Islands and Iceland (Sandnes 2010, 188). Jakobsen (1936, 38) proposes that the element in Shetland and Faroese toponymy carries the sense "a brow-shaped mountain-formation, steep projection, steep slope". The proposal is that it applies to both coastal and inland features. As is highlighted above, *aoineadh* is specifically applied locally to steep raised shorelines and *enni* is therefore topographically appropriate in Inagart.

ON *eng* (f); var. *eng*, *engi* (n)

These terms are defined as 'meadow, meadow-land'. The plural *engjar* was used of 'outlying grass-fields'. Modern Icelandic application indicates that they are probably best translated as 'meadow' in the sense 'outfield hayfield or grassland' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). These elements are worth considering for Inagart given its topography and the possibility that it was a secondary holding created upon subdivision of the lands of neighbouring Glenbyre (see 'Subdivision', below and Glenbyre, above). However, the elements do not appear to be common in local toponymy, in Islay (see Macniven 2015), in Bute (see Márkus 2012), or in Man (see Broderick 2006), for example. These elements seem unlikely in Inagart.

ON *garð(r)*

The final consonant cluster of ON *garð(r)* could have produced a dental plosive represented by *d* in the earliest *RMS* forms and *t* in later forms. The forms containing -*g* are odd when the earliest forms and the modern form are considered and, if they have not been recorded as a result of scribal error, they presumably reflect the difficulty faced by scribes in perceiving the final consonant cluster. When considered in full, the evidence suggests

perception of a dental plosive represented by -d and later -t. The potential development from rð(r) > -rd and -rt itself requires further research.

There is some uncertainty regarding the development of ON -rð(r) in Gaelic. Cox's extensive discussion of the development illustrates that there are several reflexes which might be said to reflect attempts to adopt a partly unfamiliar cluster into the language over a period of time during which the language itself was evolving and losing /ð/ (2007, 80). Cox (2007, 74) has expressed doubt about the viability of ON -rð(-) > G -/ʀd/(-), proposing that the few supporting claims are either accounted for in other ways or are problematic to the extent that they remain uncertain. However, Cox (ibid., 75) has also suggested in analysis of -fjǫrð(r) which is perpetuated in Gaelic forms in -/ʀd/ that r + dental may have been retained in Hebridean Norse, as it was in Icelandic and Shetland Norn. The implication is that its continued exposure to Gaels would have tended to promote Gaelic forms which retained a dental element.

Cox's analysis relates specifically to -fjord(r) but it is of particular interest here in analysis of a potential name in -garð(r). The suggested retention of r + dental in Hebridean Norse provides a context in which ON ð might have survived long enough in Inagart to be recorded in the earliest fiscal sources. It may even account for variance in the name-final consonant between -d and -g in the earliest forms. Cox's proposal is that it was not until c.1300 that ON -rð began to yield -r + dental plosive, at least in the case of Scottish sea-loch names (2007, 57–58). This is to an extent based on the proposal that ON garð(r) was borrowed as OG garrda, the modern reflex of this term being G gàr(r)adh. However, this development is not clear-cut, given that G gàrradh 'fence, enclosure, enclosed place, garden, yard' may alternatively derive from OG garad or gárad (see PNF5, 383; Márkus 2012, 550). Further systematic analysis of the earliest historical forms of Hebridean toponyms may produce more comparative material for the type of extensive analysis Cox has produced on ON fjǫrð(r). Little can be proposed in relation to Cox's chronological model for the development of ON -rð(-) in Gaelic as regards Inagart, given that the earliest known form of this Moloros name dates to 1494.

Thus, there is evidence to support the suggestion that ON *Enni-Garð could have produced a reflex in -gard, later -gart. ON garð(r) is a cognate of OG gart and the development from -gard to -gart could be explained by interpretation of the name by Gaelic-speakers as

including OG *gart*. This, too, would have encouraged retention of a name-final dental plosive.

Application of ON *garð(r)*

The primary sense of ON *garð(r)* is 'fence, wall' and, within the context of settlement, it appears likely that its application was to an 'enclosed space' and thereafter to small farms. Within a Scottish context, Sandnes (2010, 83–84) has noted that in Orkney place-names *garth* and *gar*, likely in the majority of names to represent ON *garð(r)*, have a wide "denotation span", referring to farms as well as fields. Sandnes (ibid., 83) proposes that the element's sense developed from 'fence' to 'fenced-in area; farm'. Thus, its development is very similar to that proposed for the cognate OG *gart*.

In summary, both G *Aoineadh Ghart and ON *Enni-Garð are plausible etymologies for Inagart on the basis of linguistic analysis. The settlement's context does not assist in identification of its linguistic origin. Neighbouring Glenbyre is of Gaelic origin but Crosta #, the next nearest settlement to the north-east, is of ON origin.

Subdivision

Inagart may originally have been applied to a secondary holding formed after subdivision of neighbouring Glenbyre.

Previous Analysis

The name is unidentified in *ALI*. Rixson (LAS) records the name as "Inagart" and correctly locates the settlement at NM5722 but does not provide etymological analysis. MacQuarrie (1982, 65) analyses the settlement-name as an existing name within Cruach Inagairt, which he records as *Cruach Ina Gairt*. He appears to favour a Gaelic etymology: "ina, steep detached hill; gairt, garradh, enclosure." The name is translated as "Steep mound of the enclosure." The intended initial element is unclear. Maclean (1997, 28) proposes ON *engja* + G *gart*, translating the name as "Meadow enclosure". The proposed initial element is the aforementioned ON *eng* (f). A name combining elements from separate languages is implausible. MacDonald (2010, 241) identifies "Inagart" as a former possession of Iona Nunnery. She follows Maclean in tentatively suggesting ON *eng* + G *gart* but suggests G *innean* 'anvil' as an alternative name-initial element. This etymology appears to be based on the *Enin-* recorded in some later forms but G *innean* is not supported by the earliest forms or by the modern form.

Chronology

If Inagart is a Gaelic coinage and if *aoineadh* is a borrowing from ON *enni*, the name post-dates the advent of the Norse period.

Location

The NGR is of the ruined structure, categorised as a farmstead (Canmore ID 152017), situated at around 135m above sea-level and just over 350m from the edge of the precipice to which G *aoineadh* or ON *enni* are proposed to refer. Inagart is the most south-westerly of the settlements of Moloros, lying on the west side of Loch Buie.

Soils/Topography

The terrain is steep and the soils are peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association, the typical shallow, peaty soils of this map unit having been improved in some areas but only for use by sheep (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 548, 102).

Status

Secondary. It is consistently valued at a halfpennyland/8s 4d.

Associated Names

The settlement-name is the specific, in the genitive, in Cruach Inagairt (NM563230; 416m). Its generic is G *cruach* 'heap, stack, bold hill'. The derelict farmstead of Inagart lies on the south-east facing slopes of this hill.

Tenure

Inagart is recorded as having been mortified to the church of St Kenneth by Maclean of Lochbuie in 1509 and it is an ex-possession of the Iona Nunnery (see 1.6.5 and 1.6.13, above). The link between the local Church and Inagart may predate the known fiscal sources. The suggestion that it was incorporated within a local Church-estate in an earlier period is explored elsewhere (see 5.4.3, above).

KILLBEG   TOY S NM602416 1 375 20m

 kelbeg 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; identified as "Kilbeg" in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

 Killebeg 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed in *ER* xiii 214]

 kelbeg 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 kelbeg 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 Kelweg 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kelbeg 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kelbeg 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kailbeg 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kilbeg 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kilbeg 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kilbeg 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Kilbeg 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

 Kilbeg 1832 Thomson [woodland depicted in vicinity]

 Killbeg 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG 1/2/74/33/2 ["This name applies to a shepherds [sic] house situated on the east side of the river Forsa & about ½ mile north east of Coire an Uruisge."; no translation offered; *Kilbeg* recorded as alternative form but subsequently changed to *Killbeg*]

 Killbeg 1882 OS 6 inch 1st edn [settlement, burial-ground and sheepfold]

 Killbeg 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn [settlement and burial-ground]

G *caille* (f), var. *coille* 'wood, woodland' or G *cill* (f) 'church, chapel; burial-ground' + G *beag* 'small' or (G) pn Béc or (G) pn Becc.
G *Caille Bheag 'Small Wood' or G *Cill Bheag 'Small Church/Chapel/Burial-Ground' or G *Cill B(h)éc/B(h)ecc 'Church of St Béc/St Becc' or G *Caille B(h)éc/B(h)ecc 'Béc's/Becc's Wood'.

[ˌkɪliˈbɛg]

Etymology

A definitive etymology is difficult. The *e* preceding the *b* of the 1509 form is atypical of the historical forms but the vowel which this represents is evident in modern pronunciation. These forms suggest an etymology in G *caille*, an element proposed in neighbouring Callachally (see Callachally, above), and the variant G *caill* could explain the absence of the vowel in the other forms.

An alternative generic is G *cill*. The typical reflex of G *cill* in Anglicised place-names is *Kil-* but *Kel-* is also recorded locally in historical forms; for example, Killellan (NR683148), a name applied to a church and settlement in Kintyre, is recorded as *Kelellane* in 1605 (*HP* iii 84; also DoSH, 'Killellan, settlement Campbeltown (Kintyre)'). In other words, the early forms in *Kel-* do not rule out *cill* as the generic. There is support for *cill* in the form of a local disused burial-ground (see 1.6.7, above). Its chronology is unknown. It is important to note that G *cill* is derived from OG *cell*.

Caille and *cill* are feminine nouns but a feature of the historical forms and the modern form is that there is no evidence for lenition of the initial *b* of the specific in the historical forms with the exception of the 1542 form *Kelweg*. If this does represent lenition rather than scribal error, perception was of /w/, rather than /v/.

The lack of evidence for lenition and the possibility that *cill* is the generic highlight the possibility that the specific is a personal name. In this regard, it is worth noting that the personal name Becc is derived from OG *bec* 'small, little' (eDIL). Given that the modern reflex of this personal name is Beag (Ó Riain 2011, 90), identical to the modern reflex of the derived adjective, the personal name is extremely difficult to identify in place-names. While *cill* could certainly be compounded with the adjective *beag*, this generic also highlights the possibility that the specific is a hagionym. A personal name could be compounded with *caill* but, with *cill*, the likelihood is that the specific is a hagionym. OG *bec* is attached to several saints. Ó Riain (2011, 90–92) records four different saints bearing the name Beag, i.e. Becc. It is worth discussing the most likely candidates in Killbeg.

Beccán of Rum

Little is known about this saint beyond his obituary in AU under the year 677 which records *Beccan Ruimm quieuit* 'Beccán of Rum died' (AU 677.6; DoSH, 'Beccán of Rum'). His name may be better spelt Bécán (DoSH, 'Beccán of Rum'). Bécán and Beccán are

diminutives of Béc and Becc respectively and either diminutive could be productive in Killbeg.

Beccán mac Lugdach of Tech Conaill

While Beccán of Rum may be the hermit Beccán who recieved a letter, along with Ségéne, abbot of Iona, about the Paschal question in *c.*630 (Ó Riain 2011, 93), an alternative candidate for both the letter's recipient and the eponym of Killbeg is Beccán mac Lugdach of Tech Conaill, who wrote poetry about Colum Cille (DoSH, 'Beccán of Rum').[95] Thus, both Beccán of Rum and Beccán mac Lugdach are associated with Mull's neighbouring island of Iona.

Beccnat ingen Cholmáin

Beccnat, Beagnad in modern orthography, is a diminutive form of Becc and the saint Beccnat ingen Cholmáin of Cell Becnatan may be commemorated in Scotland at Kilbucho PEB (DoSH, 'Kilbucho, eccles. Kilbucho BGK'). The form Beccnat cannot lie behind the form in Killbeg. However, it is worth noting that Cill Bheagnaid/Kilbegnet, the modern forms of the place-name containing this saint's name in County Wexford, both contain a velar plosive comparable to that recorded in Killbeg's historical and modern forms (BL na hÉ s.n. Cill Bheagnaid/Kilbegnet).   Beccnat ingen Cholmáin could conceivably have been commemorated as Becc in Killbeg.

Begu, Bega, Baya

Another alternative is one of the female saints bearing the above names. One of these saints may in fact be commemorated at the aforementioned Kilbucho (DoSH, 'Begu, Bega, Baya').[96] Downham (2007, 36–37) has drawn attention to the fact that the name of one of these saints, Bega of St Bees in Cumberland, appears in the hypocoristic form Beccóc, i.e. Becc + *-óc*, in 12th-century place-names and personal names at St Bees. Downham (ibid., 38) has reiterated O'Reilly's identification of the cult of Bega with the aforementioned Beccnat ingen Cholmáin, proposing that it "merits serious consideration" (see O'Reilly 1903). Downham's suggestion that Beccnat's cult arrived in Cumberland from Ireland, perhaps travelling with Norse settlers expelled from Dublin in 902, has recently been taken up by Edmonds who has proposed that Beccnat's cult arrived in Cumberland via "a Gaelic-Scandinavian network" (Downham 2007, 38 and 41; Edmonds 2014, 53).   While this

---

[95] For the poetry, see Clancy and Márkus 1995, 129–63.
[96] For more on Begu, Bega and Baya, see *LSS*, 325–26 and 327–28 s.n. St Begha.

network could also lie behind the potential hagionym in Killbeg, a pre-Norse dedication to a saint named Béc or Becc cannot be ruled out. It is important to note that there are other saints bearing the name Becóc (Downham 2007, 37).

Further toponymic analysis in Torosay parish might explore the possibility that the same saint potentially commemorated at Killbeg is commemorated at Achdabeg (NM717299), a medieval settlement in the district of Torosay. This settlement lies around 1.7km NNE of the medieval parish church of Killean. Its earliest forms are *Auchybeg* (1509 NRS E38/339; printed in *ER* xiii 213) and *Auchtabigh* (1510 *RMS* ii no. 3440). G *achadh* 'field; (small) farm' is probably this settlement-name's generic. It appears to be relatively uncommon in hagiotoponyms but Achdabeg may be compared with Achadh dà Chaluim on the nearby island of Luing ARG in which one of the numerous saints bearing the name Colum, later Calum, may be commemorated (DoSH, 'Achadh dà Chaluim, Kilbrandon & Kilchattan'). There are at least two other potential hagiotoponyms in the vicinity of Achdabeg: Port Donain probably commemorates Donnán, perhaps Donnán of Eigg (DoSH, 'Port Donain, Torosay (Mull)'); and a saint named Senóc may be commemorated at Tobar Henag (NM727296), perhaps 'St Senóc's Well', which lies on the route between Port Donain and Achdabeg. Senóc may also be commemorated in the former name of Glenaros KKE (NM555443). The displaced name is recorded in *ER* 1509 as *Auchtische<n>na* (NRS E38/339) and on Blaeu's map of 1654 as *Achatesennag*; Langlands recorded the name as *Achadashinig* in 1801. The generic in this potential hagiotoponym again appears certain to be G *achadh*. The historical forms suggest that the specific is a hypocoristic form of Senóc, prefixed with an affectionate, or honorific, G *do* 'your'.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Killbeg in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). MacQuarrie (1982, 77), Maclean (1997, 29) and Johnston (1990, 196) all propose G *cill* + G *beag*.

Chronology

Killbeg is very difficult to date, given the various etymological possibilities and the unknown chronology of the local burial-ground.

Location

The NGR refers to the modern self-catering cottage here on the west side of the track which runs south through Glen Forsa from the modern road at the bridges over the River Forsa.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association which generally support grasses of low grazing-value and provide very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 547).

Status

Killbeg is consistently valued at a pennyland and there is no evidence in the fiscal evaluation to suggest that it is of anything other than primary status, despite its relatively poor soils.

KINLOCHSPELVE TOY S NM654261 1 375 30m

 chanloch spelow 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Moloros; identified as Kinlochspelve in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Chanloch-Spelow* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; there does not appear to be a hyphen in the original source, unless this is represented by the flourish above final *h* in *chanloch*, the significance of which is otherwise unclear]

 Canloch Spelledoc 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Moloros; printed as *Canlochspelledoc* in *ER* xiii 212; 13s 8d printed in error in *ER* xiii 212]

 chanloch spelow 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Chanloch-spelow* 1534 *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 chanloch spelow 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 Chanloch-spelow 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Thanlochspelow 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; initial *T* surely in error for *C*, as is suggested in *RMS* vii no. 663]

 Chanlochspelow 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros]

 Phanlochspeloh 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros; initial *P* surely in error for *C* as is suggested in *RMS* viii no. 815]

 Phanlochspelloch 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros; initial *P* surely in error for *C*]

 Kinlochspelve 1751 Dorret New [name not recorded on Dorret]

 Kinlochspelve 1801 Langlands [no settlement depicted]

 Kinlochspelve 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/128/2 ["Applies to a farmhouse situate about ¼ of a mile N. of the Church [NM652257] and about ¼ of a mile S. of Maol Odhar. The pro:– of M. G. MacLaine Esqʳ of Lochbuy."; no translation offered]

 Kinlochspelve 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn Sheet CVIII

 Ceann Lochspeilbh 1890 MacFadyen (1890, 289) ["aig Ceann Lochspeilbh", literally 'at Kinlochspelve']

 Ceann Loch-speilbh 1921 MacFadyen (1921, 290) ["aig Ceann Loch-speilbh"; see above]

G *ceann* 'head, end' + (G) en Loch Spelve.
G *Ceann Loch Speilbh 'Head of Loch Spelve'.
[ˌkɪnˌlɔxˈspɛlve]

Etymology

The consistent initial *a* of the earliest forms suggests that the initial element is the nom. sing. form of G *ceann*, as opposed to the oblique form *cinn/cind*, a productive dative form used in OG without a preposition but with the prepositional force to mean 'at the end of' (*PNF5*, 325). This also aligns with the Gaelic forms recorded by MacFadyen. Initial /k′/ would be expected in local pronunciation of the name on the basis of the *SGDS* evidence (§§163–67) and the *Ch-* regularly recorded in the earliest forms must reflect perception of *Ce-*. G *ceann* suits the settlement's location at the head of Loch Spelve.

The etymology of the specific in Loch Spelve, the existing name in Kinlochspelve, is difficult. The underlying element may be G *speil* (f), gen. *speile* 'cattle, herd; drove, particularly of swine' (*Dwelly*). It is recorded in the DASG Fieldwork Archive as applying to a 'flock of birds' in South Uist ('Measgaichte/Miscellaneous', South Uist, South Lochboisdale, 1987–88). It is derived from OG *speil* 'cattle, herd, flock' (eDIL s.v. *speil*). O'Rahilly (1927, 26) noted that the element is rare in Irish but that it is found in the Old Testament.

The consistently-recorded *-ow* of the earliest historical forms of Kinlochspelve may provide evidence for articulation of -/u/ for *-adh* among Gaelic-speakers. Alternatively, it could reflect perception of *-u* for Gaelic *-adh* with a velar fricative by non-Gaelic-speakers. The ending *-adh* can be explained by the addition of an analogous feminine genitive singular suffix *-(e)adh* to G *speil*. This is comparable to examples in *SGDS* such as the genitive singular of *banais*, typically *bainnse*, in which -[ʃĩɣ] was recorded locally (*SGDS* §76). *SGDS* indicates that -/ɣ/ is typical for *-adh* in Torosay but there is significant variation in realisation of final unstressed *-adh* in Gaelic dialects generally and in districts neighbouring Mull which could explain variance in forms in Kinlochspelve. As has been suggested, the *-ow* of the earliest forms, and possibly also the *-oh* of the 1625 form, may represent -/u/ in *speileadh* and, while -/u/ was not recorded for *-adh* in Mull by *SGDS* in the 1950s, it is very common in northern Irish dialects and -[ʊ] is recorded the southern Argyll dialect of Cowal for *samhradh* 'summer' in *SGDS*, for example (§736, point 45). Thus, the historical forms of Kinlochspelve may provide evidence for historical realisation of -/u/ locally.

The -*ve* recorded in forms of Kinlochspelve from 1751 and the -*bh* of MacFadyen's forms provide evidence for more recent articulation of -/əv/, another recorded realisation of -*adh*.

It is worth noting that -[əv] is recorded in several parts of mainland Argyll in *SGDS* in the aforementioned example *samhradh*; e.g. §626, point 58 (Craignish, Mid-Argyll) and §736, point 49 (Kilmartin, Mid-Argyll). -*doc*, recorded in 1509, is odd, and it may be garbled, but the evidence suggests that both it and -*och*, recorded in 1663, also represent -*adh*.

To summarise, the existing name in Kinlochspelve represented in the earliest historical forms is probably best recorded as *Loch Speileadh, the specific in this existing name being the genitive singular form of the feminine noun *speil*. The range of endings in the historical forms can probably be seen as approximations of -*adh*. *Loch Speilbh, the restored form recorded above alongside modern pronunciation of the name, is based on the most recent local Gaelic forms, those of MacFadyen.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Kinlochspelve in *ALI* no. A42 and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 29) also translates the settlement-name as "Head or end of Loch Spelve". Maclean questions Johnston's interpretation of the specific in Loch Spelve as "stony" but does not propose an alternative (ibid., 79). MacQuarrie (1982, 82) records the Gaelic form *Loch Spealbhaidh*, proposing an etymology in *spail*, an element defined as "a small water passage", and *bàgh* 'bay', a borrowing from ON *vág(r)* (m) 'creek, bay'. The first element is obscure and it does not appear to be productive in Scottish toponymy. MacQuarrie's proposal is very unlikely. Fraser (2004, 246) translates Loch Spelve as "stony loch" but provides no further analysis and cites no source.

Chronology

Kinlochspelve is a name of noun + defining genitive type and it is difficult to date.

Location

The NGR here is of the modern farm which lies at the head of Loch Spelve. It lies at the northern end of a low-lying isthmus between Loch Spelve and Loch Uisg to the west. The lochs are separated by around 500m.

Soils/Topography

Brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map). Due to the rather irregular nature of the underlying rocks there is a wide variation in soil depth, which, combined with climate, often restricts land of this soil-type to grass production. The map unit carries a bent-fescue grassland or oak-birch woodland but where site conditions allow is responsive to improvement and often carries long ley grassland (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 101–02, Map Unit 546).

Status

Primary. It is consistently valued at a pennyland. Barachandroman, a settlement located around 500m to the south-east at the southern end of the isthmus between Loch Uisg and Loch Spelve, is valued at a halfpennyland and it may originally have been a secondary settlement created after division of a pre-existing holding at the head of the loch. Kinlochspelve could conceivably have applied to the pre-existing holding but there is no explicit evidence for this in the known fiscal sources.

LAGGAN   TOY S NM628238 1 375 10m

lagan<e> 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [two pennylands; in Moloros; identified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Lagan* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Laggan 1509 NRS E38/339 [33s 4d; in *Moloros*; printed as *Laggan* in *ER* xiii 212]

lagan<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [two pennylands; in Moloros; printed as *Lagane* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

lagan<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [two pennylands; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Lagann 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [two pennylands; in Moloros]

Lagane 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [two pennylands; in Moloros]

Lagane 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [two pennylands; in Moloros]

Lagall 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [two pennylands; in Moloros; *-ll* very likely to be in error for *-n* and this is suggested as error for *Lagan* in source]

Laggan 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in red on north side of major watercourse, probably Abhainn Dìosgaig (NM624240)]

Lagall 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [two pennylands; in Moloros; *-ll* must also be in error here]

Laggan 1750 Dorret [settlement and ecclesiastical site]

Laggan 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI [settlement]

Laggan 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Laggan 1807 Arrowsmith

Laggan 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Laggan 1868 × 1878 ONSB ARG OS1/2/47/91/1 ["Applies to a substantial Farmhouse situated about ¾ mile S.E. of Lochbuy and near the east shore of Loch Buy. Property of M. G. McLaine Esq:"; no translation offered]

Tràigh Bhàn Lagain 1868 × 1878 ONSB ARG OS1/2/47/90/1 ["Applies to a sandy beach situated on the east side of Loch Buy and a short distance west of Laggan and immediately N. of Aird Lungadain."; no translation offered]

Laggan 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Tràigh Bhàn Lagain 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Laggan Lodge 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Tràigh Bhàn Lagain 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

OG *locán* 'dwelling-place; monastery, monastic site; little hollow'.

G *Lagan 'Monastery/Monastic Site'.

 [ˈlagən]

Etymology

Laggan may be derived from G *lagan* 'little hollow/cavity'. However, there is good evidence to support OG *locán*, specifically applying to an Early Christian ecclesiastical site, as the original element: a local cross-incised stone whose form suggests an origin in the second half of the eighth century; the presence at Laggan of a Late Medieval parish church; and this parish church's dedication to St Cainnech (see 1.6.5 and 5.4.3, above). Intervocalic *c* was pronounced /g/ and the reflex of OG *locán* in modern Gaelic, as is indicated in the reconstructed name above, is *lagan*. The ecclesiastical referents of both OG *loc*, primarily defined as 'place' but also as 'burial place, grave' (eDIL s.v. 1 *loc*), and its diminutive OG *locán* identify these terms as borrowings from Latin *locus*, a term whose Early Medieval sense was '(holy) place, place of burial, church' (Clancy 2008, 377–78). Logie, the element which lies behind the names of 14 medieval parishes across eastern Scotland north of the Forth, derives from OG *loc*, Pictish *loc* or *log* (ibid., 378; *PNF5*, 429; Clancy 2016; also Watson 1904, xxxvii).

Subdivision

The status of neighbouring *Dìosgaig highlights the possibility that it was created after subdivision of the lands of Laggan.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Laggan in *ALI* no. A42 and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 30) translates the name as "The little hollow", ostensibly from G *lagan*. MacQuarrie does not discuss the name.

Chronology

A simplex, Laggan is difficult to date. The proposed generic identifies Laggan as having applied to an ecclesiastical site which could conceivably have been established in the Early Christian period. Laggan may be of pre-Norse date.

Location

The NGR is of Laggan Farm. On the 1879 OS map Laggan refers to what is now Laggan Lodge (NM626239). Laggan does not appear as a simplex on OS Explorer.

Soils/Topography

Brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association, which are locally utilised as arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). Its extent indicates that the holding was relatively large.

Status

Primary. It is of principal status among the settlements of Moloros, being valued at two pennylands/33s 4d.

Associated Names

The Gaelic form of the settlement name is recorded in the existing name which is the name-final element in Tràigh Bhàn Lagain (NM623242). The preceding elements are G *tràigh* and G *bàn*, the name probably best translated as '(The) White Beach of Laggan'. The Scotticised/Anglicised form of the settlement-name is found in Laggan Deer Forest (NM631216), Laggan Lodge (NM626239) and Laggan Farm (NM628238).

Tenure

The proposed etymology implies a local ecclesiastical site and, while the lands of Laggan are held by Maclean of Lochbuie in the earliest known fiscal sources, Laggan may have formed the centre of a local Church-estate in the period which predates these sources. Laggan may have been the name applied to this Church-estate from the Early Medieval period. The lands of Inagart are explicitly recorded as being held by the church of St Cainnech in 1509 and the implication is that these lands might have formed part of the proposed earlier Church-estate. The lands of *Dìosgaig, *Dibidil and Iaradail may also have formed part of this Church-estate and thus have been linked to Laggan (see 5.4.3, above). St Cainnech, the saint of the parish church of Laggan, may also be commemorated in Airigh Choinnich (NM663240), a transhumant name likely to be linked with the medieval settlement of *Dibidil (see 1.6.5, 5.4.3 and *Dibidil, above).

LEITER   TOY S NM637418 1 375 10m

lett<ir> arna creill 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; location unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Lettir-arnacreill* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Lettir 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed in *ER* xiii 214]

letter ardnacreile 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Letter-ardnacreile* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

letter ardnacreile 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Littirardnacreill 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Letterardnacreill 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Lettirardnacreill 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Leaterardnatreill 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Latterardnachreill 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Laterardnotrowall 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Letir Ardmtrail 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; *m* is in error for *in*; cf. Blaeu (Pont) Lorn below]

Letir Ardintrail 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black]

Letter-Ardnachreill 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Lettyr 1747 x 1755 Roy [settlement in red]

Ardmatrail 1750 Dorret

Leeter 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Leeter 1807 Arrowsmith

Leeter 1832 Thomson [settlement]

G *leitir* 'steep, even slope'.

G *Leitir 'Steep, Even Slope'.

[ˈleʰtʲər]

Etymology

Local pronunciation within an English-speaking context exhibits strong Gaelic influence in the form of preaspiration before medial [tʲ]. Local Gaelic-speaking pronunciation would surely have featured initial [ʎ] (cf. *SGDS* §573 *leth* and §574 *leigheas*). The modern name

is a simplex. G *leitir* derives from *leth* 'half' + *tìr* 'land, country, ground' and is a productive toponymic element in Highland Scotland. Its distribution and application suggest that it became a general term for a steep, even slope (Fraser 2008, 186). Fraser (ibid., 186) has proposed that it tends to remain a term limited to glaciated valleys, often with accompanying linear lochs, but he also records its application to steep situations overlooking the coast. Among the examples cited by Fraser is Leiter in Forsa, by way of reference to Rubha na Leitreach, a local name which incorporates G *leitir* (f), gen. *leitreach* as its specific (see 'Associated Names', below).

The existing name consistently recorded as the settlement-name's specific in the historical forms is problematic. Its initial generic is certainly either G *àrd* 'high place, height' or G *àird(e)* 'height, eminence, promontory' and this is followed by either the fem. gen. sing. *na* or gen. pl. def. art *nan*. However, the specific of the existing name is unclear. The earliest historical forms suggest an initial *c* but there are several later forms including initial *t*. The *t* in Blaeu's forms provides strong evidence for *t-* but *c-* appears to be consistently recorded in the forms up to and including 1615. A form including *c-* is considered most likely but these graphemes are frequently confused in textual sources and *t-* could conceivably have developed from an erroneous written form. A tentative suggestion is a hypothetical G **crèil* 'creel, basket'. G *crèileag* [krɛ:lɑg] 'miniature creel; basket for holding potatoes', a term containing the Gaelic fem. diminutive suffix *-(e)ag*, was recorded in Islay in 1968 (DASG, 'Measgaichte/Miscellaneous', Islay, Port Charlotte, 12/1968). This element is linguistically plausible and there is support in local toponymy in the form of the name-final specific in Croit nan Sgùlan (NM628428), namely G *sgùlan* 'wicker basket; creel' (*Mac Eachainn*; *Dwelly*). The generic is either G *croit* (f) 'croft, smallholding, small piece of land', or the formally indistinguishable G *croit* (f) 'hump, eminence, lump' (Taylor 2005, 18; Márkus 2012, 543). The specific follows the gen. pl. def. art. *nan* and the name is thus best translated as '(The) Hump/Croft of the Wicker Baskets/Creels'. There is a distinct possibility that Croit nan Sgùlan and **Àrd na(n) Crèil(e)* / **Àird(e) na(n) Crèil(e)* refer to the same feature; both could be translated similarly as '(The) Height of the Creel(s)'. Further research of local Gaelic dialects might investigate local use of **crèil* and indeed this term's etymology. English *creel* and the Scots cognate *crele*, var. *creill*, *creel* etc., are of uncertain origin (OED s.v. *creel*, n.1; *DOST* s.v. *crele*). OED records that OG *criōl* 'bag, receptacle, casket' (eDIL) has been compared to English *creel* but highlights the difference between the respective vowels and instead suggests a derivation from Old French **creille*, a proposed variant of *greille*, from Latin *crāticula* 'fine hurdle-work'.

Previous Analysis

It is unidentified in *ALI* but identified as "Leitir" by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 30) includes entries for both *Leeter* (NM633428), citing the Langlands and Thomson form, and Leiter (NM639418), but these entries both refer to this medieval settlement-name. The NGR of 'Leeter' refers to the ruined township of Baile Geamhraidh, probably a local secondary settlement created after subdivision of the lands of Leiter (see also Canmore ID 22466). Maclean also identifies the simplex as G *leitir*. Leiter is not included in MacQuarrie's survey, although he does refer to the aforementioned Rubha na Leitreach (1982, 92). G *leitir* is proposed as this toponym's specific. Johnston (1990, 198) etymologises Leiter as G *leth* + G *tìr*.

Chronology

The suggested existing name contains the def. art. and the name is thus perhaps unlikely to predate the early 10th century, on the basis of existing evidence (see 5.3.2, above).

Location

Leiter is not recorded in OSNB or on the historical OS maps. On OS Explorer, the name applies to the modern settlement at NM637418 and this is the NGR recorded for the head-name. Locally, the name is still applied to the sloping land between Achadh Fada (NM621429) and Goirtean Driseach (NM636419), two probable subdivisions of Leiter. The confluence of Allt na Crìche '(The) Stream of the Boundary' and nearby Allt a' Mhuilinn '(The) Stream of the Mill' is at NM640417, around 200m south-west of the modern settlement of Leiter. Allt na Crìche probably formed the march between Leiter and neighbouring Corrynachenchy (NM640413), a settlement not recorded in the earliest fiscal sources for Forsa but which is depicted as a settlement by Blaeu (*Kori na haenach*). Corrynachenchy is a secondary settlement created on land between Leiter and Fishnish.

Soils/Topography

Leiter's coastal soils are the freely-drained and agriculturally-important brown earths of the Darleith Association which are frequently cultivated (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 60, Map Unit 158).

Status

The medieval settlement is consistently valued at a pennyland and it should be considered as a primary settlement of Forsa. There is no evidence in the fiscal sources to support

Johnston's proposal that Leiter was a secondary settlement within the settlement-unit of Fishnish (1990, 197–98).

Associated Names

G *leitir* is the specific in both nearby Guala na Leitreach (NM628420) '(The) Shoulder of the Slope' and Rubha na Leitreach (NM634429) '(The) Point/Promotory of the Slope'.

LETH THORCAILL   TOY D NM662420 1 X 20m

laycht yrdill 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; identified as "Leth Thorcaill" in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Laychtyrdill* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; there are two distinct words in the original]

lach kirkill 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Lochkirkill* in *ER* xiii 214; the name is written across two lines, there being no indication that it should be read as a single word]

laychyrdill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Laychtirdill* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; *c* could be *t*, the two graphemes being regularly indistinguishable in this charter]

laychtirdill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Laychtirkill 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Lathirkhill 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Laythrikill 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Laythercle 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Leik-Irkil 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

Leir Irkil 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black; *r* in *Leir* is probably recorded in error for *k*, considering the Blaeu form above; it has probably been influenced by nearby *LEIR-MVLLACH* (i.e. *Leth'r Mhuileach)]

Leythercle 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Ledirkill 1750 Dorret

Letterkil 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI

Letterkil 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXII

Leudirkle 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Leadirkle 1807 Arrowsmith

Leadirkle 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Leth Thorcaill 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/29/1 ["Applies to the site of a hamlet near Rudha Leth Thorcaill [see below] & N. of Cnoc nam Fòid [NM663416]. Sig "Torquils [sic] Gulf" "; alternative form *Leth Thorcall* corrected to *Leth Thorcaill*]

Rudha Leth Thorcaill 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/28/2

Leth Thorcaill 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Rudha Leth Thorcaill 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Rudha Leth Thorcaill 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Rubha Leth Thorcaill 2007 OS Explorer [NM666423]

G *leac* 'flagstone, slab, flat stone' + ?

Etymology

Significant variance in the historical forms makes etymological analysis difficult and it is important to note that there are significant differences between the printed forms in *RMS* and *ER* and the manuscript forms, as is highlighted above. The OS form does not compare well with the earliest historical forms, or even with those of Langlands and Thomson in the early 19th century. Neither does it compare well with "Leth Tircil", the form recorded by Maclean on the basis of local pronunciation from an unnamed informant recorded in the 1990s (1997, 31 and 151, note 54). Mackenzie's form indicates interpretation of the initial element as G *leitir* 'steep, even slope' but the earliest forms of Leth Thorcaill do not compare well with contemporary forms of Leiter, a simplex name formed in this element (see Leiter, above).

The OS form and the translation recorded in OSNB clearly indicate that the name was understood as G *leth* 'half' + pn Torcall, gen. T(h)orcaill. The proposed specific is the Gaelic reflex of Þorkell, a personal name of ON origin, Anglicised as Torquil in OSNB. The vowel represented by *y* and *i* in the earliest forms and in Maclean's form do not suit an etymology including Torcall. Translation of *leth* as 'gulf' in OSNB is odd.

The generic is probably G *leac*. The *laycht* of the earliest form, which is paralleled in later forms, appears to represent articulation of a final dental plosive in the initial element. This is not a feature of modern pronunciation of the term locally which *SGDS* (§570) records as [ʎɛxk] but it was a feature of OG *lecht* 'grave, tomb, sepulchral monument, resting place'.

G *leac* is the product of assimilation of both this term and OG *lecc* 'flat slab of rock or stone, flagstone, paving-stone' (eDIL s.v. *lecc*). The earliest form of Leth Thorcaill in particular is closely paralleled in *Lachtalpen*, a form of Laight WIG dated to 1205 × 1367. This name has been etymologised as *Leacht Alpín 'Alpín's Grave' (*CPNS*, 198; MacQueen 2002, 13). The *Leik* of the Blaeu (Pont) Mull form, and perhaps also the 1509 form *lach kirkill*, may indicate loss of the final plosive and articulation of -/xk/ as opposed to -/xt/ in the initial element. However, there are a number of forms which suggest that the initial element is specifically *lecht*, as opposed to *lecc*, and the sepulchral association of *lecht* is an important consideration in analysis of Leth Thorcaill. This is particularly true given that the burial-ground of unknown chronology at Lag na Cille (NM670406) '(The) Hollow of the Church/Chapel/Burial-Ground' lies around 1.5km south-east of the ruined settlement.

Druim na Cille (NM661411) '(The) Ridge of the Church/Chapel/Burial-Ground' lies between the ecclesiastical site and Leth Thorcaill. It is worth noting that among the numerous definitions recorded for *leac* in *Dwelly* and *Mac Eachainn* is 'tombstone' (*Dwelly*; *Mac Eachainn*; also *PNF5*, 422).

Local toponymy highlights the possibility that the proposed *lecht* of Leth Thorcaill was used specifically for religious purposes. The function of the *lecht* within a Christian context is still not entirely understood and a number of uses are possible; from external altar to a founder's shrine or reliquary (Baliscate, 15).[97] They are often associated with a stone cross and a rectangular *lecht* and two potential cross-bases probably erected in the ninth or 10th century were recently excavated at the Early Christian chapel and cemetery at Baliscate in north Mull (Ellis 2013, 54; Baliscate, 7–8 and 15; also 4.8.1, above). *Lechta* are extremely rare in Scotland but the Baliscate *lecht* is not dissimilar in appearance to the cross-base excavated at Tòrr an Aba in Iona (Baliscate, 15; also Fowler and Fowler 1988, 186, Illus. 6). While there is evidence for a Christian site at Leth Thorcaill, the topographical senses of G *leac* mean that it is difficult to definitively identify the referent of the initial element and there is no known archaeology to assist analysis.

The name-final element is obscure. A personal name might be considered, given the aforementioned *Leacht Alpín and the frequent compounding of Irish *sleacht*, a variant of *leacht* common in Ulster toponymy, with personal names; e.g. Slaughty Cahal/Sleacht Chathail 'Cathal's memorial cairn' (McKay 2007, 33); Slaghtmanus/Sleacht Mhánasa 'Manus's grave-mound/memorial cairn' (ibid., 132); Slaghtneill/Sleacht Néill 'Niall's grave-mound/memorial cairn' (ibid., 133). Further research at a micro-toponymic level may assist in identification of this specific.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Leth Thorcaill in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS), who also identifies it as the existing name in Rubha Leth Thorcaill. Maclean (1997, 31 and 151, note 54) presents two distinct etymological analyses: G *leth* + pn Torcall, translated as "Torquil's portion" or "Torquil's half"; and G *leitir* + G *cill*, translated as "half-land of the church". The former is motivated in part by reference to the OS 1st edn map which clearly indicates two distinct field-systems in the western and eastern halves of the peninsula (see Fishnish, above).

---

[97] The feature is frequently referred to in the modern Irish form *leacht* but the OG form is preferred here.

Neither *leth* nor *leitir* is supported by the historical forms. MacQuarrie (1982, 93) draws attention to Rubha Leth Thorcaill, proposing an etymology of G *leth* + pn Torcall, translated as "Point of Torquil's half or share", for the settlement-name. Johnston does not discuss Leth Thorcaill.

Chronology

The obscurity of the specific element means that this name is difficult to date. Further archaeological analysis of the potential *lecht*-site may assist.

Location

There is a clearing in the forestry plantation where this ruined settlement is located around 600m NNE of the modern settlement at Balmeanach (Canmore ID 22451). It lies on the east side of the modern road which connects the Caledonian MacBrayne slipway to the A849, the main route north and south through Mull. There is no indication of this settlement on the modern map but it is clearly depicted on the historical OS maps.

Soils/Topography

The component soils of the area around the settlement are the freely-drained and agriculturally-important brown earths of the Darleith Association which are frequently cultivated (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 60, Map Unit 158). A strip on the east coast of the peninsula is characterised by peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association. Some areas of this map unit have a moderate grazing-value but patterns of wetness and rock preclude much reclamation (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 72, Map Unit 280).

Status

Primary. Leth Thorcaill is consistently valued at a pennyland and there is no evidence in fiscal evaluation that it is anything other than a settlement of primary status. Modern application of Fishnish to the entire peninsula undoubtedly creates an impression that its status is greater and the peninsula may once have been considered to be a single settlement-unit (see 5.3.3 and Fishnish, above).

Associated Names

Rubha Leth Thorcaill (NM666423) 'Leth Thorcaill Point' preserves the OS form of the settlement-name.

MOY TOY D NM616247 2 X 5m

moy 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland of Moy with castle (*cu<m> castro*); in Moloros; identified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Moy* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Moye 1509 *ER* xiii 212 [16s 8d; in Moloros; printed as *Moye* in *ER* xiii 212]

moy 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland of Moy with castle; in Moloros; printed as *Moy* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

moy 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland of Moy with castle; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Moy 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland with castle; in Moloros]

Moy 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland with castle; in Moloros]

Moy 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland with the lake (*cum lacu*) of Loch Buie (*Lochbowie*); in Moloros]

Moy 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland with castle; in Moloros]

Moy 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland with the lake of Loch Buie (*Lochbuy*); in Moloros]

C.Moy 1750 Dorret [i.e. *Castle Moy*]

C.Moue 1751 Dorret [i.e. *Castle Moue*]

o'n mhuaithe 1776 *Eigg* (92) ['from Moy'; dat. case]

Moy 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI [settlement, large dwelling in woodland and castle]

Moy 1801 Langlands ["Gentleman's house"; the gentleman is named as "Col. M. MacLane"; wood or plantings to north]

Moy 1807 Arrowsmith

Murcha na Maighe 1813 *Mac-an-Tuairneir* (17) ['Murcha of Moy'; gen. case]

Murachadh na Moigheadh *c*1816 JM (cited in Ó Baoill 2009, 206) ['Murachadh of Moy'; gen. case]

Caisdeal na Moigheadh *c*1816 JM (cited in Ó Baoill 2009, 208) ['Moy Castle'; gen. case]

da thùr chreaga Moigheadh *c*1816 JM (cited in Ó Baoill 2009, 208) [Ó Baoill (ibid., 61) translates this line as "the two towers of Creaga Maigheadh"; gen. case; the reference is to Moy Castle; the place-name *creaga Moigheadh '(the) rock of the Moy' is not recorded by the OS]

Moy 1832 Thomson [large house; woodland to north]

Moy Castle 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/67/3 ["An old Castle or square Tower supposed to be built about the twelfth Century. It is roofed over and is in a good

state of preservation. It Stands at the head of Loch Buy Close to the modern mansion of M. G. MacLaine Esqʳ of Lochbuy."; no translation offered]

 Moy Lodge 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/47/81/3 ["Applies to the entrance lodge to Lochbuy. Situated nearly ½ a mile N.E of Lochbuy and a short distance West from the West end of Loch Uisg. Property of M. G. MacLaine Esq."; no translation offered]

 Moy Castle 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn
 Moy Lodge 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn
 Moie Castle 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn
 Moie Lodge 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

G *magh* (f) 'field, level country, plain'.
G **Moigh* (dat.) 'Plain'.
[mɔɪ]

Etymology

The earliest form *moy* is identical to the modern form of the name which is preserved on OS Explorer as the existing name in Moy Castle (NM616247), the medieval seat of Maclean of Lochbuie. The *o* of Scotticised/Anglicised forms and the [ɔ] of modern pronunciation probably indicate that the element is present in its dative form *moigh* in this settlement-name. This is also supported by *na Moigheadh*, the Gaelic genitive form recorded in the manuscript collection of Iain Mac Illeain, Bàrd Thighearna Chola (1787–1848). The nominative is *magh*, defined as 'field, level country, plain' (*PNF5*, 434). It derives from OG *mag*. The principal sense of OG *mag*, 'a plain, an open stretch of land', is very similar to the sense carried by G *magh* but the OG term was also applied in a more restricted sense as 'field; green attached to a fort or dwelling' (see also Mac Mathúna 2004, 151). As is highlighted above (see 5.4.3), Mac Mathúna (ibid., 151) has proposed that OG *mag*, later *magh*, tended to be used in the dat. sing. cases *maigh* or *muigh* as the Modern Irish period progressed from *c.*1200, "both as a free lexeme and as a place-name element". A dative form *muigh* or *moigh*, with the suffix *-ach*, is proposed by Taylor in Moyes FIF (*PNF1*, 198–99; *PNF5*, 434–35). However, OG *mag* was a productive element in Ireland and in the Hebrides in the Early Medieval period and Moy could conceivably have been a name applied to the central cultivated area and focal point of a local Early Medieval polity (see 5.4.3, above).

There is variation in the vowel in the initial syllable in the historical forms. MacDomhnuill's dative form in 1776 is *m(h)uaithe.* This form is closely comparable to *A' Mhuaighe*, the nominative Gaelic form of Moy near Strathpeffer (*CPNS*, 500). An *a* is recorded in *na Maighe*, the genitive form recorded in *Mac-an-Tuairneir* in 1813. On balance, however, *Moigh best suits the predominant *o* of the historical forms.

These Gaelic forms clearly indicate that the productive element in Moy was a feminine noun. Watson (*CPNS*, 500) noted that *magh* is feminine in Irish (see also *Ó Dónaill* s.v. *magh*) and "in several of our place-names, though our dictionaries usually make it masculine" (e.g. *Mac Eachainn*; *Dwelly*). Gender variation stems from the fact that OG *mag*, the noun from which G *magh* derives, was neuter.

Loch Buie/Ben Buie

G *magh*, or the existing name Moy, is probably the specific in both Ben Buie (NM604271; 717m) and Loch Buie (NM598229). Moy is situated at the head of Loch Buie. The referent plain of Moy lies at the base of Ben Buie, the highest peak in Moloros. The specific in both names is typically proposed as G *buidhe* 'yellow' (MacQuarrie 1982, 49; Maclean 1997, 31 and 43; Fraser 2006, 246). However, earlier forms of Ben Buie suggest that this is not the underlying specific. Rev. Duncan Clerk records the forms *Benmaigh* and *Benmhaigh* in 1843, adding "Its name is evidently derived from Ben, *a mountain*, and Magh, *a plain*" (*NSA*, 278). His description of a "splendid mountain at the head of Lochbuy", about the same height as Beinn Talaidh (*Bentealluidh*), clearly relates to Ben Buie (ibid., 278). Confusingly, J. P. MacLean (1889, 232) refers to both Ben Buie (*Ben Buy*) and *Ben Magh* in the vicinity of Moy but the names surely apply to the same feature. MacCormick (1923, 102–04) reiterates MacLean's forms but only "Ben Buidhe, *Ben Buie*" is listed among the island's principal eminences (ibid., 215). Thus, Ben Buie is proposed as a name of noun + defining genitive type, its generic being G *beinn* '(high) hill, mountain'. The forms recorded by Clerk, J. P. MacLean and MacCormick provide supporting evidence for G *magh* in Moy. The *b* of the modern form Ben Buie has probably developed via reinterpretation of the specific as G *buidhe*.

The local Gaelic form of the loch-name, *Loch Buidhe*, illustrates that its specific has also been interpreted as G *buidhe* (e.g. MacFadyen 1902, 33; Lobban 2004, 40). However, the

evidence relating to Ben Buie strongly suggests that its specific is a genitive form of G *magh*, or Moy, as an existing name.

Application

The referent plain of Moy is extensive in local terms. It covers an area of around 1km north-south by around 1.5km west-east. MacCormick (1923, 102–4) refers to "the great plain called Magh, spreading out from the loch to the north-west, reaching out to the foot of Ben Buie and Ben Magh". Application of the element as 'plain' is preferred here, given the senses carried by the modern term (see also Mac Mathúna 2004). In relation to the more restricted sense 'field; green attached to a fort or dwelling', Moy Castle, a tower-house whose surviving fabric can for the most part be ascribed to the first half of the 15th century (Canmore ID 22392), does not appear to have been built on the site of an earlier building (Thomas 2008, 115; Canmore ID 22392). The major local Early Medieval secular power-centre may instead have been the dun of Dùnan Mòr (NM625234; Canmore ID 22399) around 1.5km south-east of the castle. Moy has clearly long been a central place in the local landscape, however. A stone circle of nine stones standing almost exactly on a true circle whose diameter is 42 feet lies just over 350m NNE of Moy Castle (Canmore ID 22385). There are also three outlying monoliths (see also Canmore IDs 22386 and 22389).

Subdivision

Both Cameron and *Aon Stapall may have been created following subdivision of the lands of Moy, on the basis of the fiscal evidence (see 5.4.2, above).

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Moy in *ALI* no. A42 and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean's analysis of Moy as "A' Mhoigh, a locative of Magh" (1997, 31) is based on the analysis of Johnston (1903, 225) and Macbain (1922, 158). Maclean proposes G *buidhe* as the specific in both Ben Buie (1997, 43) and Loch Buie (ibid., 77 and 31). MacQuarrie does not include analysis of Moy or of Loch Buie but proposes G *buidhe* in Ben Buie (1982, 49).

Chronology

It is difficult to provide this simplex with a definitive chronology but it could be of pre-Norse origin and it may have applied to the core cultivated area of a small Early Medieval polity, as is highlighted above (see 5.4.3). However, it could equally have been coined after the

Norse period. Mac Mathúna (2004, 151) has proposed that the element "continued quite strongly into the earlier part of the Modern Irish period, that is to say from AD 1200 on".

Location

The NGR is of Moy Castle, the only place-name on OS Explorer which contains Moy as an existing name in this form. The name does not appear on the modern map as a settlement-name. The precise location of the medieval settlement is unclear.

Soils/Topography

There is an area of brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association around Lochbuie House which extends along the shoreline of Loch Buie for around 2km WSW as far as Tòrr a' Chràbhaiche (NM595243) (1:250,000 Soil Map). These soils are typically utilised as arable locally (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). The soil analysis aligns with the evidence identifying Moy as a long-time settlement-centre and the proposal above that its name may identify it as the potential core cultivated area of a local Early Medieval polity also finds support in this analysis. G *magh* is topographically appropriate in referring to the relatively extensive plain here at the head of Loch Buie.

Status

Primary. It is consistently valued at a pennyland/16s 8d.

Associated Names

Moy is the existing name in Moy Castle (NM616247) and Moie Lodge (NM621251). The reason for the orthographic divergence of the existing name in these names is unclear. The specific in both Loch Buie (NM598229) and Ben Buie (NM604271; 717m) is probably the genitive of G *magh* or the existing name Moy, as is highlighted above. Lochbuie (NM613249) is also included on the modern map as a settlement-name. Loch Buie is also the existing name in Lochbuie House (NM615248; Canmore IDs 22401 and 22402), the centre of the modern Lochbuie estate. On the 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn map and in some historical forms, the orthography is *Lochbuy*. Ben Buie is the existing name in *Benbuie Lodge* (NM606250), recorded on the 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn map. It is recorded as *Benbury Lodge* on the 1879 OS 6 inch 1st edn map.

Tenure

As is highlighted above, Moy Castle was the seat of Maclean of Lochbuie. In more recent times, Lochbuie chiefs resided in Lochbuie House and its predecessor, known as Old Lochbuie House (Canmore ID 22402; see also Currie 2000, 55 and 72, note 1). The castle is explicitly attached to the pennyland of Moy in 1494.

PENNYGOWN   TOY S NM599427 1 375 10m

pengowyn<e> 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; flourish above final *n* proposed to represent *-ne*; identified as Pennygown in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Pengowyn* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

penȝegovne 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Penyegoune* in *ER* xiii 214; the final grapheme is unclear in the manuscript but is probably *e*]

pengowin 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Pengowyne* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

pengowyn<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745; the *e* in the initial syllable is unclear]

Pingowyns 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa; final *s* probably in error for *e*]

Pengowyne 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Pengowne 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Pennygowne 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Bingaun 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; *B* probably a typesetter's error for *P*]

Bingaun 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black; see above]

Pennigowne 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Lenigown 1750 Dorret [settlement and ecclesiastical site; initial *L* for initial *P* is a copying error]

Pennygown 1758 NRS GD174/739 [lands belonging to John Maclean of Lochbuie are described as being in the parishes of *Torosay* and *Pennygown*]

Letterkil 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI

Penegowan 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXII [settlement]

Pennygown 1801 Langlands [slated house(s) or farm(s)]

Pennygowan 1807 Arrowsmith

Pennygowan 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Pennygown 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/46/1/16/1 ["Applies to a dwelling house with barns, out offices, & garden attached situated about 1¼ miles east from Salen & on the west side of Druim a' Mhuilinn [NM601428]."; no translation offered]

Pennygown 1882 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Pennygown 1892 Shennan (290–91) [parish of "Pennygown & Torosay"]

Pennygown 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Pennaghowan 1923 *Fasti* (iv 123) [chapel in the parish of Torosay, or Killean ("Torosay, or Kilean")]

G *peighinn* 'penny, pennyland' + masc. gen. def. art. a' + G *gobha(i)nn* (m)*,* gen. *gobhainn* 'smith'.

G *Peighinn (a') G(h)obhainn '(The) Pennyland of the Smith'.

[ˌpɛneˈɡəʊn]

Etymology

Pen- is common in Scotticised/Anglicised forms of G *peighinn* (*CPNS*, 191). The ʒ of the 1509 form suggests articulation of -/ɲ/, as would be expected in *peighinn*. The following *e* may be epenthetic, given that a vowel is not indicated between *n* and *g* in any other forms up to 1625 or in the Blaeu forms. Alternatively, it could represent the masc. gen. def. art. *a'* before the masculine noun *gobha(i)nn*. The *y* of later forms is very likely to represent the definite article. The earliest *RMS* forms in isolation would suggest a name of noun + defining genitive structure without the definite article; i.e. *Peighinn Gobhainn. If this is a name of noun + article + defining genitive structure, it is noteworthy that the expected lenition of *g* is not indicated in any of the above forms.

The consistent medial *w* of the historical forms indicates perception of /w/ for G *bh*. *SGDS* records vocalisation of medial *bh* across the board in Mull, the Torosay informant articulating *bh* as hiatus in the form of pitch movement between the preceding and following vowels. The *v* of the 1509 form may provide evidence for articulation of /v/ but it is difficult to distinguish *v* from *u* in this source.

G *gobha(i)nn* is a productive element in Scottish toponymy. It provides evidence for settlements associated with the important medieval figure of the smith. The element is frequently compounded with G *baile* 'land-holding, farm, vill', being proposed in five, perhaps six, settlement-names in Fife, for example (*PNF5*, 233).

Subdivision

Garbh Fhaoileann (NM605432) and Caol-Fhaoileann (NM601433) are probably subdivisions of Pennygown. They are discussed elsewhere (see 5.3.3 and Garmony, above).

Previous Analysis

It is correctly identified in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). Maclean (1997, 32), MacQuarrie (1982, 87) and Johnston (1990, 195) propose the same elements as are proposed above, translating Pennygown as "Pennyland of the smith", "The Smith's Pennyland" and "Smith's pennyland" respectively.

Chronology

Pennygown is one of the few names in the parish whose generic allows close chronological analysis. G *peighinn* relates to administrative systems based on units relating to the pennyland and these are unlikely to have been imposed locally until the second half of the 10th century at the earliest (see 1.7, above).

Location

The NGR refers to the modern farmhouse. Outbuildings are located to the south-east at NM599427. Pennygown lies on the east side of the River Forsa near its mouth. The ecclesiastical site at NM604432 to which the name Pennygown also applies at NM604432 is discussed above (see 1.6.2, above).

Soils/Topography

Around the settlement and the coastline are brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association, which are utilised locally as arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). Inland, there are peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map of Scotland; *SLCFA*, 101–02, Map Unit 546 and Map unit 548, 102).

Status

Pennygown is consistently valued at a pennyland and is therefore of primary status within the earliest fiscal sources. Its brown earth soils identify it as a long-standing settlement-centre. The possibility that it was created after subdivision of a larger pre-existing landholding in this area, to which the name Callachally might have applied, is explored above (see 5.3.3). Johnston's proposal that Callachally, Killbeg and Baile Geamhraidh (see

Leiter, above) together comprised the settlement-unit of Pennygown is not supported by the fiscal sources (1990, 195–97).

RHOAIL   TOY D NM632373 1 375 70m

duabus russillis 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *duabus Russillis* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Rouseilȝemoir et Rouseilȝebeg 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Ronseilyemoir et Ronseilyebeg* in *ER* xiii 214; *u* and *n* are almost indistinguishable in this source but *u* is more likely than *n*]

duobus Rousillis 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *duabas Rousillis* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; *u* is more likely than *n*]

duabus rousillis 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745; again, *u* is more likely than *n*]

Rossillis 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Reafillis 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa; *f* probably in error for long *s*]

Rousillis 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Rowsillis 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Rowfillis 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa; *f* probably in error for long *s*]

Rohill 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Rohill 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Rhoail 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/23/2 ["Applies to a Shepherd's house situate in Glen Forsa on the E side of River Forsa, about 1 mile E of Tom Sleibhe [Tomslèibhe, see below].": no translation offered]

Rhoail 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Rhoail 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

ON *hross* (n), gen. *hross* 'horse; mare' + ON *vǫll(r)* (m) 'field, (level) ground; manured field, meadow'.

ON *Hrossvǫll 'Horse-/Mare-Field(s)' or ON *Hrossvǫllu (acc. pl.) 'Horse-/Mare-Fields'.

[rɔːl] (English-speaking context) and [ˈrɔːiʎ] (Gaelic-speaking context; TAD, Track IDs 17407 & 4962).

Etymology

The most striking feature of the historical forms of Rhoail is that the consistently-recorded medial *s(s)* of the earliest forms is neither featured in the most recent forms of the name nor

in local pronunciation. Loss of /s/ is difficult to explain linguistically and it might be explained by an administrative need to distinguish between this settlement and Rossal in Moloros. Rossal is also proposed as a compound of ON *hross* + ON *vǫll(r)* and it has retained its medial /s/, as its modern written form illustrates. However, the *f* which appears to be erroneously recorded for long *s* in some of the historical forms of Rhoail, namely *Reafillis* in 1612 and *Rowfillis* in 1663, may hold the key in terms of a linguistic explanation for loss of /s/. Pronunciation of /f/ could conceivably have developed from these written forms and subsequent weakening and reduction of /f/ could explain intervocalic *h* in *Rohill*, the form recorded by Langlands and Thomson in the first half the 19th century, and, ultimately, consonantal loss in the modern written and spoken forms (see Ó Sé 1990). Further collection and analysis of forms in the period between 1663 and 1801 will be required to test this proposal. Alternatively, loss of /s/ could conceivably be explained by dissimilation between intervocalic *s* and the plural *s* consistently recorded in the earliest forms, with the exception of the *ER* forms.

On the basis of Rhoail's earliest forms, however, its etymology is the same as that of Rossal and the similarity between the earliest forms of the two settlement-names in striking when the Scots plural suffix *-is* is removed from the forms of Rhoail. The 1494 form *duabus russilis* is literally '(the) two Rhoails'. Thus, the singular form of Rhoail in its 1494 form is *russill*. The initial vowel in this form is *u* but *o* is more consistently recorded in subsequent forms and this also correlates well with the initial vowel pronounced locally. ON *hross* is a good linguistic fit, ON *hr-* being expected to produce a Gaelic reflex with an initial *r*. This is typical of development of *hross* where it is proposed elsewhere in Scottish toponymy. ON *hross* + ON *vǫll(r)* can probably be categorised as a pre-existing compound. It has been proposed in Lewis and in several places in northern mainland Scotland. Rhoail and Rossal are analysed within the context of these 'Rossall'-names above (see 5.3.2). Crawford (2004, 119) has highlighted that ON *hross*, when gender-specific, means 'stud-mare'. The ʒ of the 1509 forms probably represents perception of /ʎ/ and this is a feature of local pronunciation within a Gaelic-speaking context, as is highlighted above, although the local Gaelic form does not include medial *s(s)*. The proposed specific, ON *vǫll(r)*, is discussed elsewhere (see Gaodhail, above).

Subdivision

Two parts of Rhoail are recorded in 1494 and the Gaelic affixes *mòr* 'big' and *beag* 'small' are attached to create two settlement-names in 1509. These were no doubt used locally but the majority of the earliest fiscal sources simply record the two parts combined as Rhoail. Further systematic research of later forms might investigate whether alternative affixes were attached to Rhoail, as is evident in Bradhadail (see Bradhadail, above). The two parts of Rhoail may be reflected in local usage of the names Old Rhoail and Rhoail, which refer to two different locations (see 'Location', below).

Previous Analysis

It is unidentified in *ALI*. Rixson (LAS) tentatively identifies the 1494, 1509 and 1534 × 1538 forms with Rhoail but records these forms under the head-name *Ronseilye*, on the basis of the *ER* forms; later forms which do not include a medial *s* are separately recorded under the head-name Rhoail. The etymological analyses of Maclean, MacQuarrie and Johnston do not engage with the earliest forms and do not account for the consistently recorded medial *s(s)* (see 2, above). Rhoail has not previously been identified as a 'Rossall'-name.

Chronology

Rhoail is clearly a name containing a habitative generic but it need not necessarily relate to a secondary settlement and it need not have been coined relatively late in the Norse period (see 5.3.2, above).

Location

The large ruined settlement to which the name Rhoail applies on the OS maps is known locally as Old Rhoail (Canmore ID 22413; Douglass 1988, 21). Rhoail is in fact applied locally to the deserted house around 2km downriver to the north-west (NM614385). This house, used fairly recently by shepherds in the glen, is not depicted on the 1881 6 inch 1st edn OS map, although both that map and OS Explorer depict the sheepfold a short distance to the south (NM615383). The sheepfold is now flanked at its eastern end by a shed and situated within a large enclosed area which extends to the south and east. The modern map also depicts sheep-pens at Old Rhoail.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association, the topographically characteristic moraines of which support vegetation of low grazing-value and provide very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 547, 102). Although not extensive, there is an upland strip extending along the east side of Glen Forsa above Rhoail which supports bent-fescue grassland, white bent and flying bent grasslands and rush pastures, all of which are important communities to the grazing animal (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, Map unit 549, 102–03).

Status

Rhoail is consistently valued at a pennyland and it must be categorised as a settlement of primary status on the basis of the earliest fiscal sources. Johnston's classification of Rhoail as a shieling is not supported by the earliest fiscal sources (1990, 213).

ROSSAL   TOY S NM541279 1 X 25m

Roysale 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Moloros; identified as Rossal in *ALI* no. A42; printed as *Roysale* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Rossale 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; in Moloros; printed as *Rossale* in *ER* xiii 213]

roysaill 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Moloros; printed as *Royssile* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

roysaile 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Moloros; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Rossell 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Rossell 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Rossell 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Roishill (or *Roissoill*) 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Raßal 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black]

Roischill 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Moloros]

Rosal 1750 Dorret

Rossall 1801 Langlands [farm-houses; by road, or track to be made, leads south-east to Cameron]

Rosshall 1807 Arrowsmith

Rosshall 1832 Thomson [settlement on low-lying ground between two watercourses]

Rossal 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/105/1 ["Applies to a farm house situated about ½ a mile S.E. of Kinloch Inn (NM533283), and about two miles S.W. from Derrynaculen. The pro:- of M. G. MacLaine Esqr of Lochbuy."; no translation offered]

Rossal 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Rossal 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

Rossal Farm 2007 OS Explorer

ON *hross* (n), gen. *hross* 'horse; mare' + ON *vǫll(r)* (m) 'field, (level) ground; manured field, meadow'.

ON *Hrossvǫll* 'Horse-/Mare-Field(s)' or ON *Hrossvǫllu* (acc. pl.) 'Horse-/Mare-Fields'.

[ˈrɔsəl]

Etymology

This settlement-name is the existing name in Rossal Farm on OS Explorer. The medieval settlement is referred to as Rossal throughout this thesis. The modern form is very similar to 'Rossall', the typical reflex of ON *hross* + ON *vǫll(r)*, a relatively common compound in Scottish toponymy (see 5.3.2, above). Medial *s(s)* is consistently recorded in the historical forms of Rossal, as would be expected, but this is not a feature of the most recent forms of Rhoail in Forsa, a name proposed to have the same etymology (see Rhoail, above). Both settlements were possessions of Maclean of Lochbuie and the divergent form of Rhoail could conceivably have developed to avoid confusion between the two settlement-names. Both names are proposed to have been applied by ON-speakers to settlements primarily associated with the rearing of horses. The *-oy* of the earliest forms may indicate a long vowel which may have developed from the underlying ON geminate *ss*, pronounced double. ON *nn* is proposed to have produced a lengthened initial vowel in *Aon Stapall.

Subdivision

Rossal contains a habitative generic and it could conceivably have been a secondary settlement created after division of a larger holding at the head of Loch Scridain which bore an ON topographical name. However, there is no evidence for this in the fiscal sources (see 5.4.3).

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Rossal in *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). ON *hross* + ON *vǫll(r)* is proposed for Rossal by Maclean (1997, 32), Nicolaisen (2001, 125) and Crawford (2004, 119–24). MacQuarrie (1982, 90) prefers ON *hross* + ON *dal(r)*. A dental plosive would be expected in written and spoken forms were ON *dal(r)* the generic. Carmichael's proposed etymology in G *ros*, which he defines as 'knowledge', is implausible (*CG* ii 321). *Dwelly* does record a rare obsolete sense of 'science, knowledge' for *ros* but in place-names the element is applied as 'headland, promontory, isthmus, peninsula'. Carmichael's analysis may have drawn on the following account from *NSA* (vii 306) in 1834 × 1845: "The Druids are said to have had a temple at the head of Loch-scridain, in a farm called Rossal, which in Gaelic signifies *judgement* or *justice*, and here they held their courts. This temple is but small, and several of the stones have fallen down." The precise location of the putative temple is unclear but there is a local burial-ground (see 1.6.12, above).

Chronology

It need not necessarily have been applied to a secondary settlement and it need not have been coined relatively late in the Norse period (see 5.3.2 and 5.4.3, above).

Location

The NGR is of Rossal Farm. It lies at the head of Loch Scridain on the south side of the modern road around 800m south-east of the Kinloch Hotel. Rossal is geographically isolated within fiscal evaluation of Moloros. It is separated from the settlements around Loch Buie by around 6km and mountainous terrain. Its nearest neighbouring settlement is the halfpennyland of Derrynaculen around 2.5km to the north-east. However, there were numerous other medieval settlements at the head of Loch Scridain, some of which are bear names of certain ON origin (see 5.4.3, above).

Soils/Topography

Rossal is situated on a sizeable area of low-lying ground at the head of Loch Scridain. There is a relatively large area of brown earths with humus-iron podzols of the Gruline Association here, soils which are locally utilised as arable (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–72, Map Unit 278; see 1.3, above). Adjacent dystrophic basin peats of the Organic Soils Association (*SLCFA*, 37–38, Map Unit 3) and upland peaty gleys with dystrophic blanket peat of the Torosay Association would probably have been utilised as pasture (*SLCFA*, Map unit 548, 102).

Status

Primary. It is consistently valued at a pennyland/16s 8d. However, it should be considered within the context of other settlements bearing ON names at the head of Loch Scridain in the parish of Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon (see 5.4.3, above and below).

Associated Names and Sites

The nearby medieval settlements of *Skaylinis in the district of Brolass KKV, probably located around NM528285, and Ardvergnish (NM538295), in the district of Ardmeanach KKV, may both contain ON *nes* 'ness, headland' as their name-final elements (see also 5.4.3, above). Nearby *Leidle, the existing name in Glen Leidle (NM532242) in Brolass, is likely to include ON *dal(r)* 'dale, valley' as its generic. These settlement-names may all be topographical names of ON origin and they may be grouped together with Rossal in a cluster of ON settlement-names at the head of Loch Scridain. Rossal has long been a settlement-

centre. A standing stone of 2.1m in height lies in an arable field around 360m north-east of Rossal Farm at NM543282 (Canmore ID 22222). There are three cairns about 750m north-east of the farm, overlooking the tidal flats where the Coladoir River runs into the head of Loch Scridain (Canmore ID 22221). Sean Dùn (NM533279), which lies around 800m west of Rossal Farm, was probably a secular power-centre in the Early Medieval period. The name applies to the remains of a roughly oval dun measuring about 16m from NNE to SSW by 14m transversely lie on the crest of a spur (Canmore ID 22212). The name is probably best translated as 'Old Dun'; i.e. G *sean* + G *dùn* (see 5.4.3, above). The burial-ground at NM535282, a little over 300m NNW of Sean Dùn, is of unknown date, the only identifiable funerary monument having been erected in 1775 (Canmore ID 22215; see 1.6.12, above).

SCALLASTLE   TOY S NM699381 1 375 10m

skowlestill mor 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Skowlstillmor* in *RMS* ii no. 2200; two distinct words in manuscript; identified as "Scallastle Mor" and "Scallastle Beg" in *ALI* no. A42]

skollestellbeg 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Skollestellbeg* in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

scallastill mor et scallastill beg 1509 NRS E38/339 [33s 4d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Scallastillmor et Scallastillbeg* in *ER* xiii 214; *c* and *t* indistinguishable in these forms]

skow listilmore 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Skowlestillmore* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; the name recorded over two lines; the proposed medial -*li*- is unclear but it appears more likely than the -*le* of the printed form]

skowlestilbeg 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [pennyland; in Forsa; printed as *Skowlestilbeg* in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

skowlestill mor<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa]

skowlestilbeg 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [pennyland; in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Skallistilmore 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skallistilbeg 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skallestilmoir 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skallisbeg 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skalestilmoir 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skalestilbeg 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skallestilmoir 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skallestilbeg 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Scallastlemoir 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Scallastlebeg 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Scallastlemoir 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Scallastlebeg 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Skalloisdel M.<oir> 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; at head of bay, west of major watershed which is surely Scallastle River, see below]

Skalloisdel beg 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [settlement in black; at head of bay, east of major watershed which is certain to be Scallastle River]

Skalloisdel moir 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in red]

Skalloisdel beg 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Lorn [settlement in black]

Scallastlemoir 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Scallastlebeg 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland; in Glen Forsa]

Scallasdell 1750 Dorret

Scalaʃdil Bay 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXI [large settlement around bay and nearby woodland]

Scalasdil Bay 1776 Mackenzie Plate XXII [settlement around bay and nearby woodland]

Scallasdale 1801 Langlands

Scallasdal 1807 Arrowsmith

Scallasdale 1832 Thomson

Scallastle 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/51/2 ["Applies to a farm house with offices attached situate about 1 mile W. from Java Lodge, and about 1½ miles N.W. from Craignure Inn. Prop: A.C. Guthrie Esq: Duart House."; no translation offered; alternative form *Scallasdale* scored out]

Scallastle Bay 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/51/3 [alternative form *Scallasdale Bay* scored out and corrected]

Scallastle River 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/50/1 [several forms corrected from *Scallasdale* to *Scallastle* in entry]

Scallastle 1880 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Scallasdale 1889 J. P. MacLean (1889, 237)

Scallastle 1900 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Sgalasdail 2002 MacKenzie (216) [Gaelic form]

ON *skjóla* (f), gen. *skjólu* 'pail, bucket' or ON *skjól* (n), gen. *skjól* 'shelter, cover' or (ON) pn Skolli, gen. Skolla or (ON) pn Skalli, gen. Skalla or ON *skál* (f), gen. *skál* 'natural basin' or ON *skáli* (m), gen. *skála* 'hut, shed (put up for temporary use); hall, room, esp. sleeping-hall' + ON *stǫðul(l)* (m) '(cattle-)milking-place'.

ON *Skjólustǫðul '(Cattle-)Milking-Place of/at the Pail' or Skjólstǫðul '(Cattle-)Milking-Place of/at the Shelter' or *Skollastǫðul 'Skolli's (Cattle-)Milking-Place' or *Skallastǫðul 'Skalli's (Cattle-)Milking-Place' or *Skálstǫðul '(Cattle-)Milking-Place of/at the Natural Basin' or ON *Skálastǫðul '(Cattle-)Milking-Place of/at the Hut/Shed/Hall'.

[ˈskaləˌstəl]

Etymology

ON *stǫðul(l)*

As the analysis above indicates, identification of the specific is difficult. However, the generic is probably ON *stǫðul(l)*. Its typical reflex in name-final position in the Barra group INV at least is -*still* (Stahl 2000, 107). While the element can "easily be mistaken for a combination of 's'-genitive and ON *dalr*, 'valley' ", as Stahl has pointed out (ibid., 107), the consistent -*stil(l)* of the earliest forms of Scallastle, and indeed the -*stle* of the OS form, provide strong evidence for an underlying ON name containing *stǫðul(l)*. Among Stahl's examples in Barra is the existing name in Sgeir Bhioraghasdail, which she suggests might be translated as "Bjǫrn's milking-place" (ibid., 107; also Stahl 1999, 258–59). Stahl (2000, 109) proposes that the generics of Tangusdale and Allasdale cannot be conclusively determined; they could contain either *dal(r)* or *stǫðul(l)* (see also Borgström 1936, 293). If *stǫðul(l)* is the generic in these examples, ON *t* has produced *d* in the Gaelic reflexes. This is comparable to Sgalasdail, the Gaelic form of Scallastle recorded by MacKenzie (2002, 216). The *dal(r)*-issue is particularly problematic given that place-names in which *stǫðul(l)* may have been productive are almost always located in valleys or at slopes, exactly where *dal(r)* might also be expected (Stahl 1999, 345–46; Stahl 2000, 107). This issue is visible in previous etymological analyses of Scallastle (see 'Previous Analysis', below). It is worth noting, too, that vocalisation of ON /ð/ within a Gaelic-speaking milieu is implicit in the development from *stǫðul(l)* to *still*.

In terms of application of ON *stǫðul(l)*, it is defined as 'milking-pen for cows'. The Modern Icelandic term *stöðull* (m) is defined as 'a milking-shed, for kine' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). A specific association with cattle is explicit. Borgström (1936, 293) defined ON *stǫðul(l)*, which he records as *stödhull*, more generally as "milking-place" in Barra INV, comparing the term with G *buaile* 'sheep-fold, cattle-fold' (see Márkus 2012, 530). Stahl (2000, 106–07), no doubt influenced by Borgstöm's earlier work, has also defined the element 'milking-place' in analysis of Barra place-names (also Stahl 1999, 382). Stahl notes that the term is frequently used in Norway as a settlement generic (ibid., 382; see also Stahl 1999, 345). Macniven (2015, 360) defines *stöðull* as "standing place" and identifies it as a productive element in Islay. Macniven's definition is clearly influenced by the fact that ON *staða* (f) 'standing; place, position' is derived from the same root. Also derived from this root is ON *staðir* (*Cleasby-Vigfusson* s.v. *stöð*; see also Crosta #, above). An English cognate is *stead* (OED s.v. *stead*).

ON *skjóla* and ON *skjól*

Significant variance in the vowel in the initial syllable of the historical forms makes identification of the specific very difficult. There are three different forms in the 1494 and 1509 sources alone, accepting *stǫðul(l)* as the generic: *skowle-*; *skolle-*; and *scalla-*. The vowel in the first of these can be compared to the earliest forms of Gruline containing an initial *Grow-* (see Gruline, above). In the modern form of Gruline, this vowel is [ʉˑ] and it may have developed from the vowel in ON *grjót*. *Skowle-* is also comparable to historical forms of Scoulag BUT which contain *Scowl-* and *Skowl-* (Márkus 2012, 259–63; e.g. *ER* v 209 (1445); *RMS* iv no. 2401 (1575)). Comparison with Scoulag is important, given that *Skol-* (1450) and *Scol-* (1456) are also recorded amongst its earliest forms. Márkus's proposal is that /ʉ/ is implicit in the early forms of Scoulag, although forms such as *Skol-* and *Skowl-* might indicate a change in the stressed vowel (ibid., 260). The earliest form dates to 1440. Scoulag's etymology is problematic and Márkus (ibid., 260) has suggested two of the elements suggested above: ON *skjól* and ON *skáli*. If these elements are suggested for Scoulag, the parallels between the historical forms of Scoulag and Scallastle mean that *skjóla* and *skál* should also be considered for Scallastle. While the initial consonant cluster in *skjól* and *skjóla* might be considered problematic in that in might be expected to produce initial /sgʹ/ as opposed to /sg/, the Gaelic terms *sgùl* 'shelter, temporary wind-screen at a bothy' and *sgùlan* 'large wicker basket' are proposed to derive from ON *skjól* and *skjóla* respectively (*MacLennan* s.v. *sgùl*; *Macbain* s.v. *sgùlan*). Thus, ON *skjól* and *skjóla* might be expected to produce Gaelic reflexes such as *sgùl-* and *sgùla-*, if these etymological proposals are accepted. Márkus (2012, 261, note 103) has expressed doubts about the reliability of MacLennan's etymology of *sgùl*, given the expectation that ON *skj-* would produce a palatal initial in Gaelic, but proposes that the suggested ON *skjól* in Scoulag is not dependent on MacLennan's etymology alone.

In relation to Scallastle, a literal application of *skjóla* 'pail' would certainly be appropriate in a compound with *stǫðul(l)*, if its application was literal; it may have been figurative in describing a feature of the local landscape. ON *skjól* 'shelter, cover' could conceivably have applied to the natural shelter afforded by Scallastle's topography: the coastal plain is sheltered by steep hills to the west and south.

Skolli

The *skolle-* of the second 1494 form recorded above highlights the possibility that the specific is Skolli, a male personal name of ON origin. This name is derived from a common noun defined as 'fox Reynard' (*Zoëga*). In Modern Icelandic *skolli* is 'the 'skulker', a fox, Reynard' (*Cleasby-Vigfusson*). Skolli has been proposed by both Bergstrøm (1936, 294) and Stahl (1999, 268) as the specific in Skallary in Barra INV.

Skalli

This personal name might be considered for both this Barra name, whose historical forms both contain *Scall-* and whose Gaelic form is Sgallairigh (Bergstrøm 1936, 294), and Scallastle. The stressed vowel in this personal name matches the *a* in *scalla-*, recorded in 1509, the short *a* of the Gaelic form recorded by MacKenzie and the [a] of modern pronunciation. The personal name is derived from ON *skalli* (m), gen. *skalla*, literally 'a bald head'. The term is applicable to bald or bare features of the landscape and it is thus comparable to G *maol*, an adjective primarily defined as 'bare' and applied in place-names as 'great bare rounded hill' (Taylor 2005, 30; *PNF5*, 439; Márkus 2012, 562). In relation to Scallastle, the personal name is more likely to have been compounded with ON *stǫðul(l)*, given the fertile local soils and local topography (see 'Soils/Topography', below).

Macniven (2015, 279–80) has proposed either Skalli or the noun *skalli* as the name-initial specific in Scanistle, a medieval settlement in Islay ARG. The orthographic *n* of the modern form of this settlement-name is consistently recorded in its historical forms, *Kaulastoll* and *Skaulastoll* in 1507 aside, but it is not a feature of local pronunciation and this has prompted Macniven's proposed etymology. The *u* of the 1507 forms and modern pronunciation highlight the possibility that the orthographic *n* is in fact a misreading of *u*. As regards the name-final generic in Scanistle, Macniven (2015, 279) prefers ON *staðir*, defined as "steading, farm" (ibid., 360), on the basis of recorded modern pronunciations which contain -[sd̥ɪɣ] and -[strɪɡ̊ʲ]. However, the earliest forms consistently include -*still*, -*stoll* and -*stole* and ON *stǫðul(l)* appears to be more plausible. Although ON *staðir* is preferred by Macniven, he has proposed possible influence of SSE -*to(o)n* (ibid., 279). This element probably explains some of the later historical forms.

ON *skál* and ON *skáli*

There is less support for these elements in the historical forms and the short stressed vowel of modern pronunciation but there is a possibility that the *-ow-* of the 1494 and later forms might represent ON *á*, pronounced /ɑː/ (*Gordon/Taylor*, 266). Márkus (2012, 260–61) has

tentatively suggested *skáli* in the aforementioned Scoulag but expresses doubt that the vowel represented in the early forms can be explained by *skáli*. In Orkney, *skáli* typically refers to central farms, to buildings of some importance, although this may be specific to Orkney (Sandnes 2010, 89–90; cf. Fellows-Jensen 1985, 50). There are clearly linguistic problems in proposing an etymology in *skáli* for Scallastle but the element is perhaps worth considering given Scallastle's high value (see 'Status', below). ON *skál* 'natural basin' is certainly topographically appropriate, if not linguistically convincing.

Subdivision

The fiscal sources provide evidence for the subdivision of Scallastle's lands into two parts before 1494, the Gaelic affixes *mòr* 'big' and *beag* 'small' consistently being used to specify these two parts (see 5.3.2, above). Blaeu's map indicates that *Scallastle Mòr is likely to have applied to a settlement on the west side of Scallastle River, in the same area as the modern farm-house of Scallastle (NM699381). *Scallastle Beag is depicted on the east side of the river.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as Scallastle in both *ALI* and Rixson (LAS). ON *dal(r)* has been proposed as the generic by Maclean (1997, 33), Johnston (1990, 201) and Nicolaisen (2001, 124). Maclean (1997, 33) proposes "(N). Skaalr or Skàli = Shieling" for the specific. This is the aforementioned ON *skáli*, which does carry the sense of 'temporary structure' and is applied as 'shieling' in England (Fellows-Jensen 1985, 50). Johnston (1990, 201) proposed ON *skalli* with a topographical referent as the specific, translating the name as "Dale of dry and stony rising land". As is highlighted above, this element does not appear to be topographically appropriate, given the fertile local soils. ON *stǫðul(l)* is not considered by either Maclean or Johnston. MacQuarrie does not analyse Scallastle.

Chronology

An ON name containing a habitative generic, Scallastle would typically be classified as a secondary settlement-name. The possibility that Scallastle was applied by ON-speakers to

a secondary settlement linked to *Cuitheirnis, a suggested local name bearing an ON topographical generic, is explored above (see 5.3.2).

Location

Scallastle is the south-easternmost settlement of Forsa recorded in the fiscal sources. The march between Forsa and Torosay is probably Java Point (NM716377), around 1.8km ESE of the modern farm-house of Scallastle (see 1.4.4, above). Java Point may have displaced Rubha Chuitheirnis, a name which is proposed to contain the aforementioned *Cuitheirnis (see 5.3.2, above). The NGR above relates to the modern farm-house which lies on the south side of the modern road.

Soils/Topography

The component soils in the area around the modern settlement are brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association, which are locally utilised as arable (SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). On the east side of Scallastle River in the area of *Scallastle Beag, the predominant soils are peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 280). Due to the degree of flushing, some areas in this locality will have a moderate grazing-value but patterns of wetness and rock preclude much reclamation. The aforementioned brown earths of Map Unit 279 predominate in the area of Java and extend around Craignure Bay to the south-east.

Status

Scallastle is consistently valued at two pennylands and is therefore of greater extent than the typical pennyland/16s 8d of Forsa. Alongside Gruline, it was the most valuable medieval holding in Forsa. As is highlighted above (see 5.3.1 and 5.3.2), its primary status in the earliest known fiscal sources is unequivocal but the possibility cannot be ruled out that it was originally applied to a secondary settlement. If it is a secondary settlement-name, Scallastle's fertile soils mean that the name is unlikely to have been coined in reference to land newly taken into agricultural use. The linear setting of at least three monoliths near the modern settlement indicates that Scallastle had prehistoric importance and correlate with the soil analysis which identifies it as having long been a centre of settlement (Canmore ID 22404).

Associated Names

Scallastle Bay (NM694394) and Scallastle River (NM704385) are both SSE/English coinages which incorporate the existing name Scallastle as their specific. *Cuitheirnis is perhaps best translated as 'Belly-Shaped Headland' or 'Headland of the Fold(s)/Pen(s)' (see 5.3.2, above). *Gaorsaig, a name which like *Cuitheirnis survives only as the existing name in a later Gaelic coinage, namely Camas Gaorsaig (NM722369), is probably best translated as 'Spear/Anvil-Point Inlet' or 'Geirr's Inlet' (see 5.3.2, above). Scallastle, *Gaorsaig and (perhaps) *Cuitheirnis constitute a cluster of ON names in the area of Scallastle and Craignure Bay. The chronology of the old burial-ground at nearby Allt a' Chladha (NM710376) is unknown (see 1.6.8, above).

TEAMHAIR * TOY R NM640344 2 X 105m

 chowour 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [halfpennyland; in Forsa; follows Gaodhail (*gyeddrill*) and precedes Bradhadail (*brayadill*) and Tomslèibhe (*toslebeg*); unidentified in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

 Tuochir 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 8d; probably in error for 8s 4d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; follows Gaodhail (*Gydgraule*) and precedes Tomslèibhe (*Tonsliebeg*) and *Bradhadail Mòr (*Bradullemore*); printed in *ER* xiii 213]

 chowour<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [halfpennyland; in Forsa; follows Gaodhail (*gyeddrol*) and precedes Bradhadail (*brayadill*) and Tomslèibhe (*toslebeg*); printed as *Chowoure* in *RMS* iii no. 1745; flourish on final *r* interpreted as abbreviation for -*re*]

 chowour<e> 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [halfpennyland; in Forsa; follows Gaodhail (*gyeddyoll*) and precedes Bradhadail (*brayadill*) and Tomslèibhe (*toslebeg*); only one form in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

 Chowoure 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa; follows Gaodhail (*Geddyrl*), precedes Bradhadail (*Brayadillis*)]

 Chowoure 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Chowonre 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa; *n* probably in error for *u*]

 Chebour 1624 *RMS* ix no. 714 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa; the *b* in this form and in subsequent forms is probably in error for stylised *w*, given the earlier forms]

 Chebour 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (1) [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Chebour 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 (2) [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa]

 Chebur 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [halfpennyland; in Glen Forsa]

G *teamhair* 'sacred place; height, eminence, place with a view'.
G *Teamhair 'Sacred Place' or 'Eminence'.

Etymology

There is no known local pronunciation of this settlement-name which is obsolete. The initial *Tu-* and medial *ch* of the 1509 form is so distinct from the *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* forms that it may represent a different settlement-name. *Aon Stapall in Moloros is recorded in 1509 but not in *RMS*, *RSS* or *Retours* and the possibility cannot be ruled out that *Tuochir* is a medieval settlement recorded only in *ER* 1509. However, the settlement's position relative

to Gaodhail and Bradhadail is consistent across these sources and the likelihood is that both *Chowour(e)* and *Tuochir* represent the same settlement-name. It is difficult to trace linguistic developement in the absence of both a Blaeu form and local pronunciation. Two etymological possibilities are considered but the historical forms better support an etymology in G *teamhair*.

G *teamhair*

Chowour(e) is consistently recorded in *RMS* and *RSS* and etymological analysis therefore leans towards this form. The consistent *Ch-* of the earliest forms may indicate articulation of /t′/-. A comparative example which provides support for an etymology in G *teamhair* is Chour, a townland in County Wexford in the Republic of Ireland. It is recorded as *le Chowre*, *le Choire* (both 1628) and *Chowre* (1655) and, although Ó Muraíle (2005, 473) has questioned whether initial /t′/ in Irish *teamhair* would have been represented by *Ch-* in Anglicised orthography as early as the early 17th century, he cites Anglicisation of the Gaelic personal name Teàrlach as Charlie as evidence of development in the other direction. There is Scottish toponymic evidence to support the proposed development in the form of Challoch WIG, proposed by MacQueen (2002, 14) to derive from G *teallach*, and Changue AYR, from G *teanga* (see 5.3.2, above).

Medial intervocalic *w* is as predominant as *Ch-* in the earliest forms and it is likely to represent articulation of /w/. The implication of a proposed etymology of *Teamhair would be that intervocalic broad *mh* was articulated as /w/. In local modern Gaelic dialects, articulation of hiatus in the form of pitch movement would be expected locally for intervocalic broad *mh* (e.g. *SGDS* §770 G *sleamhainn* 'slippery'). That said, *SGDS* (§770, pt 86) records /w/ for *mh* in G *sleamhuinn* for the informant from Bunavullin (NM559539), Morvern, the mainland peninsula lying opposite Mull across the Sound of Mull.[98] It is worth noting that the informant, Mrs Mary Mason (née Livingstone), was brought up in Bunavullin but lived for seven years in Mull; both her parents were from Bunavullin. The consistent orthographic *w* of the earliest historical forms confirms that scribal perception was of /w/.

The proposed etymology implies that articulation of /w/ for intervocalic *mh* was an historical dialectal feature. In other words, there is linguistic evidence in the earliest forms of this

---

[98] The standardised modern form of *sleamhuinn* is *sleamhainn*.

settlement-name to support the proposal that *mh* was historically realised as /w/ in this environment.

The consistent medial *w* in these forms may be compared to the *w* recorded in historical forms of both the aforementioned Chour in County Wexford and Tamur/Teamhair in the parish of Inver in County Donegal. Ó Muraíle (2005, 464) has highlighted that a diphthong is a feature of pronunciation of intervocalic *mh* in the latter and that this is represented by English *ow* and *aw* in the 19th century. The consistent *ow* of the historical forms of this Forsa settlement-name is comparable. While historical articulation of /w/ is likely on the basis of the Forsa name's earliest forms, this Donegal example highlights the possibility that *-owo-* in fact represents historical vocalisation of intervocalic *mh*, if a simplex in G *teamhair* is accepted.

The *b* of the 1624, 1625 and 1663 forms probably represents scribal error for a stylised *w*, given the earlier forms, rather than perception of /b/. The 1509 form differs in that its *-ch-* suggests articulation of /x/. Medial /x/ is represented by orthographical *ch* in the earliest forms of Callachally, for example, and *w* for /x/ is difficult to account for (see Callachally, above). However, the earliest forms of this settlement-name, accepting that the 1509 form relates to the same settlement, are overwhelmingly suggestive of /w/.

G *tuachar* 'causeway'

The divergent *Tu-* and medial *ch* of the 1509 form have been highlighted. If *Tuochir* better represents local pronunciation of the settlement-name, or if this is a separate settlement-name, there is evidence to support an etymology of G *tuachar*. This variant of G *tochar* 'causeway, pavement' (*Dwelly*) has been suggested by Drummond (2014, 314) for Twechar DNB in which the original *ó* of OG *tóchar* 'causeway, passage' has broken to the diphthong *ua*; OG *tóchar* is a productive toponymyic element (eDIL s.v. *tóchar*). While the earliest forms of this settlement-name, *Twefie* or *Twefre* (1365) and *Treories* (1369), are not comparable to the Forsa name, both *Tuchir* (1553) and *Twachar* (1755), as well as the modern form, compare well to *Tuochir*.

Application of G *teamhair* and OG *temair*

However, the other historical forms suggest a simplex: *Teamhair. There are a few possibilities regarding the application of this element. Associative senses for G *teamhair*, 'height, eminence, place with a view', are proposed to have developed specifically in reference to Tara/Teamhair, County Meath (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 427) and these figurative senses may underlie its application in Forsa. However, two alternative senses may identify *Teamhair as an assembly-site.

A transferred name?

The most illustrious of Ireland's royal cultic sites, Tara, Meath, has mythological and Otherwordly associations. It is associated with sacral kingship, ritual inaugurations and sovereignty (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 440). From the seventh century onwards, the idea of Tara as the seat of the high kings of Ireland was promoted and developed, a concept which was intimately connected to the contemporary ambitions of the Uí Néill, the most powerful political dynasty of Early Medieval Ireland (Bradley 2005, 446). There is a possibility that *Teamhair in Forsa is a transferred name applied by Gaelic-speakers aware the element's application to Tara, Meath, but unaware of the element's etymology, which is likely to have been opaque to speakers of OG (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 427). Tara constitutes a conspicuous and eminent natural feature within the agriculturally rich landscape of this part of Ireland; the ridge on which its many monuments stand is around 2km in length, rising to a height of 155m (Bradley 2005, 445).

It is difficult to identify a period more likely than others in which a transferred name would have been applied to this Mull feature. As Bergin (1970, 170) has proposed, leading families such as the MacDonalds, who controlled Mull from the 14th century after the Wars of Independence, and the Macleans, who held tenurial control from the late 14th century, were all connected in the bardic scheme and anyone may be addressed with the suggestion that his remote ancestors held, and indeed that he himself may one day hold, the kingship of Tara. MacDonald links to Tara are recorded in praise poetry of the period (e.g. Bergin 1970, 173 and 293, verse 21; 171 and 292, verse 4; 292, note 1). Some versions of the Maclean genealogies have as the clan's apical ancestor Óengus Tuirmech Temrach (J. P. MacLean 1889, 30; MacCormick 1923, 111; Maclean-Bristol 1995, 159).[99] Óengus is described in the pseudo-historical *Lebor Gabála Érenn* as having assumed the kingship of Ireland on

---

[99] I follow Murphy (2008) in orthography of this personal name.

killing Fergus Fortamail, reigning for 60 (or 68) years until "he died in Temair"; i.e. Tara, Meath (Murphy 2008). The epithet *Temrach* in Óengus' name is literally 'of Tara'.

If *Teamhair in Forsa is a transferred name, the contemporary function of the feature is worth considering, given the associations of Tara, Meath. The element may simply have been applied in an associative sense of 'height, eminence, place with a view' but those applying the name would probably have had an awareness of the associations of Tara with kingship, sovereignty and inauguration. However, it is important to note that in Ireland, on a political level, the evidence relating to *teamhair*-names suggests that the significance of Tara, Meath, is exceptional, even at a local level (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 440).

A 'Sacred Place'?

There is strong comparative evidence to support the proposal that *Teamhair in Forsa was a 'sacred place', a place of prehistoric sacrality. G *teamhair* is proposed to derive ultimately from the Indo-European root *tem-* 'cut', thus signifying an area cut off, "undoubtedly one demarcated for sacred purposes" (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 448; see also Watson 1905, 286). Recent research has identified over 20 confirmed instances of the element in Irish toponymy (Ó Muraíle 2005). Mac Giolla Easpaig (2005, 440) has suggested that the literary traditions attached to some of these sites reflect those associated with Tara, Meath, but several *teamhair*-sites can be identified as pre-Christian cultic sites on the basis of their archaeology. Temair Lóchra (Teamhair Luachra), County Cork (ibid., 431–32) and Temair na hÁrda, County Down (ibid., 433–34; also Hughes and Hannan 1992, 131–33), for example, are depicted as important pre-Christian mythological or Otherworld sites in the textual sources and archaeological evidence illustrates that both were significant cultic sites. On this basis, Mac Giolla Easpaig (ibid., 441) has proposed that, when considered in full, the evidence indicates that some places denoted by the name *temair* were originally pre-Christian cultic or religious sites, possibly of a specific nature, and that the element itself as a toponomastic generic used to refer to sites of sacred character.

The Irish evidence highlights the possibility that *teamhair* might have been applied in Forsa to a conspicuous feature which constituted a central place within the pre-Christian landscape of Mull. Mac Giolla Easpaig's analysis suggests that many of the Irish sites are associated with pre-Christian enclosures and tumuli, a number of which are remarkable in size or situation, or indeed both (Mac Giolla Easpaig 2005, 441). A definitive proposal is difficult

in the absence of known historical forms which predate 1494 and without literary traditions relating to *Teamhair in Forsa.

G teamhair is found in Scottish toponymy. Watson (*CPNS*, 505) identified *teamhair*-names in Glen Casley SUT and in Islay ARG, defining the element as "an eminence of wide prospect standing by itself", a definition which can be compared with the associative senses highlighted above. I have suggested elsewhere that Druim Teamhair (NR226680), the Islay name identified by Watson, may have been a central place in that part of Islay (Whyte 2014, 143–45). The linguistic evidence places this Forsa settlement-name within the corpus of *teamhair*-names. The element might have been applied in one of its associative senses, or represent a transferred name, but there is also good evidence to support the proposal that *Teamhair was an early cult-assembly site. Further local archaeological analysis may be instructive.

Previous Analysis

It is unidentified in *ALI*. Rixson's proposed connection with Beinn na Duatharach is very unlikely (LAS, 'South Mull Table' s.n. Chowour) but his proposal that the 8s 8d extent recorded in *ER* is in error for 8s 4d is probably correct. Blaeu provides the earliest forms for the settlement-names analysed by Maclean and, as such, Maclean does not discuss the name. The name is not analysed by MacQuarrie and, although Johnston does engage with the 1494 and 1509 sources, she does not analyse this name and does not include its forms in her list of settlements in the study area (1990, 216–18).

Chronology

Simplex names are difficult to date and various chronologies might be advanced for this name, given the various circumstances in which it might have been coined. If it is a transferred name or was applied in a figurative sense, it could conceivably have been coined at any point up to 1494. If it was applied in the sense 'sacred place', relating to a pre-Christian cultic site, it could conceivably be pre-Norse and pre-Christian. It is worth noting that simplex names are considered to form the earliest stratum of Gaelic toponymy and lexically opaque names probably constitute the oldest local names (see 5.3.3, above).

Location: *Teamhair

*Teamhair's original application was probably to the large mound in the southernmost part of Glen Forsa to which the name Ceann Chnocain (NM642336) now applies. There is a

ruined settlement around 700m NNW of this eminence centred at NM640344 (Canmore ID 22424) and this is the probable location of the medieval settlement. The maps of Langlands and Thomson illustrate that Coire Ghaibhre, a name recorded as applying to a corrie to the west of this settlement in OSNB (ARG OS1/2/78/36/3) and in OS sources, was applied to this settlement. Langlands and Thomson both record this name as *Corryghiran*. Coire Ghaibhre and the name(s) recorded in the fiscal sources are etymologically distinct. The likelihood is that Coire Ghaibhre displaced *Teamhair as the local settlement-name.

Soils/Topography

The component soils in the proposed location are peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 547). In the valley floor the component soils are dystrophic basin peat of the Organic Soils Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA* 37–38, Map unit 3). Both support vegetation of low grazing-value. Upland, the soils of the east-facing slopes of Beinn Talaidh and Beinn Bheag typically support grasslands and rush pastures, all of which are known to be important communities to the grazing animal (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102–03, Map Unit 549).

Status

Secondary. It is consistently valued at a halfpennyland and it is therefore half the extent of the typical Forsa pennyland.

Associated Names

Coire Ghaibhre (NM634343) applies in the OS record to a relief feature a short distance uphill and west of the ruined pre-Clearance settlement at NM634343. Its generic on the basis of both the OS form and *Corryghiran*, the form recorded by both Langlands and Thomson, is surely G *coire* 'corrie, hollow on the side of a hill or between hills (literally 'cauldron')' (Taylor 2005, 16). The specific has clearly been understood as *gaibhre*, a gen. sing. form of G *gobhar*, var. *gabhar* (m and f) 'goat'. In OSNB *Coire Ghaibhre* is translated as "Hollow of goats" (ARG OS1/2/78/36/3). The Langlands and Thomson form suggests a different specific but analysis is difficult without systematic collection of the historical forms.

TOMSLÈIBHE   TOY S NM617372 1 375 90m

toslebeg 1494 NRS C2/13 no. 114 [farthingland (*quadrantem*); in Forsa; identified as "Tomsleibhe" in *ALI* no. A42; printed with initial capital in *RMS* ii no. 2200]

Tonsliebeg 1509 NRS E38/339 [8s 4d; in Glen Forsa and *Leth'r Mhuileach; printed as *Tousliebeg* in *ER* xiii 213; *n* may be *u*, the two graphemes being generally indistinguishable in this source]

toslebeg 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (1) [farthingland (*quadrant<em> terrarum*); in Forsa; printed with initial capital in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

toslebeg 1534 × 1538 NRS C2/26 no. 124 (2) [farthingland (*quadrantem*); in Forsa; only one form printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745]

Consleybeg 1542 *RSS* ii no. 4732 [pennyland of Bradhadail, with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe ("den. terrarum de Brayadillis, *le farding-land* terrarum de Consleybeg"); in Glen Forsa; initial *c* in error for *t*]

Couslebeg 1612 *RMS* vii no. 663 [pennyland of Bradhadail (*Brayadillis*), with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe (lie farthingland et [*recte de*] *Couslebeg*); in Glen Forsa; initial *c* in error for *t*]

Conslebeg 1615 *Retours* i no. 15 [farthingland (*fardingland*); in Glen Forsa; initial *c* in error for *t*]

Conslebeg 1625 *RMS* viii no. 815 [halfpennyland of Bradhadail (*Bryadillie*), with the farthingland of Tòmslèibhe (*lie fardingland de Conslebeg*): in Glen Forsa; initial *c* in error for *t*]

Conskebeg 1663 *Retours* i no. 73 [pennyland of Bradhadail (*Brayadillie*) with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe (*lie Fardingland de Conskebeg*); in Glen Forsa; medial *k* in error for *l*]

Tomslea 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

Tomslea 1832 Thomson [settlement]

Tomsléibhe 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/76/17/2 ["Applies to a Shepherd's house on the E side of Allt nan Clàr a short distance E of Liath Dhoire"; translated as "Hillock of a mountain"]

Tomsléibhe 1881 OS 6 inch 1st edn

Tomsléibhe 1900 OS 6 inch 2nd edn

(G) en *Tòn Slèibhe + G *beag* 'small'.
G *Tòn Slèibhe Beag 'Small *Tònslèibhe'.

Etymology

The consistent *-beg* of the earliest forms suggests name-final G *beag* 'small'. This Scotticised/Anglicised reflex is common in Forsa toponymy, being recorded in *Scallastle Beag (*skollestellbeg*), for example, in the same 1494 source in which *toslebeg* is recorded. G *beag* is frequently recorded in settlement-names with the contrastive affix G *mòr* 'big', as it is in *Scallastle Beag and *Scallastle Mòr, but there is no evidence of a *Tomslèibhe Mòr in the fiscal sources for Forsa. Tomslèibhe's farthingland-extent in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours* is the lowest of the settlements recorded in Forsa in these sources and G *beag* was probably applied either to reflect its status within the context of the settlements of Forsa as a whole, or its status compared to that of neighbouring Bradhadail, whose extent was a pennyland. The two settlements are explicitly linked in 1542, 1612, 1625 and 1663, Bradhadail being recorded with the farthingland of Tomslèibhe. Little Lun FIF may provide a direct parallel for the application of G *beag* in Tomslèibhe as a specific, as opposed to an affix. There is no evidence for a *Meikle Lun here, Little Lun first appearing in 1468. Thus, Sc *little* may not be contrastive but may instead have formed the specific in a wholly Scots coinage (*PNF2*, 436–37).

As regards the existing name, the consistency of initial *t* in the earliest forms and the initial *t* of the OS form makes it very likely that the initial *c* recorded in several later forms is recorded in error. There are difficulties in distinguishing *u* and *n* in some sources without comparing other forms. *Ton-* appears to be recorded in 1509 and there is support for this in the 1542, 1615, 1625 and 1663 forms, although neither *n* nor *u* is recorded in 1494 and 1534 × 1538. There is no indication of suspensions marks in the manuscript forms.

G *tòn*

There is significant evidence to support G *tòn* (f), gen. *tòine* 'rump; end' as the generic in the existing name. This is a productive element in Mull toponymy, being found, for example, in the genitive as the specific in Goirtein na Tòine (NM613344), a subdivision of Bradhadail in Forsa. Goirtein na Tòine lies around 2.7km south of Tomslèibhe. The referent may be a feature of the landscape perceived to be rump-shaped. However, this is unlikely to be the referent in Tòn Tire (NM606203), the name applied to the end of the peninsula defined by Loch Buie, Loch Spelve and Loch Uisg (see 5.2.4, above). Blaeu records the name as *TON-TYR*. The name-final element looks certain to be G *tìr*, gen. *tìre* 'land, country, ground' and the OS form should be *Tòn Tìre. G *tòn* looks certain to have been applied in this name as '(arse-)end'. Further research might investigate the element's local application in Mull

toponymy. In *Tòn Slèibhe, G *tòn* could conceivably have been applied as 'end', referring to its location. Alternatively, it could refer to a local posterior-shaped feature.

G *tom*

An alternative generic is G *tom,* an element applied variously in Scottish toponymy as 'round hillock, knoll, rising ground; bush, thicket' (Márkus 2012, 576). The 18th- and 19th-century forms and the OS form certainly suggest G *tom* but *m* is not recorded in the earliest forms. On the basis of the historical forms, *Tom-* in the OS form represents reinterpretation of the name-initial element as G *tom*.

G *sliabh*

As regards the specific of the proposed existing name, the historical forms are fairly consistent. The consistent -*sle-* seems most likely to represent the long vowel of *slèibhe*, the gen. sing. of G *sliabh*, particularly when considered alongside the -*slie-* and -*sley-* of the 1509 and 1542 forms. This proposal assumes vocalisation of intervocalic *bh* in this environment. This is recorded in local Gaelic dialects (e.g. *SGDS* §248 G *craoibhe*, pt 81). An alternative explanation is sandhi, an assimilative change, whereby the -*bh(e)* and *b-* at the word boundary of *slèibhe* and *beag* has resulted in perception only of the initial sound in *beag*.

The semantic range of *sliabh* means that the referent in Tomslèibhe is not clear-cut. Watson (*CPNS*, 184) proposed that *sliabh*, defined as 'mountain', was commonly found in this sense in Ireland but rarely in Scotland. This was reiterated by MacQueen (1955, 91; 2002, 34) and Nicolaisen (1965; 2001, 51) and partly formed the basis of the shared proposal that the element could be regarded as a marker of early settlement of Gaelic-speakers in south-west Scotland from Ireland. Addressing critical analysis of that view, Nicolaisen (2007, 185) has recently maintained that at least some of the *sliabh*-names in Scotland belong to the earliest stratum of Gaelic place-names in the country and that there is no reason why applications of *sliabh* in Irish mountain-names of early date should not have been copied in Argyll and the Rhinns of Galloway sometime before 600 AD. The predominant geographical distribution of *sliabh* in the south-west argued by Nicolaisen (2007, 179) has been challenged by Taylor (2007, 107) who has demonstrated that, the closer the analysis in the east of Scotland, the more *sliabh*-names emerge. Moreover, in relation to the copying of the Irish application of the term envisaged by Nicolaisen, Taylor has illustrated that there is in fact "no clear difference between Scottish and Irish application" of the term (ibid., 105–07). Taylor

(*PNF5*, 501) defines the element as 'moorland, hill, upland grazing, summer grazing' (ibid., 501).

As regards application of the term in Ireland, Tempan (2009, 25) has indeed highlighted that Ir *sliabh* has a broad semantic range comparable to that of its Scottish Gaelic cognate, proposing at least three distinct meanings: 'a mountain or hill (either standing alone or a peak forming part of a ridge); a range of mountains or hills; a moor or area of upland (extendable to 'area of rough (mountain) pasture')'. Tempan (ibid., 39) has proposed that this third sense is much more common than is generally recognised and, drawing on the work of Mac Mathúna (1988, 44–45), has argued that each of these three senses existed in OG. Although the senses 'a mountain or hill standing alone' and 'a range of hills or mountains or an upland area' are best attested in early names, as Nicolaisen (2007, 179) has also pointed out, Tempan (2009, 40) has proposed that "we cannot say with certainty that these senses are primary". Furthermore, Tempan's proposal is that use of *sliabh* in an agricultural context in early Irish texts may reflect an underlying meaning of "a tract of land which cannot be profitably cultivated, of which a mountain is just one example" (ibid., 37). Taylor (2007, 106–07) has discussed the "non-cultivable aspect of *sliabh*" in relation to both OG and modern usage, citing the granting of land to the church of Deer in Buchan *etar sliab ꝛachad* "(with) both *sliab* and *achad*" in the 12th-century Gaelic notes in the Book of Deer. The referent of *sliab* in this phrase is land which complements the cultivable land covered by the term *achad*. This is the term from which G *achadh*, best defined as 'field; (small) farm', derives.

Analysis of Scottish *sliabh*-names has illustrated regional variances on this side of the North Channel, as Tempan has found in Ulster and throughout Ireland (2009, 27–30). Most of the examples north of the Forth apply to features over 250m (800ft) and Fife *sliabh*-names are often found on some of the highest ground in their respective parishes (Taylor 2007, 107). In Galloway, Taylor (ibid., 104, note 5) has commented that *sliabh* applies to upland moors, noting that in the Rhinns of Galloway most *Slew*-names are attached to "low, gently sloping hills". As regards the application of *sliabh* on islands off the west coast of Scotland and in Kintyre and Knapdale, Fraser (1998, 124) has proposed that "most of the locations are moorland, mostly at relatively low level, in the range of 15–200m". Fraser (ibid., 124) has specifically highlighted examples on Mull's neighbouring islands of Iona and Tiree, the Tiree examples "often linked to the grazing areas allocated to individual townships". Fraser's exception is Sliabh Gaoil in Knapdale, described as a prominent, isolated peak "very

reminiscent of Irish summits" (ibid., 124). Wentworth's study of the Gaelic of Wester Ross found that the only application of *sliabh* there was to purple or withered moor-grass (2003 s.v. *sliabh*); *Dwelly* also records this sense in Wester Ross. The DASG Fieldwork Archive suggests that multiple senses of the term may be prevalent in other areas. In Harris, *sliabh* is defined as *beinn ìosal* "low hill" by one informant in Leverburgh and as "heath, rough grazing on mountain slope" in Gobhaig; it is recorded in its botanical sense in Scalpay where it described as being less pithy and not as juicy as *glas-fheur* "a (palish) pale green grass, on which cattle feed". This botanical application to "moor-grass typical of the topographical feature *sliabh*" appears likely to be a later semantic extension, as Taylor (2007, 106) suggests.

The symbiotic relationship between the lands of Bradhadail and Tomslèibhe presented in the fiscal sources may be useful in analysis of the referent of *sliabh* in Tomslèibhe. The complementary use of OG *sliab* and OG *achad* proposed by Taylor in the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer has already been noted and there is evidence to support the proposal that the referent of *sliabh* in Tomslèibhe is pastureland which complemented cultivable land at Bradhadail. Tomslèibhe is situated at the foot of the slopes of Beinn Bheag (NM632351) and Beinn Talaidh (NM625346) and the slopes of both hills have in recent times regularly been utilised as grazing (Reay Whyte, pers. comm.). The referent of the specific of Gleann Lèan (NM624357), the upland glen which separates Beinn Bheag and Beinn Talaidh, is probably the same pastureland. On the basis of the modern form, its etymology is G *gleann* 'glen, valley' + G *lèan* 'meadow, swampy plain, field of luxuriant grass' (*Dwelly*). There is strong evidence to support the proposal that *sliabh* in Tomslèibhe was applied as 'upland grazing, summer grazing'.

There are, however, Scottish and Irish examples in which 'hill', sometimes 'mountain' (Tempan 2009, 27), is the sense carried by *sliabh* and the possibility cannot be ruled out that the referent in Tomslèibhe is Beinn Bheag or Beinn Talaidh. A *sliabh*-name may have been displaced by one of these names. In north Mull, *sliabh* comprises the specific in two names whose generics relate to hils, suggesting that application of *sliabh* was not as 'hill' in those names. In Cnoc an t Sléibhe[100] KKE in Treshnish (NM337484; 94m), the genitive form of *sliabh* is compounded with G *cnoc* 'hill' and preceded by the masc. gen. def. art. The name

---

[100] This is a curious form. Modern orthographic conventions would necessitate Cnoc an t-Slèibhe, with a hyphen following *t*; the acute accent is a hangover from the historical OS maps and is replaced elsewhere by a grave accent as the conventions necessitate.

is probably best translated as '(The) Hill of the Grazing/Moorland'. Cruach Slèibhe (160m; NM372522) lies around 5km north-east of Cnoc an t Sléibhe on the north side of Calgary Bay. The OS form is of noun + defining genitive type, although Maclean (1997, 53) records that it is known locally as *Cruach an t-Sléibhe*, a form which does contain the definite article. On the basis of these forms, its generic is G *cruach* 'stack, heap, bold hill' (Taylor 2005, 18) and the name is probably best translated as '(The) Bold Hill of the Grazing/Moorland'.

Application of *sliabh* as 'upland grazing, summer grazing, moorland' is considered most likely in Tomslèibhe. Further toponymic and dialectal research will be important in further research of this element and its local application(s). While the initial element has in recent times been interpreted as G *tom*, there is stronger evidence in the earliest historical forms to support G *tòn*, a productive local element. *Tòn Slèibhe is probably best translated as 'End of the Grazing' or 'Rump of the Grazing'. G *beag* was applied either to reflect Tomslèibhe's status within the context of the settlements of Forsa as a whole, or its status compared to that of neighbouring Bradhadail.

Previous Analysis

It is identified as "Tomsleibhe" in both *ALI* and by Rixson (LAS). Rixson's analysis of the fiscal sources has led him to suggest that the whole of Tomslèibhe was a halfpennyland in extent but it is consistently valued at a farthingland in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours*. In OSNB, G *tom* and G *sliabh* are defined respectively as 'hillock' and 'mountain'. Fraser (1998) did not identify any *sliabh*-names in Mull and Nicolaisen's distribution map includes only names in which *sliabh* is proposed as the generic (2001, 56 and 2007, 176). Taylor (2007, 122) included five *sliabh*-names in Mull in a gazetteer of *sliabh*-names, including Tomslèibhe.

Maclean (1997, 35) proposed G *tom* + G *sliabh*, translating the name as "Round hillock on the mountain", although G *sliabh* is defined as both 'moor' and 'mountain'. Beinn Talaidh is the proposed referent of *sliabh*. There is no evidence to support the *-te* of *Tom Sleibhte*, MacQuarrie's form of the name. This appears to include the plural form *slèibhte* which is found in two Mull names recorded by the OS: Sleibhte-coire (NM558322; 220m); and, as an existing name, *Slèibhte-coire, in Gleann Sleibhte-coire (NM660303; 130m).[101] These two Mull *slèibhte*-names are included in Taylor's gazetteer (2007, 122). Tempan (2009, 34) has proposed the likelihood that most of the names in Ir *sléibhte*, the plural form, have been

---

[101] *slèibhte* is now the standardised plural form.

coined relatively recently by mapmakers, few of them having local currency. They are rarely found outside maps and official documents. They are applied to a number of hill-ranges by the OS. Early texts illustrate that the singular form would be appropriate regardless of the size of the area and the number of peaks it may include (ibid., 34). An apparent exception to the rule is Sléibhte, anglicised as Sleaty, in County Laois, located in the bottom of a major river-valley and suggested by Tempan to have referred originally to a number of divisions of rough pasture (ibid., 35). The Mull names are located in two of the most elevated parts of the interior of the island and both could conceivably have been applied to hill-ranges, as Ir *sléibhte* predominantly is. Further research on *slèibhte* in Scottish toponymy will be required to determine whether names in this plural form have a different chronology to those in the singular form, as is proposed of Irish *sléibhte*. Maclean (1997, 107 and 115) translates *slèibhte*, or *sliabh*, as 'mountain(s)' in reference to both Sleibhte-coire and Gleann Sleibhte-coire. MacQuarrie (1982, 75 and 96), explaining *slèibhte* as a form of *sliabh*, translates the singular term as 'hillside' and 'alpine heath'.

Chronology

The possibility that *sliabh* came to be productive locally in the Norse period is explored above (see 5.3.2). Sequentially, Tomslèibhe is very likely to post-date Bradhadail, the neighbouring settlement of higher status to which it is fiscally linked.

Location

The NGR is of the Mountain Bothies Association bothy which stands on the west side of the River Forsa a little under 6.5km SSE of the mouth of the River Forsa and the Sound of Mull coastline. OS Explorer depicts the enclosure on the south side of the bothy and the fank which lies around 150m to the south-east.

Soils/Topography

Peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Torosay Association around the modern bothy, which support grasses of low grazing-value and provide very little scope for reclamation for agricultural use (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102, Map Unit 547). The typical land form is hummocky valley and slope moraines and one such feature could be the referent of G *tòn*. The area around the bothy is certainly hummocky and in the enclosure behind the bothy is a pronounced hillock. The humus-iron podzols with peaty gleyed podzols of the slopes of Beinn Talaidh and Beinn Bheag typically support grasslands and rush pastures, all of which are known to be important communities to the grazing animal

(1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 102–03, Map Unit 549). Some grazing is also available on the slopes over 350-400 metres (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 103, Map Unit 551). The soil analysis supports the proposed application of *sliabh* to upland or summer grazing.

Status

The fiscal relationship between Tomslèibhe and Bradhadail is first recorded in the 17th century but the possibility is that this relationship had been established in the preceding period. As is highlighted above, G *beag* 'small' is probably either a reference to the low extent of Tomslèibhe within the context of the settlements of Forsa as a group, or to its extent when compared to Bradhadail.

TORLOCHAN   TOY S NM556408 1 375 20m

 Torulochan 1509 NRS E38/339 [16s 8d; printed as *Torulochan* in *ER* xiii 213; *u* and *n* are generally indistinguishable in this source and *u* may be *n*]

 Torlochan 1654 Blaeu (Pont) Mull [the name does not apply to a settlement]

 Torlochan 1801 Langlands [farm-houses]

 Tarlochan 1807 Arrowsmith

 Tarlochan 1824 Thomson [settlement; first *a* probably in error for *o*]

 Torranlochain 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/28/2 ["Applies to a few dwellings situated a short distance south of *Feith Bhàn* [Fèith Bhàn (NM558415)] & on the west side of *Guala Bhidha* [Guala Buidhe (NM555403)]."; translated as "Knoll of the little loch"]

 Tòrr an Lochain 1868 × 1878 OSNB ARG OS1/2/74/28/2 (2) [alternative form, later scored out]

 Torranlochain 1882 OS 6 inch 1st edn

 Torranlochain 1900 OS 6 inch 1st edn

G *tòrr* '(conical) knoll, mound, heap' + masc. gen. sing. def. art. *an* + G *lochan* (m), gen. *lochain* 'lochan, small loch, pond'.
G **Tòrr an Lochain* '(The) (Conical) Knoll of/at the Small Loch'.

[ˌtɔrˈlɔxən]

Etymology

The OS Explorer form reflects modern pronunciation of the name within an English-speaking context which does not feature a vowel between *r* and *l*. This suggests a name of noun + defining genitive structure. However, the *u* of the *ER* 1509 form, when considered alongside the historical OS forms, suggests a name of noun + article + defining genitive structure. The definite article is also recorded in Cruach Torr an Lochain (NM563402; 348m), an oronym which incorporates the settlement-name as its specific. Elision of *n* in *an* before *l* is common in modern Gaelic speech and this might explain the absence of *n* in the 1509 form.

The most likely referents of the two proposed elements are Tòrr nan Clach KKE (NM551411) and Lochan na Lith-thuinn (NM550408). Tòrr nan Clach '(The) Knoll of the Stones' lies around 450m NW of the modern settlement of Torlochan on the opposite side

of the modern road. Its specific, in the gen. pl., is G *clach* 'stone'. The modern road runs along the parish boundary with Kilninian and Kilmore to the north and Tòrr nan Clach lies within the northern parish. The nearby cairn at NM550413 measures around 8m in diameter and 1m in height (Canmore ID 22275).

Lochan na Lith-thuinn is depicted on the historical OS maps but the lochan has been drained and the name is not recorded on OS Explorer. Its compound specific is obscure. The lochan at NM556410 is man-made and it is not marked on the historical OS maps.

Previous Analysis

The name is not discussed in *ALI* because it is not recorded in 1494. Rixson (LAS) records the name as "Torranlochan", proposing that it was probably included in the two-pennyland unit of Gruline when it is absent in the fiscal sources; this is also proposed above (see 5.3.2). Maclean (1997, 36) records the name as *Torranlochan* as "Hill at the little loch", proposing "Loch na Lith-thian [sic] (now drained)" as the referent of the specific. MacQuarrie (1982, 100) records the name as *Torr a Lochain*, defining his proposed elements "torr" and "lochain" as "hill" and "small loch" respectively. The forms of both Maclean and MacQuarrie probably reflect local pronunciation of the definite article, the latter with elision of *n* before *l*. Johnston does not refer to Torlochan.

Chronology

The proposed noun + article + defining genitive structure identifies Torlochan as a name perhaps unlikely to have been coined before the early 10th century, on the basis of existing evidence (see 5.3.2, above). Thus, it is likely to have been coined after nearby Gruline, a name of ON origin.

Location

The NGR is centred on the modern settlement of Torlochan and this was probably the location of the medieval settlement.

Soils/Topography

The soils around the settlement are brown earths with peaty gleyed podzols with peaty gleys with dystrophic semi-confined peat of the Gruline Association which are locally utilised as arable (*SLCFA*, 71–2, Map Unit 279; see 1.3, above). The surrounding brown earths with brown rankers of the Torosay Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 101–02,

Map Unit 546) and dystrophic basin peat of the Organic Soils Association (1:250,000 Soil Map; SIFSS; *SLCFA*, 37–38, Map Unit 3) would have provided local grazing.

Status

Torlochan is valued at a pennyland in 1509 but its lands are incorporated within the two-pennyland unit of Gruline in *RMS*, *RSS* and *Retours*. It may be a secondary holding formed through subdivision of the pre-existing holding of Gruline (see 5.3.2, above).

Associated Names

Cruach Torr an Lochain (NM563402; 348m) incorporates the settlement-name as its specific. Its generic is G *cruach* 'stack, heap, bold hill' (Taylor 2005, 18), a productive local element.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

AÀA: 'Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba (AÀA) - Gaelic Place-Names of Scotland - Database', <http://www.gaelicplacenames.org/database.php>.

Abrams, Lesley, 2007, 'Conversion and the Church in the Hebrides in the Viking Age: "A Very Difficult Thing Indeed", in *West Over Sea: Studies in Scandinavian Sea-Borne Expansion and Settlement Before 1300, A Festschrift in Honour of Dr Barbara E. Crawford*, ed. by Beverley Ballin Smith, Simon Taylor and Gareth Williams (Leiden: Brill), 169–193.

AFM: *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the earliest period to the year 1616*, ed. by John O'Donovan, 7 vols (2nd edn; Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1856).

AI: *The Annals of Inisfallen*, ed. by Seán Mac Airt (Dublin: DIAS, 1951).

Aitken, A. J., 2002, *The Older Scots Vowels*, ed. by Caroline Macafee (The Scottish Text Society, Fifth Series, no. 1).

ALI: Munro, Jean, and R. W. Munro, eds, 1986, *Acts of the Lords of the Isles, 1336-1493* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society).

Assumption: *The Books of Assumption of the Thirds of Benefices: Scottish Ecclesiastical Rentals at the Reformation*, ed. by J. Kirk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

Armstrong: Armstrong, R. A., 1825, *A Gaelic–English and English–Gaelic Dictionary* (London: James Duncan).

ARC: Glesson, D. and S. MacAirt, 1958, 'The Annals of Roscrea', in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 59, 137–180.

Arrowsmith: Arrowsmith, Aaron, 1807, 'Map of Scotland constructed from original materials.' (London); NLS EMS.s.253, <http://maps.nls.uk/joins/747.html>.

ASB: *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. by G. Waitz (Hannoverae [Hannover]: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1883).

AT: 'The Annals of Tigernach', ed. by W. Stokes, *Revue celtique* 16 (1895), 374–419; 17 (1896), 6–33, 119–263, 337–420; 18 (1897), 9–59, 150–97, 267–303.

AU: *Annals of Ulster (to 1131)*, ed. by Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill (Dublin: DIAS, 1983).

Baliscate: 'Baliscate, Isle of Mull: Archaeological Evaluation and Assessment of Results', prepared on behalf of Videotext Communications Ltd by Wessex Archaeology, January 2010; online at <http://www.wessexarch.co.uk/system/files/53531551-Time-Team-Baliscate-Isle-of-Mull.pdf>.

Bannerman, John, 1974, *Studies in the History of Dalriada* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press).

——, 1993, '*Comarba Coluim Cille* and the Relics of Columba', *Innes Review* 44, 14–47.

——, 1997, 'The Scottish takeover of Pictland and the relics of Columba', *Innes Review* 48, 27–44; reprinted in *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots. Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. by Dauvit Broun and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 71–94.

Barnes, Michael P., 1999, *A New Introduction to Old Norse. Part I: Grammar* (Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London).

——, 2004, 'The Scandinavian Languages in the British Isles: The Runic Evidence', in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: contact, conflict and coexistence*, ed. by Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (Turnhout: Brepols), 121–136.

Barrett, James H., 2003, 'Culture Contact in Viking Age Scotland', in *Contact, continuity and collapse: the Norse colonisation of the North Atlantic*, ed. by James H. Barrett (Studies in the early middle ages 5; Turnhout: Brepols), 73–111.

——, 2008, 'The Norse in Scotland', in *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink, in collaboration with Neil Price (Abingdon:Routledge), 411–427.

Barrow, G. W. S., 1981, 'Popular Courts in Early Medieval Scotland: Some Suggested Place-Name Evidence', *Scottish Studies* 25, 1–24.

——, 1983, 'Popular Courts in Early Medieval Scotland: Some Suggested Place-Name Evidence—Additional Note', *Scottish Studies* 27, 67–68.

——, 1992, *Scotland and Its Neighbours in the Middle Ages* (London: The Hambledon Press).

Beauly: 'Beauly, The Aird and Strathglass Place-Name Survey (North-East Inverness-shire)'; AHRB (Arts and Humanities Research Board)-funded one year project (2000-2001) at the University of St Andrews, <http://arts.st-andrews.ac.uk/beauly/>.

Becket, Alastair and Colleen E. Batey, 2013, with contributions from Paul R J Duffy, Jennifer Miller and Penelope Walton Rogers, 'A stranger in the dunes? Rescue excavation of a Viking Age burial at Cnoc nan Gall, Colonsay', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 143, 303–18.

Beuermann, Ian, 2014, 'No Soil for Saints: Why was There No Native Royal Martyr in Man and the Isles?', in *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800–1200*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill), 81–95.

Bhreathnach, Edel, 1999, 'Columban Churches in Brega and Leinster: Relations with the Norse and the Anglo-Normans', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 129, 5–18.

BL na hÉ: Bunachar Logainmneacha na hÉireann – Placenames Database of Ireland, <http://www.logainm.ie/en/>.

Black, George F., 1946, *The Surnames of Scotland, Their Origin, Meaning and History* (New York: The New York Public Library).

Black, Ronald, ed., 2001, *An Lasair: Anthology of 18th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse* (Edinburgh: Birlinn).

——, 2007, *To the Hebrides: Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland and James Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (Edinburgh: Birlinn).

Blaeu (Pont) Lorn: Blaeu, Johan, 1654, *Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam: Blaeu). 'Lorna cum insulis vicinis et provinciis eidem conterminis. Lorn wt the Yles and provinces bordering there-upon / Auct. Timoth. Pont'. Work based on maps surveyed by Timothy Pont, and reworked by Robert Gordon of Straloch and James Gordon of Rothiemay. Reprinted in 2006, with an introduction (C.W.J. Withers) and translated texts (I.C. Cunningham), as *The Blaeu Atlas of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn); NLS WD3B/44; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/browse/107>.

Blaeu (Pont) Mull: See Blaeu (Pont) Lorn, above. 'Mula Insula, quae ex Aebudarum numero una est, et Lochabriae ad occasum praetenditur. The Yle of Mul whiche is one of

the Westerne Yles, and lyeth ovir against Lochabyr / Auct. Timoth. Pont.',
<http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/browse/111>.

Boardman, Stephen, 2006, *The Campbells 1250–1513* (Edinburgh: John Donald).

Borgström, Carl Hj., 1936, 'The Norse Place-Names of Barra', in *The Book of Barra*, ed. by John Lorne Campbell (London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.), 287–95.

Bradley, John, 2005, 'Tara', in *Medieval Ireland: an encyclopedia*, ed. by Seán Duffy *et al.* (London: Routledge), 445–46.

Brink, Stefan, 2004, 'Legal assembly sites in early Scandinavia', in *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Aliki Pantos and Sarah Semple (Dublin: Four Courts), 205-16.

Broderick, George, 2003, 'Tynwald: A Manx cult-site and institution of pre-Scandinavian origin', *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 46, 55-94.

——, 2006, *A Dictionary of Manx Place-Names* (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society).

——, 2009, 'Mam Tor', *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 41, 41–48.

——, 2013, 'Some Island Names in the Former 'Kingdom of the Isles': a reappraisal', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 7, 1–28.

Broun, Dauvit, 1998, 'Pictish kings 761-839: integration with Dál Riata or separate integration?', in *The St Andrews Sarcophagus: a Pictish masterpiece and its international connections*, ed. by Sally M. Foster (Dublin: Four Courts), 71–83.

——, 1999, *The Irish Identity of the Kingdom of the Scots* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press).

——, 2005, '*Alba*: Pictish Homeland or Irish Offshoot?', in *Exile and homecoming: Papers from the Fifth Australian Conference of Celtic Studies*, ed. by Pamela O'Neill (Sydney: University of Sydney), 234–75.

——, 2008, 'The property records in the Book of Deer as a source for early Scottish society', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin: Four Courts), 313–360.

Butter, Rachel, 2007, '*Cill*-names and saints in Argyll: a way towards understanding the early church in Dál Riata?', 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow).

Calderwood, Calum, 2013, 'The Spread of Gaelic in the Outer Hebrides during the Viking Age' (unpublished MRes dissertation, University of Glasgow).

Caldwell, David H., 2010, 'Finlaggan report 1: introduction and background' (National Museums Scotland Repository), pre-publication text online at <http://repository.nms.ac.uk/214/2/Finlaggan_report_1_-_introduction_and_background.pdf>.

Cameron, John, 1883, *Gaelic Names of Plants* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons).

Campbell, Alistair, 1938, *The Battle of Brunanburh* (London: Heinemann).

Canmore: Canmore database of RCAHMS, <http://www.rcahms.gov.uk/canmore.html>.

Carey, John, 2004, 'Cináed ua hArtacáin [Cineth O'Hartagain] (*d.* 975)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (Oxford University Press), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20636>.

CG: *Carmina Gadelica: hymns and incantations, with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete*, 6 vols; vols 1 & 2 (2nd edn) ed. by Elizabeth Carmichael Watson; vols 3 & 4 ed. by James Carmichael Watson; vols 5 & 6 ed. by Angus Matheson (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1928-1971; vol. 6 Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press; new edn Edinburgh: Floris Books, 2006).

Charles-Edwards, T. M., 2000, *Early Christian Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

CI: *The Chronicle of Ireland*, trans. by T. M. Charles-Edwards, 2 vols (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2006).

Clancy, Thomas Owen, 1996, 'Iona, Scotland, and the Céli Dé', in *Scotland in Dark Age Britain*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (St Andrews: Scottish Cultural Press, St John's House Papers No. 6), 111–30.

——, 2004, 'Iona in the Kingdom of the Picts: a note.', *Innes Review* 55 (1), 73–76.

——, 2004a, '*Diarmait sapientissimus*: the career of Diarmait *dalta* Daigre, Abbot of Iona.', *Peritia* 17–18, 215–32.

——, 2008, 'Deer and the early church in North-Eastern Scotland', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin: Four Courts), 363–97.

——, 2008a, 'The Gall-Ghàidheil and Galloway', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 2, 19–50.

——, 2010, 'The Big Man, the Footsteps, and the Fissile Saint: paradigms and problems in studies of insular saints' cults', in *The Cult of Saints and the Virgin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, ed. by Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), 1–20.

——, 2011, 'Gaelic in Medieval Scotland: Advent and Expansion', in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 167 (2009 Lectures), 349–92.

——, 2011a, 'Iona v. Kells: Succession, Jurisdiction and Politics in the Columban *Familia* in the Later Tenth Century', in *Tome: Studies in Medieval Celtic History and Law in honour of Thomas Charles-Edwards. Studies in Celtic History* 31, ed. by F. Edmonds and P. Russell (Woodbridge, The Boydell Press), 89–101.

——, 2013, 'The Gaelic place-names of the earliest Scottish records', in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 6. Papers read at the Conference Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 6 held at the Univeristy of Aberdeen 23–26 August 2010*, ed. by Nancy R. McGuire & Colm Ó Baoill (Obar Dheathain: An Clò Gàidhealach), 223–45.

——, 2013a, 'Many strata: English and Scots place-names in Scotland', in *Perceptions of Place: Twenty-First-Century Interpretations of English Place-Names Studies*, ed. by Jayne Carroll and David N. Parsons (English Place-Name Society Survey Volumes (2012); Nottingham: English Place-Name Society), 283–320.

——, 2013b, 'The Christmas Eve massacre, Iona, AD 986.', *Innes Review* 64 (1), 66–71.

——, 2013c, 'Saints in the Scottish Landscape', *Proceedings of the Harvard Cetic Colloquium* 33, 1–34.

——, 2014, 'A Suffixed Landscape: Constitutive Adjectives in Gaelic Place-Names and Poetry', paper delivered at the 25th International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Glasgow, 29 August 2014.

——, 2015, 'St Donnan of Eigg: Context And Cult', St Donnan's Seminar, 19–20 April 2015, Eigg; online at <http://www.spanglefish.com/eigghistorysociety/index.asp?pageid=616291>.

——, 2016, '*Logie*: an ecclesiastical place-name element in eastern Scotland', in *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 10, 25–88.

Clancy, Thomas Owen and Gilbert Márkus, eds, 1995, *Iona: the earliest poetry of a Celtic monastery* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

Cleasby-Vigfusson: *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, initiated by Richard Cleasby, subsequently revised, enlarged and completed by Gudbrand Vigfusson (2nd edn 1957, repr. 1962, with a supplement by Sir William Craigie Oxford: Clarendon Press); online at <http://lexicon.ff.cuni.cz/texts/oi_cleasbyvigfusson_about.html>.

Collectanea: *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, consisting of original papers and documents relating to the history of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, edited by the Iona Club (Edinburgh: Thomas G. Stevenson, 1847).

Coolen, Joris, Natascha Mehler *et al.*, 2014, *Excavations and Surveys at the Law Ting Holm, Tingwall, Shetland: An Iron Age settlement and medieval assembly site* (Oxford: Archaeopress; BAR British Series 592).

Cowan, I. B., 1995, *The Medieval Church in Scotland*, ed. by James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1995).

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

——, 2001, 'Maintenance of the Norse legacy in Scottish Hebridean nomenclature', in *Namn i en föränderlig värld: Rapport från den tolfte nordiska namnforskarkangressen, Tavastehus 13–17 juni 1998*, ed. by Gunilla Harling-Kranck (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland), 45–52.

——, 2002, *The Gaelic Place-Names of Carloway, Isle of Lewis: their structure and significance* (Dublin: DIAS).

——, 2002a, 'Notes on the Question of the Development of Old Norse *bólstaðr* in Hebridean Nomenclature', *Nomina* 25, 13–28.

——, 2007, 'The Development of Old Norse *-rð*(-) in (Scottish) Gaelic', *Language Contact in the Place-Names of Britain and Ireland*, ed. by George Broderick and Paul Cavill (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society), 57–96.

——, 2008, 'Indicators of Ecclesiastical and Norse Settlement and History in the Toponymic Material in Appendixes H1–H8 of the Papar Project', The Papar Project, Dr Barbara E. Crawford *et al.*, University of St Andrews, 17pp; online at <http://paparproject.org.uk/hebrides.html>.

——, 2009, '*Goatfell, Gaoitbheinn, Gaoth Bheinn*', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 25, 303–29.

——, 2010, 'Faclan-iasaid às an Lochlannais ann an Gàidhlig na h-Albann', in *Cànan & Cultar / Language & Culture: Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 4*, ed. by Gillian Munro and Richard A.V. Cox (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press), 1–6.

——, 2010a, 'Issues in developing a chronology for Norse and Gaelic place-names in the Hebrides', *Nomina* 33, 129–38.

——, 2011, 'Eachdraidh is tùs a' mhìr àireamhail ann an Gàidhlig (na h-Albann)', in *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 28, 255–306.

CPL: *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal letters*, ed. by W. H. Bliss (London: printed for H.M.S.O. by Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893–).

CPNS: Watson, William J., 1926, *The History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh and London; reprinted with an Introduction by Simon Taylor, Edinburgh, 2004; and, with an extended Introduction, Edinburgh, 2011).

Crawford, Barbara E., 1987, *Scandinavian Scotland* (Leicester: Leicester University Press).

——, 2004, 'Earldom Strategies in North Scotland and the Significance of Place-Names', in *Sagas, Saints and Settlements*, ed. by Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (Leiden: Brill), 105–24.

——, 2013, *The Northern Earldoms: Orkney and Caithness from AD 870 to 1470* (Edinburgh: Birlinn).

Crawford, Barbara E. and Simon Taylor 'The Southern Frontier of Norse Settlement in North Scotland Place-names and History', *Northern Scotland* 23, 1–76.

CRMI: *Cronica Regum Mannie et Insularum*, transcribed and translated with an Introduction by George Broderick (repr. 1999 Man: Manx National Heritage; 1st edn 1979; 2nd edn 1995).

CS: *Chronicum Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs from the Earliest Times*, ed. and trans. by W. M. Hennessey (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1866).

CSSR: *Calendar of Scottish supplications to Rome*, ed. by E. R. Lindsay, A. I. Cameron *et al.* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1934-1997).

Currie, Jo, 2000, *Mull: the island and its people* (Edinburgh: Birlinn).

DASG: Dachaigh airson Stòras na Gàidhlig | Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic, University of Glasgow; <http://dasg.ac.uk>.

Darvill, Timothy, 2004, 'Tynwald Hill and the 'things' of power', in *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Aliki Pantos and Sarah Semple (Dublin: Four Courts), 217-32.

Dawson, A. G., 1993, 'West coast of Jura', in *Quaternary of Scotland*, ed. by J. E. Gordon & D. G. Sutherland (London: Chapman and Hall), 382–89.

Dixson, Norman, 1947, 'The Placenames of Midlothian' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh); online at <http://www.spns.org.uk/Dixon_Prelims.html>.

Dodgson, J. McN, 1957, 'The Background of Brunanburh', *Saga Book of the Viking Society* 14, 303–316; repr. in *Wirral and Its Viking Heritage*, ed. by Paul Cavill, Stephen E. Harding and Judith Jesch (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 2000), 60–69.

Dolley, M., 1979, 'Promised further light on the 1866 Kirk Andreas find', *Spink's Numismatic Circular* 87, 548–49.

Dorret: Dorret, James, 1750, 'A general map of Scotland and islands thereto belonging.' (London); NLS EMS.s.640; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/joins/703.html>.

Dorret New: Dorret, James, 1751, 'A correct map of Scotland from new surveys.'; NLS EMS.s.16A; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/scotland/rec/707>.

DoSH: Database of Scottish Hagiotoponyms / 'Saints in Scottish Place-Names', <http://saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/>.

DOST: *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue*, ed. by W. Craigie and others 1937–2001; a dictionary of Older Scots, i.e. 12th century–1700; an electronic version of both this and *SND*, known as Dictionary of the Scots Language/Dictionar of the Scots Leid (DSL), online at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>.

Douglass, R., 1988, 'Mull (Kilfinichen and Kilvickeon parish), Survey', *Discovery & Excavation in Scotland*, 21.

Downham, Clare, 2007, 'St Bega — myth, maiden, or bracelet? An Insular cult and its origins', *Journal of Medieval History* 33, 33–42.

Downham, Clare, 2007a, *Viking Kings of Britain and Ireland: The Dynasty of Ívarr to A.D. 1014* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press).

——, 2014, 'Vikings' Settlements in Ireland Before 1014', in *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800–1200*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill), 1–21.

Driscoll, Steven T., 1998, 'Church archaeology in Glasgow and the kingdom of Strathclyde', *Innes Review* 49, 95-114.

Drummond, Peter, 2009, 'Close Compound Mountain Toponyms in Islay and Jura', in *A Land that Lies Westward. Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll*, ed. by J. Derrick McClure, John M. Kirk and Margaret Storrie (Edinburgh: John Donald), 50–61.

Drummond, Peter and Paul Tempan, 2009, 'Close Compound Place-names in Ireland and Scotland', in *A Land that Lies Westward. Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll*, ed. by J. Derrick McClure, John M. Kirk and Margaret Storrie (Edinburgh: John Donald), 48–49.

Duffy, Seán, 1992, 'Irishmen and Islesmen in the Kingdoms of Dublin and Man, 1052–1171', *Ériu* 43, 93–133.

Dumville, David N., 1997, *The churches of North Britain in the First Viking Age* (The fifth Whithorn Lecture; Whithorn: Friends of the Whithorn Trust).

——, 2002, 'Ireland and North Britain in the Earlier Middle Ages: Contexts for *Míniugud Senchasa Fher nAlban*', in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2000*, ed. by Colm Ó Baoill and Nancy McGuire (Obar Dheathain [Aberdeen]: An Clò Gàidhealach), 185–212.

Duncan, A. A. M. and A. L. Brown, 1957, 'Argyll and the Isles in the Earlier Middle Ages', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 90, 192–220.

Durkin, Philip, 'Old English—an overview', OED online article, <http://public.oed.com/aspects-of-english/english-in-time/old-english-an-overview/>.

Duwe, Kurt C., 2006, '*Gàidhlig* (Scottish Gaelic) Local Studies. Vol. 20: *Muile, Tiriodh & Colla* (Mull, Tiree & Coll)', 2nd edn; online at <http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Gaidhlig_Local_Studies_Vol_20_Muile_Tiriodh_Ed_II.pdf>.

Dümmler, E. 1884, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, vol. ii (Berlin), 297-301.

Dwelly: *The illustrated Gaelic-English dictionary*, compiled by Edward Dwelly (11th edn Glasgow: Gairm, 1994; 1st edn 1901–1911).

Easson, Alexis R., 1987, ' Youncelands and Pennylands in the West Highlands of Scotland', in *Ouncelands and Pennylands*, ed. by L. J. Macgregor & B. E. Crawford (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews; St. John's House Papers No. 3), 1–11.

eDIL   *Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish examples* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1976); electronic version (eDIL) online at <http://edil.qub.ac.uk/dictionary/search.php>.

Edmonds, Fiona, 2014, 'Saints' Cults and Gaelic-Scandinavian Influence around the Cumberland Coast and North of the Solway Firth', in *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800–1200*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill), 39–63.

Egil's Saga: *Egil's saga*, translated from the Old Icelandic, with introduction and notes by Gwyn Jones (Syracuse: Syracuse U.P. for the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1960).

Eigg: MacDomhnuill, Raonuill, 1776, *Comh-Chruinneachidh Orannaigh Gaidhealach* (Duneidiunn [Edinburgh]: Walter Ruddiman).

Ellis, Clare, 2013, 'Baliscate Chapel, Mull: Excavation', *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* 14 (New Series), 54–55.

ER: *The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. by John Stuart *et al.* (Edinburgh: General Register House, 1878–1908).

ES: Anderson, Alan Orr, 1922, *Early Sources of Scottish History, AD 500 to 1268*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; reprinted with preface, bibliographical supplement and corrections by M. O. Anderson, Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1990).

Esposito, Anthony, 'Old English in the OED', OED online article, <http://public.oed.com/aspects-of-english/english-in-time/old-english-in-the-oed/>.

Etchingham, Colmán, 2001, 'North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: the Insular Viking zone', *Peritia* 15, 145–87.

——, 2007, 'The location of historical *Laithlinn*/*Lochla(i)nn*: Scotland or Scandinavia?', in *Proceedings of the Seventh Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica*, ed. by Michaél Ó Flaithearta (Uppsala Universitet), 11–31.

——, 2014, 'Names for the Vikings in Irish Annals', in *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800–1200*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill), 23–38.

FA: *Fragmentary Annals of Ireland*, ed. by Joan Newton Radner (Dublin: DIAS, 1978).

Faith in Cowal: Márkus, Gilbert, 'Faith in Cowal – Exploring the Early Christian Landscape', <http://www.faithincowal.org/>.

Fasti: *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae: Synods of Argyll, and of Perth and Stirling*, vol. 4, ed. by H. Scott (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1923).

Fellows-Jensen, Gillian, 1972, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire* (Copenhagen: I kommission hos Akademisk forlag).

——, 1978, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands* (Copenhagen: I kommission hos Akademisk forlag).

——, 1984, 'Viking Settlement in the Northern and Western Isles – the Place-Name Evidence as seen from Denmark and the Danelaw', in *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World: survival, continuity and change*, ed. by Alexander Fenton & Hermann Pálsson (Edinburgh: J. Donald), 148–68.

——, 1985, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Forlag).

——, 1987, 'To Divide the Danes from the Norwegians: On Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles', *Nomina* 11, 35–60.

——, 2004, 'Scandinavian Settlement in the British Isles and Normandy: What the Place-Names Reveal', in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: contact, conflict and coexistence*, ed. by Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (Turnhout: Brepols), 137–47.

——, 2005, 'Extermination or Economic Exploitation', in *Cultural Contacts in the North Atlantic Region: The Evidence of Names*, ed. by Peder Gammeltoft, Carole Hough and Doreen Waugh (NORNA, Scottish Place-Names Society and Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland), 100–18.

Fisher, Ian, 2001, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands* (Edinburgh: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Monograph Series 1).

FitzPatrick, Elizabeth, 2004, 'Royal inauguration mounds in medieval Ireland: antique landscape and tradition', in *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Aliki Pantos and Sarah Semple (Dublin: Four Courts), 44-72.

Flanagan, Deidre, 1980, 'Place-names in early Irish documentation: structure and composition', *Nomina* 4, 41–45.

Forbes, Alexander R., 1923, *Place-names of Skye and Adjacent Islands: with lore, mythical, traditional and historical* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner).

Forsyth, Katherine, 1995, 'The inscription on the Dupplin Cross', in *From the Isles of the North. Early Medieval Art in Ireland and Britain*, ed. by Cormac Bourke (Belfast: HMSO), 237–44.

——, 1997, *Language in Pictland: the case against 'non-Indo-European Pictish'* (Utrecht: Stichting Uitgeverij de Keltische Draak).

——, 2008, 'The stones of Deer', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin: Four Courts), 398–438.

Fowler, Elizabeth and P J Fowler, 1988, 'Excavations on Tòrr an Aba, Iona, Argyll', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 118, 181–201.

Fraser, Ian A., 1985, 'The Place-Names of Argyll – An Historical Perspective', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 54, 174–207.

——, 1993, 'The Agricultural Elements in Gaelic Place-names', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 57, 203–23.

——, 1999, *The Place-Names of Arran* (Glasgow: The Arran Society of Glasgow).

——, 2004, 'The Place-names of Argyll', in *The Argyll Book*, ed. by Donald Omand (repr.2006 Edinburgh: Birlinn), 243–54.

Fraser, James E., 2009, *From Caledonia to Pictland, Scotland to 795* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

Friðriksson, Adolf and Orri Vésteinsson, 2003, 'Creating a Past: A Historiography of the Settlement of Iceland', in *Contact, continuity and collapse: the Norse colonisation of the North Atlantic*, ed. by James H. Barrett (Studies in the early middle ages 5; Turnhout: Brepols), 139–61.

Gammeltoft, Peder, 2001, *The place-name element* bólstaðr *in the North Atlantic area* (Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Forlag A/S).

——, 2004, 'Scandinavian-Gaelic Contacts: Can Place-Names and Place-Name Elements be Used as a Source for Contact-Linguistic Research?', *NOWELE* [*North-Western European Language Evolution*] 44, 51–90.

——, 2007, 'Scandinavian Naming-Systems in the Hebrides-A Way of Understanding how the Scandinavians were in Contact with Gaels and Picts?', in *West over Sea. Studies in Scandinavian Sea-Borne Expansion and Settlement Before 1300*, ed. by B. Ballin Smith, S. Taylor & G. Williams (Leiden: Brill), 479–95.

Gaskell, Philip, 1980, *Morvern Transformed. A Highland Parish in the Nineteenth Century.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Gibbon, Sarah Jane, 2012, 'Orkney's Things', in *Things in the Viking World*, ed. by Olwyn Owen (Lerwick: Shetland Litho), 80-93.

Gillies, H. Cameron, 1906, *The Place-Names of Argyll* (London: David Nutt).

Gordon, Bridget, 1965, 'Some Norse Place-Names in Trotternish, Isle of Skye', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 10, 82–112.

Gordon/Taylor: Gordon, E. V., 1981, *An Introduction to Old Norse* (2nd edn revised by A. R. Taylor; Oxford: Clarendon Press).

GPC: *Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru: A Dictionary of the Welsh Language* (Cardiff: Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru, 1950–); online at <http://www.welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/>.

Graham-Campbell, James, 1983, 'The Viking Age silver hoards of the Isle of Man', in *The Viking Age in the Isle of Man*, ed. by Christine Fell *et al.* (University College London: Viking Society for Northern Research), 53–80.

Graham-Campbell, James, and Colleen E. Batey, 1998, *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

Grannd, Seumas, 2000, *The Gaelic of Islay: A Comparative Study* (Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen).

Grant, Alison, 2005, 'The Origin of the Ayrshire *Bý* Names', in *Cultural Contacts in the North Atlantic Region: The Evidence of Names*, ed. by Peder Gammeltoft, Carole Hough and Doreen Waugh (NORNA, Scottish Place-Names Society and Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland), 127–40.

Greene, David, 1984, 'Varia I: 1. Ir. *Eóin*, Sc. G. *Iain*', *Ériu* 35, 193–195.

Grout: Grout, Andrew, 'The elusive Timothy Pont (c.1564-c.1614)', NLS, 'Pont Maps of Scotland, ca. 1583-1614 - Biographies - National Library of Scotland', <http://maps.nls.uk/pont/biographies/elusive.html>.

Gwynn, Edward, 1991, *The Metrical Dindshenchas*, 5 vols (repr. Dublin: DIAS; 1st edn Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1903).

Hall, Mark A., 2011, 'Tales From Beyond the Pict: Sculpture and its Uses in and around Forteviot, Perthshire from the Ninth Century Onwards', in *Pictish Progress: New Studies on Northern Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Stephen T. Driscoll, Jane Geddes and Mark A. Hall (Leiden: Brill), 135–68.

Hammond, Matthew H., 2010, 'Royal and aristocratic attitudes to saints and the Virgin Mary in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Scotland', in *The Cult of Saints and the Virigin Mary in Medieval Scotland*, ed. by Steve Boardman and Eila Williamson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press), 61–85.

Hamp, Eric P., 1974, 'Varia', *Ériu* 25, 253–84.

Hannan, Thomas, 1926, *The beautiful Isle of Mull with Iona and the Isle of Saints* (Edinburgh: R. Grant and Son).

Harris, Oliver *et al.*, 2011, 'Viking Boat Burial, Swordle Bay, Ardnamurchan Season Six: Archaeological Excavations Data Structure Report' (unpublished Ardnamurchan Transitions Report No. 17); online at <http://butstillitmoves.com/atp_wpv4/?page_id=279>.

Henderson, Angus, 1915, 'Ardnamurchan Place-Names', *The Celtic Review* 10, 149–68.

Henderson, Isabel, 1999, 'The Dupplin Cross: a preliminary consideration of its art-historical context', in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. by Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd), 161–77.

Herbert, Máire, 1988, *Iona, Kells and Derry: the history and hagiography of the monastic* familia *of Columba* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).

Hogan, Edmund, 1910, *Onomasticon Goedelicum* (Dublin and London; Hodges, Figgis & Co. and Williams & Norgate; repr. 1983).

Holliday: Holliday, Dr John, 'Tiree Place Names', online at <http://www.tireeplacenames.org/introduction/>.

HP: *Highland Papers*, ed. by J. R. N. Macphail, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1914–34).

Hudson, Benjamin T., 1992, 'Cnut and the Scottish Kings', *English Historical Review* 107, 350–60.

——, 1994, *Kings of Celtic Scotland* (London: Greenwood Press).

——, 1999, 'The changing economy of the Irish Sea province: AD 900–1300', in *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. by Brendan Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 39–66.

Hughes, A.J. and R.J. Hannan, 1992, *Place-Names of Northern Ireland. Volume Two. County Down II, The Ards.* (Belfast: The Institute of Irish Studies, The Queen's University of Belfast).

Imsen, Steinar, 2014, 'Introduction', in *Rex Insularum: The King of Norway and His 'Skattlands' as a Political System c. 1260–c. 1450*, ed. by Steinar Imsen (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS), 13–31.

——, 2014a, 'Royal Dominion in the 'Skattlands' ', in *Rex Insularum: The King of Norway and His 'Skattlands' as a Political System c. 1260–c. 1450*, ed. by Steinar Imsen (Bergen: Fagbokforlaget Vigmostad & Bjørke AS), 35–99.

Iosad, Pavel, 2015, 'Preaspiration and tonal accents as Northern Gaelic features: Reconsidering contact origins', handout from paper presented at 15th International Congress of Celtic Studies, Glasgow, 16 July 2015; online at <http://www.research.ed.ac.uk/portal/en/publications/preaspiration-and-tonal-accents-as-northern-gaelic-features(cbedc859-4de8-4cb0-afe4-70eb583f7bc1).html>.

Isaac, G. R., 2005, 'Scotland', in *New Approaches to Celtic Place-names in Ptolemy's Geography*, ed. by J. de Hoz, E. R. Luján & P. Sims-Williams (Madrid), 189–214.

Íslendingabók:*Íslendingabók*, ed. by Paul Bibire (Crail, 1996).

Jakobsen, Jakob, 1936, *The Place-Names of Shetland* (London; repr. 1993 by The Orcadian Limited, Kirkwall).

Jennings, Andrew, 1993, 'A Historical Study of the Gael and Norse in Western Scotland from c.795 to c.1000' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh).

——, 1998, 'Iona and the Vikings: Survival and Continuity', *Northern Studies* 33, 37–54.

——, 2004, 'The Norse Place-Names of Kintyre', in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: contact, conflict and coexistence*, ed. by Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (Turnhout: Brepols), 109–19.

Jennings, Andrew and Arne Kruse, 2005, 'An Ethnic Enigma – Norse, Pict and Gael in the Western Isles', in *Viking and Norse in the North Atlantic. Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Fourteenth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, 19–30 July 2001*, ed. by Andras Mortensen and Símun V. Arge (Tórshavn).

——, 2009a, 'One coast - three peoples: names and ethnicity in the Scottish west during the early Viking period', in *Scandinavian Scotland - Twenty Years After: The Proceedings of a Day Conference held on 19 February 2007*, ed. by Alex Woolf (St Andrews: University of St. Andrews; St John's House Papers No. 12), 75–102.

——, 2009b, 'From Dál Riata to the *Gall-Ghàidheil*', *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5, 123–49.

Jermy, A. C. and J. A. Crabbe, 1978, *The Island of Mull, a survey of its flora and environment* (London: British Museum of Natural History).

JM: The manuscript collection of Iain Mac Illeain [John Maclean], Bàrd Thighearna Chola (1787–1848), dated to *c*.1816 by his grandson, Rev. Alexander Maclean Sinclair; all citations from Ó Baoill (2009).

Johnson, Andrew, 2012, 'Tynwald – Ancient Site, Modern Institution – Isle of Man', in *Things in the Viking World*, ed. by Olwyn Owen (Lerwick: Shetland Litho), 104-17.

Johnston, Anne R, 1990, 'Norse Settlement in the Inner Hebrides ca 800-1300, with special reference to the Islands of Mull, Coll and Tiree' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews); online at <https://core.ac.uk/download/files/95/8764276.pdf>.

Johnston, James B., 1903, *Place-Names of Scotland* (2nd edn Edinburgh: David Douglas; 1st edn Edinburgh 1892).

Joyce, P. W., 1910–13, *The Origin and History of Irish Names of Places*, 3 vols. (repr. Dublin and London: Longmans, Green, and Co.; 1st edn 1869).

Kelly, Fergus, 1997, *Early Irish Farming: the evidence of the law-texts* (Dublin: DIAS).

Kennedy, Rev. John, 1897, 'Arran Gaelic Dialect', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 20, 126–141.

Kenney, James F., 1979, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: Ecclesiastical* (rev. edn, New York).

King, Dr Jacob and Dr Heather Clyne, 2013, *Gaelic in the Landscape, The Rough Bounds of Lochaber / A' Ghàidhlig air Aghaidh na Tìre, Garbh-Chrìochan Loch Abar* (Scottish Natural Heritage: Perth).

King, Jacob and Michelle Cotter, 2011, *Gaelic in the Landscape, Place-names in Islay and Jura / A' Ghàidhlig air Aghaidh na Tìre, Ainmean-àite ann an Ìle agus Diùra* (Scottish Natural Heritage: Perth).

King, Dr Jacob with Eilidh Scammell, 2015, *Gaelic in the Landscape, Place-names of Strath, Isle of Skye / A' Ghàidhlig air Aghaidh na Tìre, Ainmean-àite an t-Sratha, An t-Eilean Sgitheanach* (Scottish Natural Heritage: Perth).

Kruse, Arne, 2004, 'Norse Topographical Settlement Names on the Western Littoral of Scotland', in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: contact, conflict and coexistence*, ed. by Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman (Turnhout: Brepols), 109–119.

——, 2005, 'Explorers, Raiders and Settlers. The Norse Impact upon Hebridean Place-Names', in *Cultural Contacts in the North Atlantic Region: The Evidence of Names*, ed. by Peder Gammeltoft, Carole Hough and Doreen Waugh (NORNA, Scottish Place-Name Society and Society for Name Studies in Britain and Ireland), 141–56.

——, 2007, 'Fashion, Limitation and Nostalgia: Scandinavian Place-Names Abroad', in *Images and imaginations: perspectives on Britain and Scandinavia*, ed. by A. Kruse & P. Graves (Edinburgh: Lockharton Press), 9–39.

——, 2015, 'Laithlinn', *Namn og Nemne* 32, 49–86.

Landnámabók: *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, trans. by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (repr. 2006 Winnipeg, Manitoba; 1st edn 1972).

Langlands: Langlands, George, 1801, *This map of Argyllshire...* (Campbeltown); NLS EMS.s.326; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/joins/581.html>.

LAS: Rixson, Denis, 'Land Assessement Scotland', online blog, <http://las.denisrixson.com/>; 'South Mull Table', including districts of Forsa and Moloros, at <http://las.denisrixson.com/2015/08/south-mull-table/>.

Lind, E. H., 1905, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* (Swedish Edition; University of California Libraries).

Lobban, Maighread Dhòmhnallach, 2004, *Lachann Dubh a' Chrògain: Lachlan Livingstone and his Grandsons, Bards of Mull and Lismore* (Iona: The New Iona Press).

LSS: *Legends of Scottish Saints. Readings, hymns and prayers for the commemorations of Scottish saints in the Aberdeen Breviary*, ed. by Alan Macquarrie with Rachel Butter and contributions by Simon Taylor and Gilbert Markús (Dublin: Four Courts).

Mac-an-Tuairneir: Mac-an-Tuairneir, Paruig, *Comhchruinneacha do dh'Orain Taghta, Ghaidhealach, nach robh riamh roimhe clo-bhuailte gus a nis, air an tional o mheodhair, air feadh Gaidhealtachd a's Eileine na h-Alba* (Duneidionn [Edinburgh]: T. Stiubhard).

MacAulay, Donald, 1972, 'Studying the Place Names of Bernera', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 47, 313-37.

Macbain: Macbain, Alexander, 1911, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (2nd edn Stirling: Eneas MacKay; 1st edn 1896).

Macbain, Alexander, 1894, 'The Norse Element in the Topography of the Highlands and Isles', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 19, 217–45.

——, 1922, *Place Names, Highlands & Islands of Scotland* (Stirling: Eneas MaacKay).

McConville, Mark, 2013, 'Reverse-engineering the morphophonology of Gaelic vowels from orthography: Language planning to linguistic theory, and back again', in *After the Storm: Papers from the Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ulster triennial meeting, Aberdeen 2012*, ed. by Janet Cruickshank and Robert McColl Millar (Aberdeen: Forum for Research on the Languages of Scotland and Ireland), 61–81.

Mac Cormaic, Iain (MacCormick, John), 1911, *Seanchaidh na h-Àirigh* (Struibhle [Stirling]: Aonghas Mac Aoidh).

Mac Cormaig, Iain (MacCormick, John), 1908, *Oiteagan o 'n Iar (Breezes from the West)*, ed. by Calum Mac Phàrlain (Paislig (Paisley): Alexander Gardner); nb. same author as Iain Mac Cormaic, above.

MacCormick, John, 1923, *The Island of Mull: its history, scenes and legends* (Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons); nb. same author as Iain Mac Cormaic / Iain Mac Cormaig, above.

MacDonald, Janet C., 2010, 'Appendix: Gazetteer of Iona's lands and churches' in 'Iona's local associations in Argyll and the Isles, c1203–c1575' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow), 158–277.

McDonald, R. Andrew, 1997, *The Kingdom of the Isles: Scotland's Western Seaboard, c.1100–c.1336* (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press Ltd).

Mac Eachainn: Mac Eachainn, Eobhan, 1842, *Faclair, Gailig us Beurla* (Peirt [Perth]: R. Morison).

MacFadyen, John, 1890, *An t-Eileanach (The Islander)*, original Gaelic songs, poems and readings (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair; 2nd edn Glasgow: Alex. MacLaren & Sons, 1921); nb. both editions are cited where forms differ.

——, 1902, *Sgeulaiche nan Caol*, original Gaelic readings, sketches, poems and songs (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, "Celtic Press").

Mac Giolla Easpaig, Dónall, 1981, 'Noun + Noun Compounds in Irish Placenames', *Études Celtiques* 18, 151-63.

——, 2005, 'Significance and Etymology of the Placename *Temair'*, in *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. by Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin: Four Courts), 423-48.

McKay, Patrick, ed., 2007, *A Dictionary of Ulster Place-Names* (2nd edn Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona).

Mackenzie Plate XXI: 'The west coast of Scotland from Ila to Mull.', Plate XXI of Murdoch Mackenzie's 'A maratim survey of Ireland and the west of Great Britain', 1776, vol. II; NLS Map.Rol.a.1; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart/833>.

Mackenzie Plate XXII: 'The sound of Mull', Plate XXII of Mackenzie's 1776 survey, see above; NLS EMS.s.654; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart/834>.

Mackenzie Plate XXIII: 'The west side of the island Mull with the islands Tiri and Coll.', Plate XXIII of Mackenzie's 1776 survey, see above; NLS EMS.s.654; online at <http://maps.nls.uk/coasts/chart/835>.

MacKenzie, Ann, ed., 2002, *Island Voices. Air Bilibh an t-Sluaigh. Traditions of North Mull*. (Edinburgh, Birlinn).

McKerral, A., 1944, 'Ancient denominations of agricultural land in Scotland: a summary of recorded opinions, with some notes, observations and references', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 78, 39–80.

MacKinlay, J. M., 1904, *The Pre-Reformation Church and Scottish Place-Names* (Edinburgh: Blackwood).

Maclean, Charles, 1997, *The Isle of Mull: Placenames, Meanings and Stories* (Dumfries: Maclean Publications).

MacLean, J. P., 1889, *A History of the Clan MacLean from its first settlement at Duard Castle, in the Isle of Mull, to the present period* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co).

——, 1922, *History of the Island of Mull, embracing description, climate, geology, flora, fauna, antiquities, folk lore, superstitions, traditions, with an account of its inhabitants, together with a narrative of Iona, the sacred isle*, vol. 1 (Greenville, Ohio: Frank H. Jones & Son).

Maclean-Bristol, Nicholas, 1995, *Warriors and Priests: The History of the Clan Maclean, 1300–1570* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press).

Maclean Sinclair, Rev. A., ed., 1898–1900, *Na Baird Leathanach: The Maclean Bards*, 2 vols (Charlottetown: Haszard and Moore).

——, 1899, *The Clan Gillean* (Charlottetown: Haszard and Moore).

MacLellan, Angus, 1997, *Stories from South Uist*, tr. by John Lorne Campbell (Edinburgh: Birlinn).

MacLennan: MacLennan, Malcolm, 1925, *A Pronouncing and Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh: John Grant).

Mac Mathúna, Liam, 1988, 'Old Irish heights and word-field potential', *Studia Hibernica* 24, 29–50.

——, 2004, 'Continuity and Change in Early Irish Words for 'Plain': Exploring Narrative Text and Place-Name Divergence', *Ériu* 54, 149–70.

Mac-na-Ceàrdadh, Gilleasbuig, 1879, *The Gaelic Songster. An t-Òranaich, no co-thoinal taghte do òrain ùr agus shean, a' chuid mhòr dhiubh nach robh riamh roimhe ann an clò* (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair and Robert M'Gregor & Co.).

MacNab, P., 2007, *Mull and Iona: Highways and Byways* (rev. edn Edinburgh; 1st edn 1986).

Macniven, Alan, 2006, 'The Norse in Islay: a settlement historical case-study for medieval Scandinavian activity in Western Maritime Scotland' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh).

—— 2013, ''Borgs', Boats and the Beginnings of Islay's Medieval Parish Network?', *Northern Studies* 45, 68-99.

—— 2013a, 'Modelling Viking Migration to the Inner Hebrides', in *Journal of the North Atlantic* 4 (sp4), 3-18.

——, 2015, *The Vikings in Islay: the place of names in Hebridean settlement history* (Edinburgh: John Donald).

McNiven, Peter, 2007, 'The *Gart*-names of Clackmannanshire', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 1, 61–6.

——, 2011, 'Gaelic Place-names and the Social History of Gaelic Speakers in Medieval Menteith' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow).

MacQuarrie, Duncan M., 1982, *The Placenames of Mull* (Inverness).

MacQueen, John, 2002, *Place-Names in the Rhinns of Galloway and Luce Valley* (Stranraer: Stranraer and District Local History Trust).

Maldonado Ramírez, Adrián D., 2011, 'Christianity and burial in late Iron Age Scotland, AD 400-650', 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow).

Márkus, Gilbert, 2012, *The Place-Names of Bute* (Donington: Shaun Tyas).

——, 2013, 'Colum Cille - Inimicus Scotorum', talk on behalf of the 'Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names' project; see DoSH above.

Martin: Martin, Martin, 1703, *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland*, in *A Description of the Western Isles of Scotland ca 1695 and A Late Voyage to St Kilda, Martin Martin, with A Description of the Occidental i.e. Western Islands of Scotland, Donald Monro*, ed. by Charles W.J. Withers and R. W. Munro (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 1999).

Metcalfe, W. M., 1889, *Pinkerton's Lives of the Scottish Saints*, 2 vols (revised and enlarged edn Paisley: Alexander Gardner).

Monro: Munro, R. W., ed., 1961, *Monro's Western Isles of Scotland and Genealogies of the Clans 1549* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd).

Montgomery, J., V. Grimes, J. Buckberry, J. Evans, M. P. Richards and J. H. Barrett, 2014, 'Finding Vikings with Isotope Analysis – the View from Wet and Windy Islands', *Journal of the North Atlantic* 7, 54–70.

Morgan, Ailig Peadar, 2013, 'Ethnonyms in the Place-names of Scotland and the Border Counties of England' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of St Andrews).

Murphy, Michael, 2008, 'Online Index to the Lebor Gabála Érenn (Book of Invasions) based on R.A.S. Macalister's translations and notes', Corpus of Electronic Texts [CELT], published online in a series of unpaginated PDFs with the consent of the Irish Texts Society at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/indexLG.html>.

Murray, Athol, 1961, 'The Procedure of the Scottish Exchequer in the early Sixteenth Century' *Scottish Historical Review* 40, 89–117.

Nelson, Janet C., 1991, *The annals of St-Bertin: Ninth-century history*, vol. 1 (Manchester: Manchester University Press).

Nicolaisen, W. F. H., 1967, 'Scottish Place Names: 29.Scandinavian Personal Names in the Place Names of South-East Scotland.', *Scottish Studies* 11, 223–236.

——, 1969, 'Norse settlement in the Northern and Western Isles. Some place-name evidence.', *The Scottish Historical Review* 48 (1), 6–17.

——, 1996, 'Gaelic *–ach >* Scots *–o* in Scottish Place Names, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 17, 278–91.

——, 2001, *Scottish Place-Names, Their Study and Significance* (2nd edn Edinburgh: John Donald; 1st edn 1976).

NLS: National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh; map images online at <http://maps.nls.uk/>.

North Mull Parishes: 'North Mull Parishes | Information and latest news for Craignure, Dervaig, Salen and Tobermory Churches, Isle of Mull', online at <http://www.northmullparishes.org/>.

NRS: National Records of Scotland, General Register House, 2 Princes Street, Edinburgh.

NRS Chancery Records: 'Chancery Records | National Records of Scotland', online research guide, <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/chancery-records>.

NRS C2/13 no. 114:   Unpublished source in Great Seal Register (*Registrum Magni Sigilli*), 15 Jan 1493–18 Aug 1503; printed in *RMS* ii no. 2200 (1494).

NRS C2/26 no. 124:   Unpublished source in Great Seal Register (Registrum Magni Sigilli), 29 Aug 1536–12 Jun 1540; printed in *RMS* iii no. 1745 (1534 × 1538).

NRS Exchequer Records: 'Exchequer Records | National Records of Scotland', online research guide, <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/exchequer-records>.

NRS E38/339: Unpublished source in Exchequer Records: Exchequer Rolls, 'Ballivi ad extra', Jun 1509; printed in *ER* xiii 128–224.

NRS GD174/739:   Unpublished source in Maclaine of Lochbuie Papers 1630-1904, 'Certified valued rental of the lands belonging to John Maclean of Lochbuy in the parishes of Torosay and Pennygown and Kilfinechan and Kilvickean', 9 Apr 1758.

NRS Inheriting Land and Buildings: 'Inheriting Land and Buildings | National Records of Scotland', online research guide, <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/inheriting-land-and-buildings>.

NRS Privy Seal Records: 'Privy Seal Records | National Records of Scotland', online research guide, <http://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/guides/privy-seal-records>.

NS: *Njal's Saga*, trans. by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson (rev. edn Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971; 1st edn 1960).

NSA: *The New Statistical Account of Scotland, by the Ministers of the Respective Paishes, under the Superintendence of a Committee of the Society for the Benefit of the Sons and Daughters of the Clergy* (Edinburgh, 1845); online at 'The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791–1845', <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>; see also *OSA* below.

Ó Baoill, Colm, ed., 1997, *Duanaire Colach 1537–1757* (Obar-Dheathain [Aberdeen]: AN CLO GAIDHEALACH).

——, ed., 2009, *Mairghread nighean Lachlainn, Song-maker of Mull* (Scottish Gaelic Texts Society).

Ó Baoill, Dónall P., 1980, 'Preaspiration, epenthesis and vowel lengthening: interrelated and of similar origin?', *Celtica* 13, 79–108.

Ó Corráin, Donnchadh, 1998, 'The Vikings in Scotland and Ireland in the ninth century', *Peritia* 12, 296–339.

Ó Dónaill: *Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla*, ed. by Niall Ó Dónaill with Tomás de Bhaldraithe (Baile Átha Cliath [Dublin]: Oifig an tSoláthair, 1977); online at <http://www.teanglann.ie/en/fgb/>.

Ó Mainnín, Mícheál B., 1990, 'The Element *Island* in Ulster Place-Names', *Ainm* 4, 200-10.

Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, 1996, 'The Development of Eclipsis in Gaelic', in *Scottish Language* 14/15, ed. by J. Derrick McClure, 158–73.

——, 1998, 'Place-Names as a Resource for the Historical Linguist', in *The Uses of Place-Names*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Edinburgh: Scottish Cultural Press; St John's House Papers no. 7), 12–53.

——, 2001, 'Forás na nDeirí Díspeagtha *-ean* agus *-ein* i nGaeilge na hAlban', in *Béalra: Aistí ar Theangeolaíocht na Gaeilge*, ed. by B. Ó Catháin and R. Ó hUiginn (Maigh Nuad: An Sagart), 1–43.

——, 2003, 'Tírdhreach na nGael: Logainmneacha agus an tSamhlaíocht', in *Cruth na Tíre*, ed. by Wilson McLeod and Máire Ní Annracháin (Coiscéim: Baile Átha Cliath), 195–243.

——, 2006, 'Coibhneas idir consan (*dh/gh*) agus guta i stair na Gaeilge', in *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge in ómós do Bhreandán Ó Buachalla*, ed. by Aidan Doyle and Siobhán Ní Laoire (Baile Átha Cliath: COIS LIFE), 41–78.

——, 2008, 'The Scotticisation of Gaelic: a reassessment of the language and orthography of the Gaelic Notes in the Book of Deer', in *Studies on the Book of Deer*, ed. by Katherine Forsyth (Dublin: Four Courts), 179–274.

——, 2010, 'The sound of silence: some structural observations on preaspiration in Scottish Gaelic', in *Bile ós Chrannaibh: A Festschrift for William Gillies*, ed. by Wilson McLeod, Abigail Burnyeat, Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart, Thomas Owen Clancy and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh (Ceann Drochaid: Clann Tuirc), 365–404.

——, 2014, 'Am Buadhfhacal Meadhan-Aoiseach *Meranach* agus *mearan*, *mearanach*, *dàsachdach*, *dàsan(n)ach* na Gàidhlig', *Scottish Studies* 37. *Craobh nan Ubhal: A Festschrift in Honour of John MacInnes*), 183–206.

——, forthcoming, 'Caochlaideachd Chumanta sa Ghàidhlig: Fuasglaidhean Ùra', proceedings of Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig 2016, plenary lecture; abstract online at <http://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/en/rannsachadh/rnag2016/caochlaideachd-chumanta/>.

Ó Muraíle, Nollaig, 2005, 'Temair/Tara and Other Places of the Name', in *The Kingship and Landscape of Tara*, ed. by Edel Bhreathnach (Dublin: Four Courts), 449–77.

Ó Murchú, Máirtín, 1985, 'Varia VIII. Devoicing and pre-aspiration in varieties of Scots Gaelic', *Ériu* 36, 195–98.

O'Rahilly, Thomas F., 1927, 'Etymological Notes. II.', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 2, 13–29.

O'Reilly, Joseph P., 1903, 'Notes on the Orientations and Certain Architectural Details of the Old Churches of Dalkey Town and Dalkey Island', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 24, 195–226.

Ó Riain, Pádraig, 1983, 'Cainnech alias Colum Cille, patron of Ossory', in P. de Brún, S. Ó Coileáin and P. Ó Riain, *Folia Gadelica* (Cork: Cork University Press), 20–35.

——, 2011, *A Dictionary of Irish Saints* (Dublin: Four Courts).

Ó Sé, Diarmuid, 1990, 'Varia III: The sporadic sound change *f* to *h*', *Ériu* 41, 133–36.

OED: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, online at <http://www.oed.com/>.

Oftedal, Magne, 1954, 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides', *Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap* 17, 363–409.

ONP: Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog (A Dictionary of Old Norse Prose), University of Copenhagen; online at <http://onp.ku.dk/english/>.

OPS: *Origines Parochiales Scotiae: the antiquities ecclesiastical and territorial of the parishes of Scotland*, 2 vols., vol. II in two parts (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1854).

Oram, Richard D., 1987, 'Davachs and Pennylands in South-West Scotland: A Review of the Evidence', in *Ouncelands and Pennylands*, ed. by L. J. Macgregor & B. E. Crawford (St. Andrews: University of St. Andrews; St. John's House Papers No. 3), 46–59.

——, 2004, 'The Lordship of the Isles: 1336–1545', in *The Argyll Book* , ed. by Donald Omand (repr. 2006 Edinburgh: Birlinn), 123–39.

——, 2011, *Domination and Lordship, Scotland 1070–1230* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

——, 2011a, 'Ouncelands, Quarterlands and Pennylands in the Western Isles, Man and Galloway: Tribute Payments and Military Levies in the Norse West', in *Taxes, tributes and tributary lands in the making of the Scandinavian kingdoms in the Middle Ages; 'Norgesveldet', Occasional Papers No. 2*, ed. by Steinar Imsen (Trondheim: Tapir Akademisk Forlag), 57–75.

OS: Ordnance Survey.

OSA: *The [Old] Statistical Account of Scotland* 1791–99 (Edinburgh; reissued county by county in 20 volumes, with new introductions, 1978); online at 'The Statistical Accounts of Scotland 1791–1845', <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>; references are to the digitised original volumes; see also *NSA* above.

OSNB: Ordnance Survey Object Name Books: the unpublished place-name data from which the OS 6 inch 1st edn maps were created, with variants, names of informants, and descriptions and discussions of objects; online as a subscription resource at <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/>; on microfilm in NAS West Register House, Edinburgh; in the library of RCAHMS, Edinburgh.

Owen, Olwyn, 2012, 'Things in the Viking World – an introduction', in *Things in the Viking World*, ed. by Olwyn Owen (Lerwick: Shetland Amenity Trust), 4-29.

Papar Project: The Papar Project, online at <http://paparproject.org.uk/>.

PNF1–5: Taylor, Simon, with Gilbert Márkus, 2006–2012, *The Place-Names of Fife*, 5 vols (Donington: Shaun Tyas).

PNI: The Place-Names of Northern Ireland, searchable online database at <http://www.placenamesni.org/>.

PoMS: People of Medieval Scotland 1093–1314, 'Headline forms of Gaelic names', <http://www.poms.ac.uk/information/editorial-information/headline-forms-of-gaelic-names/>.

Poole, Russell, 2005, 'Metre and Metrics', in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. by Rory McTurk (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 265–84.

RCAHMS: Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.

RCAHMS 1980: *Argyll: an inventory of the ancient monuments. Vol. 3, Mull, Tiree, Coll & Northern Argyll (excluding the early medieval & later monuments of Iona)* (Edinburgh: RCAHMS 1980).

Rekdal, Jan Erik, 2004, 'Vikings and Saints—Encounters *Vestan um Haf*', *Peritia* 17–8, 256–75.

——, 2014, 'Pagan Myth and Christian Doctrine', in *Celtic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800–1200*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill), 109–18.

Retours *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum, quae in publicis archivis Scotiae adhuc servantur, Abbreviatio*, ed. by Thomas Thomson, 3 vols (Edinburgh 1811–1816).

Ritchie, Anna, 1993, *Viking Scotland* (repr. 1996 London: B T Batsford Ltd).

Rixson, Denis, 2010, 'The Shadow of "Onomastic Graffiti" ', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 4, 131-58.

RMS: *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*, ed. by John Maitland Thomson *et al.* (Edinburgh 1882–1914).

Robertson, E. William, 1862, *Scotland under her Early Kings: A History of the Kingdom to the Close of the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas).

Robertson, Rev. C. M., 1897–98, 'Topography and Traditions of Eigg', *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 22, 193–210.

Roy: The Military Survey of Scotland, 1747–55, supervised by William Roy; fair copy (for 'northern' Scotland) and protracted copy (for southern Scotland) printed in *The Great Map: the Military Survey of Scotland 1747–55: William Roy*, with introductory essays by Yolande Hodson, Chris Tabraham and Charles Withers (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007); online at <http://maps.nls.uk/roy/index.html>.

RPS: *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707,* ed. by K.M. Brown *et al.* (St Andrews, 2007-2015), <http://www.rps.ac.uk/>.

RSS: *Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scottorum*, ed. by Matthew Livingstone (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House 1908–).

Russell, Paul, 1990, *Celtic Word-Formation: the Velar Suffixes* (Dublin: DIAS).

——, 2001, 'Patterns of Hypocorisms in Early Irish Hagiography', in *Studies in Irish Hagiography: Saints and Scholars*, ed. by John Carey, Máire Herbert and Pádraig Ó Riain (Dublin: Four Courts), 237–249.

Rygh: Rygh, Oluf, 1901, *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne* (Kristiania: W.C. Fabricius); searchable online database currently covering volumes 1 through 12, 14, 15 and 17 at <http://www.dokpro.uio.no/rygh_ng/rygh_form.html>.

Saga Map: Lethbridge, Emily, 'Icelandic Saga Map', <http://sagamap.hi.is/is/>.

Sandnes, Berit, 2010, 'From Starafjall to Starling Hill: An investigation of the formation and development of Old Norse place-names in Orkney', Scottish Place-Name Society ebook, <http://www.spns.org.uk/Starafjall.pdf>.

Sellar, W. D. H., 1966, 'The origins and ancestry of Somerled', *The Scottish Historical Review* 45, 123–42.

SGDS: Ó Dochartaigh, Cathair, ed., 1994-7, *Survey of the Gaelic dialects of Scotland: questionnaire materials collected for the Linguistic Survey of Scotland*, 5 vols (Dublin: DIAS).

Sharpe, Richard, 1995, ed. and trans., *Adomnán of Iona: Life of St Columba* (London: Penguin).

——, 2000, 'The thriving of Dalriada', in *Kings, Clerics and Chronicles in Scotland, 500–1297*, ed. by Simon Taylor (Dublin: Four Courts), 47–61.

Shennan, Hay, 1892, *Boundaries of Counties and Parishes of Scotland* (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons); online at <http://www.scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/published-gazetteers-and-atlases/hay-shennan-county-and-parish-boundaries-1892>.

Shiels, Jenny, 2006, Treasure Trove Artefact Report, Case TT.5/06 (Bronze pectoral crucifix from Callachally Farm, Mull).

SIFSS: 'Soil Information for Scottish Soils | SIFSS - The James Hutton Institute', web interface with searchable map function based on data collected on Scotland's soils by The James Hutton Institute and predecessor organisations since the 1940s; <http://sifss.hutton.ac.uk/index.php>.

SLCFA: Bibby, J. S., G. Hudson and D. J. Henderson, 1982, *Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture: Western Scotland. Handbook to accompany the 1:250 000 scale Soil and Land Capability for Agriculture maps, Sheet 4* (Aberdeen: The Macaulay Institute for Soil Research); online at <http://www.soils-scotland.gov.uk/documents/19141006_42-WESTERN_SCOTLAND_SHEET_4.PDF>.

Small, Alan, 1976, 'Norse Settlement in Skye', in *Les Vikings et Leur Civilisation* (Paris: École des Hautes en Sciences Sociales & Mouton and Co.), 30–37.

Smith, A. H., 1956, *English Place-Name Elements*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; English Place-Name Society vols 25–26).

Smyth, Alfred P., 1984, *Warlords and Holy Men, Scotland AD 800–1000* (London: Edward Arnold; repr. Edinburgh 1998).

SND: *Scottish National Dictionary*, ed. by William Grant *et al.* (1931–76); Modern Scots 1700–2005; online at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/>; see also *DOST*, above.

Stahl, Anke-Beate, 1999, 'Place-Names of Barra in the Outer Hebrides' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh).

——, 2000, 'Norse in the Place-Names of Barra', *Northern Studies* 35, 95–112.

——, 2004, 'Guide to Scandinavian origins of place names in Britain', OS ebook, <http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/docs/ebooks/guide-to-scandinavian-origins-of-place-names.pdf>.

Stephenson, David, 2011, *Mull and Iona A Landscape Fashioned by Geology* (Perth: Scottish Natural Heritage | Dualchas Nàdair na h-Alba).

Stokes, Whitley, 1907, 'The Stowe Glossaries', *Archiv für celtische Lexikographie* 3, 268-89.

Strachan, John, 1904, 'Anecdoton', *Ériu* i, 122.

TAD: Tobar an Dualchais/Kist o Riches, <http://www.tobarandualchais.co.uk/>.

Taylor, Iain, 2011, *Place-Names of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Birlinn).

Taylor, Simon, 1995, 'The Scandinavians in Fife and Kinross: the Onomastic Evidence', in *Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain*, ed. by Barbara E. Crawford (Leicester University Press), 141–67.

——, 1999, 'Seventh-Century Iona Abbots in Scottish Place-Names', in *Spes Scotorum: Hope of Scots. Saint Columba, Iona and Scotland*, ed. by Dauvit Broun and Thomas Owen Clancy (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 35–70.

——, 2000, 'Columba east of Drumalban: some aspects of the cult of Columba in eastern Scotland', *Innes Review* 51 (2), 109–30.

——, 2004, 'Scandinavians in Central Scotland—*Bý*-place-names and their Context', in *Sagas, Saints and Settlements* (Leiden: Brill), ed. by Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire, 125–45.

——, 2005, 'Guide to Gaelic origins of place names in Britain', OS ebook, <http://www.ordnancesurvey.co.uk/docs/ebooks/guide-to-gaelic-origins-of-place-names.pdf>.

——, 2007, '*Sliabh* in Scottish Place-Names: its meaning and chronology', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 1, 99–136.

——, 2009, 'Place-Names of Lesmahagow', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 3, 65–106.

——, 2009a, 'Ayrshire Place-Names: a rich seam still to mine', *Ayrshire Notes* 38 (Autumn 2009), 4–18.

Tempan, Paul, 2009, 'Close-Compounds in Irish Place-names', in *A Land that Lies Westward. Language and Culture in Islay and Argyll*, ed. by J. Derrick McClure, John M. Kirk and Margaret Storrie (Edinburgh: John Donald), 62–78.

Thomas, Sarah Elizabeth, 2008, 'From Rome to 'the ends of the habitable world': the provision of clergy and church buildings in the Hebrides, circa 1266 to circa 1472.' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow).

Thomson: Thomson, John, 1824, *Northern Part of Argyll Shire* (Edinburgh: John Thomson & Co.); NLS EMS.s.712(17); online at <http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/thomson/506.html>.

Toner, Gregory, 1999, 'The Definite Article in Irish Place-Names', *Nomina* 22, 5–24.

TYGD: *Teach Yourself Gaelic Dictionary*, ed. by Boyd Robertson and Ian MacDonald (London: Hodder Arnold, 2004).

VC   *Adomnán's Life of Columba*, ed. and trans. by A. O. and M. O. Anderson (rev. edn Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

Watson, William J., 1904, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty* (Inverness: The Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Company, Limited).

——, 1905, 'Tara', *The Celtic Review* 1, 286.

——, 1907, '*Innis* in Place-Names', *The Celtic Review* 3, 239–242.

——, 1922, 'Introduction', in Macbain (1922), v–xxix; see above.

——, 1927, 'Vernacular Gaelic in the Book of the Dean of Lismore', in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* 31, 259–89.

——, 2002, *Scottish Place-Name Papers* (London and Edinburgh: Steve Savage).

Waugh, Doreen, 1987, 'The Scandinavian Element *Staðir* in Caithness, Orkney and Shetland', *Nomina* 11, 61–74.

Whaley, Diana, 2005, 'Skaldic Poetry', in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. by Rory McTurk (Malden, Oxford and Carlton: Blackwell Publishing Ltd), 479–502.

Whyte, Alasdair C., 2014, 'Gruline, Mull, and Other Inner Hebridean *Things*', *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 8, 115–52.

Williams, Gareth, 2004, 'Land Assessment and the Silver Economy of Norse Scotland', in *Sagas, Saints and Settlements*, ed. by Gareth Williams and Paul Bibire (Leiden: Brill), 65–104.

Williamson, Eila, 2015, ' 'hence the name': Berwickshire parishes along the Anglo-Scottish Border as described in the Ordnance Survey Name Books', *The Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 9, 83–96.

Williamson, May G., 1942, 'The Non-Celtic Place-Names of the Scottish Border Counties' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh); online at <http://www.spns.org.uk/MayWilliamsonComplete.pdf>; page references relate to the digitised version.

Withers: Withers, Charles W J, 'A Vision of Scotland: Joan Blaeu and the *Atlas novus*', NLS, 'Blaeu Atlas of Scotland - Maps - National Library of Scotland', <http://maps.nls.uk/atlas/blaeu/vision_of_scotland.html>.

Woolf, Alex, 2002, 'Amlaíb Cuarán and the Gael, 941–81', in *Medieval Dublin III: proceedings of the Friends of Medieval Dublin Symposium 2001*, ed. by Seán Duffy (Dublin: Four Courts), 34–44.

——, 2003, 'The Diocese of the Suðreyar', in *Ecclesia Nidrosiensis 1153–1537*, ed. by Steinar Imsen (Trondheim: Tapir Akademisk Forlag), 171–81.

——, 2004, 'The Age of Sea-Kings: 900–1300', in *The Argyll Book*, ed. by Donald Omand (repr. 2006 Edinburgh: Birlinn), 85–109.

——, 2005, 'The origins and ancestry of Somerled: Gofraid mac Fergusa and the Annals of the Four Masters', *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 15, 199–213.

——, 2007, *From Pictland to Alba 789-1070* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).

Zoëga: Zoëga, Geir T., 1910, *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press); online at <http://norse.ulver.com/dct/zoega/>.

1:250,000 Soil Map: Soil map of Scotland at a scale of 1:250,000, <http://www.soils-scotland.gov.uk/data/soil-survey>; created by the Macaulay Institute for Soil Research (now part of The James Hutton Institute) and based on data collected between 1947 and 1981; as it covers the entire country, its main use is in providing national, regional or catchment inventories of basic soil types and their principal properties.