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Theory and Practice in the Coining and Transmission of Place-Names: A Study of the Norse and Gaelic Anthropo-Toponyms of Lewis

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Abstract

The study of place-names containing personal names is a neglected field in onomastics, despite being of great significance in various areas of name-studies. At its core, this thesis will begin to bridge the gap between the study of place-names and personal names, both practically and theoretically. The first step is to introduce a formally accepted terminology for the study of these names. Here, the term used to describe a place-name containing a personal name is anthropo-toponym. The acknowledgement of such a term would aid and indeed encourage future studies of anthropo-toponyms, both in Scotland and elsewhere. The study is approached through a close investigation of name material from the Isle of Lewis. The toponyms in question are characterised by two main linguistic layers, Old Norse and Scottish Gaelic, both of which have been included here. Although this material is partially an exercise in investigating the characteristics and properties of anthropo-toponyms, it also sheds considerable light on the social and linguistic history of Lewis place-names. Additionally, the study draws on a considerable amount of comparative evidence. This is primarily collected from the comprehensive survey of *The Place-Names of Fife* by Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus (2006-12). However, when studying the Norse dimension further, material from *Landnámabók,* one of the key sources for the medieval settlement of Iceland, has also been included.

One of the most significant proposals made in this thesis is the concept of using a variant of the name-semantic approach, previously discussed by Peder Gammeltoft (2001a) in a Scottish context. At its core, this means that rather than emphasising the etymology of individual place-name elements, the motivation for coining is emphasised. It will become evident that using this approach makes it possible to view anthropo-toponyms in a different light. Through this method, we find that there is considerable variety to be found within the name-material, particularly when we look at the social and cognitive factors at play when place-names are coined and transmitted. Place-names that, on the surface appear to be relatively homogenous, can prove to be the opposite. For example, names such as *Creagan Iain Ruaidh, Geodha Bean, Mhurchaidh, Stac Dhomhnuill Chaim* and *Tigh Mhaoldònuich*, which are all coined in a comparable social Gaelic setting in the early modern period, appear to represent motivations relating to a birth, a drowning, the abode of a notorious outlaw, and the temporary hideout of a sheep thief respectively. By emphasising these micro-narratives, it is possible to shed light on the name material from a new perspective and to provide a greater understanding of the process of coining place-names.

Acknowledgements

Contents

Abbreviations

AÀA. 2006-. *Ainmean-Àite na h-Alba* <http://www.gaelicplacenames.org/>

AntClas Category in the proposed classification of anthropo-toponyms (see 5.2)

CEBL Comann Eachdraidh Sgìre Bheàrnaraigh

CECL Comunn Eachdraidh Cheann a' Loch

Cl.-Vig. Cleasby, R. & Vigfusson, G. 1874. *An Icelandic-English Dictionary* (Oxford).

DoSH Butter, R., Clancy, T.O. & Márkus, G. 2010-3. 'Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names' <http://www.saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/>

en existing name

EvClas evidence class (1.4.4.3)

fr. from. Used in Cox (1987a & 1987b).

G Scottish Gaelic

GPNC Cox, R.A.V. 2002. *The Gaelic Place-Names of Carloway: Their Structure and Significance* (Dublin).

HC Hebridean Connections <http://www.hebrideanconnections.com>

hc hypocoristic

ln. loan-name. Used in Cox (1987a & b).

LNB Landnámabók, The Book of Settlements, here based on the edition by Benediktsson, J. 1986. *Íslendingabók: Landnámabók* (Reykjavík).

NG Rygh, O. 1999 [1897-1924]. *Norske Gaardnavne*, Dokumentasjons-prosjektet <http://www.dokpro.uio.no/rygh_ng/rygh_felt.html> (Norway).

NID Lind, E.H. 1905-15. *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn från Medeltiden / samlade ock utgivna av E. H. Lind* (Uppsala).

ODS Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1918-56. *Dictionary of the Danish Language* <http://ordnet.dk/ods>.

OED c2000-. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford).

OG Old Gaelic

OIr Old Irish

ON Old Norse

OS Ordnance Survey MasterMap

OS1 Ordnance Survey 1st six-inch maps

OSA The [Old] Statistical Account of Scotland 1791–9. (Edinburgh).

OSNB The 1st edition Ordnance Survey Name Books of Ross and Cromarty 1848-52. ScotlandsPlaces <https://scotlandsplaces.gov.uk/digital-volumes/ordnance-survey-name-books/ross-and-cromarty-os-name-books-1848-1852>

pn personal name

PNF Taylor, S. with Márkus, G. 2006-12. *The Place-Names of Fife* (Donington).

PNKNR Taylor, S., with McNiven, P. & Williamson, E. 2017. *The Place-Names of Kinross-shire* (Donington).

s surname

Sc Scots

SSE Scottish Standard English

tn transferred name

Glossary

Anthropo-toponym a toponym containing an anthroponym

Hagiotoponym a toponym containing a saint's name

obsolete name

* reconstructed name

Scale of certainty
(see 1.3.2.3) a. Certain b. Probable c. Maybe d. Unlikely e. Rejected

Note on alphabetical order
Each entry presented in the data-sets (2.1, 3.1, Appendix 1 and Appendix 2) is listed alphabetically by its head-form according to the specific element which represents/potentially represents a personal name or an individual as given in the head-form. Where relevant, genitival and any other initial mutation is ignored and the personal name formation is alphabetically listed according to its nominative form. If several entries have the same personal name, they are alphabetically listed according to the first generic element present in the formation. Each personal name-formation which refers to an individual is treated as one unit. Hence, a name like *Geodha **Bean Mhurchaidh*** is listed under B, referring to *Bean Mhurchaidh* ('the wife of *Murchadh*'). Further details on alphabetical order can be found in 1.4.4.1.

List of figures, tables and illustrations

Chapter 1 Making a case for anthropo-toponymy

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Anthropo-toponyms?

Toponyms containing personal names, or anthropo-toponyms as they will be referred to here, form some of our most intriguing onomastic material. As humans, we inevitably seek to link ourselves to the landscape around us. One of the most obvious ways of doing this is to use the name of a person to create a name for a place, giving formations like **Anna's Farm* or **John's Stream*. In fact, some of the most fascinating toponyms in world history are anthropo-toponyms. Therefore I shall begin this study with two examples which may seem entirely arbitrary for the purpose of studying Lewis toponyms. However, it will become obvious as the discussion progresses that this is not only a study of Lewis, but the first step towards greater recognition of the importance of anthropo-toponyms in onomastic studies. As humans studying this subject, as our horizons continue to broaden, we discover that we do not even need to confine our research to Planet Earth in order to find relevant material. Many of the toponyms given to features on Mars are in fact anthropo-toponyms, an example being *Lockyer Land*, the former name of the *Hellas* basin, named after the English astronomer J. Norman Lockyer (Sheehan 1996, 54). Rather closer to home, one of the most famously known stories of a place receiving the name of its founder is *Rome* which, according to the legend, was named after Romulus after he had killed his twin brother, Remus (Fraschetti 2005, 30-1). Although it is more likely that the actual etymology of the name is to be found in the Etruscan name for the Tiber River, *Rumon* (Kamusella 2009, 974), as we shall see, this does not mean that such instances of perceived anthropo-toponyms are of no relevance here. In my conclusion, I will return to these examples and demonstrate how they fit into the wider context of name-studies. From an onomastic perspective, anthropo-toponyms can be said to be stuck in a limbo, belonging somewhere between toponomastics and anthroponomastics, not quite belonging firmly in either branch of onomastics. For example, it is worth noting that in Scotland there is only a society for Scottish place-names (SPNS), but none for personal names. In this thesis, I will argue that in order to fully understand anthropo-toponyms, it is necessary to combine aspects of both. Additionally, anthropo-toponyms are poorly understood as linguistic expressions, both theoretically and empirically and it is obvious that further research is needed.

1.1.2 Aims

The aims of this study are twofold and the research questions can be divided into two key areas:

1. What are the defining characteristics of anthropo-toponyms and how should the study of these names be approached methodologically?
2. What is the nature of anthropo-toponyms of Norse and Gaelic origin found on the Isle of Lewis and does the name-material there show any distinctive naming-patterns compared to other areas of Scotland?

In order to tackle the first question, this study will propose a framework for the study of anthropo-toponyms. This means undertaking a thorough investigation of the properties of the anthropo-toponym as a linguistic expression. It also includes evaluating and adapting previously used methodologies in order to better suit the data presented here. The proposal of a classification of anthropo-toponyms is one of the focal points. I will argue that in order to efficiently study anthropo-toponyms it is necessary to adopt a variant of the name-semantic approach where, rather than studying the etymology of individual place-name elements, the motivations for naming and transmission are emphasised (see 1.2.4-5). In doing this, I also seek to begin bridging the gap between anthroponymy and toponymy in Scottish onomastics. To answer the second research question, the study will provide a detailed analysis of the anthropo-toponyms found on the Isle of Lewis. This material, consisting of some 470 entries, will form the basis for the study along with a comparative survey into anthropo-toponyms found in Fife (see 4.1). With its unique cultural and linguistic environment, Lewis provides an excellent starting point for a survey of the characteristics of anthropo-toponyms. There are reasons to believe that, in the context of anthropo-toponyms, Lewis may reflect a distinct naming-environment in terms of function and motivations for the coining of names. As outlined in the research questions above, this statement will be further elaborated and evaluated throughout the study.

1.1.3 Historical background

The settlement of the Isle of Lewis, forming the north-westernmost island of the Hebridean coast of Scotland, for the purpose of the material studied here, can be largely defined in terms of two distinct cultural and linguistic periods: Norse and Gaelic. It will become evident throughout that, for the purposes of this study, the differences between the two

phases make it appropriate to tackle them separately, as two distinct sets of data. We shall begin with the Norse settlement. Toponyms coined by speakers of Norse form a large portion of the data presented here. This linguistic layer of toponyms is closely related to the influx of Norse settlers in Britain and Ireland during what can be broadly defined as the 'Viking Age' of 750-1100 (Jesch 2015, 7). Although Lewis would not have been uninhabited before the arrival of the Norse, there is very little linguistic evidence for the pre-existing population,[1] and they have not left any prominent marks in surviving anthropo-toponyms. Nevertheless, during the period of Norse settlement, it is clear that Lewis was of some significance in the wider Scandinavian world: the situation of the Scottish Hebrides 'along the coasts and beside the developing sea routes made Scandinavian Scotland central to the Viking diaspora and some of the main nodes in the social, cultural and economic networks of this diaspora are in this region' (Jesch 2015, 25). In contrast to the Danelaw in northern England, the settlers here appear to have originated from a largely Norwegian background: 'the place-names reflect what is, of course, indicated by all other sources, that the settlers came from the western littoral of the Norwegian coast. They point in particular to the coastal districts north of Bergen (Sogn and Fjordane) and south of Trondheim (Møre and South Trøndelag)' (Crawford 1995, 115). Although the Norse material is now largely transmitted through a lens of Scottish Gaelic, the onomastic material is arguably the most valuable evidence for the Norse in Lewis.

The official mark of the shift from a Norse power in the Hebrides is in 1266 with the Treaty of Perth where control over the Isles was ceded to the king of Scots (Brown 2004, 84). This marks the beginning of the rise of the prominent clans of Lewis, several of which had retained a strong Norse heritage, such as the Macleods for whom MacKenzie (1903, 56) summarised: 'the weight of the evidence in support of a Scandinavian origin of the clan is overwhelming. [There are] such purely Norse names as Torquil and Tormod, which persist among the Macleods to the present day'. Throughout this period, Scottish Gaelic remained the spoken language, and the language used in the coining of toponyms. However, Richard Cox (2002, 8), discussing the current language situation in Lewis, states that:

> there are no monoglot Gaelic speakers […] The presence of a small number of non-Gaelic speakers is to some extent a deleterious factor on the use of Gaelic. A more imposing determinant regarding the frequency with which English is spoken is that it is the language of status. Historically the bulk of education and the media has been in English, and developments over the last few decades in

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[1] For some discussion on exceptions, cf. Cox (2002, 111-8)

these respects have have not yet had much impact on the level of confidence in the use of Gaelic.

This has also caused a significant loss of oral tradition, which further emphasises the importance of recording and studying the last lingering remnants of what once formed a considerable body of local tradition and lore.

1.2 The role of anthropo-toponymy in onomastics

1.2.1 Anthropo-toponymy

1.2.1.1 Terminology

The term anthropo-toponym is not a widely used one, particularly not in a Scottish context. Partially, this can be viewed as a reflection of the lack of detailed studies in this area and I know of no onomastic studies in Britain and Ireland, or elsewhere in the North Atlantic, which have adopted this term. It is worth noting that it is not included in the list of onomastic terms provided by the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS 2010-). The term anthropo-toponym (or anthropotoponym) is not a new one, but has seldom been used extensively in scholarship, and certainly not within the sphere of Scottish onomastic studies. Some publications in English have used the term to a limited extent,[2] but the term does also appear in various other languages, including Portugese and French,[3] as *antropotôponimo* and *anthropotoponyme*, which appear to be somewhat more frequently used. The major onomastic studies considered here all have their own ways of approaching anthropo-toponyms, generally without allowing them a central role, and they are variously referred to as 'personal names identified in place-names' (Taylor 2012, 536), 'personal names in the nomenclature' (Cox 2002, 88), or the rather more elaborate explanation: 'The location is characterised by its association with a person or a group of people. The specifics of this sub-category are always either personal names or appellatives which denote a person or a group of persons' (Gammeltoft 2001a, 219). Clearly, in a study dealing exclusively with toponyms of the various denotations outlined above, it is necessary to adopt a more coherent, manageable terminology. It is on this basis that the decision has been made to adopt the term 'anthropo-toponym' and it will be used to refer to toponyms containing a personal name.

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[2] For example, see Shamsutdinova, J. Kh. & Urazmetova, A.V. 2017. 'Principles of Place Names Classifications', *XLinguae* 10: 26-33.

[3] Examples include publications such as: Barretto de Almeida Costa, A., Trindade Costa de Seabra, M.C. & Duarte dos Santos, M.M. 2015. 'Nomes de Lugar na Dinâmica do Antigo Regime: Antropotopônimos em Minas Gerais, Séc. XVIII', *Revista de Ciências Humanas*, *Viçosa* 14: 500-515; Mazet-Harhoff, L. 2003. 'Sur la Trace des Vikings en Haute-Normandie: Problématique' Flambard Héricher, A-M. (ed.) *La Progression des Vikings, Des Raids à la Colonisation* (Université de Rouen, Normandy), 130; Renaud, J. 2003. 'La Toponymie Normanique: Reflet d'une colonisation' *La Progression des Vikings*, 192, 194, 197-200.

1.2.1.2 Scottish toponymics and anthropo-toponyms

Toponyms in Scotland have often been compared to their English counterparts. However, unlike Scotland, English toponyms have been extensively studied in *The Survey of English Place-Names* (1925-present) and an increasing need for large-scale, comprehensive studies of Scottish toponyms has become ever-more obvious. Fortunately, in recent years, significant progress has been made within the field of Scottish onomastics and there has been an upsurge of interest in the field. This is primarily due to an increase in the awareness of the necessity to undertake detailed surveys of Scottish toponyms as well as improvements in technology making these surveys possible. Here the greatest progress can be seen in the *Place-Names of Fife* volumes (2006-12) (henceforth *PNF*) by Simon Taylor with Gilbert Márkus, *The Place-Names of Bute* (2012) by Márkus, and the Scottish Typonymy in Transition (STIT) project (Thomas Clancy et al. 2011-4). This development reflects a need to extensively survey the Scottish landscape in order to create an accurate picture of what toponyms can reveal with regard to language, culture and society. In addition to technological advances, this development can be attributed to a number of factors such as greater public interest and the realisation of the problems faced when conclusions are drawn on the basis of insufficient or incorrect data. For example, W.F.H. Nicolaisen's (2001 [1976], 114, 115, 121) early maps outlining the distribution of generic elements of Scandinavian origin such as *staðir, setr* and *bólstaðr* drew major conclusions regarding the nature of Norse settlement. However, by his own acknowledgement, these conclusions have in several aspects been found lacking (Nicolaisen 2011 [1989], 209-17). In light of this, it is positive that significant steps are being taken towards more comprehensive studies of the toponyms of Scotland, with current projects leading the way for future studies, which will result in a more extensive coverage and in turn improve analyses and the understanding of Scottish toponyms. Perhaps most significant here are the *PNF* volumes which provide a detailed survey of the toponyms of Fife and have set a starting point for an expansion of county-wide surveys in Scotland. They stand out due to the scope and level of detail of the investigation and set a new benchmark in the study of toponyms in Scotland. Following on from *PNF*, the next step has been the creation of STIT (Clancy et al. 2011-4) which endeavours to produce a number of additional county surveys. This has most recently resulted in the creation of the *Place-Names of Kinross-shire* (henceforth *PNKNR*), which is closely modelled on *PNF* (Taylor, McNiven & Williamson 2017, xi). What is notable here is the creation of data-sets that are comparable to each other in terms of methodologies and the level of coverage, creating greater

opportunities in the future for country-wide comparative investigations. This is emphasised by the creation of a template for the layout of entries in toponymic surveys (Taylor 2016, 76-83).

For our purposes, the question that arises is: what is the role of anthropo-toponyms in these studies? The general answer is that they are a crucial part of these studies and form a major part of the data investigated, but that linguistically, culturally, and methodologically they are often confined to the periphery and are treated as being no different from other toponyms. Additionally, there is often an assumption in British and Scandinavian scholarship that the presence of a personal name automatically indicates some type of ownership-motivation, particularly in the context of Norse names. Perhaps most significantly, Nicolaisen makes several assumptions regarding the association between anthropo-toponyms and ownership, as evidenced by statements such as 'Scandinavian personal names also occur with our element [*tūn*] […] these and others not listed here are not indicative of any large-scale Scandinavian settlement in the region, but only imply individual ownership by people with Scandinavian names' (Nicolaisen 2001 [1976], 48). Additionally, covering one of the key entries presented in this study (*Eòropaidh*) he states that:

> there is evidence of permanent settlement in names like Bosta 'farm' and Habost 'high farm'. Such farms seem to have been owned privately and individually, as many names with personal names as their first elements testify, like Swanibost 'Sveini's farm', Tolsta 'Tholf's farm', Grimshader 'Grim's farm', and others. Female ownership is not excluded, if the explanation of Eoropie as "Jorunn's farm" is correct (Nicolaisen 2001 [1976], 125).

With regard to eastern England, Gillian Fellows-Jensen (1994, 21) has argued that:

> In the Danelaw proper, however, the tenth-century defeats suffered by the Danes at the hands of the English seem to have made it more difficult for the Danish leaders to retain control over their landsmen and these began to split up the large estates into small independent units to which they marked their rights of ownership by giving them names consisting of their own forenames plus -*bý*.

Some observations are more brief, such as the statement by Berit Sandnes (2010, 88) that: 'Personal names in *Quoyhenry* and *Dicksquoy* indicate ownership'. Similarly, Judith Jesch (2015, 45) states that: 'they [toponyms] can be named after a person, in which case we often assume that this reflects some kind of ownership of the site'. Although these conclusions may be correct in many cases, we should be careful of making such

assumptions without considering the wider context of anthropo-toponyms. There are numerous instances of similar sentiments expressed where anthropo-toponyms are concerned, but I believe that these examples sufficiently prove that there are certain assumptions commonly made regarding the association between ownership and anthropo-toponyms. Gammeltoft (2001a, 219) arguably provides the most nuanced summary of motivations found in anthropo-toponyms, stating that when a 'location is characterised by its association with a person or a group of people […] they [the relationships of this category] will most often be that of ownership, association of a permanent, occasional, or momentary nature, or of origination at a location. An event in which a person has been involved may also have motivated the naming. The affiliation may be historical or fictional'. However, as discussed in 1.2.4, his name-semantic classification does not fully reflect the varieties implied in such a statement and shows that further discussion on the subject is needed. Based on this, the aim of this study will partially be to demonstrate that large-scale studies of Scottish toponyms can be enriched by further investigating the anthropo-toponymic dimension in these surveys.

Additionally, it is important to note that onomastic studies in Scotland have largely been framed within the context of historical studies, with the result that the aims of these studies have primarily been characterised by the approaches used in that field. Noël Hume (1964, 214-25) famously argued that archaeology is a 'Handmaiden to History' and it could be argued that, at least in the past, Scottish onomastics have been confined to a similar role. In the context of toponymic studies, the scholarship of G.W.S. Barrow provides an excellent case in point, showing the close relationship between onomastics and history in Scotland. In his discussion on 'The Pattern of Settlement' during the *Anglo-Norman Era* Barrow aimed to investigate 'how far the existing native population was displaced or dispossessed by Anglo-Norman settlement' in Southern Scotland (Barrow 1980, 32). In the introduction, the narrative was clearly set out in a historical context, exclusively referring to the historical evidence found in charters and other documents (Barrow 1980, 30-2). However, in the ensuing survey, he largely based his conclusions on onomastic evidence, concluding that 'The leading men in this process can be judged, from their personal names or from more specific evidence, to have come from Norman England or from the continent. But the linguistic usage by which the names of their settlements have become embedded in the Scottish landscape was already, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a Middle-English or Anglo-Scandinavian usage' (Barrow 1980, 48). This example shows the prominent role onomastics has to play in this type of study. Therefore a greater emphasis should be placed

on considering the linguistic and anthropological dimension of naming, and onomastics should not be driven by the agenda of history. Rather, by allowing the name-material to guide the research questions, emphasising its linguistic and cultural context, it is possible to utilise the available data more efficiently.

1.2.1.3 Hagiotoponyms

One of the areas where anthropo-toponyms have frequently been considered is the study of saints and hagiotoponyms (a toponym containing a saint's name). In fact, one might argue that within a Scottish context, this is where the study of anthropo-toponyms has come relatively far in comparison with its non-ecclesiastic counterparts. This is particularly the case in terms of methodology and critical investigation. Several recent studies have been able to shed significant light on the context of coining and transmitting hagiotoponyms by using detailed, qualitative approaches and viewing the evidence critically. A notable example of this is the research by Fiona Edmonds (2009; 2013) who has been able to demonstrate that there are a variety of social contexts that can give rise to saints' cults and has been able to outline some of the specific routes by which these cults are spread. For example, she convincingly argues for the idea that 'Scandinavian colonists developed an affinity with certain saints in Gaelic-speaking territories and subsequently influenced the cults of saints who were venerated elsewhere in the Scandinavian colonies and in the Scandinavian homelands' through a detailed investigation of the cults of St Sanctán and and St Brigit around the Cumberland coast and north of the Solway Firth (Edmonds 2013, 45-61). Several similar small-scale intensive studies have been undertaken, a further example being the study of St Mocha by Márkus (2008, 71-8), who argues that the *Bal-* of *Balmaha* should be interpreted as containing G *bealach* 'a passage' rather than G *baile* 'a town', resulting in 'the pass of St Mocha', a conclusion drawn from the careful consideration of the historical and social context of the name. Although this does not change the name's status as a hagiotoponym, there is no doubt that a consideration of the generic is often just as important to the analysis of an anthropo-toponym as the specific. The incorporation of a saint's name into a toponym with *baile* or *bealach* is likely to reflect considerably different motivations for coining, some of which will be explored below (see 4.3). This example further demonstrates the significance of critically reviewing the evidence in order to advance this type of study and shows the importance of onomastics in increasing our understanding of Scotland's social and religious past. Finally, perhaps the most significant progress within the study of Scottish hagiotoponyms in recent years is the

'Commemorations of Saints in Scottish Place-Names' project which has resulted in the creation of a database of Scottish hagiotoponyms (DoSH) (Butter, Clancy & Márkus 2010-3). This database has identified and recorded all hagiotoponyms and their respective saints found in the Ordnance Survey 1st edition six-inch maps (henceforth OS1), resulting in a corpus of 'over 5000 places, 13,000 place-names, and some 750 saints potentially commemorated in these names' (DoSH). Clancy (2014, 7) states that:

> The main aims of the project were to gather into a fully accessible online database all the hagiotoponyms of Scotland, subject them to linguistic and historical analysis, and identify to the best of our abilities the saints involved in the names. Important to us has been the ability to see the point at which certain place-names emerge in the record of the landscape.

In addition to the obvious benefits of a database fully dedicated to studying hagiotoponyms, such a study has necessitated the development of methodological and analytical tools, particularly suitable for the study of the names in question. One example of this is a common problem facing onomasticians, particularly when dealing with complex data; namely how to tackle toponyms where a definite etymology cannot be firmly established. This has been solved by providing a scale of certainty where the likelihood of various aspects are considered, including certainty about whether the name represents a saint, whether the saint in question can be identified, and whether the location of the place is certain. Considering these factors, the entries have been classified as certain, probable, maybe, or doubtful (DoSH). The consideration of problems of this nature is a step in the right direction for the wider analysis of anthropo-toponyms. It is significant to note here that what is generally not considered in these studies is the fact that hagiotoponyms should technically be considered as a sub-branch of anthropo-toponyms. Although they certainly need their own studies, it is worth further considering their role in relation to the wider context of anthropo-toponyms.

1.2.1.4 Legends and folklore

The use of legends and folklore in toponyms has long been acknowledged. The *Dindshenchas* ('the lore of famous places') in Ireland may be one of the most notable examples of such folklore in a wider onomastic context. Described by Donald Meek (1998, 148) as 'a form of popular etymologising which is found in prose and verse forms in the Middle Ages', this certainly has a role to play in the study of mythology and toponyms. Additionally, discussing toponyms in the context of Gaelic ballads, Meek (1998) investigates the different contexts in which folklore can have a close relationship with the

namescape, several of which are relevant here. Firstly, it is necessary to consider that the toponym itself may be the stimulus for the creation and transmission of folklore, particularly in the case of likely re-interpretations. For example, in the case of *Carn Fraoich*:

> Originally it may have meant nothing more than 'Cairn of Heather', since *fraoch* commonly means 'heather' in Gaelic and Irish. However, *fraoch* can also mean 'bristle', which has a secondary meaning of 'rage, anger', making it an appropriate name for a warrior. The possibilities of connecting a simple place-name with a well-named Gaelic warrior will thus be evident. (Meek 1998, 151)

Secondly, he argues that toponyms can provide verisimilitude to a narrative in that they 'could offer a "local focus" for a story, and thus provide affirmation of the indigenous nature of the narrative' or 'to confirm the action of the narrative, not only in terms of its location, but also in terms of prowess of the participant(s).' (Meek 1998, 153, 158) Finally, Meek highlights the importance of recognising the transferrable nature of this type of toponym, a clear example being *Laoidh Fhraoich* ('The Lay of Fraoch') where he discusses the complexities of the transmission of this ballad from Connacht in Ireland to Scotland (Meek 1998, 162-6). More recently, Elizabeth FitzPatrick (2012) has proposed that toponyms associated with Fionn mac Cumhaill may partly stem from the topography of the feature in question. A clear example of this can be found in *Shantemon Lough*, Ireland where '[a] small rock-cut enclosure of unknown antiquity crowns the summit and a stone alignment called "Finn McCool's Fingers" is situated on the northern declivity of the hill' (FitzPatrick 2012, 99-100). The alignment in question draws immediate associations with the fingers of a hand, and must almost certainly account for at least part of this coining. What is significant to note here is that the coining and transmission of these toponyms is still poorly understood and that, although the studies mentioned here provide a starting point, there is still significant work to be done. This study does not strive to provide a key to the complexities of these names. Rather, they will be approached in a similar manner to hagiotoponyms and the aim will be to elucidate their role within the wider study of anthropo-toponyms.

1.2.1.5 Anthroponomy

Carole Hough (2012, 71) states that: 'Research into personal names in Scotland has tended to lag behind other areas of Europe, and indeed other parts of the UK'. However, similarly to toponomastics, anthroponomastics has made significant progress in recent years.

Particularly significant to mention here is the *People of Medieval Scotland* (PoMS) database which 'contains all information that can be assembled about every individual involved in actions in Scotland or relating to Scotland in documents written between the death of Malcolm III on 13 November 1093 and Robert I's parliament at Cambuskenneth on 6 November 1314' (Broun et al. 2007-16). An important point emerges here relating to what has been argued throughout this discussion – it shows that although onomastic scholarship has tended to move from a historical framework to being established as its own field, there is significant overlap between these fields and history and onomastics continue to be successfully interwoven in many ways. The PoMS database forms a resource which is mutually beneficial to onomasticians and historians alike, containing vast amounts of information about both naming patterns and individuals as well as historical narratives and written sources (Broun et al. 2007-16). The database and related publications are centred around six themes 'underpinning our understanding of social identities and relationships: ethnicity, new institutions, status, charters, law and custom.' (Hammond 2013, 4) In addition to this it reflects a wider trend in Scottish historical studies where progress in methodology, scholarship and technology makes large scale studies possible, something that would have been unthinkable only a few years ago (Hammond 2013, 6). Projects of this type are essential to the progression of an understanding of anthropo-toponyms since they provide a greater understanding of the general practices of naming people and places. Naturally, the studies that are now being undertaken are only the beginning of what still needs to be done in other parts of Scotland in order to create a comprehensive coverage of Scottish toponyms. Returning to the arguments put forward above, stating that earlier significant onomastic studies in Scotland were often set within a historical framework, it is clear that in these projects this is not the case and although they are clearly the result of extensive interdisciplinarity, they are very much set within a Scottish onomastic framework. Although history has been, and continues to be an integral part of onomastic studies in Scotland, this brief overview has attempted to demonstrate some of the trends in recent years where an increasing emphasis on onomastics as its own discipline can be seen.

1.2.1.6 Moving forward

The general trends in onomastics reflect a need to put greater emphasis on both large-scale onomastic surveys and more intensive investigations, highlighting the micro-narratives of individual toponyms. Particularly in Scotland, where onomastics is still in its relative infancy compared to many of its European counterparts, there is a great need for further large-scale studies adhering to the methodology and precision of *PNF* (2006-12) and

PNKNR (2017). Additionally, technological advances and a greater interest in Scottish toponyms are making it increasingly possible for more detailed surveys to be undertaken. Nevertheless, both in Scotland and elsewhere, anthropo-toponyms as a sub-branch of onomastics have been seriously overlooked, as highlighted in this introduction. They are often marginalised and as a result, although often playing a central role in toponymics, are not fully understood. It is on this basis that this study will investigate the anthropo-toponyms of various areas in Scotland, primarily those found in Lewis. This will make it possible to create a basis for further studies of this type in Scotland and elsewhere, and to establish the role of anthropo-toponyms in onomastics.

1.2.2 Previous approaches to Lewis anthropo-toponyms

1.2.2.1 Studying Lewis material

One of the main problems faced when attempting to provide an understanding of the history of the Western Isles and a chronology of settlement is the lack of early sources. In fact, as Cox (2002, 8) notes, 'there is a complete lack of early source material for the area, and the starting point is as late as the 16th century'. Therefore it is necessary to rely on later forms with relatively early sources such as Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* (1654) providing various degrees of assistance. Nevertheless, despite being relatively late, the usefulness of the Ordnance Survey Name Books (1848-52) (henceforth OSNB) and their corresponding six-inch 1st edition maps (OS1) should not be underestimated since their scope and detail make them an invaluable source for the study of the toponyms in the area. The accessibility of the OSNB has been significantly increased by their digitisation between 2012 and 2013 by ScotlandsPlaces. Not only does this allow greater opportunities to investigate specific counties but it also increases the possibility for scholars to share methodologies and comparative material in different counties. When studying the OSNB it also becomes obvious that there is an opportunity to look at additional layers of evidence such as the social context of compiling the name books themselves, which is a topic worthy of further study. This has already been addressed by Eila Williamson (2015, 94) who, in relation to the OSNB compiled for Berwickshire, argues that:

> Analysis of annotations to entries and examination of the surviving correspondence reveal that far more can be gained from the Name Books than solely nineteenth-century definitions and understanding of the names themselves, important though these may be. Much can also be learned about the authorities, surveyors and indeed the wider context of the Survey.

Additionally, the lack of extensive early evidence makes it clear that interdisciplinarity is key to the understanding of the cultural and linguistic history of the Western Isles of Scotland and it is vital to utilise all the sources available when faced with a situation like this. Archaeology has in recent years made considerable progress, largely as a result of the work by Rachel Barrowman which recently resulted in the publication of a detailed survey of the area surrounding Dùn Èistean in Ness. The site itself probably reflects a late medieval stronghold closely associated with the MacLeods and she has been able to shed light on life during the end of the Lordship of the Isles in the late fifteenth to early seventeenth centuries (Barrowman 2015, 422). Turning to anthropological studies, Ellen Bramwell's (2007) survey of modern naming-patterns in local communities in Lewis can also provide valuable insights into the naming-patterns of both the past and the present, as further discussed in 2.2.

1.2.2.2 Studying Lewis toponyms

In his study of the toponyms of Bernera, Donald MacAulay (1971-2) covers several significant aspects relating to the study of material in this area, including the categorisation of elements and the interpretation of both Gaelic and Norse names, many of which contain personal names. However, it would not be an understatement to say that by far the most significant contribution to our understanding of Lewis toponyms in recent years has been made by Cox (1987, 2002), particularly in his monumental study of the *Gaelic Place-Names of Carloway* (henceforth *GPNC*) where he aims to 'record the place nomenclature of one particular area and to study its origin, form, structure and chronology, and to draw out any points of cultural, political or socio-economic significance from the names' (Cox 2002, 1). Although focusing primarily on the toponyms in and around Carloway, he provides a significant framework for the study of toponyms in the Western Isles with useful discussions on linguistic interaction between Gaelic and Norse and the interpretation of toponyms in that area (Cox 2002, 2009). Additionally, a greater emphasis on the collection and dissemination of local oral traditions has seen an upsurge in recent years. Most notable here are the collections provided by Hebridean Connections (2017) (henceforth HC), where records collected by various local historical societies have been digitised and made available to the public, and Tobar an Dualchais (2010-present) which 'contains over 38,000 oral recordings made in Scotland and further afield, from the 1930s onwards.'

1.2.3 The Norse dimension

1.2.3.1 Background

The study of the Norse in the North Atlantic during this time-period brings its own issues, often quite distinct from other onomastic areas of investigation in that it is even more essential here to take an interdisciplinary approach, combining aspects of archaeology, textual, linguistic, and comparative evidence, as highlighted in several notable studies of the Norse in the Hebrides by scholars such as Arne Kruse & Andrew Jennings (2009). In their research, they stress the importance of using the combined evidence provided by archaeology, written sources, and toponyms. Additionally, the study of Norse Lewis toponyms is problematic, partially as a result of the names being largely transmitted through a lens of later Gaelic toponyms, as stated above. Nevertheless, significant progress continues to be made in the study of the Norse settlement of Britain. One of the key points here is a greater understanding of the interplay between, and use of, topographical and habitative toponymic elements. Notably, Nicolaisen (2001 [1976], 122) in his monumental study argued that:

> it must be remembered that *dalr* primarily refers to natural features, although
> the name of a valley was quite often, at a later date, transferred to a settlement
> situated in it. A distribution map of *dalr*-names is therefore not a map of
> permanent Norse settlement but rather of the sphere of Norse influence.

However, more recently, Kruse (2004, 105) has highlighted the fact that such assumptions cannot be made for topographical generic elements, stating that:

> One must admit that it is true that *dal* in modern Norwegian means nothing but
> 'valley'. However, one is discussing *names*, not appellatives, and the semantics
> of the name *Dal* in modern Norwegian is not so clear-cut. In Norway today,
> simplex primary topographical names without the definite article like *Dal*, *Nes*,
> and *Vik* designate settlements.

Although this study does not deal with simplex topographical names, the concept of topographical generics used to denote settlement-names is significant when analysing the Norse anthropo-toponyms of Lewis. Additionally, Norse anthropo-toponyms in Lewis, and the Hebrides in general, are often overlooked in favour of their more productive, better-documented counterparts in the Danelaw. There, they have resulted in a number of significant studies, with one of the most prolific onomastic debates in a British context being the discussion of the 'so-called "Grimston-" hybrids, which 'combine a Scandinavian personal name with Old English *tūn*' (Parsons 2002, 31). Through such

studies, it has been possible to provide a much more detailed outline of the Norse settlement in the Danelaw than would otherwise have been possible. However, the 'Grimston hybrids' have a long and complex historiography as outlined by Martin Ryan (2011), particularly characterised by several key studies by Fellows-Jensen (1972; 1994), and more recently by Abrams & Parsons (2004). It is worth noting that despite such extensive studies, these names have never been considered in the wider context of anthropo-toponyms, further demonstrating the neglect of this branch of onomastics.

1.2.3.2 Creating a chronology of Norse settlement in Lewis

Attempting to establish a chronology of Scandinavian settlement in Britain as a whole remains a matter of debate. As Peder Gammeltoft (2007, 479) states: 'Our knowledge of the Hebrides from the late eight to the thirteenth centuries is rather patchy. As such we do not know who the incoming Scandinavians met: were they Gaels or Picts – or both?' Therefore crucial problems face the onomastician studying the toponyms of the Hebrides, including the lack of firm evidence for pre-Norse material and attempting to establish a chronology of settlement. Additionally, Jesch (2015, 25) argues that 'There is great regional variation both in the Viking Age and subsequently, and the question of the "Scandinavianness" of the different parts of Britain and Ireland must be decided for each locality on a fairly small-scale basis.' One example of this is the recent demonstration by Kruse & Jennings (2009, 2) that there were 'two cultural zones' in the Hebrides where:

> The material culture of the Inner Hebrides and the mainland littoral…forms
> one zone, with links south to Ireland and beyond, the area north of
> Ardnamurchan, including the Outer Hebrides with Skye, forms another, with
> close links to the Northern Isles, and east to Pictland.

In light of this, it is necessary to ask what is in fact known about the Norse settlement of Lewis specifically? As argued by Etheridge et al. (2014, 11-2), the Icelandic saga material and its frequent mentions of the Hebrides in several works, including *Orkneyinga Saga* and *Landnámabók* 'demonstrates the political and strategic importance of the islands, but here, it is often difficult to pinpoint exact geographic locations'. Although archaeological evidence provides a firmer geographical distinction, 'the archaeological evidence for Norse sites is relatively scarce […] To date only two sites on Lewis have been securely identified as Viking settlements, the sites of Barvas/Barabhas and Bosta/Bostadh' (Etheridge et al. 2014, 8). Therefore although archaeological evidence for Norse settlement in Lewis can and should be used where possible, we are largely dependent upon the onomastic evidence until further progress is made in excavations in this area.

1.2.3.3 Approaching Norse toponyms in Lewis

Early studies of the Norse toponyms of Lewis can be divided into two main groups, reflecting the linguistic background and perspective of the authors. From a Scandinavian background, the most prominent early scholar for Lewis is undoubtedly Magne Oftedal who in 1954 published his momentous study of 'The Village Names of Lewis in the Outer Hebrides', since republished as *The Village Names of Lewis* (Oftedal 2009 [1954]). Until then there had never been a survey of the Norse dimension with such a level of competence in Scandinavian linguistics and many of his discussions still provide the most current interpretations. In addition to Oftedal, one of the other great Scandinavian scholars, Hermann Pálsson (1996a) has also considered the Norse toponyms of Lewis and draws extensively on his knowledge of Scandinavian material. For example, he proposes that *Bernera* should be interpreted as having been transferred from 'some Norwegian *Bjarnarøy* and without any help from a person called Bjorn' (Pálsson 1996a, 321), whereas the identification of the specific element as a personal name, *Bjǫrn*, has been the more traditional one. On the other hand, the investigations by scholars such as Alexander MacBain (1922) and W.J. Watson (1976 [1904]) originate from a primarily Celtic perspective, and although they are crucial in understanding the Gaelic dimension, this sometimes causes significant issues for interpreting Norse material. For example, Watson tends to derive all toponyms potentially beginning with *Þórr-* from the pn *Thori*, presenting a considerably more one-dimensional picture of the material than is accurate (see 3.1 entries such as **Eilean Thoraidh** and **Torastaidh**). Although there is overlap, and none of these scholars deal exclusively with one linguistic layer, the studies are all demonstrably influenced by their linguistic backgrounds. Turning to more recent scholarship, Cox's (1987a, 2002) work provides a milestone, not only for the analysis of Gaelic toponyms, but also for Norse ones. It is worth noting that his earlier work covers more of the Norse dimension than *GPNC*. The solution here is to use his early material alongside *GPNC*. For example, for *Amhastar* (ON *ofan-setr* 'above, over + dwelling, residence, seat') the initial survey in his thesis (1987b, 25) is quite extensive whereas in *GPNC* it is very brief (Cox 2002, 169). Other entries such as *Beinn Uidealum* (which Cox gives as specific ON *Uit-mula* 'beacon-mull') appears to have been omitted completely from *GPNC* (Cox 1987b, 39). Although not focusing specifically on Lewis, Gammeltoft's (2001a) study of *The Place-Name Element* Bólstaðr *in the North Atlantic Area* provides yet another milestone in the study of Norse toponyms in the Western Isles in terms of providing a considerably better understanding of the cultural and linguistic use of *bólstaðr-*

names (further cf. Cox 1994, 43-64; 2002b, 43-64 & Gammeltoft 1998, 25-35).
Nevertheless, there is no doubt that there is significant room for further detailed studies
and that the complex Norse data of the Western Isles is still poorly understood. In some
areas of the Hebrides scholarship has already made considerable progress by the
completion of extensive studies, such as Alan MacNiven's (2015) study of *Vikings in Islay*
and Anke-Beate Stahl's (1999) *Place-Names of Barra in the Outer Hebrides*. However,
Lewis is still in need of additional research and this study aims to fill some of the gaps in
this area.

1.2.3.4 The Scandinavian 'diaspora'

In addition to concentrating on the Lewis dimension of Norse settlement, it is necessary to
broaden our view and consider Norse anthropo-toponyms within the wider framework of
the Scandinavian 'diaspora'. This concept has most recently been covered in great detail by
Jesch (2015, 56) who argues that:

> certain continuities, both chronological and geographical, must also be present
> if the Viking Age and its aftermath are justifiably to be termed a diaspora […]
> even allowing for local regional variation, some aspects of the Viking Age
> have a greater reach in both space and time.

Additionally, in a Lewis context, as early as the 1960s MacAulay (1964) highlighted the
importance of using Icelandic comparative material when analysing Norse toponyms.
Based on this, it is obvious that the Norse dimension needs to be studied both in detail on a
local level and in the context of the wider framework of Scandinavian settlement during
the Viking Age. This includes considering toponyms comparatively in areas that have
close connections with the Hebrides; most significantly Iceland and Norway. A subject that
has been largely overlooked, both in onomastic and historical studies, is the nature of
contact between Celts and Icelanders during the Viking Age. There are some notable
exceptions here, however. In a non-onomastic context, Alfred Smyth's (1984) discussion
on the Vikings in Scotland and, more recently, Kristján Ahronson's (2005) work on early
North Atlantic settlement are examples of this. Pálsson is one of the few scholars with
sufficient linguistic expertise in both areas to study the contacts between a Celtic and
Norse population and has demonstrated that there is considerable cultural exchange. In his
study of *Keltar á Íslandi* [Celts in Iceland] (Pálsson 1996b) he demonstrated that there is
linguistic evidence for an influx of Celtic settlers in Iceland. However, by focusing on the
Celts' role in the settlement of Iceland, the study emphasises a very particular aspect of
Celtic-Icelandic contacts during the Viking Age. Studies have not gone much further since

and it is clear that more intensive and detailed studies of the relationship between Iceland and the Hebrides *(Suðreyjar)* are necessary. As previously stated these contacts are frequently mentioned in the Icelandic sagas, and further investigations into the toponyms in respective areas may yield additional results regarding our understanding of the flux of settlers. Finally, yet another aspect of considering the wider Norse framework is the use of extensive contextual evidence from Scandinavia. This most notably includes previous large-scale studies covering material from Norway and Iceland, areas that are closely related to the Norse settlement of Lewis. In this study, extensive references will be made to Oluf Rygh's (1999 [1897-1924]) *Norske Gaardnavne* (henceforth *NG*) which records the names and etymologies of Norwegian farms in 1886, and E.H. Lind's (1905-15) *Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn ock Fingerade Namn Från Medeltiden* (henceforth *NID*), which lists all baptismal personal names and fictional names recorded in medieval Scandinavia. This type of material is rarely used in a British and Irish context, partially due to the limited availability and lack of extensive translations into English. Therefore in addition to providing an aid in analysing the toponyms included here, the entries are intended as a starting point for further extensive translations of relevant Scandinavian material which can further our understanding of Norse toponyms in Britain and Ireland.

1.2.3.5 Eòropaidh: a case study in previous approaches to the Norse toponyms of Lewis

The historiography of the settlement name *Eòropaidh* provides an excellent case study which gives an indication of the problematic nature of the historiography of Norse toponyms in Lewis.[4] Having more than one possible interpretation of a toponym is of course not uncommon, but the fact that four prominent scholars in this area (Watson, Oftedal, Nicolaisen and Gammeltoft) have made it possible to identify at least three different interpretations makes it appropriate to bring these arguments together and investigate the name further. Watson (1976 [1904], 266), the first of these scholars to look at *Eòropaidh*, only mentions it briefly in his Norse Lewis entries, stating: '*Eoropie*, G. Eòrrabaidh, eyrar-bœr, beach-town'. However, he does not provide an explanation for this interpretation and it is possible that at the time, from his perspective, this seemed like a straightforward interpretation. When Oftedal (2009 [1954], iv) looked at the name in question fifty years later, with a fuller perspective on the Scandinavian evidence, the interpretation proposed by Watson was questioned. Oftedal states that: 'The name has

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[4] For the full entry, see 3.1 ***Eòropaidh***.

often been explained as ON *Øyrarbǿr* "gravel-beach farm"' and he may be referring to Watson's interpretation here. Oftedal argues that this interpretation is unlikely since it is 'difficult to conceive how ON *øyr-* could result in G [*jɔ:R*-].' Instead, he proposes that the name represents *Jórunnarbǿr,* containing the feminine pn *Jórunn*. It should be noted that Oftedal provides a historical context, working with the available evidence interdisciplinarily and states that: 'We know from historical records that the name *Jórunn* was used among the early Norse population of the Hebrides; the viking chief Ketill Flatnef who conquered all of the Hebrides during the reign of Harold Fairhair had a daughter called *Jórunn Mannvitsbrekka*' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], iv). He also mentions the occurence of this name in Norwegian toponyms such as *Jórunnarbýr* and Icelandic *Jórunnarstaðir*. It must be noted that Oftedal himself acknowledges the fact that he has no other examples of the phonetic development he proposes. Despite this, as previously mentioned, Nicolaisen (2001 [1976], 125) appears to have based his brief mention of *Eòropaidh* on the interpretation provided by Oftedal, stating that: 'Female ownership is not excluded, if the explanation of Eoropie as "Jorunn's farm" is correct', but he does not discuss the name further. Gammeltoft (2001a) does not discuss the relevant Lewis toponyms specifically in his survey. However, he lists a number of toponyms containing the generic *bólstaðr* where the specifics look suspiciously similar to those found in the Lewis material. These include *Eorabus* (Mull)*, Eorrabus* (Islay), *Evrabister* (Shetland), *Evribust* (Orkney), *Overabist* (Orkney), and *Overbist* (Orkney) (Gammeltoft 2001a, 113-4). The presence of earlier forms such as *Overbist* and *Overabuster* has made it possible to discuss the etymology of these names with greater confidence and establish that they contain ON *efri* 'upper'. One might question the fact that the scholars looking at the toponyms in Lewis have chosen to almost exclusively look at the name *Eòropaidh* when this is in fact only one of the names seemingly containing this specific.[5] The exception here is Oftedal (2009 [1954], iv) who also mentions *Eòradal* in the context of discussing *Eòrapaidh*, but he does not mention any of the other names.

Having briefly introduced the material, it is necessary to ask how safely we can establish an interpretation of these names at this stage, taking into consideration their historiographical, social and environmental context. Oftedal uses saga material as comparative evidence, but perhaps more important is his use of comparative evidence in the form of other toponyms found in a relevant social and linguistic context. Attempting to find additional comparative evidence, the natural starting point would be to look at

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[5] Other entries in 3.1 include: **Eòradal**, **Eòranish**, and **Eorshader**.

toponyms in other parts of the British Isles. The pn *Jórunn* is not recorded by Fellows-Jensen (1968) in her extensive corpus of *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire* but, of course, more extensive investigations would be required to exclude the presence of the name in other areas. However, turning to Scandinavia for comparative evidence, it is possible to find further examples of the occurrence of the pn *Jórunn* in toponyms. In *NG*[6] there are at least eleven instances of an association of places with this personal name, or the pn *Jórekr*, m., indicating the plausability of such a coining. This toponym will be further investigated in 3.1, but summaring the current question, the main issue raised here is the fact that a number of significant scholars studying the toponyms of the Western Isles have chosen to investigate the name *Eòropaidh*. These scholars have taken quite different approaches to the interpretation of this name and they have often arrived at different conclusions, without necessarily always considering the full historiography of the name. In light of this, the necessity to use comparative material and previous research, especially when dealing with a possible anthropo-toponym, becomes obvious.

1.2.4 Classifying onomastic data

One of the aspects of investigating onomastic data more intensively includes the use of various systems for classifying individual toponyms. In order to evaluate the most appropriate approach for the purpose of classifying anthropo-toponyms, it is necessary to provide an overview of how previous scholars have approached the subject, and particularly to investigate how anthropo-toponyms have been classified. A crucial distinction can be made between classifications that approach data from an etymological, semantic perspective and those that emphasise the motivations for naming. Gammeltoft (2001a, 215) refers to these as word-semantic and name-semantic respectively and states that:

> There are two main types of semantic classification: one is a *word-semantic* classification; and the other one is the *name-semantic* classification. With the *word-semantic* classification system, a word that forms part of a place-name is categorised according to the semantic category to which it belongs (settlements, inhabitants-designations, topography, animals, plants, etc.). With the *name-semantic* classification, the individual name is classified according to the semantic categories that correspond to the motives of the naming person(s) when coining a given place-name.

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[6] See *Jøraanrud* vol.5, p.444; *Jøranrud*, vol.5, p. 276; *Jøronlien* vol.4, p. 206; *Jørenby* vol.4, p. 237; *Jøronstad* vol. 4, p. 94; *Jorundstad* vol. 8, p. 41; *Jørnegaard*, vol.1, p. 221; *Jørnerød* vol.1, pp. 305-6; *Jørnevik* vol. 11, p. 524; *Jorenkjøl* vol. 10, p. 119; *Jørstad* vol. 10, p. 304.

In Scotland, previous classifications have generally taken a word-semantic approach and two of the most notable studies in this area deal with the classification of hydronyms. Nicolaisen (2011 [1957]) in his study on the 'Semantic Structure of Scottish Hydronymy' proposes a classification of Scottish hydronyms in order to 'outline the semantic structure of Scottish river-nomenclature' (Nicolaisen 2011 [1957], 21). This results in a detailed classification which particularly highlights the physical characteristics of hydronyms and their surroundings, with categories such as A. (a) '*The* colour *of the water*' and C. (b) 'Tree vegetation *associated with the water-course*' (Nicolaisen 2011 [1957], 22, 30). However, turning to anthropo-toponyms, Nicolaisen's classification proves problematic. Anthropo-toponyms are essentially represented by category D. (b) '*Water-courses connected with* human beings' and include examples such as *Allt Eoghainn, Murray's Burn, Patrick Burn* (saint's name), and *River Tora* (god's name) (Nicolaisen 2011 [1957], 34). Evidently, the creation of these toponyms stems from various contexts and they should not be viewed as one-dimensional coinings. Writing over half a century later, Jacob King (2008) picks up where Nicolaisen left off by proposing a new methodology for analysing Scottish hydronyms. Here, Nicolaisen's classification is revised, developed, and several additional categories are added. For example, '"The situation of the watercourse" has been divided into three categories: "relation to other features", "boundary", and "crossing"', creating a highly detailed classification for the purpose of studying hydronyms (King 2008, 128). However, similarly to Nicolaisen, the representation of anthropo-toponyms in this type of classification has a tendency to become homogenised. Anthropo-toponyms here are primarily represented by two categories: 'Specific person / occupation', as in pn *Talorgan* in *Glentarken* and 'Supernatural entity', as in the *Marne* from pn *Matrona* (a mother goddess) (King 2008 129, 165-6). Turning to the second type of classification mentioned here, in order to study name-semantic classifications, it is necessary to partially look beyond Britain and Ireland. The first stop is rather close to home and deals with material closely related to that investigated in this work; namely Scandinavian toponyms. Gammeltoft (2001a, 2002), develops previous work by Kurt Zilliacus (1966), who has created a detailed taxonomy for the classification of toponyms. In this classification, 'the individual name is classified according to the semantic categories that correspond to the motives of the namer/namers when coining a given place-name.' (Gammeltoft 2002, 151) and there are various categories reflecting these motivations, including the topographical relationship of the feature, its quality, and its usage. It should be noted that this approach contributes to one of the foundational principles used in this thesis: to study the motivation

for coining and transmitting toponyms rather than focusing solely on the semantic etymology of individual elements.

The next point to address here relates back to the question of which models have previously been used when studying anthroponymic place-name elements. To my knowledge, in a British, Irish and Scandinavian context, a name-semantic model has never been used to address anthropo-toponyms directly. Nevertheless, there is an important point to make here in that it could be argued that in many respects several scholars studying this type of data are already using a name-semantic approach in an indirect manner. This statement of course needs some further explanation: as outlined above, the main principles behind a name-semantic approach involve 1. examining the meaning of each linguistic element in a place-name and 2. examining the combined content in order to understand the motivations for naming a given place (Gammeltoft 2005, 153). Looking at some of the previously discussed studies, how does this compare with their approaches? There are a number of significant studies focusing exclusively on place-names containing saints' names, some of which have already been discussed, including Edmonds (2009; 2013), Padel (2002), and Clancy (2010) (1.2.1.3). What is important to note here is that in these studies, the relevant names are not simply approached from a word-semantic etymological perspective. The key questions that are being asked are similar to those that are necessary to ask when attempting to determine the motivation for naming: who is the person being commemorated and why are they being commemorated? Often when studying toponyms relating to certain individuals such as saints or known historical persons, the emphasis is by necessity to varying degrees placed on those individuals and their history, rather than the semantic nature of the personal name or individual toponymic elements in question. However, there is a key difference in that, although previous studies looking at anthropo-toponyms as their focus in essence may take a name-semantic approach when analysing data, there is a lack of a formally outlined theoretical framework for these studies which could provide further aid in order to more carefully analyse and understand the data. Similarly, by classifying onomastic data we are able to more clearly see the structures and patterns of naming. Based on these statements, the intention of the model presented in this thesis is to propose a theoretical and methodological framework for the way in which anthropo-toponyms are studied, as well as suggesting a more appropriate way of classifying this type of data.

Gammeltoft's name-semantic classification

The model proposed in Chapter 5 is primarily based on the one developed by Gammeltoft (2001a; 2005) (see Fig. 1.1). This is partly due to the relatively recent date of its publication and Gammeltoft's extensive discussion of it. In addition to this, it has been developed in reference to material of a similar nature to that studied here in terms of language and geography in his thorough survey of the *Place-Name Element* Bólstaðr *in the North Atlantic Area* (Gammeltoft 2001a).

Fig. 1.1 Gammeltoft's (2001a, 217-8) name-semantic model of classification:

1. **Relationship**
   a. **Topographical relationship**
      i. Characterisation of the location in relation to a name-bearing location.
      ii. Characterisation of the location in relation to a non-name bearing location.
      iii. Characterisation of the location by means of its relative position.
   b. **Institutional and administrative relationship**
   c. **Associative relationship**
   d. **An external event to which naming is related**

2. **Quality**
   a. **Size**
   b. **Shape**
   c. **Colour**
   d. **Age**
   e. **Material and texture**
   f. **That which exists at or by**
      i. Creatures
      ii. Plant-growth
      iii. Inanimate objects
   g. **Perceived qualities**

3. **Usage**

The usefulness of this classification cannot be doubted considering the significance of his analysis of the motivations for naming in the Scottish and Norwegian material (Gammeltoft, 2001a, 244-9). It has made it possible to draw conclusions about the nature of Norse settlement in Scotland, highlighting factors such as the importance of Christianity and local variation (Gammeltoft 2001a, 246-7). Turning to the matter in hand, the question to ask is, how useful is this model for investigating anthropo-toponyms? It will quickly become obvious that for the purpose of studying the material addressed here, it is problematic to use this exact classification – the toponyms in question would almost exclusively belong to category 1.c (associative relationship), which is generally where any

specific element representing a personal name is placed. The Scottish material in this category is given as follows:

> This group consists of seven place-names, six of which seemingly reveal their associative relationship by having a personal name as their specific: ON *Áni*, m., ON ?*Fróði*, m., ON *Hákon*, m., ON *Heðinn*, m., ON *Skeggi*, m., ON ?*Sveinn*, m.; and one by having as specific an appellative which states the occupation of a person: Gaelic *pearsa*, f., 'a parson'. **These personal names and the occupational term probably show the ownership of the locality**. (Gammeltoft 2001a, 241-2)

In this study, this might cause some alarm since there would not be much point in giving a classification where all the data belongs to the same category. In terms of Gammeltoft's data it is to some extent natural that the anthropo-toponyms should show some uniformity since he mainly considers one generic element (ON *bólstaðr*). Nevertheless, there is a need for further nuancing in the context of material investigated here. The solution to this problem has already been indirectly addressed by the statement that: 'One obvious advantage is that the name-semantic model allows one to categorise a place-name material [*sic*] on varying levels of categorisation [...] and for added detail, one simply includes the sub-categories as well' (Gammeltoft 2005, 158). Therefore to create a classification more appropriate for investigating anthropo-toponyms we can expand the categories listed above. By doing this, the classification can be further developed in order to highlight the varieties found within personal name data.

1.2.5 Process and perception

Although this model will allow for greater nuances when studying data of this type, it is not without its problems. One of the issues raised by Gammeltoft (2005, 153) concerns data where the contexts of naming are difficult or impossible to determine. Criticism has been raised concerning toponymic material of an early date which makes the Norse Lewis material particularly vulnerable considering that the material is relatively early and also lacks early sources, often making it difficult to establish the naming-context. A similar issue has some extent been addressed by Albøge (1993, 21-3) who uses the approach of 'Realgransking' [pragmatic investigation] whereby the context of a given element is further investigated. He discusses the occurrence of the specific element *Bjørn(e)-* in Danish toponyms. This can either represent the word for 'bear' or a masculine personal name. By closely examining the historical and comparative context of these names, he summarises that they are likely to refer to the animal rather than the personal name, but that a closer investigation of the evidence is necessary to be more certain (Albøge 1993,

23). This example serves to demonstrate one of the many ways in which the motivation for the coining of a toponym can be re-interpreted. According to the hypothesis of this thesis, anthropo-toponyms differ from other toponyms in their linguistic properties, and it is possible to theorise that these differences may result in them being particularly prone to re-interpretation of the motivation for coining, an argument which will be further discussed in (5.1.3). Additionally, because of these linguistic properties, when identifying the motivation for the coining of an anthropo-toponym, we are especially reliant on contextual evidence in the form of direct accounts such as local folklore. Sometimes other factors may provide some aid in identifying a motivation. For example, a generic element such as G *lamraig* 'a harbour, a landing/mooring stage' in *Laimhrig Mhurchaidh* (OSNB OS1/27/125/57) almost certainly relates to some type of sea-faring activity. This at least gives an indication of the nature of the motivation for coining. However, it is important to remember that this does not provide the full picture and without further evidence it is impossible to say whether the naming of such a place was the result of continual usage by the person in question or arose from a particular event or other unique circumstances. As we shall see, there is ample evidence for events giving rise to the coining of anthropo-toponyms. For example, it is worth noting that there are several instances of toponyms relating to landing places arising from events such as shipwrecks in Scotland (see 5.2.5).

As stated above, we should account for the fact that even when we are given direct accounts of motivations caution is required. Such information may sometimes, or even often, reflect later inventions and re-interpretations of an original motivation for coining. The approach adopted here is to include all instances of direct contextual evidence for the motivation of coining, even in cases where it is potentially a later re-interpretation. Two factors can be used to support the inclusion of this type of information. Firstly, it is possible to have an awareness of possible re-interpretations without completely excluding them from an analysis. It is important to keep in mind that we can rarely be entirely certain of the origin of any given toponym. Although not an anthropo-toponym, a cautionary example of this can be found in the case of the *English Burn* in Strathvaich. Without additional information one might assume that this was named after some English person or an English presence. However, Kenneth MacLennan (1992, 76) records that this name is in fact derived from an English park stag, which had been brought in to improve the stock, being found dead in the stream on 17th September, 1889. Without this additional information, it would have been impossible to know the motivation for coining this name. Therefore providing the fullest possible picture by not excluding relevant material is

crucial. Secondly, even in cases where a motivation is provided for the coining of a toponym which is likely to be a re-interpretation, it still forms a valuable part of the analysis of the life of any given anthropo-toponym. Although we cannot always know whether a motivation is the original one, the way in which these toponyms are perceived by their users should form a significant part of their analysis. Based on this, a strong argument can be made for treating the way in which subsequent users of a toponym view them as being of equal importance to how the original coiners viewed it. It is on this basis that a slightly altered name-semantic method is adopted here. I am proposing an approach which is more appropriate for the study of anthropo-toponyms where the primary focus is not necessarily on the original motivation, but rather on what the **perceived motivation** is. This will allow us to consider the wider patterns of the process and perceptions of coining and transmitting toponyms. However, it should be noted that the motivational stories are not included without critical consideration. This is particularly the case in instances where there is strong evidence to believe that a motivation or the interpretation of an element is a later invention and these entries will be given special consideration. Finally, although a lack of context naturally creates a more complex situation in terms of analysing data, it does not necessarily invalidate this model. It does, however, necessitate further considerations and the inclusion of a much wider context than for more straightforward data. It might also mean that more than one possible interpretation must be given and that any final conclusions should be open to discussion.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 The foundational principles

Based on what has already been discussed, there should be no doubt that the study of anthropo-toponyms in a Scottish context has been largely overlooked. Because of this, there is a pressing need for a thorough investigation of these names, both theoretically and practically. It is necessary to investigate the nature of the anthropo-toponym and define how it differs from other toponyms. This involves exploring its linguistic properties, its status as a proper noun, and its semantic properties, as further discussed in Chapter 5. Additionally, by adapting previous onomastic theories to the material studied here, a proposal will be made for a new approach to the study of anthropo-toponyms. Anthropo-toponyms are notoriously difficult to identify with certainty and, because of this, they can easily be overlooked with possible interpretations being disregarded. To some extent, this is an issue of language with Lewis Norse entries being significantly more difficult to

identify than Gaelic ones. As the case study of *Eòropaidh* above (1.2.3.5) has demonstrated, this partially stems from a considerable lack of early forms and contextual evidence. The picture presented here is one that confirms the complex nature of these names and highlights the need for further in-depth studies of anthropo-toponyms. Based on this, a framework for identifying and contextualising anthropo-toponyms will be proposed in this study, the general principles of which are outlined here. The corpus of anthropo-toponyms presented in this study will also be studied and evaluated in their own right, particularly emphasising the Lewis data, which forms the basis of this investigation. The initial hypothesis adopted here is that the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis, especially Gaelic ones, have certain distinct characteristics both in terms of their cultural and linguistic context, setting them apart from other anthropo-toponyms in a Scottish context. Making an evaluation of such a hypothesis makes the need for a comparative dimension obvious and material from other parts of Scotland, primarily Fife, will be introduced in Chapter 4. In order to shed further light on the often obscure Norse dimension of Lewis anthropo-toponyms, comparisons with material from *Landnámabók* (*The Book of Settlements,* henceforth *LNB*) will also be made in section 4.4. Additionally, by studying individual anthropo-toponyms presented in the corpus yet another dimension is added to the investigation. This creates an opportunity to study the micro-narratives of coining individual toponyms and an attempt is being made here to highlight the diversity present in anthropo-toponyms, even though they may appear to be relatively homogenous on the surface. For example, consider Lewis toponyms such as *Creagan Iain Ruaidh, Geodha Bean Mhurchaidh, Stac Dhomhnuill Chaim* and *Tigh Mhaoldònuich*: while all containing personal names, tradition has represented their motivations as relating to a birth, a drowning, the abode of a notorious outlaw and the temporary hideout of a sheep thief respectively (see 2.1.1). While not over-preferencing the accuracy of traditional explanations in the analysis of names, by emphasising such micro-narratives, it is possible to look at the name-material from a different perspective and to provide a greater understanding of the wider process of coining toponyms.

1.3.2 Collection and analysis of data

1.3.2.1 Intensive analysis

Some recent approaches to toponyms can provide valuable guidelines in appropriate methodologies for the study of anthropo-toponyms. Although not specifically studying anthropo-toponyms, Jan Tent (2015, 67-70) describes two relevant models for analysing

toponyms. The first one has been termed 'extensive toponymy' and generally encompasses the type of quantitative research frequently used for onomastic material. However, in addition to this, he presents a methodology developed for the analysis of Australian toponyms which has been termed 'intensive toponymy'. This methodology can be broadly framed in terms of the questions asked in Tent's (2015, 68) 'intensive toponymy' model where an identification process largely corresponds with the 'what' and 'where' questions. The most notable characteristic of the method proposed here highlights the importance of studying these toponyms on a case-by-case basis. By doing this, we allow micro-narratives to emerge, which provides a better understanding of the individuals behind these names and the cognitive factors involved in the coining of anthropo-toponyms, primarily focusing on the material presented in 2.1. This type of analysis primarily includes asking the 'who', the 'when' and the 'why' outlined by Tent (2015), questions that will relate closely to the concept of using the name-semantic approach. It should be noted here that there are significant differences in the data presented here and that generally investigated by Tent. This can be seen in the example he provides in the naming of *Montville* in Queensland, Australia, where the relevant questions can be clearly established due to the relatively late date of the toponyms and the abundance of contextual evidence:

- Who named the place? Henry Smith
- When was the place named? November 27 1897
- Why was it given this particular name? To commemorate the hometown of Hannah Smith's family
- What does the name mean? From the French mont = "mountain," ville = "town"
- Where does the name come from? Transferred from Connecticut, USA. (Tent 2015, 68-70)

On the other hand, the data presented here is often of a considerably earlier date, and generally lacks such an abundance of contextual evidence, particularly in written form. Therefore both in an extensive and intensive analysis it is unlikely that it will be possible to provide a clear answer to all these questions. However, it should be noted that some of the material presented in 2.2.6 derived from Cox (2002) provides an exception to this pattern. Those entries often provide more detailed and accurate contextual evidence, and are generally of a more recent date than other entries. The line of investigation may vary depending on the toponym in question. For example, we can compare a place-name such as *Stac Dhòmhnaill Chaim* (see 2.1.1), which is a relatively late coining with a visible chronology, semantically transparent, and with contextual evidence, with some of the Norse formations such as *Beinn Thòrshader* (see 3.1 *Beinn Thòrshader*) which have been

transmitted only through a Gaelic toponym and has little or no direct contextual evidence. Such differences will be further reflected below when outlining the layout for the data-sets.

1.3.2.2 Identification

The collection and analysis of data can be framed in terms of an adaptation of Tent's (2015) models of 'extensive' and 'intensive toponymy'. When investigating some sets of anthropo-toponyms, such as the Norse Lewis material, aspects of 'intensive toponymy' may be necessary for the purpose of identification, both in terms of establishing whether or not a name is an anthropo-toponym and determining what the anthroponym in the toponym is. Once the data has been identified, the analysis can be undertaken on an extensive and an intensive scale. In this study, the extensive investigations of Lewis anthropo-toponyms are introduced in (2.2) and (3.2). The data collection has been formed by using the OSNB covering the relevant parishes of Barvas, Uig, Lochs, and Stornoway. Such a survey has been made possible by the ScotlandsPlaces project which has recently digitised the volumes and has transcribed large portions of the material. This has created opportunities in terms of an increased availability of the OSNB, both to academics and the public, which allows for further studies, on a regional level and more widely in Scotland as a whole. An inclusive approach has been taken where uncertain or doubtful name forms have also been recorded. The primary benefit of using the OSNB as the main source is undoubtedly in their scope of material – there are 136 volumes covering Lewis alone (Ross and Cromarty insular volumes) and this makes it possible to create an extensive corpus of toponyms. A minor comparative survey of the OSNB of Buteshire for the purpose of investigating the practice of recording contextual information and folklore in different areas of Scotland by the Ordnance Survey has also been undertaken. This is further discussed in 4.1.4. However, it is also necessary to make several observations regarding the problems that arise from using the OSNB as the main source. It is essential to keep in mind the social context of their creation and the fact that the surveyors were not necessarily fluent in Gaelic. Although scholars fluent in Gaelic such as Alexander Carmichael played a key role in the overall collection and recording of toponyms and folklore in the Highlands, as demonstrated by the significance of his *Carmina Gadelica* (1928-71), knowledge of Gaelic cannot be assumed for many of the forms collected in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In terms of the presence of etymologies and events surrounding the toponyms, this may also be highly dependent on the surveyor and the informants, something that needs to be considered for each individual name. In terms of Gaelic, the OSNB need to be

treated with caution due to the previously mentioned varying degree of Gaelic knowledge of the surveyors. The name forms originally collected, which are listed under 'List of Names to be corrected if necessary' often do not follow Gaelic spelling conventions and have been corrected in the section 'Orthography, as recommended to be used in the new Plans'. An example of this is the name *Feadan Loch Nic Dhomhnuill*, which is the recommended form in the name books, corrected from *Feadan Loch Neidhonil* (OSNB OS1/27/21/22). In addition to this, it is necessary to be cautious of inconsistent spellings, both in the OSNB and OS1. The head-forms used in 2.1 and 3.1 are based on the modern Ordnance Survey MasterMap (OS), but when giving the etymology of entries in 2.1, current Gaelic orthographical practice is used. In addition to the OSNB, a number of other sources have been used. Georeference data has been extracted manually by consulting the descriptions of the location of features found in the OSNB and then located by using OS1 with a Google map overlay available from the National Library of Scotland (www.nls.uk) and OS.

1.3.2.3 The scale of certainty

As discussed in 1.2.3, there are several issues in identifying Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms with certainty. Because of this, I have adopted the use of a scale of certainty which can be used as a tool when analysing data. Since the interpretations of Gaelic entries are considerably more transparent, the scale is only consistently applied to the Norse data. There are some exceptions to this in 2.1, particularly in the case of potential hagiotoponyms, and the scale has been applied to some of those entries. The scale provides an opportunity to explore a wide range of interpretations, including some of the more doubtful ones, while still providing the most accurate analysis possible. The scale used here consists of a primary scale which shows the level of certainty that there is a personal name present in a given toponym. In addition to this, a secondary scale is also used which reflects the various levels of certainty for individual personal names. The primary scale is as follows: Certain, Probable, Maybe, Unlikely, Rejected. The secondary scale is represented by a. Certain, b. Probable c. Maybe, d. Unlikely, e. Rejected. For example, according to the criteria discussed below, *Torastaidh* has been placed in the 'Probable' category on the primary scale. However, the question of what the personal name in question is, is not as obvious and a number of possible options have been listed, giving: pn *Þórir*, m., (c.) or *Þórðr*, m., (c.) or pn *Þorri*, m., (c.) or pn *Þori*, m., (c.) or pn *Þóra*, f., (c.) or ON *þorn,* m., 'a thorn' (d.) + ON *staðir* 'a stead, place, abode' (a.) for the secondary scale. The category of rejected names primarily consists of suggestions made by previous

scholars which can no longer be considered as viable interpretations. In some cases, they are in fact rejected by the scholars themselves, as in *Carishader*:

> It seems to contain an ON sound sequence *Kár-* followed by a front vowel (because of the G palatal ð, it cannot be *Kárasetr*, from the man's name *Kári*; nor can it be *Kárssetr*, from the name *Kárr*, because this would almost certainly have yielded G *[kaːʂadəð]). (Oftedal, 1954, 53)

Nevertheless, these names have been included as part of Appendix 2 in order to provide completeness to the analysis.

Criteria

When placing a name in one of the (primary) categories of certainty, several criteria are used in order to categorise the names as objectively as possible. Firstly, the transparency of the names needs to be considered. This includes looking at certain factors that, based on the patterns that are generally found in the type of toponyms investigated here (Old Norse), make it more likely that the name in question contains a personal name. This includes the possible presence of a genitival *s* (which unfortunately is often difficult to establish when the generic element begins with an *s*) and the presence of a previous attestation of the personal name in question. This means that in cases where a previously unattested personal name is proposed, they are never categorised as 'Certain'. Logically, this makes sense since it would be unlikely for an unattested personal name to be given as an unquestioned interpretation in a Norse Lewis place-name. These factors mean that a toponym such as *Beinn Thòrshader* (see 3.1 *Beinn **Thòrshader***)[7] provides a prime example of a toponym which appears certain to contain a personal name. The contribution by previous scholars should not be underestimated and their interpretations of the material give credence to an interpretation. The sources mainly used here include Oftedal (2009 [1954]), MacAulay (1971-2), Cox (1987b) and Gammeltoft (2001a). Although not abundant, early attestations in addition to OS and OS1 are also considered. Finally, comparative evidence in *NG* and *NID* can provide a significant contribution to the identification of a Norse anthropo-toponym. In several instances, personal names that are widely attested in Scandinavian toponyms can lend support to the interpretation of the said personal name being present in Norse Lewis toponyms. For example, looking at *Guinnerso*, this toponym has not received any attention from scholars working in a Lewis context and there are no early forms that could lend support to a personal name interpretation. However, the lack of alternative

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[7] with **Þórisǽtr* probably containing either of the attested personal names pn *Þórir*, m. or pn *Þórðr*, m.

options and the fact that this personal name (*Gunnarr*, m.), is frequently attested in Scandinavian place-names (see 3.1 **Guinnerso**) lends support to the interpretation. It is also necessary to consider the presence of alternative interpretations represented by a common noun and other factors that might make a toponym less likely to contain a personal name. Some personal names are homonymous with common nouns that may also be appropriately found as the specific element in a toponym. This is relevant in cases where the personal name in question is also an animal-name, and that is primarily where the consideration here lies. For example, in the case of *Airnistean* the interpretation is given as: ON *ǫrn,* m., g.pl. 'eagle' (c.) or pn *Ǫrn* (d.) or pn *Árni* (d.) + ON *steinn* 'stone' (a.). Had the possible interpretation of the specific as referring to the bird-name *ǫrn,* 'eagle' not been considered, the personal name would have appeared as a likely option. However, considering the feature in question (a coastal, protruding feature) and the fact that both the White-tailed and Golden Eagles exist in Lewis and were relatively common until at least the nineteenth century (Evans, O'Toole & Whitfield 2012, 341), the personal name interpretation is quite unlikely. The criteria used for the secondary scale are similar to those applied to the primary scale with some variations. In general, there is greater emphasis on the linguistic structure and the comparative evidence when applying the secondary scale since the personal name variants are often relatively similar. Therefore considering their linguistic structure and looking at comparative evidence are often the only ways to distinguish between them.

Advantages and disadvantages

An obvious advantage to this approach is the fact that it allows for the analysis of toponyms where it would be problematic to provide a definite answer. It will be noted when looking at the data that, if we were to only include toponyms where the presence of a personal name can be firmly established, we would end up with quite a short study! In addition to this, it provides an opportunity to give thorough coverage of previous scholarship, including interpretations which, although they may now be outdated and inaccurate, and sometimes even acknowledged as such by the scholars themselves, have contributed to the analysis of the place-name in question. For example, returning to the example of *Carishader*, as discussed by Oftedal, his rejection of the interpretation as *Kári* is further covered by Cox (1990, 103):

> He [Oftedal] rejects a solution with the man's name *Kári* [*Kåre*], a common name still in use in the west of Norway (*GP* [*Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne. Efterladt Arbeide af O. Rygh* (Kristiania 1901)] 153), because the

gen. form *Kára* would not nominally yield -[ð]-, but -[r]-. However, interchange between intervocalic [r] and [ð] is not uncommon in Lewis.

Because of this, by giving a thorough account of previous scholarship, it is possible to follow the process of developing different interpretations for the toponyms in question. By taking this approach, suggestions that would otherwise have been overlooked can be considered, without producing inaccurate results. However, to some extent it may also be disadvantageous in that it appears to overemphasise the uncertainty. This is to some extent mitigated by not including the 'Unlikely' and 'Rejected' forms as part of the main corpus, and they can be found in Appendix 2.

In addition to the above points, the issue of applicability of the scale of certainty to toponyms in general needs to be addressed. The scale presented here has been developed specifically for the purpose of analysing the Norse corpus of data found in this study and there are a number of factors that limit the applicability of the scale to other data-sets, including the Gaelic corpus found here. Several of the factors considered, including the nature of the evidence, reliance on previous scholars' interpretations and linguistic factors (such as the presence of a genitival *s*) are only relevant to the Norse data. Because of these factors, the scale would need to be significantly revised in order to have any validity. However, in a general sense the concept of using a scale of certainty has potential in other areas and it should be noted that a comparable approach is used in DoSH. It is hoped that the scale presented here will function as a springboard for future potential uses of a certainty scale and that the detailed presentation of how the scale has been structured can provide some guidance on what may and may not work in other areas. Particularly the basic concept of the primary scale where an entry can be listed as certain, probable, maybe, or unlikely can be applied to other data-sets with good results. Therefore although the finer details, and the methods for classifying material, particularly if approached from a quantitative perspective may differ, the core concept of using a certainty scale should be valid in other contexts.

In light of these points, the process of analysis used here can be summarised as follows: Gaelic and Norse anthropo-toponyms of Lewis recorded in the OSNB have been collected and presented in Chapters 2 and 3, and form the basis for the investigation. Where necessary, as in the Norse material, a scale of certainty is used which accommodates an inclusive approach where ambiguous cases can also be considered. Chapter 4 introduces comparative data, primarily drawn from *PNF*. This material is subsequently used as the

basis for investigating a new framework for the study of anthropo-toponyms in Chapter 5. Comparisons will also be made between the areas studied, both on a micro- and macro-level in order to determine whether there are any significant regional, chronological, and linguistic characteristics of anthropo-toponyms that emerge.

1.4 Introduction to the data

1.4.1 Background

The purpose of the material presented in 2.1 and 3.1 is to provide the basis for a detailed analysis of the characteristics of the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis which will follow in Chapter 5. After an initial investigation of the data, it can be concluded that the chronological, cultural, and linguistic differences between the Norse and Gaelic toponyms are sufficiently significant to warrant treating them as two distinct sets of data. Often, it is necessary to consider different factors when analysing Norse and Gaelic material. As outlined above (1.3.2), out of necessity, considerable attention needs to be paid to analysing the etymology of Norse entries, and as far as possible, early forms and comparative material are thoroughly investigated. Additionally, as discussed above, forms which are 'Unlikely' or 'Rejected', according to the scale of certainty are not included in 3.1, but can be found as Appendix 2. Gaelic anthropo-toponyms on the other hand need to be approached differently. Here we are dealing with larger amounts of data (406 Gaelic head-forms, 67 Norse head-forms) and the etymology of these names is considerably more transparent than that of their Norse counterparts. Because of this, the corpus in 2.1 lists all the Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of particular relevance to the discussion and these are investigated in close detail. This relevance may consist of various characteristics, including: the presence of contextual evidence in the form of local traditions or other stories or problematic names which show unusual characteristics in terms of their generics of personal names, to list a few. All hagiotoponyms I have been able to identify are also included. Although these are often difficult to distinguish from other anthropo-toponyms, DoSH has been used as a guide for what might constitute a hagiotoponym. Toponyms which are in fact unlikely to contain a saint's name have also been included and marked as unlikely.

1.4.2 Anthropo-toponyms in *GPNC* and MacIver

In addition to the Gaelic corpus introduced in (2.1) some entries derived from *GPNC* and Donald MacIver (1934) are also included in 2.2.6 for the purpose of analysing the

motivations for naming. These are toponyms which are not included in the OSNB or OS1 since they were often coined after the creation of these sources. Nevertheless, they sometimes provide vital contextual evidence which can be used to further our understanding of the coining process.

1.4.3 Appendices

Appendix 1 – Full list of Gaelic Lewis anthropo-toponyms

For the majority of the Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of Lewis collected from the OSNB, virtually all that remains to us is the toponym in question, with little or no contextual evidence. Because of this, the data which lacks contextual evidence has been included as an appendix with the transcribed information provided by the OSNB together with the entries discussed in greater detail in 2.1, providing a complete list of Gaelic Lewis anthropo-toponyms. These entries, along with the main corpus, are used as the basis for the 'extensive' analysis in 2.2.

Appendix 2 – Unlikely and rejected Norse entries

As outlined above, the unlikely and rejected Norse forms are listed in Appendix 2, along with pertinent information relating to their analysis.

1.4.4 Layout

1.4.4.1 Head-forms

Each entry will be listed by its head-form alphabetically <u>according to the specific element which represents/potentially represents a personal name or an individual as given in the head-form</u>. Since the focus of the discussion is on these elements it makes sense to list them in this fashion. As such, in *Àird Dubh Mhic Shomhairle Bhain*, the head-form is *Àird Dubh **Mhic Shomhairle Bhain***, but the entry is alphabetically listed under M, referring to the formation representing an individual; *Mac Shomhairle Bhain*. Where relevant, genitival and any other initial mutation, is ignored and the personal name formation is alphabetically listed according to its nominative form (*Mac Shomhairle Bhain*). If several entries have the same personal name, with the same spelling, they will be alphabetically listed according to the first generic element present in the formation. It will be noticed that the full personal name form is considered here. The approach here is to treat each personal name-formation which refers to an individual as one unit. Hence, a name like *Geodha **Bean Mhurchaidh*** is

listed under B, referring to *Bean Mhurchaidh* ('the wife of *Murchadh*'). Similarly, in a toponym such as *Buaile **Mhic Aoidh***, the entry will be alphabetically listed as *Mac Aoidh*. Where the designation 'saint' is used in a head-form, this has **not** been considered as part of the name. For the Norse data, the same approach is taken. For example, in the case of *Beinn **Thòrshader***, which is the head-form, the place-name will be alphabetically listed according to the specific element in the original Norse formation, which is also the potential personal name. Where the spelling provided by the OS map is misleading, an alternative form has been given in brackets next to the head-form which follows conventional spelling more closely. Returning to *Beinn **Thòrshader***, the spelling given on the OS map is in fact *Ben **Horshader***, but it would be misleading to list this under H. Therefore the initial lettering seen here, which more closely reflects the spelling of similar entries, has been added in brackets. In cases where features derived from a head-form occur, these will be included under that entry. Looking at *Creag Sgàire,* the toponyms *Loch Sgàire, Allt Creag Sgàire*, and *Cnoc Creag Sgàire* are also found in the vicinity. These will be listed under the entry of *Creag Sgàire*. Where two related names such as *Creag Sgàire* and *Loch Sgàire* are present, the head-form will be decided by a name to name basis, in consideration of the context of the feature. However, features derived from a head-form entry have not been included in the Norse corpus, since they generally do not add anything to the analysis of these names, being a reflection of later Gaelic naming-patterns rather than Norse ones.

1.4.4.2 Spelling and geospatial data

Although the data has been extracted by using the OSNB and OS1, the head-form spellings and their grid references are based on the OS forms. In cases where the toponym no longer survives, the OS1 form is provided as the head-form. In cases where a place-name is listed in the OSNB but has been crossed out and cannot be found on any of the above maps, they have still been included, but without a grid reference. When giving the etymology of the names, the spellings have been standardised and, as far as possible, Gaelic spellings are drawn from Dwelly (1901-11) and *GPNC*. The spellings of the etymologies provided for the Norse entries are based on *NID* and *Cl.-Vig*. Spellings for etymologies of potential hagiotoponyms are based on DoSH.

1.4.4.3 EvClas

One of the problems raised above relates to the issue of how to approach material when contextual evidence is lacking. This is often the case for early toponyms and in the context of studying Lewis toponyms, particularly the Norse data, this becomes a highly relevant topic. Based on this, to evaluate the nature and extent of contextual evidence it is appropriate to take stock of what is available. This can be done by looking at different types of contextual evidence and analysing the value and extent of each type of evidence. Here, I shall outline some of the types of contextual evidence available for the Lewis data, but this is by no means an exclusive list. It should also be noted that these categories of evidence have a lot in common with the criteria listed in the scale of certainty introduced in 1.3.2.3. This is of course natural since the same evidence is often used in both instances. However, the crucial difference between the scale and the types of evidence listed here lies in the intended outcomes: when applying the scale, we are looking at the initial stage of analysing the data from a word-semantic perspective and the aim is simply to identify whether or not a personal name is present in a given toponym. On the other hand, when using the evidence to determine the motivations for naming, it is analysed from a name-semantic perspective, as outlined above (1.2.4). A complete analysis of an entry should include any available evidence from these categories. The categories are intended to be hierarchical and therefore the outcome of the complete analysis should reflect this accordingly. The categories are as follows:

EvClas1 Direct accounts

Naturally, when attempting to investigate the motivations for naming, the most beneficial evidence is accounts directly relating the circumstances of naming. Examples of relevant accounts include local traditions such as those outlined in 2.2.6 below. An example is the tradition attached to *Eilean Clann an t-Saoir*: 'his two sons swam to the island to retrieve a deer they saw there, but found nothing when they arrived' (Cox 1987b, 126) (see 2.2.6 Hunting).

EvClas2 Indirect accounts

This includes evidence relating to the person who is being commemorated in the toponym in question that has some relation to the feature. This will particularly be the case if the person being commemorated is famous or historically notable. The case of Dòmhnall Cam demonstrates this in that he is a notable figure in Lewis folklore which may result in

further information about the toponyms that commemorate him in the form of local accounts attached to the sites in question (see 2.1.1 ***Airigh Dhomhnuill Chàim***). In these instances, it is crucial to consider whether the individual in question had a real relationship with the site or whether the coining reflects later invention.

EvClas3 Contextual evidence

This includes looking at the historical, linguistic and geographical evidence for the feature in question. In order to perform a complete name-semantic analysis, this is a necessary component since the full formation (both generic and specific) needs to be considered. For certain features, this type of evidence is particularly beneficial. For example, if the generic is G *àirigh* 'a shieling', it is likely that the commemoration relates to agricultural usage. On the other hand, if the generic is *teampall* 'a church', it is likely that the commemoration relates to a person of religious background, most likely a saint.

EvClas4 Comparative evidence

Comparative evidence includes looking at toponyms of a similar nature in other geographical areas where the contextual evidence is more abundant. In a Lewis context, when investigating the Norse dimension, comparative Scandinavian material is crucial, and it is mainly in the context of Norse toponyms that we see comparative material being used as the primary evidence-type. Highlighting these possibilities is an important part of the analysis and can provide essential insights into the name-material that would otherwise have been overlooked. However, when this type of evidence is investigated, we are walking a fine line between what can be considered actual evidence and simply theorising. Since it is often difficult to draw any firm conclusions solely based on comparative evidence, it is necessary to approach this type of evidence with caution and a critical eye.

Based on the different types of evidence discussed here, we can conclude (perhaps obviously) that the less evidence, and the further down the hierarchy of evidence we go, the greater the amount of theorising will be and the conclusions about individual entries will be less certain. The presence of evidence from one category does of course not exclude the presence of evidence from another one. However, when assigning an EvClas in 2.1 and 3.1, it has been approached hierarchically with an emphasis on direct accounts where present. For example, in the case of *Airigh Dhomhnuill Chàim*, we have evidence from EvClas1, EvClas2, and EvClas3, but this has been listed as EvClas1 in 2.1.

1.4.4.4 Interpretation and translation of names

Finally, to what extent should personal names and references to individuals be translated? For example:

Feadan Airidh Mhic Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh #

This could be listed in a number of ways:

G *feadan* 'stream' + *Airidh Mhic Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh* > G *àiridh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh* > G *mac* 'son' + pn *Gille Chriosda Dhuibh* > G *gille* 'servant' + G *Crìost* 'Christ' + G *dubh* 'black, dark'

or

pn *Mac Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh* > G *mac* 'son' + pn *Gille Chriosda Dhuibh* > pn *Gille Chriosda* + G *dubh* 'black, dark'

or

pn *Mac Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh*

or

'The stream of the shieling of the son of the black/dark servant of Christ'

'The stream of the shieling of the son of *Gille Chriosda Dhuibh*'

'The stream of the shieling of *Mac Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh*'

Essentially, it is a matter of whether to take a minimalist, maximalist or middle-ground approach. Here, a middle-ground approach is adopted and the translations are approached on the basis of conventions for the use of personal names. In the case of *Feadan Airidh Mhic Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh*, *Gille Chriosda* is a well-attested Gaelic name and will therefore be listed as a name. Any characterising elements are translated as far as possible, giving: 'The stream of the shieling of the son of dark/black *Gille Chriosda*'. Finally, since all hagiotoponyms have been based on DoSH, the forms listed there have been used for the names of saints.

1.4.4.5 The Gaelic corpus

Layout of entries:

- Head-form, grid reference, OS1 form, related features.
- Description in the OSNB.
- Previous discussions. This includes any relevant accounts in the historical sources as well as discussions by other scholars.

- Discussion of any relevant issues or further information about the site or personal name present in the toponym in question.
- Etymology
- Classification (AntClas and EvClas, as outlined in 5.2 and 1.4.4.3).

1.4.4.6 The Old Norse corpus

Layout of entries:

- Head-form, grid reference, related features.
- Early forms
- Previous discussions
- Comparative material (*NG, NID*)
- Discussion
- Etymology
- Classification (EvClas, as outlined in 5.2).

Chapter 2 The Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of Lewis

2.1 The data

2.1.1 Anthropo-toponyms with contextual evidence

Geodha **Bean Mhurchaidh** NB555371

OS1 *Geodha Bean Mhurchaidh*

> Situation: In the western part of the farm of Port nan Guiran facing Broad
> Bay. District of Eye.
> Descriptive remarks: A small rocky creek on the sea-shore in the farm of
> Portnaguiran. N.B.[8] The name is derived from a woman having been
> drowned in the creek, hence the name 'Murdoch's Wife's Creek'. (OSNB
> OS1/27/55/5)

[Fig. 2.1 *Geodha Bean Mhurchaidh* is the furthermost creek pictured © Copyright Sofia Evemalm]

Etymology

G *geodha* 'a creek or a cove formed by surrounding rocks' + G *Bean Mhurchaidh* < G *bean* 'a wife' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Classification

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8 N.B. in different hand-writing.

AntClas4.c (Events – drownings) EvClas1

See 5.3 for women and drowning in anthropo-toponyms.

Sgeir **Chaptein Grenn** NB174423

OS1 *Sgeir Chaptein Grenn*

> Situation: On the Eastern side of the plan 40 chains South of the letter O, in Lochs parish name, and 20 chains S.W. of Beinn Laimisheadar.
> Descriptive remarks [in different hand-writing]: A prominent stratified rock seen at high water mark, on the North side of the entrance into Loch Charlabaidh. It appears that a trading vessel was wrecked about 40 or 50 years ago on this rock. The captain who commanded the vessel was named Green, from which circumstance the rock was named 'Captain Green's Rock'. (OSNB OS1/27/25/84)

Etymology

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Caiptean Green* 'Captain Green'

Classification

AntClas4.f (Events – shipwrecks) EvClas1

Dùn **Chonaill** NB262159

OS1 *Dùn Chónuill*

> Situation: Adjacent to, and on the East side [of] Aird Dhubh 30 Chains N.N. East of Loch Shròmois.
> Descriptive remarks: A small rocky heathy hill which has on it a Trigt. Station on the East Side of Aird Dhu Dùn Chónuill[9] Signifies Conalls Fort There is no Fort nor Fortress on this hill. (OSNB OS1/27/105/41)

Previous discussions

> There is a putative stone setting at the top of a long smooth hillslope SW of the irregular summit of the hogback hill Dun Chonuill. It is a circular stone setting 7.6m across of five rounded stones up to *c*1m in size forming a semicircle, with eight smaller stones outside and four smaller stones inside the circular shape. The location of this putative site (Callanish 42) close to the summit of Dun Chonuill has been considered by M Curtis and R Curtis for a long time to be of interest to prehistoric people, because the set and re-flash of the midwinter sun at Sgaoth Iosal is indicated at several prehistoric sites. (Curtis 2009, 184)

Discussion

Traditionally, the assumption for a toponym with the generic element *dùn* 'a fort, a cairn' and a personal name as the specific element might be that this was the stronghold

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[9] Written *Chónnuill* with second *n* crossed out.

of a man by the name of *Conall* and that this is where the name is derived from. However, if the material presented in this corpus can teach us anything about anthropo-toponyms, it is the necessity to avoid making assumptions about motivations for naming too readily. In terms of the personal name in question, the name *Conall*, m. is not a name commonly found amongst the modern and early modern inhabitants of Lewis of whom we have record, which gives further evidence of this toponym deviating from the standard pattern of surviving anthropo-toponyms in this area. For example, Aonghas MacCoinnich's (2015) detailed study of Lewis 1570-1639 does not record any instances of this name. It is tempting to associate it with mythological characters such as Conall Gulban, who is well-attested in Scottish folklore. Additionally, we might draw parallels to Irish toponyms, such as *Mag (Machaire) Conaill(e)* and *Caílle Chonaill* which have been linked to the Ulster hero Conall Cernach (Thornton 2003, 184). Finally, the site in question has prehistoric roots and, as argued by M.R. Curtis (2009, 184), may have had a special significance in the Neolithic / Bronze Age. Essentially, it is impossible to know the context and motivation for this toponym without further evidence and any conclusions must be treated with considerable caution. Nevertheless, the combined evidence makes it likely that a motivation at least partially stems from the history and significance of the site in question, and that traditions surrounding this site partially stem from the recognition that it is a prehistoric site of some importance rather than the active agency of a man named *Conall*.

Etymology

G *dùn* 'a fort, a cairn' + pn *Conall*, m.

Classification

AntClas6? (Mythology and folklore) EvClas3

Airigh **Dhomhnuill Chàim** NB243147

OS1 *Airidh Dhomhnuill Cháim*

> Situation: On the Eastern bank of Loch Seaforth between Cnoc an Duine & Cithinish Mhor.
> Descriptive remarks: A few old huts in ruins they are built of stone and peat, and thatched with straw & heather. Airidh Dhomhnuill Chaim Signifies One Eyed Donald's Shealing Cam – applied to persons Sig. Blind of an Eye Name Sig. One-Eyed-Donald's Shealing. (OSNB OS1/27/105/12)

Related features

Allt Airigh Dhomhnuill Chàim NB241147

Situation: Flows round the Eastern base of Cithinish Mhor and falls into Loch Seaforth at Airidh Dhomhnuill Chaim.
Descriptive remarks: A small Stream, which rises on the West Side of Sithean nan Airgiod, and runs into Loch Seaforth. Signifies Stream of One Eyed Donald's Shealing Stream of One-Eyed Donald's Shealing See Note Page 12. (OSNB OS1/27/105/31)

Previous discussions

Donald Cam (c1560-c1640) was Chief of Macaulay and a notorious renegade who lived in various fortifications around Uig […] Early in his career he fought in the Irish wars as a mercenary, probably in the service of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone in company of the Lewis Macleods. He returned to Lewis and lived a violent life, battling with the Morrisons and Mackenzies, taking a part in the siege of Stornoway Castle in 1605 and attracting the attention of the authorities, leading to an attempt to expell all Macaulays from their lands in Uig. Donald had a reputation for being fierce with the sword and quick to anger. He is the subject of many stories still told in Uig today, and many inhabitants trace their lineage from him. His by-name Cam ('squint') is said to originate from a quarrel with an Gobha Ban, the smith at Kneep, during which the smith put out one of Donald's eyes with a red-hot poker. (HC, 27014)

This is a group of shielings named after Domhnall Cam who was Chief of the Macaulays in Uig around the beginning of the 17th Century. Domhnall Cam used to drive his cattle across Loch Seaforth and he always kept a hold of the tail of the last beast as they swam across. He used this area as summer pasture for the cattle. (CECL, 29318)

Discussion

References to Dòmhnall Cam provide some of the most valuable data in Lewis from an anthropo-toponymic perspective since he is a well-attested historical figure of considerable fame in Lewis folklore. MacCoinnich (2008, 22), giving further historical context, states that:

Tales collected by Captain Thomas in the nineteenth century identified an Iain Ruadh MacAulay, the grandfather of Donald Cam MacAmhlaigh, who it was thought (then) flourished in the fifteenth century. Dòmhnall Cam, however, is actually on record in 1610, and if Iain Ruadh really was his grandfather as tradition had it, a date in the mid sixteenth rather than the fifteenth century might seem reasonable.

This makes it possible to create an impression of the general chronology and context of the coining and motivations relating to the toponyms associated with him, many of which have stories directly related to the motivations for their coining.

Etymology

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Dòmhnall Cam* < pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald) + G *cam* 'crooked, bent, blind of an eye'

Classification

AntClas2.a (Agriculture and industry – agricultural usage) EvClas2

Priosan **Dhòmhnuill Chaim** NB365543

OS1 *Priosan Dhomhnuill Chaim*

Situation: On the sea shore in the Northern side of the plan, 170 chains N. of Barabhas Uochdrach village.
Descriptive remarks: A small low narrow cave, on the sea shore. It extends for about thirty yards in an Easterly direction from high water mark. There is a small aperture at its end which is just large enough to admit of air and no more. There is no possibility of getting into it as its mouth is always closed by each succeeding swell of the sea and which causes a great noise at the aperture above mentioned. (OSNB OS1/27/14/7)

Etymology

G *prìosan* 'a prison' + pn *Dòmhnall Cam* < pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald) + G *cam* 'crooked, bent, blind of an eye'

Classification

AntClas: - EvClas2

cf. *Airigh Dhomhnuill Chàim*

Stac **Dhòmhnaill Chaim** NB002315

OS1 *Stac Dhomhnuill Chaim*

Situation: On the sea shore in the western side of the plan, 38 chs. W. by North of Mangursta Village.
Descriptive remarks: A long narrow ridge of rock, about 60 or 70 feet high, extending from the shore into the sea, it is bounded by a steep precipitous cliff, and it accessible only in one place, from the shore. There are two ruins on it, the walls of which are about 1 ½ feet high, there is also a wall on the land side, 2 feet high, 87 feet long and 6 feet thick, the upper surface of the rock is about 60 yards long by 12 wide, and affords a little rocky pasture. This place is traditionally said to have been occupied by an outlaw named Donald Cam, or Mac Dhugaill, or Mac Aulay, from whom are descended the present Mac Aulay of Lewis, and John Mc Donald of Bernera Island and who are said to be the seventh in succession from him many traditional stories are told by the Lewis people respecting him and all agree, in that he was a man of great size and strength, of [?] exploits, and a bold and daring robber. (OSNB OS1/27/57/113-4)

Previous discussions

Stac Dhomnuill Chaim, Mangursta, traditionally known as the castle-refuge of Donald Cam Macauly, the Uig hero of the first quarter of the 17th century, is a promontory 100ft high, the top only 20ft in length, almost cut off from the shore by a deep ravine across an isthmus which is defended also by a wall, 4 to 5ft thick, with a return-wall at the N. end and an entrance, 2ft wide, almost on a cliff edge, at the S end: attached to the wall is a sheep-pen. The ruins of a cottage, 18 1/2ft long by 10ft wide, within walls 4 1/2ft thick, occupy the centre of the promontory. (Canmore, 4047)

Etymology

G *stac* 'a precipice, a steep/high cliff' + pn *Dòmhnall Cam* < pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald) + G *cam* 'crooked, bent, blind of an eye'

Classification

AntClas1.a? (Residence or ownership – general) EvClas2

cf. *Airigh Dhomhnuill Chàim*

cf. *Tigh Eanraic* for similar issues of classification.

Tigh **Eanraic** (in ruins) # NB444337

Situation: Near the southern shore of Broad Bay in the farm of Stenish 2 miles from Stornoway.
Descriptive remarks: Old ruins on the farm of Stenish which have been occupied by persons of this name. It signifies Henry's House (OSNB OS1/27/72/54)

Discussion

Evidence regarded as belonging to EvClas2 (indirect accounts) poses problems since, although they provide context relating to the toponym in question, it does not necessarily give firm evidence of the motivation for coining said toponym. Based on the assertion that the house in question was 'occupied by persons of this name' it would be easy to assume that the motivation here relates to residence or ownership. However, a certain degree of caution is necessary and we would do well to remember that this account does not give any direct evidence for the actual motivation for coining, hence why some uncertainty must be applied. Additionally, several of the descriptions found in the OSNB which provide a residential explanation are supposedly the abodes of notorious outlaws (cf. 2.1.1 *Tigh Mhaoldònuich* and *Bothan Neil*). In light of this, one might suspect a temporary or seasonal usage, but without any further context provided, additional caution must be applied.

Etymology

G *taigh* 'a house' + pn *Eanraig* (Henry), m.

Classification

AntClas1.a? (Residence or ownership – general) EvClas2

Clach **Fhionnlaidh Ghearr** NB153126

OS1 *Clach Fhionnlaidh Ghearr*

> Situation: Near the southern end of Loch Langabhat, 60 chains S.S.E[?]. of the letter G. in Uig parish name and 25 chs. E. of Creag na Lubaig. Descriptive remarks: A large stone in the centre of Langabhat River[.] this name is derived from a man leaping on this stone when chased by others for an act of murder Signifies Finlay Gair's Stone. (OSNB OS1/27/114/20)

Etymology

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + pn *Fionnlagh Gheàrr*, m.

Classification

AntClas4.h (Event – other) EvClas1

See 5.3 for deaths and murders in anthropo-toponyms.

Caisteal **Mhic Creacail** (Chambered Cairn) NB543366

OS1 *Site of Caisteal Mhic Creacail*

> Situation: In the North Western part of the farm of Portnanguiran and near the shore of Broad Bay.
> Descriptive remarks: This is said to be the site of an old castle tho' that which is pointed out as the ruins does not warrant the supposition. The part of the shore where it is situated is very low and there remains nothing to point out its site but a confused heap of small stones. It is in the Western part of Portnaguiran farm.[10]. (OSNB OS1/27/55/24)

Discussion

It appears that the pn *Neacal* has here been phonetically rendered as *Creacal*. Although there is very little contextual evidence available for this toponym, the presence of the generic G *caisteal* warrants further consideration. The feature in question is a Neolithic chambered cairn, but there are no traces of a castle on the site (Canmore, 4388). Unlike *Dùn Chonaill* and *Carn a' Mharc*, which are also prehistoric features, the pn in this toponym appears remarkably ordinary. For example, there are at least five other instances of the personal name being found in formations in Lewis anthropo-toponyms,

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[10] Written *Portnaguiran Townland* with *Townland* crossed out and replaced by *farm*.

three as part of a mac-name and two as a personal name. These are *Baile Neacail, Cnoc Buaile Neacail, Tom Mhic Neacail, Sidhean Tom Mhic Reacail* (possibly derived from *Tom Mhic Neacail*), and *Geodha Mhic Reacail* (see Appendix 1). Although it seems likely that this toponym has its roots in a motivation relating to some particular circumstance or folklore, it is difficult to accurately classify it without further contextual evidence.

Etymology

G *caisteal* 'a castle' + pn *Mac Neacail*

Classification

AntClas - EvClas3

Àirigh **Mhic Cruislig** NB003276

OS1 *Airidh Mhic Cruislig*

> Situation: In the northern centre of the plan, 80 chains N.W. by W. of Mealasbhal.
> Descriptive remarks: A shealing, built of stones and moss, in tolerable repair. Signifies McCruslig's Shealing. (OSNB OS1/27/76/56)

Related features

Allt Mhic Cruislig NB001278

OS1 *Allt Mhic Cruislig*

> Situation: In the centre of the plan, 70 chains N.W. of Mealasbhal.
> Descriptive remarks: A small stream, which branches off into five or six small and nearly imperceptible heads, which are mostly issues of Allt Dhubh – after passing the large fence East of Islebhig it dereceives the name of Allt Neilacrodh. (OSNB OS1/27/76/57)

Discussion

This toponym almost certainly has its roots in folklore, Mac Crùislig being a well-known character in a Lewis context. Clancy (1992, 88) writes that 'In Scottish Gaelic tradition, under the names Mac a' Rùsgaich, mac Rùslaing and Mac Crùislig, Mac Rustang's foolish role is continued'. Additionally, Watson (1926, 211), quoting D.J. MacLeod states that:

> Mac Crùislig was known to us in a vague way in Lewis (Uig) as a being who was capable of getting out of any difficulty; a very close parallel would be the clever slave in the comedies of Plautus. But he was also known to us in this way: if anyone dressed himself up as a guy, in say, a suit two sizes too

large, and had an air of comicality about him, he would be referred to as 'tha Mac Crùislig air tighinn', 'Mac Crùislig has come'.

Of course, here it should be noted that the toponym in question is located in Uig. Therefore although it is possible to propose a motivation relating to folklore, its exact context is difficult to establish. One might imagine a situation where such a coining could somehow be related to an event or some characteristics of the feature, rather than referencing an actual person, but without further contextual evidence, it is impossible to be certain.

Etymology

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Crùislig* (cf. G *crùislig* 'a big, lumbering man')

Classification

AntClas6 (Mythology and folklore) EvClas3

Dùn **Mhic Phi** NB296107

OS1 *Dùn Mhic Phì*

> Situation: In the north Eastern section of the plan, in the head of Loch Shell. Descriptive remarks: A small Island at the head of Loch Shell, on the summit of which is a small ruin in which lived a man of the name of MacPhail at an early period, the island is of an oval form and about thirty feet high and within a few feet of the main land. Signifies Mc Fee's Fort. (OSNB OS1/27/121/21)

Previous discussions

> Dun Mhic Phi, a rocky tidal islet surmounted by the footings of a crude sub-rectangular building of no great age. Local tradition asserts that the island was the refuge of MacPhail, an outlaw. There is no suggestion of a dun. (Canmore, 4139)

Comparative material

> The connotations of Dub are made quite explicit in another pagan forename which survived in Scotland into the sixteenth century at least. Dubshíde means 'the black one of the fairy mound'. MacDuffie, the early Scotticised form of its appearance in a mac surname, is sometimes and quite erroneously associated with 'MacDuff'. Later, MacDhuibhshídhe was reduced in Gaelic to Mac a Phí, which is reflected in the presentday Scotticised forms MacPhee or MacFie. (Bannerman 1993, 20-1)

Discussion

Considering the generic element of this toponym, we might suspect that if local tradition is accurate there are particular circumstances surrounding the habitation of the site. This is especially the case if the resident was an outlaw and certain parallels can be drawn to the traditions associated with Dòmhnall Cam. Motivations aside, the personal name poses some problems since both *Mac Phàil* and *Mac Phì*, two quite different names, are given as the specific element. The most consistent form would appear to be *Mac Phì*, a name previously discussed by John Bannerman (see above).

Etymology

G *dùn* 'a fort, a cairn' + pn *Mac Phì*

Classification

AntClas1.a? (Residence or ownership – general) EvClas2

Geodha **Mhic Sheòrais** NB557377

OS1 *Geodha Sheoruis*

> Situation: In Broad Bay on the North Western coast of Portnanguiran Farm. District of Eye.
> Descriptive remarks: A small rocky creek on the sea-shore in the Farm of Portnaguiran. N.B.[11] The name is derived from a man named 'George' being found drowned in the creek. (OSNB OS1/27/55/5)

Discussion

It is noteworthy that at some point between the recording of this name in OS1 and the modern form, the *mac* has been added. It is not clear which of these forms should be viewed as accurate, but one possibility is that the frequency of *mac*-names has led to it being added here by analogy.

Etymology

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn (?*Mac*) *Seòras* (George), m.

Classification

AntClas4.c (Events – drownings) EvClas1

See 5.3 for drowning in anthropo-toponyms.

Àird Dubh **Mhic Shomhairle Bhain** NB094262

OS1 Aird Dhúbh Mhic Shomhairl Bhain

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[11] N.B. in different hand-writing.

Situation: On the southern margin of the plan, 110 chains North West of Sgoinn.

Descriptive remarks: A low mossy promontory formed by two arms of Loch Grunnabhat, and containing three small fresh water pools It is supposed to have been formerly used by a robber as a sheep fold, Aird Dhubh Mhic Shomhairl Bhain Signifies Fair haired Samuel Son's Black Point. (OSNB OS1/27/80/27)

It is said that some hundred years ago, the person whose name this object bears used to drive the sheep he had stolen into it to catch them, It is said to have been a noted retreat for stolen sheep. (OSNB OS1/27/82/13)

Etymology

G *àird* 'a headland' + G *dubh* 'black, dark' + pn *Mac Shomhairle Bhàin* < G *mac* 'son' + pn *Somhairle Bhàin* < pn *Somhairle* + G *bàn* 'white, fair(-haired)'

Classification

AntClas2.a (Agriculture and industry – agricultural usage) EvClas1

Tigh **Mhaoldònuich** # HW620305

Situation: Near the centre of the Island of Sula Sgeir.

Descriptive remarks: A small house or hut built of stone. It is about four feet long three feet wide and supposed to have been the residence of a man who it is said was transported from Rona to Sulisgear for sheep stealing. Signifies Ludovick's House. (OSNB OS1/27/136/61)

Description: A small hut or house built of of stones. It is about four feet long, three wide, and three high. Tradition says that a man of the name of Ludovick was transported from Rona to Suilsgeir for sheep stealing and this was the house or hut he lived in. He was found dead when a boat went to take him back. (OSNB OS1/27/136/100)

Discussion

Although the translation of *Maoldònuich* into *Ludovick* may appear quite strange, as Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh states: 'Gaelic names were often masked in formal written sources and represented by unrelated Latin or Anglo-Norman names, which were perceived to be permissible equivalents, possibly even prestigious variants. Mere similarities in sounds or sound sequences, usually but not always contiguous, was often a sufficient basis to establish the equivalence.'[12] Because of this, equating *Maoldònuich* with *Ludovick* is not necessarily an issue, despite the lack of etymological relationship between these names.

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[12] (Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh, pers.comm.)

Etymology

G *taigh* 'a house' + pn *Maoldònuich* (Ludovick), m.[13]

Classification

AntClas1.a? (Residence or ownership – general) EvClas2

cf. ***Tigh Eanraic*** for similar issues of classification.

Carn a' **Mharc** (Chambered Cairn) NB473438

OS1 *Carn a Mharc*

> Situation: On the top of Cnoc a Chairn 20 chains South of Sithean Blàr a Chàirn.
> Descriptive remarks: A large heap on the top of Cnoc a Carn. It is supposed to be the tomb of a Norwegian Prince. (OSNB OS1/27/35/31)

Previous discussions

> There are some Cairnes or Heaps of Stones gather'd together on Heaths, and some of them are at a great distance from any Ground that affords Stones: such as *Cairnwarp* near *Mournagh-Hill*. (Martin 1703, 8)

> Martin calls it Carn-warp, meaning Carn-varp; varp (Bhairp) being the genitive of Barp. But the name is a pleonasm; for Barp (= barrow) is a large cairn. So completely is the meaning of this word forgotten in Lewis (although in common use in Uist) that Barp or Barc has been transformed into a son of the King of Lochlinn, who was killed on that spot while on a hunting expedition, and was buried there, hence called Carn Bharce Mhic Righ Lochlinn. (Thomas 1890, 377)

Discussion

This toponym was in fact originally most likely not coined as an anthropo-toponym, as made clear by Thomas (1890, 377). The interpretation he proposes is recorded by Dwelly (1901-11) as *barpa* 'a cairn, supposed to be a memorial of the dead, a barrow'. Additionally, we might also consider the possibility of G *marc* 'a horse, a charger, a steed' as a possibility. It is worth noting that the site in question is a Neolithic chambered cairn (Canmore, 4336) and therefore has a history extending far beyond the coining of this name. Based on these factors, it seems likely to propose a situation comparable to that suggested for *Dùn Chonaill*, where the antiquity of the feature in question may play a significant role in the creation of local tradition and folklore.

Etymology

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[13] I am grateful to Dàibhaidh Grannd and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh for their thoughts on this name.

G *càrn* 'a cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Barce Mhic Righ Lochlin* (d. Unlikely) or G

barpa 'a barrow, a cairn' (b. Probable) or G *marc* 'a horse, a charger, a steed' (c. Maybe)

Classification

AntClas6? (Mythology and folklore) EvClas3

Bothan **Neil** NB234455

OS1 *Bothan Neil*

> Situation: On the summit of Creagan Beinn Ghuidamul 19 chains E.N.East
> of Delbeag Inn.
> Descriptive remarks: A natural space, between two rocks, which is supposed
> to have been the retreat of an outlaw, of the name of McLeod. It was roofed
> by a large flag, and commanded a full view of the sea. (OSNB
> OS1/27/26/87)

Previous discussions

> Tradition: Niall MacLeòid, reputed to have lived on Eilean an Taigh q.v.,
> was a spy for the Macaulays against the Morrisons of Ness. (*GPNC*, 188)

Etymology

G *bothan* 'a bothy' + pn *Niall* (Neil)

Classification

AntClas1.a? (Residence or ownership – general) EvClas2

cf. ***Tigh Eanraic*** for similar issues of classification.

Rubha Tigh **Phàil** NB191345

OS1 *Rudha Tigh Phàil*

> Situation: A quarter of a mile South of Leur Thob, at Circabost old village.
> Descriptive remarks: A small headland, on the shore of Loch Roag. 'Rudha
> Tigh Phàil' signifies Paul's House Point. (OSNB OS1/27/46/16)

> A small headland on the shore of Loch Roag which takes its name from a
> house in which a man named Paul lived. It is low but rocky. (OSNB
> OS1/27/46/115)

Etymology

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + en **Taigh Phàil* < G *taigh* 'a house' + pn *Pàl*

(Paul)

Classification

AntClas1.a? (Residence or ownership – general) EvClas2

Creag **Sgàire** NB194288

OS1 *Creag Sgàire*

Situation: On the western margin of Loch Sgaire, 35 chains N. by west of the letter I, in Uig parish name, and 100 chains E. of Griosamol.
Descriptive remarks: A kind of cliff or precipitous rock, on the east side of Cnoc Scaire, Tradition says that about four hundred years ago, an outlaw of the name Zachary, resorted to it as a hiding place, but being discovered, was put to death and buried here. 'Creag Sgàire' Signifies Zachary's Rock (OSNB OS1/27/84/41)

Related features

Loch Sgàire NB196288

OS1 *Loch Sgàire*

Situation: In the northern side of the plan, 17 chains N.N.E. of the letter I in Uig parish name, and 110 chains E. of Griosamol.
Descriptive remarks: A large fresh water Loch, in which are a few small islands and rocks, and into which flow several small streams. It is connected to Loch Faoghail an Tuim, by a narrow passage called Faoghail an Tuim. 'Loch Sgaire' Signifies Zachary's Loch. (OSNB OS1/27/84/42)

Allt Creag Sgàire NB191285

OS1 *Allt Creag Sgaire*

Situation: In the northern side of the plan, 37 chains NN.W. of the letter I in Uig parish name, and 90 chains E by S. of Griosamol.
Descriptive remarks: A small stream, which rises in the moors, and runs into Loch a Sgaire, 'Allt Creag Sgaire' Signifies Stream of Zachary's Rock. (OSNB OS1/27/84/26)

Cnoc Creag Sgàire NB192287

OS1 *Cnoc Creag Sgàire* [corrected from Cnoc Sgaire]

Situation: In the northern side of the plan 50 chains N. by West of the letter I in Uig parish Name, and 100 chains E. of Griosamol.
Descriptive remarks: A small rocky heathy hill, on the Eastern side of which there is a kind of cliff called Creag Sgaire. 'Cnoc Creag Sgàire' Signifies Hill of Zachary's Rock. (OSNB OS1/27/84/44)

Previous discussions

Zachary, son of Angus and Ann nee Mackenzie, is remembered as the leader of the Macaulays in what must be the last Clan fight to take place on Lewis soil.

According to one account, the Macaulays stole cattle from the Morrisons of Ness whilst the latter were on Rona gathering eggs and sea-fowl. The Morrisons returned before the Macaulays had got far and gave chase. They overtook them at Shader and killed some of the rustlers and attacked them a second time near Barvas at Druim nan Carnan. Only three escaped: Zachary

and his two foster-brothers who did not stop until they had crossed the Grimersta river. By this time night had fallen and they decided to rest for the night under the shelter of a rock. But unfortunately for them it was a bright moonlit night and the Morrisons, who had not given up the chase, saw one of their swords glinting in the moonlight. They stole up on them and killed them. To this day the rock is known as Creag Sgaire and the loch beside it Loch Sgaire. (CEBL, 28030)

Discussion

For the purposes of this study, this toponym is highly valuable. Not only is it possible to give a rough estimation of when the event commemorating the name took place, (1654 is the date given for Zachary MacAulay's death (CEBL, 28030)) but there is direct evidence relating to the motivation for coining, as recounted in local tradition.

Etymology

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Sgàire* (Zachary), m. (MacCoinnich 2015, 510)

Classification

AntClas4.d (Events – murders/killings) EvClas1

2.1.2 Possible hagiotoponyms

St **Aula's** Church (remains of) / Teampall **Amhlaigh** NB490415

OS1 *Cross Church*

Etymology

G *teampall* 'church' + pn *St Olaf* (*Amhlaigh*, king of Norway) (DoSH)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Teampull **Bhrighid** (site of) NB409573

OS1 *Teampull Bhrighid* (ruin)

> Situation: Near the sea shore in the S.W. of the plan, 30 chains W. of Mealabost village.
> Descriptive remarks: The ruins of a church situated on the sea-shore at the North-East end of Eire. It has the appearance of the ruins of a hut, and resembles a pile of stone, more than the ruins of a church. About 100 years ago the interior was used as a burying ground, but there are no traditional stories regarding either church or grave yard. It would appear that the church was dedicated to Saint Bridget. Signifies Bridget's Temple. (OSNB OS1/27/5/22)

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St Brigid* (non-specific saint *Brig, Brigit, Bride* (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Tobar **Bhrighid** # NB410573

OS1 not listed

Discussion

This name only appears on the modern map and it seems very likely that it is a relatively late coining derived from the nearby church.

Etymology

G *tobar* 'a well' + pn *St Brigid* (non-specific saint *Brig, Brigit, Bride* (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Cnoc **Chaitriana** NB478395

OS1 *Cnoc Catriane*

> Situation: Midway between the village of Gearradh nan Geadh and Cnoc Iorach.
> Descriptive remarks: A small hill of mossy pasture. Cnoc Catriane signifies Catherine's Hill. (OSNB OS1/27/39/50)

Etymology

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *St Catherine* (?*Catherine of Alexandria* d. Unlikely (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5? (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Eilean **Chaluim Chille** NB385214

OS1 *Eilean Chalum Ghille*

1654 Blaeu *Yl. Cholumb Kil*

> Situation: Near the Southern shore of Loch Erisort, a little more than half a mile west of the village of Cromòr.
> Descriptive remarks: A large island, on which is the ruins of a Church, and what is supposed to be the ruins of a Monastery, Tradition says they were built by St. Columb. Gille, or Columb Kuil[?] who lived [18] on the island. Signifies St. Columba's Island. (OSNB OS1/27/94/54)

Etymology

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[18] 'and died' has been crossed out.

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *St Columba* (*Columb Cille m. Feidlimid* (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas2

Sìthean **Chalum Ghille** NB153334

OS1 *Sithean Chalum Ghille*

> Situation: On the southern bank of Loch Roag, half a mile north of Beinn Drobhinish.
> Descriptive remarks: Two small hillocks or knolls of Rocky and Arable pasture. 'Sithean Chalum Ghille' Signifies St. Columbus Hillock. (OSNB OS1/27/62/9)

Discussion

Despite its rather strange spelling with *Ghille*, it must be assumed that this toponym ultimately refers to the saint's name *Colum Cille*. Several of the entries above referring to *Columba* have forms where this spelling is present, such as *Eilean Chalum Ghille*.

Etymology

G *sìthean* 'a little hill or knoll, a fairy hill, (rarely) a big rounded hill' + pn *St Colum Cille* (?St)

Classification

AntClas5? (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Cleite **Catriona** NB313118

OS1 *Cleite Catriona*

> Situation: In the South Western section of the plan, 100 chains West of Stiomrabhagh Village.
> Descriptive remarks: A rocky heathy hill, of considerable size, the rocks on it are large and numerous, and pasture pretty good. Signifies Catharine's Hill. (OSNB OS1/27/120/30)

Etymology

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *St Catherine* (?*Catherine of Alexandria* d. Unlikely (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5? (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

St **Columb's** Church (remains of) NB385210

OS1 *Eaglais Chalum Chille* or *St Columb's Church* (in ruins)

> Situation: On the Eastern side of Eilean Chalum Ghille West of Tob a Tuath.

Descriptive remarks: A small rectangular stone building, which is in ruins, and proposed to have been built by Colum Kuil[?]. The workmanship of the part of the building now standing is of a very rude order. It is enclosed by a stone wall the intervening space forming a grave yard. There are a few small buildings, adjacent to it also in ruins, in some one of these the saint is supposed to have dwelt. [crossed out:] the above mentioned grave yard is the only one in the Parish of Lochs (OSNB OS1/27/94/93)

Etymology

G *eaglais* 'church''a church' + pn *St Columba* (*Columb Cille m. Feidlimid* (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas2

cf. *Eilean **Chaluim Chille***

St **Cowstans** Chapel NB515335

1703 Martin *St Cowsten's Church*, (*St Cutchon*)

OS1 *Site of St Cowstans Chapel*

Situation: It is in the farm of Garrabost 47 chains North West of […] Trigt. Station.
Descriptive remarks: This chapel was situated on a piece of sloping ground on the north of and adjacent to 'Allt Buaile Eoin' at about 4 chains west of Tobar an Leathad. About 40 years ago the remaining walls of the ancient edifice were completely levelled by the people of this neighbourhood who used the stones for building the walls of huts and at present there is not the smallest [?] vestige of anything on the ground that would lead a person to believe that such a building had stood there. The above mentioned well is the nearest [?] to where the chapel stood. (OSNB OS1/27/55/41)

Etymology

pn *St Cowstan* + SSE *chapel*

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

cf. *Tobar **Huisdein***

Teampull **Coin** (remains of) [Teampull **Eoin**] NB288489

OS1 *Teampuill Eoin* (In Ruins)

Situation: On the Eastern bank of Port Mor Bhragair, 50 chains North of Bragair a Deas Village.
Descriptive remarks: The ruins of an old church or chapel, the walls are all nearly delapidated, except one on the West side next the sea. A grave yard is attached to these ruins. Teampull Eoin Signifies Johns or St Johns Temple. (OSNB OS1/27/15/9)

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St John* (DoSH)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Cnoc **Eoin** NB518336

OS1 *Cnoc Eoin*

> Situation: Five or six chains North of the village of Garrabost.
> Descriptive remarks:[19] A small heathy hill near the village of Garrabost. It is in the farm of Garrabost. (OSNB OS1/27/55/47)

Etymology

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *St John* (DoSH) (c. Maybe)

Classification

AntClas5? (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Tobar **Huisdein** NB514336

OS1 *Tobar Uisdean* or *St Cowstans Well*

> Situation: About 22 chains West of the North end of the Village of Garrabost on the farm of Garrabost.
> Descriptive remarks:[20] A spring of excellent water between Garrabost and the sea shore. The water gushes out from beneath a bank with considerable force and falls into the sea at a few chains from its source. It is in the farm of Garrabost. In ancient times this well was held in great esteem. The traditional story goes to say that all manner of disease used to be cured by placing the patient under the cliff where the water falls on the shore. N.B. From the descriptive remarks and the wells contiguity… to where the chapel stood also other information […?] from the inhabitants this is likely to be the well alluded to in the Statistical [Account?] as dedicated to St Cowstan. (OSNB OS1/27/55/47)

> St. Cowstan's Well at Garrabost, with the extraordinary water which refused to boil over the hottest fire; and St. Andrew's Well at Shader, whose miraculous properties instantly killed or cured the sick (MacKenzie 1903, 504[21]).

> The well at St. *Cowsten*'s Church never boils any kind of Meat, tho it be kept on fire a whole day. St. Andrew's Well in the Village Shadar is by the vulgar Natives made a Test to know if a sick Person will die of the Distemper he labours under (Martin 1703, 7).

Discussion

There are various name-forms recorded for the specific element of this toponym, mainly

represented as pn *Úistean* or pn *Cowstan*. It should also be noted that Martin (1703, 27)

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[19] Note: from 'a small heathy hill' in different hand-writing, one section crossed out and replaced with farm.
[20] Note: from 'a spring…' to '…the farm of Garrabost' is in a different hand.
[21] Describing an account from around 1680 by 'John Morison, who wrote under the pseudonym of "An Indweller" (of Lewis)'.

refs to the saint in question as 'St. *Cutchou* in *Garbost*'. The most likely scenario here might be that both *Cowstan* and *Úistean* are variants of *St Constantine* which have been reanalysed locally. In the case of *Úistean* such a development could potentially take the form of **Tobar Chuisdein* > **Tobar Hùisdein* > **Tobar Úistean*. Similar patterns for *St Constantine* can be found in toponyms such as *Kilchousland* on Bute (DoSH).

Etymology

G *tobar* 'a well' + pn *St Úistean* (?*Cowstan*)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Cnoc **Mairi / Mary** Hill (OS VectorMap) NB406341

OS1 *Mary Hill*

> Situation: On the south side of the Callernish road about one half mile from Stornoway.
> Descriptive remarks: A low hill on the […] of Mr Matheson. It has been lately planted with wood consisting of Fir and Ash on the summit there are two houses or huts built with sods and earth. This hill has lately received its present name. It used to be called Cnoc Airidh na Lice being near the Loch of that name. (OSNB OS1/27/71/10)

Discussion

Considering the description provided by the OSNB, it seems far more likely that this name in fact commemorates Lady Mary Matheson, wife of Sir James Matheson (HC, 45194). Nevertheless, for the purpose of consistency and keeping in line with DoSH which lists is as a possible (albeit doubtful) hagiotoponym, this entry has been included here.

Etymology

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *St Mary* (*Mary* the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady d. Unlikely (DoSH)) or pn *Màiri* (Mary), f. (b. Probable)

Classification

AntClas7? (Transferred association)

Bruach **Mairi** / **Mary** Bank (OS VectorMap) NB409338

OS1 *Mary Bank*

> Situation [crossed out]: About one mile west of Stornoway at the junction of the Callernish and Harris road.
> Descriptive remarks: [crossed out, illegible] (OSNB OS1/27/71/10)

Etymology

G *bruthach* 'a bank' + pn *St Mary* (*Mary* the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady d. Unlikely (DoSH))

or pn *Màiri* (Mary), f. (b. Probable)

Classification

AntClas7? (Transferred association)

cf. *Cnoc **Mairi** / **Mary** Hill*

St **Mary's** Chapel (remains of) NG431987

OS1 not listed

Previous discussions

> Island-More hath a Chappel in it dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and is fruitful in Corn and Grass (Martin 1703, 26).

> In the channel between Lewis and Sky, a third of the way nearer the former than the latter, are three islands, named *Shaint* or Holy Islands, well known to mariners ; one of them, in particular, seems to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary ; it is named *Moair*, or Mary's Island ; in it there are the remains of a Popish chapel (*OSA* vol. 19, 276).

> There are three Isles in the group, lying off the East side of Lewis. Chambers says the term Shiant seems to mean the holy place or plane of spirits, and appears to have been conferred on these islands merely from having once possessed a religious monastic establishment. (Canmore, 11408)

Etymology

pn *St Mary* (*Mary* the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady (DoSH)) + SSE *chapel*

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Cladh **Mhicheil** NB544479

OS1 *Cladh Mhìcheil*

> Situation: On the sea shore in the northern side of the plan, 40 chains N.E. by E. of Tolastadh a Dheas Village.
> Descriptive remarks: A burying ground on a small sandy space, prominently situated on the eastern side of Allt Loch Osabhat. It seems to be an ancient spot and is marked by a number of crude stones varying in height from one to three feet, placed in it as memorial of the dead. Tradition states that in this place a Temple once stood, all trace of which has long since ceased to exist. Signifies Michael's Church Yard. (OSNB OS1/27/24/27).

Etymology

G *cladh* 'a burial ground, a cemetery' + pn *St Michael* (DoSH)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

St **Moluag's** Church NB519651

OS1 *Teampull Fò Luith* (in ruins)

[Fig. 2.2 *St Moluag's Church* © Copyright Sofia Evemalm]

Description: A plain stone building, with gables, the four walls of which are still standing and not much decayed. It had four windows, two on the sides, and two on the ends, and is one of the largest ruins of churches in Lewis Island. There is very little known regarding it except that it is considered very old, and remains under the protection of some saint or angel by whose power or through whose intercession insane people who sleep in it over night are restored to their senses. The experiment they say was successfully made a few years ago by an Uig man. (OSNB OS1/27/2/67)

Previous discussions

John Morrison of Bragir told me, that when he was a Boy, and going to the Church of St. Mulvay, he observed the Natives to kneel and repeat the Paternoster at four miles distance from the Church. The inhabitants of this Island had an antient Custom to sacrifice to a Sea-God, call'd Shony, at Hallowtide, in the manner following: The inhabitants round the Island came to the Church of St. Mulvay, having each man his Provision along with him; every Family furnish'd a Peck of Malt, and this was brew'd into Ale: one of their number was pick'd out to wade into the Sea up to the middle, and carrying a Cup of Ale in his hand, standing still in that posture, cry'd out with a loud Voice, saying, *Shony, I give you this Cup of Ale, hoping that you'll be so kind as to send us plenty of Seaware, for inriching our Ground the ensuing Year*: and so threw the Cup of Ale into the Sea. This was perform'd in the Night time. At his Return to Land, they all went to Church, where there was a Candle burning upon the Altar; and then

standing silent for a little time, one of them gave a Signal, at which the Candle was put out, and immediately all of them went to the Fields, where they fell a drinking their Ale, and spent the remainder of the Night in Dancing and Singing (Martin 1703, 28-9).

The largest and most entire is that at Eorapie in Ness, dedicated to St Mulvay; it seems to have been the principal one, and undoubtedly used as a place of worship […] the people around it, pay it as yet a great deal of superstitious veneration, and indeed some of them retain still a few of the popish superstitions (*OSA* 1791–99 vol. 19, 270).

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St Moluag* (*Mo Luóc m. Luchta* of Lismore (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Airigh **Mhuire** NG431985

OS1 *Airidh Mhuire*

Situation: In the centre of Eilean Mhuire, which is on the west side of the plan. Descriptive remarks: The ruins of a group of shealings, in Mary's Island, some of which were built of Earth, and some of stone. They are situated about the centre of the Island – the greater number of them are nearly become invisible and overgrown with long grass. Signifies Saint Mary's Shealing. (OSNB OS1/27/134/18)

Etymology

G *àirigh* 'a shieling'+ pn *St Muire* (*Mary* the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

cf. *St **Mary's** Chapel*

Eilean **Mhuire** NG431985

OS1 *Eilean Mhuire*

Situation: On the eastern side of the plan ¾ of a mile E. of Garbh Eilean. Descriptive remarks: The smallest, and most Easterly of the three largest of the Shant Islands. It is twenty chains East of Garbh Eilean, and forty five chains N.E. of Eilean Tigh. Its greatest length is about one mile, and its greatest breadth about 20 chains. It produces pasture of the best quality, and the sheep fed upon it are of a superior kind. The whole of it has been cultivated, and is said to have produced very good crops. It is said to have been the refuge of a priest in the days [of] Knox. Cattle of every description can be landed on it. Signifies Saint Mary's Island. (OSNB OS1/27/134/19)

Etymology

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *St Muire* (*Mary* the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

cf. *St **Mary's** Chapel*

Cladh **Mhuire,** St **Mary's** Church NB352516

OS1 *Cladh Mhuire*

> Situation: In the South Western section of the plan, 70 chains W.SW. of
> Barabhais Uarach Village.
> Descriptive remarks: A burying place on a sandy hill west of Barvas Manse.
> There is neither Tomb nor head-stone in it nor is it even enclosed There was
> formerly a Church near it in which tradition says officiated a Young Priest who
> would allow none to be buried here unless he received a certain sum of money
> from the relations of deceased. In consequence of which demand, the people
> often interred their dead in the neighbourhood unknown to him No trace of the
> Church can now be found it has long since fallen into ruins and has been buried
> under the sand so that not even the site of it can be distinguished from any other
> part of the ground No information can be obtained regarding the antiquity of this
> burying place. Only that it has been the principal one in the parish from time
> immemorial. (OSNB OS1/27/14/35-6)

Etymology

G *cladh* 'a burial ground, a cemetery' + pn *St Muire* (*Mary* the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady

(DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Camas **Phadruig** NB322107

OS1 *Camus Phàdruig*

> Situation: On the northern side of Loch Shell, 70 chains N.W. by West of
> Budhanais Village.
> Descriptive remarks: A small Bay or bend, in the northern side of Loch Shell,
> between Rudha na Moine, and Gob nan Sgarbh, Its beach is [for] the most part
> covered with small boulders, and its shore is low and level. (OSNB
> OS1/27/122/8)

Etymology

G *camas* 'a wide bay' + pn *St Pàtraic* (*Patrick*, ?*Pátraic m. Calprainn* of Ireland (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Sgeir **Phadric** # NB491301

Situation: In the centre part of the farm of Sordall, on the coast 46 chains South of the village of Sordall.
Descriptive remarks: A large point of Rock on the sea shore close to the Trig Station '"Cnoc nan Eun'" Sgeir Phadruic signifies Peters Rock. (OSNB OS1/27/74/57)

Etymology

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry'skerry' + pn *Pàtraic* (*Patrick*, ?*Pátraic m. Calprainn* of Ireland (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Teampall **Pheadair** (remains of) NB508638

OS1 *Teampull Pheadair* (in ruins)

Situation: In the south western section of the plan, 70 chs S.W. by South of Eorrapidh village
Descriptive remarks: The ruins of a church, situated on the margin of Amhuinn Shuainaboist. Attached to it is a grave yard which is the only one in the district of Ness. Three of its walls are standing, but the fourth has partly fallen in. Formerly it was the parish Church of Ness, and became a ruin in 1829. It is said to have been rebuilt in 1756, and to have derived its name from its first pastor, but when first erected is unknown. Signifies Peter's or Saint Peter's Temple. (OSNB OS1/27/2/27-8)

Discussion

Interestingly, according to the OSNB this could in fact not be viewed as a hagiotoponym, having supposedly been named after its first pastor. However, there is no other evidence to support this notion and it must be treated with considerable caution.

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St Peter* (DoSH)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Teampull **Pheadair** (remains of) NB379549

OS1 *Teampull Pheadair* (ruins)

Description: This is an old burying place with the site of a place of worship. There are upwards of a hundred years since any was buried in it except a sailor who was cast ashore here about 40 years ago There is a tale of an old woman of Shadir who was spinning black wool in one of the houses near the graveyard. It is said that a woman rose out of the grave and entered the house when the old woman was spinning the black wool. Without speaking a word to any of the inmates she attacked the poor old woman and cut off one of her fingers with her

teeth. This unwelcome visit of the dead was attributed by the people to the black wool Long after this there was no black wool spun in the night time in the village without having a small tuft of white wool tied on the top of the distaff It is also said that very few if any of the natives were buried in it after this occurrence. The site of the church is pointed out by the natives around and only including the graveyard there is no more than forty years since the gable ends of it were standing. There are no traditionary stories regarding either church or graveyard nor can any further information be collected regarding its antiquity &c [?] it appears from the name Pheadair (Peter) that the church was dedicated to St Peter. (OSNB OS1/27/7/53)

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St Peter* (DoSH)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Teampull **Rònaidh** (site of) (OS1) NB523653

Description: The ruins of a small hut on the summit of an arable knoll at the Butt of Lewis. It is about twenty feet long and 12 wide, and supposed to be of great antiquity. It is said to have been built by a person called Ronaid by whom and his sister it was inhabited. The supposition that it was a church appears to be fabulous as it is not born out by either tradition or appearances. It is said the Island of Rona also received its name from this individual who with his sister visited it on the back of a large whale. No part of the walls is no[w] standing. (OSNB OS1/27/2/68)

Previous discussions

The ruin of Teampull Ronaidh, listed as the Church of St Ronan by Martin (M Martin 1934 [1703, 27]) and locally believed to be much the oldest church in northern Lewis (W C Mackenzie 1919), is an irregular rectangular stony mound about 24ft long by 18ft broad and oriented almost ESE and WNW, on the summit of a slight elevation. (Canmore, 4418)

Discussion

It is worth noting that there appears to be some confusion between this *Teampull Rònaidh* and *St Ronan's Church* on the *Isle of Rònaidh*. The church Martin (1703, 27) refers to is in fact the entry discussed below.

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St Rònàn* (DoSH)

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Tobha **Rònaigh** HW815322

OS1 *Tobha Rònaidh*

Situation: Forms the S.E. headland in Rona Island.
Descriptive remarks: A hill and headland, which forms the S.E and most elevated part of Rona, It is very green, of a circular shape and about 360 feet above the level of the sea – with a steep precipitous cliff at its base. (OSNB OS1/27/136/22)

Etymology

?G *tòbha* 'a promontory' (Fraser 1984, 39-40) + pn *St Rònàn* (DoSH) or en *Rònaidh* (island)

Classification

AntClas5? (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

cf. *Teampull* **Rònaidh**

St **Ronan's** Church (remains of) HW808323

OS1 *Ronaidh*, Church (In Ruins)

Situation: On the Southern side of Rona Island.
Descriptive remarks: The ruins of a village of huts, which is the only one on the Island of Rona. The site of some of the habitations are scarcely traceable. The walls of the remainder are about 5 or 6 feet high and composed of stone and earth. They appear to have been roofed with sods taken from an adjacent hillock called Buaile na Sgrath. There are a grave yard and Church (which is also in ruins) attached to the village. The former is enclosed by a wall composed of stone and earth, and contains in or about its centre a rude stone cross without any inscription. The latter is on the south side of the former and is about 7 yards long by 4 yards wide. The walls are still standing and are about 6 feet high and composed of stone and lime. There is a small house at its S. East end, which appears to have been formerly used as a vestry as it communicates with the church by means of a small door or opening. The walls are built of lime and stone and roofed with the same materials. It is about 6 feet long, four feet wide and about 8 feet high. It is plastered and whitewashed with lime on the inside which keeps it dry and prevents it from being in ruins like the others. (OSNB OS1/27/136/42)

Previous discussions

There is a Chappel here dedicated to St. *Ronan*, fenc'd with a Stone-Wall round it; and they take care to keep it neat and clean, and sweep it every day. There is an Altar in it, on which there lies a big Plank of Wood about ten Foot in length; every Foot has a hole in it, and in every hole a Stone, to which the natives ascribe several Virtues: one of them is singular, as they say, for promoting speedy Delivery to a Woman in Travail. (Martin 1703, 21-2)

Etymology

pn *St Rònàn* (DoSH) + ?SSE *church*

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

Teampull **Thòmais** (site of) # NB508640

> Situation: On the south western section of the plan, on the sea coast, 70 chns
> S.W. of Eorrapidh village.
> Descriptive remarks: The site of an old church, on the sea coast, near the mouth
> of Amhuinn Shainaboist. It has been a ruin during the memory of the oldest man
> in the Lewis [*sic*]. Its stones were used in building Teampull Pheadair which is
> adjacent to it. It is situated on the summit of a small knoll but the date of its
> erection is unknown. Signifies Thoma's Temple or Saint Thoma's Temple.
> (OSNB OS1/27/2/26)

Etymology

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn *St Thomas* (*Thomas*, apostle b. Probable; *Thomas of Canterbury*

d. Unlikely (DoSH))

Classification

AntClas5 (Hagiotoponyms) EvClas3

2.2 Extensive analysis of Gaelic data

2.2.1 Historical background

This chapter aims to provide an extensive analysis of the full range of Gaelic anthropo-toponyms found in Lewis. As outlined in 1.3, the corpus of Gaelic names presented in 2.1 includes anthropo-toponyms for which there is some contextual evidence available. However, there is a considerably larger body of anthropo-toponyms found in Lewis where essentially all we have is the toponym in question and its location, with a total of some 406 entries. The aim here is to study these names quantitatively in order to establish the characteristics of Lewis anthropo-toponyms. These findings will subsequently be investigated comparatively alongside material from Fife in Chapters 4 and 5. As a starting point, we shall look briefly at the general patterns of naming and personal names in Lewis. Bramwell (2007, 37-8) provides an excellent overview of the characteristics of naming in the Western Isles, some of which are crucial in considering the nature of Lewis anthropo-toponyms. These characteristics can be summarised as follows:

> In the Western Isles in general, over 52% of people possess one of the ten
> most common surnames…The problem is exacerbated by the relatively
> small stock of masculine names used regularly for naming…Something
> other than official names is necessary to distinguish people from each
> other. The additional system of naming that exists within this community

is both functional and necessary to ensure clear and economical identification of individuals.

Based on this, we can establish that the naming-practices in Lewis are characterised by the use of various strategies to ensure identification of individuals within a relatively small name-stock,[23] particularly by the use of epithets and surnames. It is clear that a consideration of the use of patronymics, surnames, and epithets in Lewis is an integral aspect of understanding the naming-practices. The patronymic formation has been termed 'the prototypical Highland surname … with the prefix mac-, the Gaelic word for "son"' (Hough 2003, 35). Looking at the development of patronyms and surnames in Scotland, they represent a long-lasting social development whereby a shift in the use of patronymics to surnames can be seen. Hough (2003, 31) summarises this process in her statement that:

> The main surnaming period took place between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries in Lowland Scotland and was not completed until still later in the Highlands, where the clan system both complicated and delayed the development of surnames passed down within the nuclear family … in Gaelic-speaking areas some clan names go back to the twelfth century but did not become hereditary surnames until the eighteenth.

According to Bannerman (1993, 20) 'In the later Gàidhealtachd the relationship between kindred name, style and surname is usually clear'. Hence, although the exact process by which patronymics develop into surnames is difficult to establish, it is often possible to identify the circumstances of an eponymous ancestor giving rise to a kindred name. For example, the origins of the Macleods can be traced back to their split into two branches (Sìol Tormoid and Sìol Torcail) in the fourteenth century (MacCoinnich 2008, 8). Finally, John Blake's (1966, 154-61) study of the distribution of Lewis surnames should be briefly considered here. Discussing material that was compiled at a period roughly contemporary with the OSNB, he states that: 'In 1890-91 a return was made of the surnames of the schoolchildren in three of the parishes of Lewis. The Macleods headed the list in each parish, the Morisons being second in Barvas, the Mackenzies in Lochs and the Macdonalds in Uig.' (Blake 1966, 156) Additionally, he emphasises the 'general lack of population mobility in Lewis over the last hundred and fifty years' (Blake 1966, 160). Such characteristics make it appropriate to investigate whether regional patterns of patronymics survive to any extent in the distribution of anthropo-toponyms, further discussed below (2.2.4.2).

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[23] In Bramwell's (2007, 37) study-area, the five most common adult male forenames are: *Donald* (21%), *John* (11%), *Angus* (10%), *Alasdair* (8%), and *Ruaridh* (5%).

2.2.2 Patronymic or surname?

It is important to note that the distinction between a patronymic and a surname is not always straightforward. The definition of a patronymic is a 'personal name originating from the father's name' (ICOS 2010-, 4), whereas a surname, or family name, is a 'hereditary name of a family or a member of a family with such a name' (ICOS 2010-, 3). However, the considerable fluidity implied in the process outlined above means that when studying toponyms containing such expressions, without sufficient contextual evidence, it is not always clear what constitutes a surname or a patronym. Cox (2002) does not make a distinction between patronyms and surnames, stating that 'often it is impossible to say one way or another, although the last is comparatively recent and less common' (Cox 2002, 25). Additionally, in some instances an expression containing G *mac* 'son' may also represent a given name, as in *Macbethad* ('son of life') and *Macraith* ('son of fortune') (Bannerman 1993, 20) and it is important to consider this as a possibility for some of the formations occurring in the data presented here.

2.2.3 Hypothesis

In light of the general naming-patterns in Lewis, we would expect the topographical material to reflect these characteristics. The data presented by Bramwell (2007) differs from the data presented here chronologically since here the bulk of the data is derived from the nineteenth-century OSNB, whereas her study focuses on modern-day naming patterns. Nevertheless, in a society which is has until recently led 'a more traditional lifestyle than that associated with mainland Britain' (Bramwell 2007, 35), we would expect to see considerable continuity. Additionally, the name-stock presented by Blake (1966) should also provide a good indication of the patronymics and surnames that are used in the toponyms. Essentially then, one might suspect that the topographical material will contain a large number of patronymics and frequent use of epithets to accommodate for a relatively small stock of given names. Often, it will be difficult to distinguish between patronymics and surnames and, generally, no clear distinction will be made between the two. Additionally, we might expect to see some indication of the regional patterns outlined by Blake (1966) reflected in the distribution of toponyms.

2.2.4 The name-stock

2.2.4.1 The syntax of expressions representing an individual

This section provides an overview of the various linguistic structures found in expressions representing an individual in the anthropo-toponymic material. What follows below is an overview of the different structures that can be found in the data, where X represents one personal name and Y another one. As far as possible, an attempt has been made to provide examples for each type of structure listed. Many of the personal names are characterised by qualifying markers such as G *uaine* 'green' in *Mac Dhòmhnuill Uaine* or are di-thematic name formations such as *Gillemìcheal* ('servant of *Michael*')*,* and these have been listed separately in order to show the full variety of the name-stock.

Table 2.1 The syntax of expressions denoting an individual in Lewis anthropo-toponyms			
	Structure	Examples	Number
Single given names	X	Alasdair, m.; Cailean, m.; Fionnlagh, m.; Maighread, f.	176
di-thematic given names	Gille X, Mac X	Gillemìcheal, m.; Mac Bheatha, m.	10
Given names with epithets	X adj., X n., n. X	Aonghas Tàillear, m.; Oighrig Bàine, f.; Donnchadh an Droma, m.; Caiptean Green	35
Given names with surnames or patronymics	X Mhic Y, X Y	Dòmhnall Mhic Iain, m.; Dòmhnall Mhurchaidh, m.	13
Given names with two or more complex structures	Gille X adj., X Mac Ghille X	Gille Chalum Ghior, m.; Iain Mhic Ghille Chalum, m.	5
Surnames and patronymics	X, Mac X, Nighean X, O X, ?Ni' X	Latharna (Lorne); Mac Aonghais; Nighean Shomhairle; O Dòmod; ?Ni' Dhonnchaidh	60
Complex surnames and patronymics	Mac X adj., Mac Ghille X adj., Mac X Y, Mac X Mhic Y, Nighean X Mhic Y, Nighean X adj., ?Ni' X adj.	Mac Dhòmhnuill Bhàin; Mac Gille Chriosda Dhuibh; Mac Iain Choinnich; Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Aonghais; Nighean Dhòmhnuill Mhic Iain; Nighean Dhòmhnuill Bhàin; ?Ni' Dhòmhnuill Bhàin	23
Hagionyms	X	Brigid, f.; John, m.	26
Other	Bean Mhic X adj., Bean X, Bò Nighean X, Clann X, Clann X adj.	Bean Mhic Iain Òig; Bean Mhurchaidh; Bò Nighean Mhuirich; Clann Ailein; Clann Iain Òig	20

As hypothesised above, we find that there are various strategies used to denote individuals. This includes the use of epithets, the addition of a patronymic or surname to a given name, and various combinations of these attributes. The use of patronymics and epithets provides the possibility to create a wide range of unique representations of individuals and sometimes leads to quite linguistically complex structures such as *Iain Mhic Ghille Phadruig* 'Iain son of Gille Phadruig'. However, it is worth pointing out that such complex structures are relatively rare, with five examples expressing two or more attributes (surnames, epithets, di-thematic names). A surprising finding is that single given names such as *Alasdair*, m., *Fionnlagh*, m., and *Maighread*, f. represent an overwhelming majority of names found in Lewis anthropo-toponyms, and will be further discussed below (see 2.2.4.2). Hagionyms are generally found as single given names as in *Eilean Mhuire* 'Saint Mary's Island' or *Teampull Bhrighid* 'Saint Bridget's Church', but have been listed as a separate structure for clarity. Finally, 'other' structures represent names that for various reasons cannot be listed under any of the other sections. This especially includes instances where the individual in question is represented in relation to someone, or something, else. This relational representation is similar to that seen in patronymics and surnames, but reflects a slightly different strategy of denoting an individual with the use of a different expression. Examples include G *Bean Mhurchaidh* 'Wife of Murchadh' and G *Bò Nighean Mhuirich* 'Cow of Muireadhach's Daughter'. The latter example reflects an interesting phenomenon from an anthropo-toponymic perspective since, in fact, the expression refers to the cow rather than the person. However, since it contains the reference to the person *Nighean Mhuirich*, it can still be classified as an anthropo-toponym.

2.2.4.2 Representations of individuals

Table 2.2 Expressions denoting an individual in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis

Single given names (with number of entries)

Adhamh (Adam), m. (1) (MacBain 1911, 10), **Ailean** (Alan), m. (4), **Alasdair** (Alexander), m. (3), **Amhlaigh** (Aulay), m. (6), **Aonghas** (Angus), m. (7), **Artair** (Arthur), m. (1) (MacBain 1911, 10), **Barbara** (Barbara), f. (1), **Cailean** (Colin), m. (4), **Catrìona** (Catherine), f. (2), **Coinneach** (Kenneth), m. (8), **Conall**, m. (?2), **Cormag** (Cormack), m. (1), ?**Crìsgean**, m. (1), **Dàbhaidh** (David, Davy), m. (1), **Dòmhnall** (Donald), m. (6), **Donnchadh** (Duncan), m. (9), **Dùghall** (Dougal), m. (2), **Eanraig** (Henry), m. (3), **Eòghann** (Ewan), m. (2), **Fearchar** (Farquhar), m. (1), **Fionn(a)ghal**

(MacBain (1911, 26) gives Flora, but MacCoinnich (2015, 510) gives Florence/Fiona), f. (1), **Fionnlagh** (Finlay), m. (7), **Gormal** (Gormelia) f. (1), **Iain** (John), m. (3), **Iomhar** (Ivor), m. (9), **Leòd** (Leod), m. (4), **Maighread** (Margaret), f. (1), **Màiri** (Mary), f. (?4), **Maoldònuich** (Ludovick), m. (3), **Martainn** (Martin), m. (3), **Mòrag** (?Mòradh) (Marion, but according to MacBain (1911, 26) Sarah), f. (3), **Murchadh** (Murdoch), m. (13), **Neacal** (Nicholas), m. (2), **Niall** (Neil), m. (8), **Oighrig** (Euphemia), f. (1) (MacBain 1911, 26), **Pà(d)raig** (Patrick), m. (1), **Pàl** (Paul), m. (8), **Raghnall** (Ranald), m. (5), **Raonailt** (Rachel), f. (1), ?**Rèiceal**, m. (1), **Robin**, m. (1), **Ruaraidh** (Rory), m. (11), ?**Sadhbh**, f. (1), **Seòras** (George), m., **Sgàire** (Zachary), m. (3), **Slàin** (Cox 2002, 91), f. (1), **Somhairle** (Samuel), m. (1), ?**Steafán** (Stephen), m. (1), **Torcall** (Torquil), m. (4), **Tormod** (Norman), m. (3), **Uilleam** (William), m. (5)

Complex given names

Given names with surnames or patronyms

Dòmhnall Mac Iain, m. (1), **Dómhnall Mac Eòghainn**, m. (1), **Dòmhnall Mac Uilleim**, m. (1), **Dòmhnall Mhurchaidh,** m. (1), **Iain Mac Ailein**, m. (2), **Iain Mac Aonghais**, m. (1), **Iain Mac Dhòmhnuill**, m. (1), **Iain Mac Iain**, m. (1), **Iain Mac Iomhair**, m. (1), **Iain Mac Thormoid**, m. (1), **Murchadh Mac Mhurchaidh**, m. (1), **Murchadh Mac Thormoid**, m. (1)

di-thematic names

?**Calum Ghille**, m. (1) **Gille Chonaing**, m. (1), ?**Ille Chalmoir** (?pn Gille Chalum or Chalmoir) (1), **Gille Dhòmhnuill** (now riasg Dhomhnuill), m. (1), **Gillemìcheal**, m. (2), **Gille nan Naomh**, m. (1), **Gilleaspuig**, m. (1), **Gillebrìde**, m. (1), **Mac Bheatha**, m. (1)

Names with two or more complex structures

Gille Chalum Ghior, m. (1), **Gille Chaluim Ghlais**, m. (1), **Gille nan Naomh**, m. (1), **Iain Mac Ghille Chaluim**, m. (1), **Iain Mac Ghille Phadruig**, m. (1)

Given names with epithets

Iain Òg, m. (1), ?**Iain Greusachd**, m. (1), **Aonghas Tàillear**, m. (1), **Caiptean Green** 'Captain Green', **Dòmhnall Beag**, m. (1), **Dòmhnall Cam**, m. (3), **Dòmhnall Cuagach**, m. (1), **Dòmhnall Òg**, m. (1), **Dòmhnall Ruadh**, m. (1), **Donnchadh an Droma**, m. (1), **Fionnlagh Geàrr**, m. (1), **Fionnlagh Ruadh**, m. (2), **Iain Bàn**, m. (2), **Iain Dearg**, m. (1), **Iain Dubh**, m. (1), **Iain Mòr**, m. (1), **Iain Tàillear**, m. (1), **Maighstir Iomhar**, m. (1), **Murchadh Donn**, m. (1), **Murchadh Mòr**, m. (3), **Murchadh na Buaidhe**, m. (1), **Murchadh Ruadh**, m. (1), **Niall Bàn**, m. (1), **Oighrig a' Buidhe** ('the yellow

Henrietta'), f. (1), **Oighrig Bhàine**, f. (1), **Ruaraidh Dubh**, m. (1), **Tormod, Laghach**, m. (1), **Tormod Mòr**, m. (1), **Tormod Sronach**, m. (1), **Uilleam Cùbar**, m. (1)

Surnames and patronymics

?**Mac Comhaill** (1), ?**Mac Pherson** (1), **Latharna** (Lorne) (2), **Mac Aoidh** (1), **Mac Aonghais** (1), **Mac Artair** (2), **Mac Aulaidh** (1), **Mac Cholla** (1), **Mac Dhonnchaidh** (1), **Mac Dhùghaill** (1), **Mac Eòin** (1), **Mac Fhionnlaigh** (2), **Mac Iomhair** (3), **Mac Leòid** (5), **Mac Neacail** (4), **Mac Nèill** (2), **Mac Phaic** (?Mac Fay) (2), **Mac Phàil** (3), **Mac Phì** (1), **Mac Raghnaill** (1), **Mac Risnidh** (2), **Mac Ruairidh** (1), **Mac Seòras or Seòras** (1), **Mac Sheumais** (1), **Mac Shomhairle** (1), **Mac Thomais** (2), **Mac Thorcaill** (2), **Mac Thormoid** (3), **Ni' Dhonnchaidh** (1), **Nic Dhòmhnaill** (1), **Nighean Choinnich** (1), **Nighean Dhonnchaidh** (1), **Nighean Iain** (1), **Nighean Shomhairle** (1), **Nighean Uilleim** (2), **O Dòmod** (1), **Risnidh** (Ritchie) (1), **Sutharlanach** (Sutherland) (1)

Complex surnames and patronymics

Mac Dhòmhnuill Bhàin (1), **Mac Dhòmhnuill Dhuibh** (1), **Mac Dhòmhnuill Mhic Ailein** (1), **Mac Dhòmhnuill Ruaidh** (2), **Mac Dhòmhnuill Uaine** (2), **Mac Fhionnlaigh Bhàin** (1), **Mac Fhionnlaigh Dhuibh** (1), **Mac Gille Chriosda Dhuibh** (1), **Mac Iain Choinnich** (1), **Mac Iain Deirg** (1), **Mac Iain Dhuibh** (2), **Mac Iain Mhòir** (1), **Mac Iain Riabhaich** (2), **Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Aonghais** (1), **Mac Mhurchaidh Uilleim** (1) **Mac Shomhairle Bhàin** (1), **Ni' Dhòmhnuill Bhàin** (1), **Nighean Dhòmhnuill Bhàin** (1), **Nighean Dhòmhnuill Mhic Iain** (1)

Hagionyms

Brigid (non-specific saint, Brig, Brigit, Bride) (2), **Columba** (Columb Cille m. Feidlimid) (?3), **Catherine** (?Catherine of Alexandria) (?2), **John** (?3), **Muire, Mary** (Mary the Blessed Virgin, Our Lady) (?4), **Michael** (1), **Moluag** (Mo Luóc M. Luchta of Lismore) (1), **Olaf** (king of Norway) (1), **Pátraic, Patrick** (?Pátraic m. Calprainn of Ireland) (2), **Peter** (2), **Rònàn** (2), **Thomas** (Thomas, apostle) (1), **Úistean** (?Cowstan) (2)

Other

Bean Mhic Iain Òig (1), an **Dòmhnuill** 'the Donald' (1), **An t-saor** 'the carpenter' (nickname) (1), **Barce Mhic Righ Lochlin** (incorrectly) (1), **Bean Mhurchaidh** (1), **Bò**

Nighean Mhuirich (3)**, Clann Ailein** (1), **Clann Iain Òig** (1), **Clann Nèill** (4), an **Dòmhnallach** 'a MacDonald' (2), **Mac Crùislig** (2), **Ni Dhonnchaidh** (cattle) (1), **Nì Mhurchaidh** (cattle) (1)

Problematic names

?**Birlinn** (?Merry), ?m. (1), ?pn **Bridog**, ?m. (2), ?pn **Eigineach, Eineig** (?Evanderina), f. (2), ?pn **Gille Bhriceal** (G *breac* 'speckled' = speckled servant, lad?), m. (1), ?pn **Ille Bhidein** (?G *biodan* 'sharp-topped'), m. (2), ?pn **Ille Mhaoil** (?G *maol* 'bald'), m. (1), ?pn **Ille Pharra' Mhoir** (OSNB 'Big Peter'), m. (3), ?pn **Mac a' Bhadanaich** (G *badanach* 'tufty, bushy'), m. (1), ?pn **Mac an t-Slinnteir**, m. (1)[24] ?pn **Mac Ciamain**, m. (1), ?pn **Mac Cóir** (G *còir* 'kind(ly), decent, worthy, dear, right' = the kind son?), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Corr** (?G *corra-ghritheach* 'heron'), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Cothail**, m. (1), ?pn **Mac Cùbhaig** (G cu'ag, cubhag 'cuckoo'), m. (3), ?pn **Mac Dubhain** (?G *dubh* 'black' = dark(haired) son?), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Ghille Bhàin** (?pn Gille Bhàin or *Feith (B)hic Ille Bhin* = the small bog of the white gully?), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Ghille Chetheir** (?G ceithir 'four'), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Mhàmein** (?G *mam* 'hill of a particular form?), m. (1), ?pn **Mac na h-aighe** (?G *agh* 'heifer' or ?G *àigeach* 'stallion'), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Sgiathain** (?G *sgiath* 'wing' cf. Ir *sgiathán* 'wing' or ?G *sgiath* 'shield'), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Sheothail** (but more likely G *beag* + ON **Seothal*?) (1), ?pn **Mac Smail** (?G *smàl* 'fire'), m. (1), ?pn **Mac Snaig**, m. (1),[25] ?pn **Mac Thèoil** (?G *teothachd* 'temperature'), m. (1), ?pn **Mannus** (?pn Magnus), m. (1), ?nickname **na h-Inghinn Cais** (G *cas* 'steep'), f. (1),?pn **Ni Bheilder**, f. (2), ?pn **Nighean Aigh** (?G *agh* 'heifer' or ?G *àigeach* 'stallion'), f. (1)

Table 2.2 shows all the expressions found in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis referring to an individual (or individuals) by their name. As noted above, a large proportion of the expressions are in fact represented by single given names, with the most common names being found repeatedly without further distinction. The four most common ones (*Murchadh*, *Ruaraidh*, *Donnchadh*, *Iomhar*) form 10.4% of all expressions in anthropo-toponyms denoting an individual. Despite the high proportion of the same single given

[24] 'from G *slinnean* "shoulder blade"? "Son of the diviner"? or "reader of shoulder blades"? People read auguries on sheepbones, it seems. I read one genealogical history where someone claimed this was the origin of the MacLennan family (MacGilleFhinnein).' (Aonghas MacCoinnich, pers.comm.)

[25] '*Snàigeach* is usually used in the sense of '*beathachan snàigeach* / creepy-crawlies'. I think someone was having fun with this. *Càrnan Mhic Snàig* conjures images of a cairn full of creepy crawlies.' (Aonghas MacCoinnich, pers.comm.)

names being used in toponyms, there is clearly considerable variety to be found using complex structures containing patronymics, surnames, and epithets. Often, such expressions are unique and can only be found in a single toponym. Additionally, we might suspect that in instances where a complex expression representing an individual is found in several toponyms in close geographic proximity to each other, they most likely refer to the same individual. An example of this is pn *Mac Iain Riabhaich*, found in *Creag Mhic Iain Riabhaich* (NB539505) and *Geodha Mhic Iain Riabhaich* (NB539505). Here, there can be little doubt that the two coinings refer to the same individual. As discussed above, the use of epithets makes it possible to distinguish between individuals of the same name in a community where the name-stock is relatively limited. For example, there are ninety-nine instances of patronymics being used in anthropo-toponyms (24.6% of the total number of expressions denoting an individual in an anthropo-toponym). Additionally, fifty expressions (12.4%) contain some type of epithet. These epithets most commonly reflect descriptive or occupational features, as in the cases of pn *Fionnlagh Ruaidh* ('Ruddy or red Fionnlagh') and pn *Iain Tàillear* ('Iain the tailor'). However, if we turn to the stock of given names used to construct all representations of individuals, including given names found as part of complex structures such as patronymics, the picture becomes significantly more uniform.[26] In fact, only looking at the two most frequently found given names, pn *Iain* and pn *Dòmhnall*, with thirty-two entries each, they can be found in 8.1% of all expressions denoting an individual respectively. The three most common names are found in 22.6% of these expressions. This confirms the pattern described above (2.2.1) where the stock of given names used in Lewis is relatively small. It is especially interesting to note here that, although the pn *Iain* is the most frequently found given name overall, it rarely occurs as a single given name (three entries), showing that there is not always a single pattern of using the names in question in toponyms. At this point, it is appropriate to return to the question of the distribution of patronymics. Fig. 2.3 shows the distribution of patronymics found in Lewis anthropo-toponyms occurring at least four times. However, this distribution does not correspond with that outlined by Blake above. Although *Mac Leòid* is relatively frequent with four entries, none of the regional characteristics described can be found in the anthropo-toponyms studied here. It is difficult to give a conclusive explanation for this, but it is possible that the number of toponyms recorded here cannot fully reflect regional variations clearly, or that the coining of anthropo-toponyms does not necessarily correspond with the regional patterns of naming people.

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[26] Given names found in ten or more expressions are: *Iain* (32), *Dòmhnall* (32), *Murchadh* (26), *Niall* (15), *Ruaridh* (12), *Fionnlagh* (14), *Iomhar* (14), *Donnchadh* (12), *Aonghas* (11), *Tormod* (11), *Coinneach* (10)
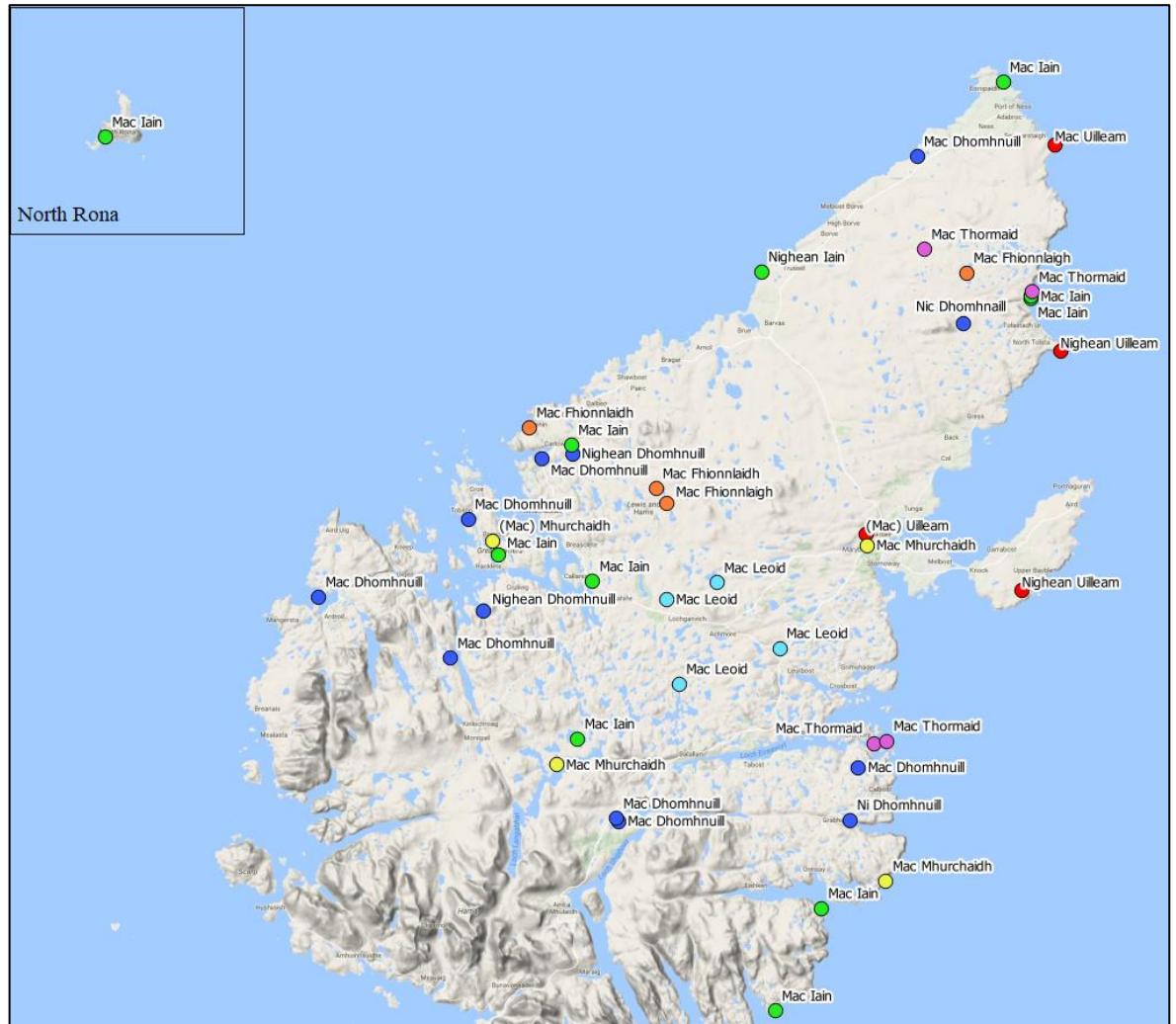
Fig. 2.3 Distribution of patronymics occurring in Lewis anthropo-toponyms at least four times.[27] © Map data 2017 Google

2.2.4.3 Problematic names

Although the Gaelic material is considerably more transparent than the Norse material, there are a number of names that remain problematic for various reasons and have therefore been listed separately. These can be found under 'problematic names' in Table 2.2.[28] In some instances, such as *Mannus* there is uncertainty as to whether they actually represent a personal name at all. Additionally, there is some uncertainty when dealing with toponyms containing either the personal name pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth) or G *còinneach* 'moss'. Usually this would not be an issue since the presence of the length mark should distinguish them, and the latter usually being a feminine noun, but due to the inconsistent use of lenition and length marks, both in the OSNB and on the modern map, this is not always possible. For example, we see *Àird Choinneach* recorded in the OSNB as *Aird*

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[27] This includes complex structures with given names and epithets.
[28] I am grateful to Dr Aonghas MacCoinnich for his input on these names.

Choinnich, but it is signified as 'Foggy or Mossy Eminence' (OSNB OS1/27/85/62). Because of this, the approach taken here has been to use the significations provided in the OSNB, with some reservations, rather than relying solely on the spellings. The most frequently occurring issues of interpretation arise from certain toponyms containing G *mac* or G *gille*. At least three different interpretations may be relevant for some of these names. One possibility is that they denote a personal name, but whether as a patronymic, surname, given name (cf. *Mac Bheatha*), or nickname is often very difficult to tell. In the case of *mhic*, another option is that this is in fact a confusion with *bhig* from G *beag* 'little', which may be particularly likely in examples such as *Tom Mhic a' Bhadanaich*, so that rather than seeing a pn **Mac a' Bhadanaich*, we may be looking at G *tom* 'a hillock' + G *beag* 'little, small' + G *badanach* 'tufty, bushy', giving 'the hillock of the small tufts'. Although this would usually not be expected here, since G *tom* is a masculine noun, and should yield G *beag*, the possibility should be mentioned. Finally, it is possible that some of the *mhic*-formations express noun-phrases where G *mac* is used to denote a particular relationship between two nouns. Several examples of this can be found in Dwelly (1901-11), as in *mac-leisg* 'lazy, indolent person (lit. son of laziness)' or *mac-(t)alla* 'echo (lit. son of the rock)'. This scenario may be likely in a formation such as Mac Snaig (see table 2.2).

2.2.4.4 Nicknames

The use of nicknames in toponyms presents a whole new dimension of problems in comparison with epithets. At this stage, some semantic clarification is required. A nickname is defined as 'A (usually familiar or humorous) name which is given to a person, place, etc., as a supposedly appropriate replacement for or addition to the proper name [my underlining]' (*OED*). Whereas epithets encompass an addition to a name, the definition for a nickname used here is as a replacement for a name. This poses obvious problems for the purpose of their identification. For example, in the formation *Aonghas Tàillear*, the presence of the pn *Aonghas* easily marks this formation out as referring to the individual *Aonghas Tàillear*. However, this is not as simple when there is no personal name present. In the only instance of a nickname included here, *An t-Saoir*, the only reason it has been included as a personal name is the identification by Cox of this as a nickname in *GPNC* (Cox 2002, 151) where it is stated that '*An Saor* [is] (a man's nickname)'. Nicknames can take many different forms, and it is possible to identify various layers of potential nicknames in Lewis toponyms. Some of the problematic names discussed above may represent nicknames, expressions such as (pn?) *Mac Cùbhaig* perhaps being a particularly likely contender. There are a number of occupational references found in Lewis toponyms,

such as G *tàillear* 'tailor' in *Cnapan an Tailleir* (NB565571). Often, it is virtually impossible to determine whether or not these might represent a nickname. These entries have not been included in the analysis here, but will be further discussed in 5.1.4.

2.2.4.5 References to women

References to women, although limited compared to their male counterparts, deserve some additional consideration. Including hagionyms, there are forty-eight possible references to women (see table 2.2), forming 12.1% of the total number of expressions denoting individuals. Additionally, the name-stock is limited to thirteen given names. Turning to patronymics and surnames, the formations that refer to women contain *nighean*, *nic* or *ni'* rather than *mac*. The number of patronymic formations representing women are considerably lower than that of their male counterparts, forming 14.1% of the total number of expressions containing *mac, nighean, nic*, or *ni'*. Looking at the masculine given names found in patronymic formations denoting women, they conform closely with the overall patterns of the data. Hence, they all contain the most frequently occurring masculine names such as *Iain*, *Murchadh* and *Dòmhnall*. It is interesting to note that there is a complete lack of given female names together with patronymics, so that we do not find any examples of formations like **Màiri Nighean Choinnich* or **Fionnaghal Nighean Iain*. Although masculine personal names with a patronymic do not occur exceedingly often, there are at least sixteen instances, as in the case of *Iain Mhic Thormoid* and *Iain Mhic Ghille Chalum*. Perhaps the complete lack of feminine given names in the context of patronymics can partially be explained by the function of these toponyms: their purpose is to single out an individual in such a way that the name is commonly understood by its users. Essentially what this means is that in this context, it may be adequate to list the patronymic without the given name of the person it refers to. Based on this, in the context of patronymics, we find names such as *Nighean Iain* or *Nic Dhòmhnaill*, rather than a name such as **Maighread Nighean Iain* or **Catrìona Nic Dhòmhnaill*. In references to women we also see the greatest variety in relational expressions other than patronymics, including G *bean* 'wife' as in *Bean Mhurchaidh*, and G *bò* 'cow' as in *Bò Nighean Mhuirich*.

2.2.5 Generics

2.2.5.1 Primary generics

A crucial part of the study of the generics found in Lewis anthropo-toponyms is to distinguish between primary and secondary generics, where a primary generic is the

element that would originally have been attached to the personal name in question. For example, in the case of *Loch Àirigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh*, the generic in question is *loch*. However, this toponymic is formed by using an existing name: **Àirigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh,* which here functions as the specific element. An original toponym would once have existed which was formed with the generic *àirigh* and the personal name *Mac Fhionnlaigh Dhuibh* as the specific. Therefore in the context of analysing anthropo-toponyms, it is the primary generic G *àirigh* which should be considered. Since this study focuses primarily on the analysis of anthropo-toponyms, it is natural that the emphasis should be placed on the primary generics.

2.2.5.2 Generics found in the Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of Lewis

Table 2.3 Primary generics in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis[29]		
abhainn 'a river, a stream' (top.) 1	*acarsaid* 'anchorage, harbour' (other) 1	*àird* 'a headland' (top.) 3
àirigh 'a shieling' (agric.) 64	*allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' (top.) 11	*alltan* 'a brook, a little stream, a streamlet' (top.) 1
àth 'a ford' (top.) 1	*bàgh* 'a bay, a cove' (top.) 2	*baile* 'a town' (hab.) 3
barpa 'a barrow, a cairn' (top.) 1	*beinn* 'a mountain' (top.) 11	*blàr* 'a field, a plain, a battlefield, a battle, a flat area of moor'? 1
bodha 'a submerged rock' (top.) 1	*bogha* 'a bow, a bend' (top.) 2	*both* 'a cottage' (hab.) 2
bothan 'a bothy' (hab.) 2	*bruthach* 'a bank' (top.) 1	*buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' (agric.) 16
caisteal 'a castle' (top.) 2	*camas* 'a wide bay' (top.) 4	*càrn* 'a cairn, a heap of stones' (top.) 3
càrnan 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' (top.) 7	*chapel?* (Uisdean, Mary) (rel.) 2	*clach* 'a rock, a stone' (top.) 8
cladh 'a burial ground, a cemetery' (rel.) 2	*clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' (top.) 9	*cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' (top.) 46
cnocan 'a hillock' (top.) 2	*cotan* 'a fold/pen for young animals' (agric.) 1	*creag* 'a rock, a cliff' (top.) 9
creagan 'a little/small rock' (top.) 3	*crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' (agric.) 5	*crois* 'a cross' (rel.) 1
drochaid 'a bridge' (other) 1	*druim* 'a back, a ridge' (top.) 3	*dùn* 'a fort, a cairn' (other) 2
eaglais 'a church' (rel.) 1	*eilean* 'an isle, an island' (top.) 9	*feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' (top.) 5
feith 'a bog, a quagmire, a fen' (top.) 1	*gàradh* 'a garden, a wall, a dyke, a mound' (agric.) 3	*geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' (agric.) 8
geodha 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' (top.) 17	*gil* 'a gully' (top.) 5	*gleann* 'a glen, a valley' (top.) 2

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[29] agric. = agricultural, hab. = habitative, rel. = religious, top. = topographical

grainn? 'loathing'? 1	*lag* 'a cavity, a hollow' (top.) 1	*lamraig* 'a harbour, a landing/mooring stage' (other) 1
leac 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' (top.) 7	*leòb* 'a lazybed' (agric.) 1	*loch* 'a loch' (top.) 24
lochan 'a small lake, a loch' (top.) 1	*long* 'a ship' (?top.) 1	*meall* 'a lump, a mound, a round hill, a pile, a heap' (top.) 1
mòine 'a peat, a peat-bog, a moor' (top.) 1	*mol* 'a shingle beach' (top.) 1	*muileann* 'a mill' (agric.) 2
mula? 'a stack' (agric.) 3	*peighinn* 'a penny, pennyland' (agric.) 1	*poll* 'a mire, a pond, a pool, a peat bank' (top.) 2
port 'a port, a dock' (other) 2	*prìosan* 'a prison' (other) 1	*rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' (top.) 6
sgeir 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' (top.) 16	*sgòrr* 'a high pointed hill, a peak' (top.) 1	*sìthean* 'a little hill or knoll, a fairy hill, (rarely) a big rounded hill' (top.) 2
stac 'a precipice, a steep/high cliff' (top.) 4	*taigh* 'a house' (hab.) 3	*talam* 'earth' (top.) 3
teampall 'a church' (rel.) 8	*tòb* 'a bay, a cove' (top.) 3	*tobar* 'a well' (other) 2
tobhta 'a ruin (of a building)' (hab.) 6	*tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' (top.) 15	*uamh* 'a cave(rn)' (top.) 3
?andra 1	*?aoidh* 'a ford, an isthmus' (top.) 1	*?gruba* 1
?tachd 'a farm' (hab.) 1	*?tòbha* 'a promontory' (Fraser 1984, 39-40) 1	

Table 2.3 shows the generic elements in Lewis anthropo-toponyms where a reconstructed original form is assumed, giving the primary generic. The most prominent pattern that emerges from an initial investigation of the generics is the overwhelming representation of *àirigh*-names. Sixty-four out of 413[30] (15.5%) entries of anthropo-toponyms are found with G *àirigh* as the primary generic. This is a notable finding in relation to the previous assertion that there is often an assumption of anthropo-toponyms being motivated by ownership. These names will be further discussed in Chapter 5. The pattern of a few generics being strongly represented in association with personal names continues if we consider the nine generic elements in table 2.3 that occur more than ten times. These elements comprise 53.3% of the generics, a number which is proportionally very high, considering that there is a total of seventy-nine different elements that make up the stock of generics. In onomastic studies, a general distinction between habitative (and man-made) and topographical generics is commonly made (for example, see Cox 2002, 33). When considering the generics found in the material presented here, I would like to add a further distinction relating to generics associated with human activities, namely agricultural activities. This would include elements such as *àirigh, buaile*, and *geàrraidh*. In light of

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[30] This includes related features that have been listed under the same head-form.

this, it is significant to note that 23.7% of all generics can be associated with agricultural activities, 63.9% are topographical, and only 4.1% (excluding uncertain generics) are associated with human habitation. It is also worth noting that 16.9% of all generic elements represent hydronyms, a finding which is significant for the discussion on hydronyms in 5.3. Some of the generics are of interest because they are uncommon and their use may imply a particular motivation or context for coining. Such generics include G *dùn* 'a fort, a cairn', G *prìosan* 'a prison', and G *caisteal* 'a castle' which are all discussed individually in 2.1.

2.2.6 Motivations visible in Lewis anthropo-toponyms

What follows here is a basic overview of various traditions relating to a perceived motivation for the coining of a place-name visible in the Gaelic Lewis anthropo-toponyms. The designation of motivations is mainly based on anthropo-toponyms with contextual evidence belonging to EvClas1, with some exceptions. The entries here are primarily derived from the OSNB material presented in 2.1 and material found in *GPNC,* with some entries extracted from MacIver (1934). The intention is to evaluate these motivations and corroborate them alongside the comparative material introduced in Chapter 4 in order to create an appropriate classification of anthropo-toponyms in Chapter 5. Considering the previously discussed assumptions regarding the association between anthropo-toponyms and ownership it is interesting to note that only seven out of thirty-one entries (22.6%) listed here can potentially be associated with ownership, but more appropriately for these entries, described as motivations relating to residence.

Residence (long-term and temporary)

?*Stac Dhòmhnuill Chaim* 'This place is traditionally said to have been occupied by an outlaw named Donald Cam' (OSNB OS1/27/57/113) [31]

?*Tigh Eanraic* 'Old ruins on the farm of Stenish which have been occupied by persons of this name.' (OSNB OS1/27/72/54)

?*Tigh Mhaoldònuich* 'supposed to have been the residence of a man who it is said was transported from Rona to Sulisgear for sheep stealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/136/61)

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[31] Full discussions on entries derived from OSNB can be found in 2.1

?*Rubha Tigh Phàil* 'takes its name from a house in which a man named Paul lived' (OSNB OS1/27/46/115)

?*Dùn Mhic Phi* 'a small ruin in which lived a man of the name of MacPhail at an early period' (OSNB OS1/27/121/21)

?*Bothan Neil* 'is supposed to have been the retreat of an outlaw' (OSNB OS1/27/26/87)

?*Creag Sgàire* 'Tradition says that about four hundred years ago, and outlaw of the name Zachary, resorted to it as a hiding place' (OSNB OS1/27/84/41)

Agriculture

Airigh Dhomhnuill Chàim 'Domhnall Cam used to drive his cattle across Loch Seaforth and he always kept a hold of the tail of the last beast as they swam across. He used this area as summer pasture for the cattle. (CECL, 29318)'

Àird Dubh Mhic Shomhairle Bhain 'It is supposed to have been formerly used by a robber as a sheep fold' (OSNB OS1/27/80/27)

Creagan Stob 'Stob's hillock, with the nickname of a woman who used to have her peat-stack here.' (*GPNC*, 259)

This category, perhaps most frequently, contains references to the seasonal use of shieling sites. There are numerous instances of personal names being used as the specific element with the generic *àirigh* 'a shieling'. In the data presented here, Sixty-four occurrences of this element as the primary generic can be listed. Although there is likely to be some variation, and it is important not to be too presumptuous here, we can assume that a significant number of these commemorations relate to individuals who used these sites for seasonal agricultural purposes. This category also includes other activities relating to agriculture such as the collection of peat and the hiding of stolen livestock.

Hunting

Eilean Clann an t-Saoir 'his two sons swam to the island to retrieve a deer they saw there, but found nothing when they arrived.' (Cox 1987b, 126)

Druim Mor Mhic Shomhairle Bhain 'There were two Somerleds, a black and a Fair Somerled, living with their sister in Miavaig. They were two brothers. They were transported for sheep stealing. Their favourite preying haunt was this ridge at Grunnavat. They were as swift as the wind and could easily catch a sheep running on the plain.' (MacIver 1934, 102)

Construction

Rathad Mhic Aoidh 'The man may have been one of the construction party and come from SD [township of *Siabost a Deas*] or ST [township of *Siabost a Tuath*].' (*GPNC*, 352)

Births

Creagan Iain Ruaidh 'Tradition: his mother was returning from the shieling and gave birth to Iain Ruadh here.' (*GPNC*, 255)

Murders

Clach Fhionnlaidh Ghearr 'this name is derived from a man leaping on this stone when chased by others for an act of murder' (OSNB OS1/27/114/20)

Creag Sgàire 'According to one account, the MacAulays stole cattle from the Morrisons of Ness whilst the latter were on Rona gathering eggs and sea-fowl. The Morrisons returned before the MacAulays had got far and gave chase. They overtook them at Shader and killed some of the rustlers and attacked them a second time near Barvas at Druim nan Carnan. Only three escaped: Zachary and his two foster-brothers who did not stop until they had crossed the Grimersta river. By this time night had fallen and they decided to rest for the night under the shelter of a rock. But unfortunately for them it was a bright moonlit night and the Morrisons, who had not given up the chase, saw one of their swords glinting in the moonlight. They stole up on them and killed them. To this day the rock is known as Creag Sgaire and the loch beside it Loch Sgaire.' (CEBL, 28030)

Botan Thòmais 'They say there was a man called Tòmas; and he was always walking back and forth between Daile Mòr and Na Geàrrannan. This boy used to follow him, and Tòmas didn't like this at all. He tried to send him away, but he couldn't, and in the end

he killed him in a spring there. It's because of that the place is called Botan Thòmais.' (*GPNC*, 187)

Drownings

Geodha Bean Mhurchaidh 'The name is derived from a woman having been drowned in the creek, hence the name "Murdoch's Wife's Creek"' (OSNB OS1/27/55/5)

Geodha Mhic Sheòrais 'The name is derived from a man named "George"[33] being found drowned in the creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/55/5)

Commemorations relating to drownings highlight a phenomenon within the context of anthropo-toponyms where further investigations may produce interesting results. Throughout Scotland, and elsewhere, accounts of women drowning given as explanations for the coining of toponyms can be found, raising questions relating to the process of these coinings. This phenomenon will be further explored in 5.3.

Shipwrecks or landing places

Sgeir Chaptein Grenn 'It appears that a trading vessel was wrecked about 40 or 50 years ago on this rock. The captain who commanded the vessel was named Green, from which circumstance the rock was named "Captain Green's Rock".' (OSNB OS1/27/25/84)

Sgeir Hurry 'Tradition: Hurry was a schoolmaster in Càrlabhagh until the late twenties; he was hated by the children for his harshness and severity; the name commemorates either his being wrecked or his landing on this skerry.' (*GPNC*, 362)

Injuries

Creagan Thormoid Phàraig 'Tradition: he broke his leg here' (*GPNC*, 259)

Other event

Cnoc Sheonaidh 'Seonaidh, whose father, Seoc Beag, came to DUN from Pabaigh in Uig c.1830, raped a woman at a shieling here; he was subsequently tried at Tain.' (*GPNC*, 239)

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[33] See 2.1.1 *Geodha **Mhic Sheòrais*** for a discussion on the description of Mac Sheòrais as 'George'.

Other usage or association

Angus' Stone 'between Islivig and Mangusta, is so named after Angus, Donald Cam's son, who sat here to have a last look at Mangusta when on his way to join the troops at Seaforth. His first at last battle was at Aldern[34], where the Lewis regiment was destroyed by Montrose. He lived at Mangusta not at Brenish' (MacIver 1934, 94)

Cnoc na Cùirt 'the nickname of a woman who used to do her courting here' (*GPNC*, 234)

Sgor Dhòmhnaill Duncan 'Tradition: a modest man, he would relieve himself here' (*GPNC*, 365-6)

Re-interpretation

Tom an Dòrlaich 'the knoll of the sheaves Folk etymology: that the specific is the nickname of the man who once lived here (he died in 1914).' (*GPNC*, 383)

Carn a' Mharc 'Barp or Bare has been transformed into a son of the King of Lochlinn, who was killed on that spot while on a hunting expedition, and was buried there' (Thomas 1890, 377)

Transferred association

?*Bealach Chaluim Dhòmhnaill Dhonnchaidh* 'Tradition: the pass is above the croft this man acquired in 1921, although he never lived there.' (*GPNC*, 173)

Some toponyms reflect motivations where the person commemorated is not directly associated with the site. However, this is an uncommon occurrence and I have only found one instance of this recorded in Lewis. Despite the lack of significant numbers here, it represents an interesting phenomenon from a socio-linguistic perspective and shows the fact that a person does not have to be directly associated with a site to be commemorated.

Hagiotoponyms

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[34] The Battle of Auldearn 1645.

Religious commemorations, particularly those that fall under the category of hagiotoponyms, form some of the most interesting and complex place-names in terms of looking at the context and motivations for naming. Although a number of hagiotoponyms are found in the data presented here, they do not reflect the full spectrum in terms of the motivations for naming. Because of this hagiotoponyms will be further discussed separately in 4.3.

Mythology and folklore

?*Caisteal Mhic Creacail* (see 2.1.1 *Caisteal **Mhic Creacail***)

Àirigh Mhic Cruislig (see 2.1.1 *Àirigh **Mhic Cruislig***)

2.2.7 Discussion

Based on the findings presented here, it is possible to make some general observations about the nature of naming in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis. As is to be expected, and as hypothesised above, the anthropo-toponyms reflect several different strategies to distinguish individuals in a close-knit community with a relatively limited name-stock. This includes the use of epithets, as in pn *Dòmhnall Òg* ('Young Dòmhnall') and the use of patronymics and/or surnames, as in pn *Iain Mac Thormoid* (Iain son of Tormod). This can particularly be seen in the fact that there is greater variety when we consider expressions representing an individual compared to the general stock of given names. From an onomastic perspective, this makes complete sense: in a society where the name-stock is relatively small, the differentiation of individuals must take different forms, in this case by the presence of epithets such as patronyms or nicknames. This is also a reflection of the function of the toponyms themselves. At the time of coining, the specific element is used to single out a feature in the landscape – if a personal name denoting an individual is used as the specific it should be unique enough for it to be understood by the users of the name as referring to that individual. However, perhaps the most surprising finding is the relatively large proportion of single given names being used to denote individuals in Lewis toponyms. The most common given names such as *Murchadh* and *Donnchadh* are frequently found in toponyms without further denotations. This raises significant questions relating to their function in the topographical landscape of the communities in which they were used. Presumably, at least at the immediate time of coining an anthropo-toponym, its

function would include the capacity of singling out the individual in question in the surrounding community. With such a small name-stock, one might question whether this would be possible without the additional use of epithets. This will be further discussed in 5.4.3.2. Finally, an overview of the generic elements found in Lewis anthropo-toponyms shows that there is a strong association with agriculture in these names. It is necessary to investigate the patterns analysed alongside comparative material introduced in chapter 4. They will subsequently be evaluated in chapter 5 in order to determine how representative these patterns may be for anthropo-toponyms in general.

Chapter 3 The Norse anthropo-toponyms of Lewis

3.1 anthropo-toponyms classified as a. Certain, b. Probable and c. Maybe

Asmagarry NB464604 (Probable)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Asmagarry*

1832 Thomson *Asmagarry*

OS1 *Asum Gearraidh*

Previous discussions

Ásameigaraidh: probably from ON *Ásmundargerði* '*Ásmundr's gerði*', with gen. of the man's name, *Ásmundr* m., and with contraction (for which, see Oftedal 1972). >> *Ásmaigearraidh*. (Cox 2006, 15-6)

Ásmundar-garðr = Osmund's girth, or farm (Thomas 1876, 486)

Comparative material

pn *Ásmundr*, m., g. -ar (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Ásmundr*, m. (b.) + ON *gerði*, n. 'a place girded round, a hedged or fenced field, garth' (a.)

EvClas3

Beàrnaraigh NB158367 (Probable)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Bernera (Mor)*

1701 Moll *Berneramoir*

1708 Moll *Bernera*

1726 Moll *Bernera I.*

1750 Dorret *Bernera I*

-1767 MacFarlane *Bearnera*

1776 Mackenzie *Bernera*

1789 Ainslie *Barnera I.*

1794 Huddart *Bernera*

1804 Heather *Bernera Isle*

1807 Arrowsmith *Barnera I.*

1821 Johnson *(Little) Bernera*

1832 Thomson *(Little) Bernera*

OS1 *Eilean Bhearnaraidh (or Great Bernera)*

Previous discussions

'Bjarnar-oy, "*Bjorn's* island"' (MacAulay 1971-2, 334)

Bernera:

> evidently from ON *Bjarnarøy* […] has often been associated with the
> personal name Björn, which is a facile way of dealing with the problem of
> origin. Considering the archaic Norwegian custom of calling islands after
> certain animals; it is quite possible that the two distinguished islands got
> their name from some Norwegian island called *Bjarnarøy*, without any help
> from a person called Bjorn. (Pálsson 1996a, 321)

Comparative material

pn *Biǫrn*: m. g. -ar (*NID*)

ON *björn*, m. g. -ar 'bear' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

Whilst I do not necessarily agree with Pálsson that it is more likely that this is a
transferred name, considering the relatively firm evidence for the incorporation of
personal names into island-names in Lewis and in *LNB*, the possibility should be
included. On the other hand, the possibility of the name referring to the animal-name ON
björn should not be excluded. According to Hull (2007) the brown bear went extinct in
Scotland in around the tenth century, so a reference to an actual animal, although
unlikely on the Isle of Lewis, may not be entirely impossible. A reference to bears in an
abstract sense to warn people of a dangerous area may be more likely here if we are
looking at an animal-name.

Etymology

pn *Biǫrn*, m. (b.) + or ON *björn*, m.g.sg. 'bear' (c.) + ON *ey*, f. 'an island' (a.) or tn
Bjarnarøy (d.)

EvClas3

Tom Leacain **Beinaval** NB404465 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Tom Leacain Bheinabhall*

Comparative material

cf. Cox (1987b, 234): Gaelic formation *Uiste Bheinn*: 'with gen.sg. of *Beinn*, a man's name ultimately from ON *Beini Beinir* m., under the influence perhaps of the adj. *beinn* "straight, direct; helpful, willing"'

cf. Cox (2002, 157) *Airigh Uiste Bheinn*: 'It may be a personal name [...], perhaps from ON *Beini*, or *Beinir*, which is not uncommon in place-names in Norway and Iceland (*GP* [*Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne*], 32), although the phonetic development is doubtful.'

pn *Beini*[35]: m. g. -a. 'As an element in some place-names. **Beina-, Bæinagarðr** in Oslo.'[36] Also in *Beinerudh* and *Beinanes* (*NID*).

Beingaarden '*Beinagarðr, compounded with the masculine name Beini' (*NG*, vol.15, p.347).[37]

bein, n. 'a bone'; *beini*, m. 'help'(?); *beinn*, adj. 'in a straight line, a straight course'(?) (Cl.-Vig.)

Etymology

pn *Beini*, m. (c.) or ON *bein*, n., g.pl. 'a bone' (c.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.) EvClas4

Beinnisbhal NB095186 (Maybe)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Benishall*

1832 Thomson *Benishall*

Comparative material

pn *Beinir*: m. g. -is. Found in toponyms such as *Beinisthveit* and *Beinesvand* (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Beinir*, m. (c.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.) EvClas4

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[35] Translations are my own.
[36] 'Såsom led i några ortnamn. **Beina-, Bæinagarðr** i Oslo'.
[37] '*Beinagarðr, sms. med Mandsnavnet Beini'.

cf. ***Tom Leacain Beinaval*** for the specific element.

Cabhorstadh NB366201 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Cabharstaigh*

Previous discussions

Caversta:

> is possibly identical with the Norwegian farm name *Kofrastaðir* which
> occurs twice in Norway [...] It means 'Kofri's farm' and contains *Kofri*, a
> man's name or surname [....] This derivation is far from being self-evident.
> The name *Kofri* is not a frequent one and is only attested in eastern Norway
> and in Sweden. It is, however, the only acceptable solution that can be found
> for the time being. Watson's conjecture *kafa-staðr* 'diving-stead' is, of
> course, impossible, both because such a compound is almost inconceivable
> in ON (it would be *kafstaðr* or *kafsstaðr*) and because it lacks a medial *r*.
> (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 115)

'diving-stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Comparative material

pn *Kofri*: m. g. -a. Examples include *Kofrostadhir* and *Koperstadhir*. (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Kofri*, m. (c.) + ON *staðr*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas4

Cairisiadar NB096333 (Probable)

1821 Johnson *Carishader*

1822 Thomson *Carishader*

OS1 *Càrashader*

Previous discussions

Caryshader:

> It seems to contain an ON sound sequence *Kár-* followed by a front vowel
> (because of the G palatal ð, it cannot be *Kárasetr*, from the man's name
> *Kári*; nor can it be *Kárssetr*, from the name *Kárr*, because this would almost
> certainly have yielded G *[kaːʂadəð]). One might think of **Kárhildr*, a
> woman's name that appears to occur in two or three Norwegian farm names
> (see NG XII.528), but as this name is otherwise unattested, I would hestitate
> to propose *Kárhildarsetr* as the ON equivalent of *Caryshader*. For the same
> reason, I must reject a derivation from a man's name **Kárekr*, known only
> from one Norwegian farm name, *Kårstad* NG XII.304, spelled *i
> Karekstodum* ab. 1360. The only acceptable solution I have found is ON

Kárinssetr, from the surname *Kárinn* 'curly-headed'. This name is attested in one instance; a certain *Jón Kárinn* is mentioned in the *Sturlunga Saga*. (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 27-30)

Càiriseadar:

He [Oftedal] rejects a solution with the man's name *Kári*, a common name still in use in the west of Norway (GP 153), because the gen. form *Kára* would not nominally yield -[ð]-, but -[r]-. However, interchange between intervocalic [r] and [ð] is not uncommon in Lewis […] For the specific we may also compare the Icelandic place-name *Kóranes*, said in the *Landnámabók* to contain the name of an Irish slave. (Cox 1990, 103)

Comparative material

pn *Kóri*: m., g. -a, in *Koranes*; pn *Kári*: m., g. -a (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Kári*, m. (b.) or pn *Kóri*, m. (c.) or pn *Kárinn*, m. (d.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

EvClas3

Creag **Calmaistean** NB219401 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Creag Calmaistean*

Previous discussions

Creag Calmaistean 'With an ON ln. fr. *Kalmansstein* 'the rock of *Kalman*' with gen. of the man's name, fr. EIr. *Colmán*, and acc. of *steinn* m. The persn. was borrowed fairly early, and is found in *LNB*. and in the sagas.' (Cox 1987b, 99)

Etymology

pn *Kalman*, m. (b.) + ON *steinn* 'a stone' (a.)

EvClas3

Carlabhagh NB208423 (Certain)

Early forms

1708 Moll *(L.) Carlvay*

1726 Moll *(Loch) Carlvay*

-1767 MacFarlane *Charlnay*

1776 MacKenzie *Carlowa*

1794 Huddart *(Loch) Carlowa*

1804 Heather *(Loch) Carlowa*

1807 Arrowsmith *Carlowa*

1821 Johnson *Carloway*

1832 Thomson *Carloway*

OS1 *Carlobhaidh* or *Carloway*

1864 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Carloway*

Previous discussions

Càrlabhagh: 'No doubt our name is fr. ON *Karlauág* "*Karli*'s bay"; with gen. of the man's name and acc. of *uágr* [*sic*] m.' (Cox 1987b, 56)

Comparative material

pn *Karli*: m. g. -a (*NID*)

Karlaunet 'The 1st element is the masculine name Karl or Karli' (*NG*, vol.14, p. 21).[38]

Etymology

pn *Karli*, m. (a.) + ON *vágr*, m., 'a creek, a bay' (a.)

EvClas3

Abhainn **Caslabhat** NB035313 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Amhuinn Chaslabhat*

Comparative material

Kasland 'With doubt recorded in *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne*, p. p. 158 under the feminine name Katla, that is, an original *Katluland'. (*NG*, vol.7, p. 326)[39]

Kaslegaard 'From the rare feminine name Katla, which is still used in Southern Bergenhus'. (*NG*, vol.5, p.147)[40]

pn *Katla*: f., g. -u. (Also as a by-name) (*NID*)

Etmology

pn *Katla*, f. (c.) + *vatn*, n. 'water' (a.)

EvClas3

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[38] '1ste Led er Mandsnavnet Karl eller Karli'.

[39] Under Tvivl anført i PnSt. S. 158 under Kvindenavnet Katla, altsaa opr. *Katluland.

[40] 'Af det sjeldne Kvindenavn Katla, der endnu bruges i S. Bergenhus'.

Beinn **Ceadraiseal** NB323232 (Probable)

Related features: *Loch Ceadraiseal* NB316236 *Ceann Tuath Keadrashal* NB319238

Early forms

OS1 *Beinn Cheadraiseall*

Etymology

pn *Ketill*, m. (b.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. **Ceadraiseal** for the specific element.

Ceadraiseal NB209369 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Ceadraishall*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Ceadraishall*

Previous discussions

Ceadraiseal:

> probably ON *Ketilsfiall* '*Ketill*'s mountain' with gen. of the man's name and nom./acc. Of *fiall* nt., with metathesis of *l*, becoming {r} after the dental. *Ketill* m. was such a common name that we could almost expect to find it attested in the nomenclature (see Kiddelsnes, Kjelsnes etc., GP 158-9). (Cox 1987b, 60)

Ceadraiseal 'of a mountain range with four peaks (collectively known as *Na Ceithir Cheadraiseal*), from an Old Norse name in -*fjall* nt. "mountain" (?ON *Ketilsfjall* "*Ketill*'s mountain".' (Cox 2002, 203)

Comparative material

Ketill: m., g. -s (*NID*)

Discussion

As Cox states, the pn Ketill was a common one among the Scandinavians and is frequently attested in both *NG* (see entries such as *Kittilstveit, Kjelsaas, Kittilstad*) and *LNB* (see *Ketilstaðir, Ketilsfjǫrð*). Although we see a different phonetic development in the Lewis material from Norway and Iceland, it is very likely that it is the specific element represented here.

Etymology

pn *Ketill*, m. (b.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

EvClas3

Druim **Coladale** NB055356 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Druim Cholladail*

Comparative material

cf. Cox (1987b, 35) *Beinn Colla*:

> might contain the man's name EIr. *Colla*; or a loan fr. the ON persnn. *Kolla*
> obl.m. or *Kollu* obl.f., both of which were common […] For the specific as
> an ON ln. we can compare the village-name, Coll, on the east of Lewis,
> discussed by Oftedal (1954: 391) and possibly from ON *kolla* 'the rounded
> hills' with acc.pl. of *kollr* m. An original **Beinn na Colla* presents more
> difficulty. It might just contain a lw. fr. ON *kolla* acc.pl. (as above), but a
> singular arising from a plural form in this way seems unlikely.

pn *Kolla*: f. g. -u; *Kolli*: m. g. -a, in place-names such as *Kollavik* and *Kollafiord*. (*NID*)

Also see: *Kolla*, f., 'a deer without horns, a humble deer, a hind; a cow'. (Cl.-Vig.)

Kollerud '*Kollaruð or Kolluruð, from the masculine name Kolli or the feminine name

Kolla.' (*NG*, vol.2, p. 199)[41]

Kollerud 'Can either be derived from the masculine name Kolli or the feminine name

Kolla, or otherwise from Koll (Kolle), height, summit. However, the name here can also

be caused by (transferred) naming.' (*NG*, vol.3, p. 316)[42]

Kollerød:

> from the masculine name Kolli or the feminine name Kolla, of which the
> latter is known in a single example from Norway (*Björgynjar Kalfskinn*,
> published by P. A. Munch. Kristiania 1843). 46 b) and the former was
> frequently used in Iceland, to which it was probably transferred from
> Norway, since it was extensively used already during the time of settlement
> (*Landnámabók* 135. 159. 236). According to the form in *Diplomatarium
> Norvegicum* (published by Chr. C. A. Lange, C. R. Unger, H. J. Huitfeldt-
> Kaas et al. Christiania 1847 ff.) [Kollorud] we should have the feminine
> name here. (*NG*, vol.1, p. 180)[43]

Etymology

pn *Kolla*, f., (c.) or pn *Kolli*, m., (c.) or ON *kolla*, f., 'a deer, a hind' (c.) or ON *kollr*, m.

g.pl. 'a top, a summit' + ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (a.)

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[41] '*Kollaruð eller Kolluruð, af Mandsnavnet Kolli eller Kvindenavnet Kolla'.
[42] 'Kan komme enten af Mandsnavnet Kolli eller Kvindenavnet Kolla, eller ogsaa af Koll (Kolle), Høide,
Top. Forresten kan Navnet her skyldes Opkaldelse'.
[43] 'af Mandsnavnet Kolli eller Kvindenavnet Kolla, af hvilke det sidste kjendes i et enkelt Exempel fra Norge
(BK. 46 b) og det første brugtes meget paa Island, hvortil det vel er overført fra Norge, da det findes alm.
allerede i Landnamstiden (Landn. 135. 159. 236). Efter Formen i DN. skulde man her have Kvindenavnet'.

Collavig NB205320 (Maybe)

Related features: Culabhal NB201314

Early forms

OS1 *Cóllabhig / Cóllabhall*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Cóllabhall*

Etymology

pn *Kolla*, f. (c.) or pn *Kolli*, m. (c.) or ON *kolla*, f. 'a deer, a hind' (c.) or ON *kollr*, m.

g.pl. 'a top, a summit' + ON *vík*, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. *Druim **Cholladail*** for the specific element.

Sgeir **Collavig** NB178341 (Maybe)

Related features: Druim Culavig NB172344

Early forms

OS1 *Sgeir Ghólabhig / Druim Chùlabhig*

Etymology

pn *Kolla*, f. (c.) or pn *Kolli*, m. (c.) or ON *kolla*, f. 'a deer, a hind' (c.) or ON *kollr*, m.

g.pl. 'a top, a summit' + ON *vík*, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. *Druim **Cholladail*** for the specific element.

Loch **Eireasort** NB382219 (Probable)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Loch Erisport*

1708 Moll *L. Issurt*

1726 Moll *Loch Erisort*

-1767 MacFarlane *Loghærisford*

1789 Ainslie *L. Keose*?

1821 Johnson *Loch Erisort*

1832 Thomson *Loch Erisort*

OS1 *Loch Erisort*

Previous discussions

'Resort on the west, and *Erisort* on the east side, divide the mountains from the lower (though anything but level) part of Lewis. I believe them to be the same word. On looking into the history of the word, it is found written "Eriford, Erisport, Iffurt (error for Isfurt), Herrish-Arisford" with the Gaelic Loch prefixed. Tthese words plainly represent Herrisfirth.' Such is Captain Thomas's idea (MacBain 1922, 93)

Discussion

Although MacBain asserts that this toponym should be interpreted as *Herrisfirth*, the several other forms of *Eris-* with similar early forms found in Lewis toponyms are sufficient to make the interpretation of *Erisort* as containing the pn *Eiríkr* likely.

Etymology

pn *Eiríkr*, m. (b.) + ON *fjörðr*, m. 'a firth' (b.)

EvClas3

cf. **Erista** for the specific element.

Eiresolt NB335508 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Eriesólt*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Eriesólt*

Previous scholarship

Erisolt 'Erik's rough pasture or outrun' (Watson 1976 [1904], 268)

Etymology

pn *Eiríkr*, m. (b.) + ON *holt*, n. 'a wood, a copsewood, a coppice' (b.)

EvClas3

cf. **Erista** for the specific element.

Mullach **Eistotair** NB139397 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Mullach Eistotair*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Mullach Eistotair*

Comparative material

Egilshváll 'compounded with the masculine name Egil (Egill)' (*NG*, vol.2, p. 258).[44]

Esval:

> The 1st element fairly certainly contains a masculine name which fell out of use early. According to the earlier forms [such as Øyesuale, Øyesswol, and Øiesswaldh] it cannot be Egill, as in the now similar sounding farm name No. 84 in Sørum [Eisval], but can be Øyjulfr or Øyjarr, more likely the former (*NG*, vol.2, 346).[45]

Eiesar 'The 1st element is uncertain. One could probably think of a masculine name such as Egill or Øyjulfr; but the origin can be quite a different one' (*NG*, vol.4, p. 40).[46]

pn *Egill*: m. g. -s; *Eyiólfr*, m. g. -s; *Eyiarr*, m. g. -s, '[*Eyiarr*] Also appears to be included in some Norwegian place-names such as the now lost **Øyarsmo** in Trøgstad' (*NID*).[47]

Discussion

This is a problematic toponym which largely lacks any earlier forms in the Lewis material. However, in its current state it strongly resembles comparative Norwegian material and without further contextual evidence, one of the personal names proposed in *NG* by Rygh appears to be most likely.

Etymology

pn *Egill*, m. (c.) or pn *Eyiólfr*, m. (c.) or pn *Eyiarr*, m. (c.) + ON *topt*, f.[48] pl. 'a green tuft or knoll, a green, grassy place; a place marked out for a house or building, a toft' (a.) EvClas4

Eòradal NB540627 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Eòrradal*

Discussion

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[44] 'sms. af Mandsnavnet Egil (Egill)'.

[45] '1ste Led indeholder ganske vist et allerede tidlig afslidt Mandsnavn. Dette kan efter de foreliggende Former neppe være Egill, som i det nu ens- lydende Gaardnavn No. 84 i Sørum, men kan være Øyjulfr eller Øyjarr, snarest det første'.

[46] '1ste Led usikkert. Man kan nok tænke paa et Mandsnavn som Egill eller Øyjulfr; men Oprindelsen kan være en ganske anden'.

[47] 'Synes ock ingå i en del norska ortnamn såsom det nu försvunna **Øyarsmo** i Trøgstad'

[48] Cl.-Vig. does not give the gender, but it is listed as f. in Cox (2002, 364). In Norse Lewis toponyms, this element is generally found in the plural.

Although the generic here is almost certainly ON *dalr* 'a dale', there is no obvious feature in the vicinity to represent the valley in question. Its proximity to *Eòropaidh* makes it possible that we are looking at a similar derivation here.

Etymology

pn *Iórunn*, f. (c.) or pn *Jórekr*, m. (c.) or ON *eyrr*, f. 'a gravel-beach' (c.) or ON *efri* 'upper' (d.) + ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. **Eòropaidh** for the specific element.

Eòranish Mhor NB034191 (Maybe)

Related features: *Eoranish Beg* NB038185

Early forms

OS1 *Eòranish Mhor*

Discussion

Athough an exact location of the original coining is difficult to establish, considering the general topography of the surroundings, it is likely that we are looking at a coining with *eyrr* since the northern side of *Loch Tealasbhaigh* consists of gravelly shoreline. Without further evidence of the local pronounciation of this name, especially in comparison with *Eòropaidh* it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions.

Etymology

pn *Iórunn*, f. (c.) or pn *Jórekr*, m. (c.) or ON *eyrr*, f. 'a gravel-beach' (c.) or ON *efri* 'upper' (d.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. **Eòropaidh** for the specific element.

Eòrishadair (OS1) NB151398 (Probable)

Previous discussions

Eòiriseadair 'Jóreidhar-Saetr', Jóreith's Shieling (MacAulay 1971-2, 334).

> MacAulay (197[1]-2: 334 Eòriseadair) takes this name to contain the woman's name *Jór(h)eiðr*, and a form *Jór(h)eiðarsætr* is certainly a possible solution […] ON *jaðarr* has the basic senses 'edge, border; boundary', but also 'projecting edge; corner' […] *Eóiriseadar*, then, might be from an ON **Jaðrasætr*, with gen.sg. of the specific. The fact that the location in question is near the head of a north-south aligned range of hills suggests the

specific here could have referred to the projecting end of this range […] MacAulay's derivation with the personal-name is in fact supported by the existence in the area, until recently, of the woman's name *Eòridh*… (Cox 1990, 100-1)

Comparative material

Jordtveit '*Jóreiðarþtveit*' (*NG*, vol.8, p. 185)

Iórheiðr: f., g. -ar:

> In Norway the name is not visible after the settlement-period, but nevertheless appears to have persisted in certain areas. See Rygh, PiSt (*Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne,* 149). Those recorded forms in Nynorsk may however more likely belong to Ióriðr. (*NID*)[49]

jaðarr: m., 'the edge, selvage, of cloth; the edge-beam of rail of a paling; the border along the shore' etc. (Cl.-Vig.)

Etymology

pn *Iórheiðr*, f. (b.) or ON *jaðarr*, m. 'an edge, a border; a boundary' (c.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

EvClas3

Eòropaidh NB516651 (Maybe)

Early forms

1654 *Eorby*

1776 MacKenzie *Oreby*

1789 Ainslie *Oreby*

1794 Huddart *Oreby*

1804 Heather *Oreby*

1807 Arrowsmith *Oreby*

1821 Johnson *Eoropie*

1832 Thomson *Eoropie*

OS1 *Eòrrapidh*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Iorapid*

Previous discussions

'*Eoropie*, G. Eòrrabaidh, eyrar-bœr, beach-town' (Watson 1976 [1904], 266)

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[49] 'I Norge är namnet icke synligt äfter landnamstiden, men tycks likväl ha bibehållit sig i visa landsdelar. Se Rygh, PiSt. 149. De därstädes anförda nynorska formerna höra dock kanske snarāre till Ióriðr'.

The name has often been explained as ON *Øyrarbør* 'gravel-beach farm',
from *øyr* f. […] It is, however, difficult to conceive how ON *øyr-* could
result in G [*jɔ:R-*]. (Oftedal 1954, 11)

Instead, Oftedal proposes that the name represents *Jórunnarbør,* containing the feminine
personal name *Jórunn*.

'Female ownership is not excluded, if the explanation of *Eòropaidh* as "Jorunn's farm"
is correct.' (Nicolaisen 2001 [1976], 125)

'*Eòrabaidh* – (?)[ˈjɔːrəˌbi] (MO [from Magne Oftedal's notes]) [ˈjɔːʀəˌbi]. Oftedal
(1954, 371) suggests ON *Jórunnarbør*, with gen. sg. of a woman's name, *Jórunn*.' (Cox
2006, 14)

[Fig. 3.1 The sands of *Eòropaidh* © Copyright Sofia Evemalm]

Comparative evidence

Entries from *NG* potentially containing pn *Jórunn*, f., or pn *Jórekr*, m., which often
appear difficult to distinguish from each other, include: *Jøraanrud* vol.5, p.444;

Jøranrud, vol.5, p.276; *Jøronlien* vol.4, p.206; *Jørenby* vol.4, p.237; *Jøronstad* vol. 4, p.94; *Jorundstad* vol. 8, p.41; *Jørnegaard*, vol.1, p.221; *Jørnerød* vol.1, pp.305-6; *Jørnevik* vol. 11, p.524; *Jorenkjøl* vol. 10, p.119; *Jørstad* vol. 10, p.304.

pn *Iórunn*: f., g. -a (*NID*)

Discussion

This toponym forms one of the most intriguing and problematic entries studied here and its long and complex historiography, as discussed in 1.2.3.5, gives evidence of this. Although ON *eyrr* 'gravel-beach' has previously been given as an interpretation, unless the topography of the site has significantly changed it seems highly unlikely that this is the term which would be used to refer to the general area, considering its famous sand-dunes (see picture above). The settlement *Eoropie* is recorded as early as 1654 in Blaeu's *Atlas Novus* with the spelling *Eorby*. Despite this early form, it provides little additional evidence for the interpretation of the specific of the name. In addition to this first written form, all entries before the nineteenth century record it as *Oreby*, which might suggest ON *efri* 'upper' considering similar forms found for *Eorrabus* in Islay such as *Orepols* 1614 (Gammeltoft 2001a, 114). A great aid in favour of the interpretation of the specific as ON *efri* 'upper' would of course be to find a toponym with the ON equivalent for lower: *neðri*. At this stage I have not not been able to identify any appropriate options, but the lack of place-names containing *neðri* in the vicinity does of course not exclude the possibility of this as a valid interpretation of the name since it is likely that it has gone out of use before the opportunity to record it was given. However, all later spellings give an initial *Eor-* and local pronouncinations of the name appear to be consistent with the initial [jɔːʀ-] given by Oftedal. Interestingly, this name appears to have (or at least have had) two different pronunciations; one used by the inhabitants of the village itself [ˈjɔːrˌbi] and a different one by the surrounding areas [ˈjɔːrəˌbi] (MacAulay 1964[50]). If we consider the internal prounounciation as the most accurate one, the interpretation favouring a personal name may be more likely. However, as seen in the comparative material from *NG*, we should not assume that pn *Iórunn* is the only alternative here. All entries listed above containing a potential *Iórunn* also give *Jórekr* as a possibility, and this has been included as one of the interpretations here.

Etymology

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[50] This was a joint seminar held by Donald MacAulay and Hermann Pálsson at the School of Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, where the information cited here was presented by MacAulay.

pn *Iórunn*, f. (c.) or pn *Jórekr*, m. (c.) or ON *eyrr*, f. 'a gravel-beach' (d.) or ON *efri* 'upper' (d.) + ON *bý(r)* (*bær*), m. 'a farm' (a.)

EvClas3

Eorshader NB386181 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Eorshadair*

Previous discussions

Eòrsadar:

> A loan-name possibly fr. ON *Øyjarsǽtr*, with gen.sg. of *øy* f., which meant not only 'land completely or almost encompassed by water (whether in a lake or in the sea); island' but also 'land enclosed between watercourses or by the bend of a river or stream'. It is the latter sense which is appropriate here. (Cox 1990, 106)

Discussion

Although Cox does not mention any of the above proposals for toponyms beginning with *Eor-,* it should not be excluded as a possibility here, particularly considering the similarity of this form to the local pronounciation given for *Eòropaidh*.

Etymology

pn *Iórunn*, f. (c.) or pn *Jórekr*, m. (c.) or *øy*, f. 'land enclosed between watercourses or by the bend of a river or stream' (c.) + ON *setr,* n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. **Eòropaidh** for the specific element.

Erista NB054334 (Probable)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Erista*

1832 Thomson *Erista*

OS1 *Eirastadh*

Previous discussions

'*Eirasta*, beach-stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Comparative material

Eriksrud 'from the masculine name Erik' (*NG*, vol.2, p. 162).[51]

Ersrud '*Eiriksruð, from the masculine name Erik' (*NG*, vol.2, p. 213).[52]

pn *Eiríkr*: m. g. -s (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Eiríkr*, m. (b.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

Loch **Fionnacleit** NB215395 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Loch Iunacleit*

1864 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Loch Iunacleit*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *L. Iunacleit*

Previous discussions

'with a ln. possibly fr. ON *Finnaklett* with gen.pl. of *finnr* 'Lapp, Finn'; one of uncertain pre-Scandinavian races in Norway, perhaps of Fino-Urgrian [*sic*] origin.' (Cox, 1987b, 138)

Comparative material

pn *Finni*: m. g: -a. Found in place-names such as *Finnastadir* and *Finnasætr*. (*NID*)

Cl.-Vig: '**Finnar**, m. *the Finns and Lapps*; **Finnr**, m. *a Finn*'

Discussion

Although no such forms survive, *Loch Fionnacleit* most likely represents a back-formation from **Loch Fhionnacleit*, explaining the forms in *Loch Iunacleit.*

Etymology

pn *Finni*, m. (c.) or ON *finnr*, m. (c.) or pn *Finn*, m. (c.)[53] + ON *klettr*, m. 'a rock, a cliff' (a.)

EvClas4

Gasaval NB269207 (Maybe)

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[51] 'af Mandsnavnet Erik'.

[52] '*Eiriksruð af Mandsnavnet Erik'.

[53] Although there is no direct evidence for this interpretation, the possibility of a pn from OIr *Finn* should be included here.

Early forms

OS1 *Gasabhall*

Previous discussions

'*Gásaval*, goose-fell or hill' (Watson 1976 [1904], 267)

Comparative material

Gaaserud 'either Gásaruð from the rarely occurring masculine name Gási or Gasaruð from a masculine name Gasi (or nickname gasi).' (*NG*, vol.7, p. 188)[54]

pn *Gási*: m. g. -a. Found in place-names such as *Gasarud, Gasaholt* and *Gassabøle*. '**Gasa-** as the specific element in some place-names can either be the baptismal name or the by-name with the same spelling.' (*NID*)[55]

gassi, m. 'a gander' (Cl.-Vig.)

Etymology

pn *Gási*, m. (c.) or pn *Gasi*, m. (a nickname) (c.) or ON *gassi*, m. 'a gander' (c.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

EvClas4

Giurshadir NB414345 (OS1) (Maybe)

Early forms

Early maps record a *Garcroy* (Blaeu *Ghercroy*, Johnson *Garriecroy*, Thomson *Garricroy*, MacKenzie *Garcroy*, Heather *Garcroy*) in the area where *Giurshadir* is found. It is possible that these names are related or the same. Are these names related or the same?

Previous discussions

Giùrsadar 'Possibly this contains a form of the man's name ON *Gyrðr Gjurðr* m., but this was not a common personal-name. Perhaps the most likely solution is ON *Gjórsǽtr* "the dwelling of the ravine" with gen.sg. of gjó, variant of *gjǫ́* f. "ravine, gully" etc.' (Cox 1990, 103-4)

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[54] 'enten Gásaruð af et sjelden forekommende Mandsnavn Gási eller Gasaruð af et Mandsnavn Gasi (eller Tilnavn gasi)'.

[55] '**Gasa-** såsom första led i en del ortnamn kan vara antingen dopnamnet äller det lika lydande binamnet'.

Comparative material

pn *Gyrðr*: m., g. -ar (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Gyrðr*, m. (c.) or ON *gjá* f. gen.sg. 'chasm, rift' (c.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

EvClas3

Griamacleit NB204142 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Grìamacleit*

Etymology

pn *Gríma*, f. (c.) or ON *gríma* 'a kind of hood or cowl covering the upper part of the face' (c.) + ON *klettr*, m. 'a rock, a cliff' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. **Griomabhal** for the specific element.

Griomabhal NB011219 (Maybe)

Related features: Griamanais NA996207

Early forms

OS1 *Griomabhal*

1862 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Griomabhal*

Previous discussions

Griamanais 'Grim's Ness' (Watson 1976 [1904], 269)

Comparative material

pn *Gríma*: f. -u. See Examples *Grimastad* And *Grimastadir* in Norway. (*NID*)

gríma, f. 'a kind of hood or cowl covering the upper part of the face … metaph. The night … the metaphor is either derived from a horse's halter or hood = *doubly hoodwinked* or from the night = in *double darkness*.' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

The pn *Gríma* would be expected to take a similar declension to ON *gríma*, with -*u* in the genitive. However, the comparative material shows the pn incorporated into

toponyms with an -*a* ending so neither can be excluded. If the specific element reflects ON *gríma* 'hood, cowl', might it be possible to envisage a metaphorical representation of the mountain relating to the quality or shape of the object in question? The two relevant entries, *Griomabhal* and *Griamacleit*, share a similar rounded, sloping shape which may be viewed as resembling the shape of a cowl. However, with only two entries it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions and the interpretation has been left open. Also note the metaphoric use of this word in the sense of the night and disguises.

Etymology

pn *Gríma*, f. (c.) or ON *gríma*, f. 'a kind of hood or cowl covering the upper part of the face' (c.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

EvClas3

Grìomarstadh NB216301 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Grimersta*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland (Amhuinn) *Ghrimersta*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Grimersta*

Previous discussions

Grimersta 'Grim's stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Grimersta 'The last component is certainly ON *staðir*; I cannot offer any opinion of *Grimer-* without knowing the pronunciation.' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 42)

Comparative material

Grimarskaas 'Aasen (*Norsk Navnebog* (1878) p. 17) proposes the masculine name Grimar now only from Telemarken'. (*NG*, vol.7, p. 307)[56]

Discussion

The lack of early forms makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions about this name. On the surface, it looks reasonably similar to *Griomsiadar* discussed above. However, the -*ers* and -*ars* endings make this an unsatisfactory explanation. Currently, the most likely interpretation may be to look to the comparative material from Norway where we find a similar form of *Grimar-*, which is interpreted as the pn *Grimar,* m.

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[56] 'Aasen (Navnebog S. 17) anfører Mandsnavnet Grimar nu kun fra Telemarken'.

Etymology

pn *Grimar,* m. (c.) + ON *staðir,* m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

Griomsiadar / Grimshader NB405257 (Probable)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Grimsetter*

1708 Moll (L.) *Grimseter*

1776 MacKenzie (L.) *Gremishader*

1789 Ainslie (Loch) *Gremishader*

1794 Huddart (Loch) *Gremishader*

1804 Heather (Loch) *Gremishader*

1807 Arrowsmith (Loch) *Gremishader*

1821 Johnson *Grimshader*

1832 Thomson *Grimshader*

OS1 *Grimshadir, Grimashadar*[57]

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland (L.) *Grimshader*

1888 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Grimashadar*

Previous discussions

'Grim's-Stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 270)

Grimshader:

> cannot be ON *Grímssetr,* from the man's name *Grímr,* or *Grimmssetr,* from
> the adjective *grimmr* 'evil, nasty, heartless' used as a surname. Initial [*gr-*]
> instead of the expected [*gð-*] is sufficient proof that the initial cluster was
> followed by a back vowel in ON. The svarabhakti shows, further, that the
> vowel was short. The insertion of a svarabhakti vowel between *m* and *s* is
> regular, cp. [*amà ʃər*] 'weather' with OI *aimser.* The usual antecedent of
> Lewis Gaelic [ʌ] is *u.* These facts point to an ON *Grumssetr* or
> *Grummssetr*…a great number of modern Scandinavian dialects have an
> adjective *grum, grom, grym* with various meanings: 'evil, angry, violent;
> dangerous; clever, excellent' […] Somewhat more creditable is the
> derivation of [*grʌmíʃadər*] from ON *Gromssetr,* from *Gromr,* a man's name
> or surname. (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 101)

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[57] Note that on OS1 *Grimashadar* is the name given to the village whereas *Grimshadir* is the name of the
area.

Gruimseadar 'Fr. ON *Gromssǽtr* with gen.sg. of the man's name *Gromr*, variant of *Gormr*.' (Cox 1990, 104)

Comparative material

pn *Grímr*: m. g. -s. Also recorded as *Grimr* g. -er. Several examples of the forms *Grimer* and *Grimmer* can also be found. (*NID*)

Discussion

The early forms indicating a *Grimas-* or *Gremis-* declension have been satisfactorily explained by Oftedal, making the pn *Gromr* a likely candidate here.

Etymology

pn *Gromr*, m. (b.) or pn *Grímr,* m. (d.) or ON adj. *grum, grom, grym*, 'evil, angry, violent; dangerous; clever, excellent' (c.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

EvClas3

Guinnerso NB032361 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Guinnerso*

Comparative material

Gunnerstorp 'from masculine pn Gunnar (Gunnarr)' (*NG*, vol.1, p. 238)[58]
Gunnersby 'from masculine pn Gunnar (Gunnarr)' (*NG*, vol.1, p. 348)[59]
Gunnersrud 'from masculine pn Gunnar (Gunnarr)' (*NG*, vol.6, p. 14)[60]

pn *Gunnarr*: m. g. -rs. (*NID*)
sær 'sea' 'never used like Germ. *see*, of a lake' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

If the generic in question is ON *ey*, f. 'island', the presence of a genitival *s* and the comparative Norwegian evidence makes it very likely that we are looking at the pn Gunnarr, m. here. However, it may also be possible to suggest that the generic here is

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[58] 'af Mandsnavnet Gunnar (Gunnarr)'.
[59] 'af Mandsnavnet Gunnar (Gunnarr)'.
[60] 'af Mandsnavnet Gunnar (Gunnarr)'.

ON *sær*. Although Cl.-Vig. states that this does not occur to denote a lake in Old Norse, is it may be possible to suggest that we are seeing a meaning similar to that found in modern Danish *sø* 'a lake, water' (*ODS*). If this is the case, we cannot assume the presence of a genitival *s* and the interpretation becomes far less certain. Topography-wise, both options are possible. The loch which now takes the name *Loch Ruadh Guinnerso* would be a contender if *sær* is correct, and there is a nearby tidal island which could represent the *ey*.

Etymology

pn *Gunnarr*, m. (b.) + ON *ey*, f. 'island' (b.) or ON *sær*, m. 'sea, ?a lake' (c.)

EvClas3

Airighean **Ghunnarstail** NB077298 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Airichean Ghunnarstail*

Etymology

pn *Gunnarr*, m. (b.) + ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (b.)

cf. **Guinnerso** for the specific element.

EvClas3

Gurrabhur NB232351 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Gurabheir*

Previous discussions

Gurrbhair 'possibly fr. ON *Guðrúnaruǫrðu* acc. "*Guðrún*'s cairn" with gen.sg. of the woman's name *Guðrún* f., as in the Norwegian [place-name] Guradalen (Sandnes, Stemshaug 1980; 136), and acc. of uarða f.' (Cox 1987b, 154)

Comparative material

Guramyren:

> May be the word Gurmemyr, recorded by Ross from West Telemarken, from Gurma f., thick mud. The m of the 1st first element could have been lost through dissimilation (intro. p. 21), since the second element begins with the same letter. The sound -a in Gura- however causes difficulties with this explanation, since one would expect Gure-. Possibly Gura- may be due to the influence of the second element -myra at a time when the meaning of the

name was no longer understood. The pronunciation of the second syllable is also uncertain; the pronunciation -ei is probably influenced by the word "Hei" (cf. vol.7, p.35 farm name 3). K. Rygh assumes that Gura- in the name Guradal in Hammerø is a weakening of Guraa, one of the present forms of the feminine name Guðrún (*NG* XVI p. 267). (*NG*, vol.7, p. 34)[61]

pn *Guðrún*: f. g: -ar (*NID*)

[Fig. 3.2 The summit of *Gurrabhur* © Copyright Sofia Evemalm]

Discussion

This is the only entry in the corpus with the generic *varða* probably attached to a personal name. Although we should be cautious not to exclude an ownership -association on the basis of the generic element alone, a toponym containing *varða* might be a reasonably strong contender for a motivation of a commemorative nature (see 5.6). Although an ON *gurma* 'thick mud' would certainly be appropriate for the surrounding topography, it seems unlikely since the generic here does not begin with an *m* as in the example described in *NG* and the word is not recorded by Cl.-Vig.

Etymology

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[61] 'Kan maaske være det af Ross fra V. Telemarken anførte Ord Gurmemyr, af Gurma f., tykt Mudder. 1ste Leds m kunde være bortfaldet ved Dissimilation (Indl. S. 21), da 2det Led begynder med samme Bogstav. Lyden -a i Gura- volder dog Vanskelighed ved denne Forklaring, da man skulde vente Gure-. Mulig kan Gura- skyldes Paavirkning af 2det Led -myra paa en Tid, da man ikke længer forstod Navnets Betydning. Udtalen af 2den Stavelse er jo ogsaa ustø; Udtalen -ei er vel paavirket af Ordet "Hei" (jfr. b.7, s.35 GN. 3). Gura- i Navnet Guradal i Hammerø antager K. Rygh at være en Svækkelse af Guraa, en af Nutidsformerne af Kvindenavnet Guðrún (Bd. XVI S. 267)'.

pn *Guðrún*, f. (b.) or ON *gurma* 'thick mud' (d.) + ON *varða*, f., 'a beacon, a pile of stones or wood to "warn" a wayfarer' (a.)

EvClas3

Gob **Hùnasgeir** NB525354 (Maybe)

(OS VectorMap *Gob Hunisgeir*)

Early forms

OS1 *Gob Hunisgeir*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Hunishker Pt*

1963 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Gob Hunishker*

Previous discussions

'*Hùnisgeir*, húna-sker, young bear skerry; but Húnn may be a proper name' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Comparative material

pn *Húni*: m., g. -a. Found in Norwegian farm-names such as *Hunastadir, Huna rud, Hunanes*, and *Hunaborgh*. (*NID*)

húnn, m., 'a young bear'. 'In local names, **Húna-flói, Huna-vatn, Húnavatns-þing**' (Cl.-Vig)

Etymology

pn *Húni*, m. (c.) or ON *húnn*, m. 'a young bear' (c.) + ON *sker*, n. 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea' (a.)

EvClas4

Aird **Islivick** NB147401 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Aird Isleabhig*

Etymology

pn *Ísleifr*, m. (c.) + ON *vík*, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. ***Islibhig*** for the specific element.

Islibhig NA993275 (Maybe)

Early forms

1776 MacKenzie *Icelewig*

1789 Ainslie *Icelewig*

1794 Huddart *Icelewig*

1804 Heather *Iclewig*

1807 Arrowsmith *Iselwig*(?)

1821 Johnson *Islawick*

1832 Thomson *Islawick*

OS1 *Islebhig*

1862 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Islebhig*

Previous discussions

'Isleifs-Vík' (MacAulay 1971-2, 334)

Comparative material

pn *Ísleifr*: m., g. -s (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Ísleifr*, m. (c.) + ON *vík*, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (a.)

EvClas3

Loch **Niosabhat** NB169350 (Maybe)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Lhnaivat(?)*

1832 Thomson *L. nixivat*

OS1 *Loch Nicsabhat*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Loch Nichsabhat*

Previous discussions

'"Nykrs-Vatn" The Loch Of The Monster Or Water-Kelpie' (MacAulay 1971-2, 334)

Comparative material

Nykr, m. g. *nykrs* '*the "nick," a fabulous water-goblin*, mostly appearing in the shape of a *gray water-horse*, emerging from lakes, to be recognised by its inverted hoofs' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

If the interpretation by MacAulay of *Niosabhat* as *Nykrs-Vatn* is correct, we might be seeing a rare glimpse into a Norse Lewis coining motivated by folklore. The general impression of the loch could certainly inspire a coining with a folkloric water-creature. However, should *Nykr* be viewed as a pn or a common noun? Its cognate in Sweden (*Näcken*) can certainly be viewed as a pn used for the creature in question, but is also found as a common noun: *näck*. Additionally, even if it is a pn, is this character anthropomorphic enough to constitute an anthropo-toponym or would it be more correctly classified as a zootoponym, or perhaps a mythotoponym? Its characteristics appear to vary from a person to a goblin to a horse depending on the local variation of the tale (Cl.-Vig.). Ultimately, further studies considering the wider context of similar stories are necessary to shed further light on this entry. Therefore both possibilities of it being used as a pn or common noun have been included here.

[Fig. 3.3 The southern end of *Loch Niosabhat* © Copyright Sofia Evemalm]

Etymology

pn *Nykr*, m. (c.) or ON *nykr*, m. 'water-kelpie, water-goblin' (c.) + *vatn*, n. 'water' (a.)
EvClas3

Rubha **Rollanish** NB126360 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Rudha Ròllanish*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Rudha Róllanish*

Previous discussions

Hrollaugs-Nes '*Hrollaug's* point' (MacAulay 1971-2, 334)

Comparative material

pn *Hrollaugr*: m. g. -s (*NID*)

Discussion

If the pn *Hrollaugr* was present in this place-name we might expect some trace of a genitival *s*.

Etymology

pn *Hrollaugr,* m. (c.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

EvClas3

Aìrd **Sgarastaigh** NB193323 (Maybe)

Related features: *Beinn Sgarastaigh* NB194317, *Allt Sgarastaigh* NB199322, *Eilean Sgarastaigh* NB194326

Early forms

OS1 *Aird Scárista*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Aird Scárista*

Previous discussions

'*Scàrasta*, Skára-staðr, from skári, a young sea-Mew' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

'In Harris we have Scarista, and there is another Scarista in Uig, Lewis, not named in the Rental; these are synonymous with Skára-stadr, in Iceland. Skári (Skorey, in Shetland) is a young gull still in its grey plumage; but it is also a nickname, so that Skára-stadr is not the "stead of a skorey," but the "stead of Skari."' (MacBain 1922, 111)

Comparative material

pn *Skári*: m. g. -a. 'Otherwise as a by-name both in Norway and on Iceland. The bird name *skári* young seagull used as a personal name' (*NID*)[62]

skarfr, m., 'green cormorant'; 'freq. in local names, **Skarfa-klettr**, **Skarfa-hóll**.' (Cl.-Vig.)

skári, m., 'a young sea-mew'; 'hence a nickname, whence **Skára-staðir**' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

In a considerable number of Lewis toponyms it is very difficult to know whether the specific element represents a reference to an animal or a nickname derived from the animal-name. For many of these, they are probably more likely to represent the animal-name, as in the case of *Airnistean* (see Appendix 2). The specific here could either represent 'a young sea-mew' or a man's nickname which is based on the animal-name. The main reason the pn is given as a possibility here is that it is attached to the generic *staðir*.

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. 'a young sea-mew' (c.) or pn *Skári*, m. (c.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

Skigersta / Sgiogarstaigh NB542620 (Maybe)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Skeggirsta*

1750 Dorret *Skegastay*

1776 MacKenzie *Skegasty*

1789 Ainslie *Skegasty*

1794 Huddart *Skegasty*

1804 Heather *Skegasty*

1807 Arrowsmith *Skegasty*

1821 Johnson *Skeygersta*

1832 Thomson *Skeyersta*

OS1 *Sgiogarstagh*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *(Port Skiogar)*

Previous discussions

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[62] 'Annars som binamn både i Norge ock på Island. Fågelnamnet *skári* ungmås använt såsom personnamn'.

'*Sgiogarsta*, Skeggi's stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Skegirsta 'sounds disappointingly like ON *Skeggjastaðir* 'Skeggi's farm', whence it is currently explained. But the *r* implied in the cluster [...] as well as the non-palatal [*g*], render this derivation impossible. A better solution is *Skeggárstaðir,* from a river name *Skeggá*.' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 33-4)

Sgiogarstaidh:

> [ˈskʲigəˌșʈaj]. Oftedal (1954, 389–90) suggests ON *Skeggárstaðir* 'the farm of *Skeggá* ["beard-river"]', ruling out a man's name with *Skeggi* because of the medial consonant cluster. It is possible that there is a connection between this name and 66/9 Sg *Àird Sgeiginnis* – [ˈskʲegʲəˌniʃ] (under *nes*). It may be that the word *skegg* nt. 'beard' was originally applied to some projection or other in the vicinity (Heggstad 1975, 375), and that it occurred as the specific element in two separate name forms, *Skegg-nes* '*Skegg*-promontory' and *Skegg-á* '*Skegg*-river'; later on, *Skegg-á* is used as the specific in a new name, *Skegg-árstaðir* '*Skegg-á* farm'. *Skegg-nes* yields G. *Sgeiginis*, with regressive palatalisation of the medial consonant, while *Skegg-árstaðir* yields G. *Sgiogarstaidh* retaining a non-palatal medial consonant. The [e i] differentiation in the stressed vowels in these names might be recent. (Cox 2006, 21)

Comparative material

pn *Skeggi*: m. g. -ia (*NID*)

Discussion

The form *Skeggirsta*, recorded by Blaeu, and later *Sgiogarstaigh* make a derivation with the pn *Skeggi* problematic, as argued by Oftedal. However, other early forms show a different spelling with *Skega-*. The question is, whether those early forms or the Blaeu form alongside the pronunciation provided by Oftedal are more reliable. If the early *Skega-* forms are correct, the pn *Skeggi* may be a possible interpretation.

Etymology

pn *Skeggi*, m. (c.) or en *skegg-á* 'beard-river' (c.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

Loch **Suainagadail** NB326415 (Probable)

Related features: *Airighean Suainagadail* NB332409, *Gleann Suainagadail* NB332407

Early forms

OS1 *Loch Shùainagadail* NB326415

Previous discussions

Suainenagadail 'from Sveinki, a derivative of Sveinn, Sweynki's dale' (Watson 1976 [1904], 265)

Comparative material

pn *Sveinki*: m. g. -a; pn *Sveinungr*: m. g. -s (*NID*)

Discussion

Watson proposes *Sveinki*, but in its current form it seems to resemble *Sveinungr*, which is frequently attested in place-names such as *Sueinunghs rud* and *Suæinunghsbø*, more closely. However, this is problematic since we would expect this pn to yield a genitive *s* and there are no examples of a weak declension of this name.

Etymology

pn *Sveinungr*, m. (c.) or pn *Sveinki*, m. (c.) + ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (a.)

EvClas4

Tom **Suainashal** NB410500 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Tom Suainaseal*

Comparative material

pn *Sveinn*: m. g. -s. (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Sveinn*, m. (b.) or ON *svanr*, m. g. sg. 'a swan' (c.) or ON *svín*, n. g. sg. 'a swine' (c.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. **Suainebost** for the specific element.

Suaineabhal NB077308 (Maybe)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Swanival*

1832 Thomson *Swanival*

OS1 *Suainabhal*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Suainabhal*(?)

Previous discussions

'Sweyn's Fell' (Watson 1976 [1904], 267)

Etymology

pn *Sveini*, m. (c.) or ON *sveinn*, g. pl. 'a boy' (c.) or ON *svanr*, m. g. pl. 'a swan' (c.) or ON *svín*, n. g. pl. 'a swine' (c.) or ON *svina,* vb 'to subside' (d.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. *Suainebost* for the specific element.

Suainebost NB513625 (Maybe)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Sunebost*

1776 MacKenzie *Swanibust*

1789 Ainslie *Swanihust*

1794 Huddart *Swanibust*

1804 Heather *Swanibust*

1807 Arrowsmith *Swanibust*

1821 Johnson *Swainbost*

1832 Thomson *Swainbost*

OS1 *Suainabost*

Previous discussions

'Swanibost is the same as Swanbustar in the Orkneys; and is cognate with Swynasetter in Shetland, and Sveinseyri, and Sveinavatn in Iceland. Swanibost stands for Sveina-bólstaðr, Svein's-Farm; from Sveinn, a proper name.' (MacBain 1922, 84)

Swanibost 'seems to represent ON *Sveinabólstaðr* "Sveini's farm", from an unattested name *Sveini*.' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 14)

Swanibost:

> The specific has been interpreted as the rare ON personal name *Sveini,* m. (cf. Capt, Thomas 1876, p. 480; Oftedal 1954, p. 377). However, Oftedal has pointed out that there is a discrepancy in the pronunciation of [*'suanjəbɔst*] with that of the surname, *Macqueen* [*mahk'suənj*], which is formed from the

strong declension variant ON *Sveinn*, m., so that this interpretation is not satisfactory. A cautious interpretation of the specific might instead be the genitive pl. of ON *svanr*, m., 'a swan', but this is little more certain than Oftedal's suggestion. (Gammeltoft 2001a, 154)

'This seems to represent ON *Sveinabólstað* acc. "Sveini's farm", with gen. of the man's name *Sveini* (Oftedal 1954, 373).' (Cox 2006, 13)

Comparative material

Svinevold (Suineuold 1593, Suinneuold 1604, Suinevold 1668) 'has the masculine name Sveinn as first element [the specific]' (*NG*, vol.6, pp. 96-7)[63]

Svenerød '*Sveinaruð, probably from Sveini, masculine name, by-form of Sveinn' (*NG*, vol.6, pp. 296-7)[64]

Svenevig:

> (Suinuig 1612, Suine Viig 1619, Suinewiig 1594, Øfre Suinnevig & Nedre Suinewig 1668, Øvre & Nedre Svennevig 1723) 'is presumed in *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne* p. 242 according to the existing forms to contain the animal name *svín*, not the masculine name Sveini (from which is derived Svenerød i Tjølling). According to the pronunciation it could however be more likely that these names are attached to oldn. svina, svena, svinde, to recede, decline (for example of restless sea). (*NG*, vol.9, pp. 173-4)[65]

> pn *Sveini*: m. g. -a. However, Lind states that Rygh, PiSt (*Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne,* 241) 'views some Norwegian farm names beginning with **Sveina-** to be formed by such a baptismal name. However, it seems more reasonable to, in concurrence with *Hj. Falk* (farm number V 237 [cf. *NG* vol.5, p.237]), view **Sveina-** as g. pl. of the common noun *sveinn*.' (*NID*)[66]

sveinn m. 'a boy' g. *sveins*(?); *svanr* m. 'a swan' g. *svans*.; *svín* n. 'a swine' g. *svíns*. Found in place-names such as *Svína-fell, Svína-vatn, Svína-dalr, Svína-nes, Svín-ey*, and *Svín-hagi.*; *svina* 'orig. a strong verb […] to subside, of a swelling' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

When first looking at this name, the previous scholarship seems to be in uncommonly coherent agreement about the presence of the pn *Sveini* as the specific element. However, taking a closer look at the comparative evidence it becomes evident that

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[63] 'har Mandsnavnet Sveinn til 1ste Led'.
[64] '*Sveinaruð, vel af Sveini, Mandsnavn, Sideform af Sveinn'.
[65] 'antages i PnSt. S. 242 efter de existerende ældre Former at indeholde Dyrenavnet svín, ikke Mandsnavnet Sveini (hvoraf Svenerød i Tjølling). Efter Udtalen kunde det dog ligge nærmere at sætte disse Navne i Forbindelse med oldn. svina, svena, svinde, aftage, forminskes (t. Ex. om uroligt Hav)'.
[66] 'anser några med **Sveina-** begynnande norska gårdsn. vara bildade av ett sådant dopnamn. Rimligare synes dock att med *Hj. Falk* (GN V 237) fatta **Sveina-** såsom g. pl. av appell. *sveinn*'.

several possibilities need to be considered here. Particularly the inconsistencies in the endings of the early recorded forms make an analysis problematic. Firstly, three common nouns ON *sveinn*, ON *svanr*, and ON *svín* are all possible interpretations. Alternatively, we might have a rare coining with the vb ON *svina* 'to subside', given as a possibility for *Svenevig* in Norway. Finally, the most frequently occurring interpretations give the pn *Sveini*. Ultimately, I would lean towards an interpretation with the pn, especially considering the presence of the generic *bólstaðr*. Although Oftedal and Gammeltoft raise problems regarding the pronunciation of this place-name if the specific element is to be viewed as pn *Sveini*, Cox apparently does not have any evident objections to this interpretation. However, the sheer number of possibilities here makes it necessary to apply a certain amount of caution. Finally, it is worth noting that Blaeu records a *Swenigarrth* within five kilometres of *Suainebost* which does not survive in later maps. Could these two features be related?

Etymology

pn *Sveini*, m. (c.) or ON *sveinn*, g. pl. 'a boy' (c.) or ON *svanr*, m. g. pl. 'a swan' (c.) or ON *svín*, n. g. pl. 'a swine' (c.) or ON *svina,* vb 'to subside' (d.) + ON *bólstaðr*, m. 'a farm' (a.)

EvClas3

Tolanais NB045337 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Tólanaish*

Discussion

The lack of early forms makes it necessary to apply greater uncertainty in the interpretation than for the comparable entries listed below.

Etymology

pn *Þólfr*, m. (b.) or pn *Hólmr*, m. (d.) or pn *Hǫlgi*, m. (d.) or pn *Holfr*, m. (d.) or **Talga* 'the cutting one' (d.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. **Tolastadh** *a' Chaolais* for a more detailed discussion on the specific element.

Tolastadh a' Chaolais NB194386 (Certain)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Tollosta*

1776 MacKenzie *Tolsta*

1789 Ainslie *Tolsta*

1794 Huddart *Tolsta*

1804 Heather *Tolsta*

1807 Arrowsmith *Tolsta*

1821 Johnson *Tolstay Chulish*

1822 Thomson *Tolstay Chulish*

OS1 *Tolasdadh á Chaolais*

1864 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Tolastag a Chaolais*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Tolastay a Chaolais*

Previous discussions

'*Tolsta*, Tollosta (Blaeu), Toli's stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

> There are two 'Tolsta' in Lewis, which may have been Tolu-stadhr, that is Toli's-stead, of whom seventeen are named under a great variety of spelling as pilgrims in the Rechenau Obituary; but it is strange that neither in Iceland, Shetland, nor Orkney is any name like Tolsta found. This would suggest that the name may really begin with *h*, and be Hol-stadhr, hollow or low stead. (MacBain 1922, 111)

> *Tolstachoelish*:
> The most satisfactory etymology is ON *Þolfstaðir* 'Þolfr's farm', from a man's name [...] there are other possibilities of explaining [it], such as *Holmstaðir, Hǫlgastaðir*, and *Holfstaðir*, but the personal names *Holmr, Hǫlgi* and *Holfr* are all so rare that we do not expect to find one of them twice within a restricted area in identical place-names [...] The name may also be connected with ON **Tǫlgustaðir*, from a river name **Talga* 'the cutting one' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 20-1).

Tolstadh 'Most probably a ln. fr. ON *Þolfstaðir* "*Þolfr's farm*" with gen. of the man's name (a late contraction of *Þórolfr*)' (Cox 1987b, 228-9)

Tolstadh 'Very possibly ON *Þolfstaðir* "*Þolfr's farm*"' (GPNC, 382)

Comparative material

pn *Þólfr*: m., g. -s 'The name is among the more used ones in Norway, but is not found before 1300 and not on Iceland. Far older in Denmark and Sweden and more likely borrowed from there in Norway. Also in England (Björkman, 1910. *Nordische*

Personennamen in England, 163). It is considered to be a contraction of **Þórólfr**'. (*NID*)[67]

Discussion

Although the presence of a pn here is relatively certain, the identification of the pn in question is more problematic. There are several rare pn such as *Hólmr*, *Hǫlgi*, and *Holfr* that might be possible, as proposed by Oftedal. However, without further evidence the most appropriate interpretation is the more common pn *Þólfr*.

Etymology

pn *Þólfr*, m., (b.) or pn *Hólmr*, m., (d.) or pn *Hǫlgi*, m., (d.) or pn *Holfr*, m., (d.) or *Talga* 'the cutting one' (d.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

North **Tolsta** NB535473 (Certain)

Related features: *Gleann Tholastaidh* NB526445, *Gleann Tholastaidh* NB518458, *New Tolsta/Bail' Ur Tholastaidh* NB534484, *Toabha Tholastaidh* NB529444,

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Tollosta*

1701 Moll *Tollosta*

1750 Dorret *Talsto* (*Head*)

1776 MacKenzie *Tolsta*

1794 Huddart *Tolsta*

1789 Ainslie *Tolsa*

1804 Heather *Tolsta*

1807 Arrowsmith *Tolsta*

1821 Johnson *North Tolstay*

1832 Thomson *North Tolstay*

OS1 *Tolastaidh 'o Thuath*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Tolsta*

Etymology

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[67] 'Namnet hör till de mera brukliga i Norge, men är icke anträffat före 1300 ock icke på Ísland. Långt äldre i Danmark ock Sverge ock sannolikt därifrån lånat i Norge. Även i England (Björkm. s. 163). Anses vara en sammandragning av **Þórólfr**'.

pn *Þólfr*, m. (b.) or pn *Hólmr*, m. (d.) or pn *Hǫlgi*, m. (d.) or pn *Holfr*, m. (d.) or **Talga*
'the cutting one' (d.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

cf. ***Tolastadh*** *a' Chaolais* for a more detailed discussion on the specific element.

Cnoc **Thorabroc** NB448598 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Cnoc Thorabroc* NB449597

Discussion

The specific element in its current state is similar to that found in *Tòrastaidh*, but the
lack of earlier forms makes it difficult to be certain. The generic could refer to ON *brok,*
n. 'bad, black grass' (Cl.-Vig.), but this does not appear to be attested anywhere in *NG*.
A more likely alternative is *brekka*, f. 'a slope' which is given as the generic in place-
names such as *Skeibrok* and *Vormebrokken* in Norway (*NG* vol.9, p. 197; vol.9, p. 37).
The possible interpretations of the generic do not provide any aid in determining whether
or not the specific represents a personal name.

Etymology

pn *Þórir*, m. (c.) or *Þórðr*, m. (c.) or pn *Þorri*, m. (c.) or pn *Þori*, m. (c.) or pn *Þóra*, f.
(c.) or ON *þorn,* m., 'a thorn' (d.) + ON *brekka* 'a slope' (b.) or ON *brok* 'bad, black
grass' (d.)

EvClas4

cf. ***Torastaidh*** for the specific element.

Eilean **Thoraidh** NB422201 (Certain)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Torray*

1750 Dorret *Toray*

1776 MacKenzie *Toray*

1789 Ainslie *Torray I.*

1794 Huddart *Toray I.*

1804 Heather *Toray I.*

1807 Arrowsmith *Toray*

OS1 Eilean *Thòrraidh*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Toray*

1889 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Thorraidh*

Previous discussions

'*Eilean Thorraidh*, Thori's isle' (Watson 1976 [1904], 266)

Comparative material

Torberg 'from the masculine name Þórðr.' (*NG*, vol.5, p. 256)[68]

Torhaugen: 'compounded with the masculine name Tor (Þórðr).' (*NG*, vol.5, p. 111)[69]

Discussion

The there are several occurrences of *Thorraidh*-names found in a Lewis context, which raises some suspicions about the likelihood of a personal name being present. However, in *Eilean Thoraidh* there are numerous earlier spellings going back as early as 1654 when it was recorded by Blaeu as *Torray*. For other similar entries, greater uncertainty must remain and they have been categorised as 'Maybe' according to the scale of certainty. Looking at comparative evidence it seems likely that the specific element in question is pn *Þórðr* found in similar place-names such as *Torberg* and *Torhaugen* in Norway.

Etymology

pn *Þórðr*, m. (b.) + ON *ey*, f. 'an island' (a.)

EvClas3

Torastaidh NB388199 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Tòrastaidh*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *(L.) Torista*

1889 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *(Loch) Thorastaidh*

Previous discussions

'Thori's Stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Torastay: pn Torfi or ON *torf* 'peat' or ON *hǫrgr* 'site of a cairn/site of a heathen temple' (Oftedal 2009 [1954])

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[68] 'af Mandsnavnet Þórðr'.
[69] 'Sms. med Mandsnavnet Tor (Þórðr)'.

Comparative material

pn *Þori*: -e, -æ, but also found as *Tora, Thorra*; pn *Þorri*: -a; pn *Þóra*: -u (*NID*)

cf. Cox (1987b, 38-9) *Beinn Thòrabhal*: 'very likely fr. ON *Þórufiall* "the mountain of *Þóra*" with gen. of the woman's name' [Cox states that this has the alias A' Bheinn Riabhach. The form Beinn Thòrabhal does not appear on OS1 or the modern map and has therefore not been listed as its own head-form].

cf. Johnston (1991) *Torastan*: (earlier forms: Torressa, Torristy, Torastan, Toristan) 'ON Thor, m pers name'

cf. Gammeltoft (2001a): *Torrabols, Torrabus*:

> The specific of these names has been interpreted in numerous ways, from containing an ON personal name *Þórir*, m. (cf. Lind 1905-15, cols 1180-2), to *torfa*, f., 'turf, peat' and ON *torg*, n., 'a square, a market-place' (cf. Capt. Thomas 1882, pp. 256-7; Gillies 1906, p. 241; Maceacharna 1976, p. 86) [...] There is no vestige of a genitive -s in any of the present forms or sources, which renders a personal name unlikely. Secondly, the earliest piece of documentation has the form Torno-, which easily eliminates all the suggestions made. With this source form in mind, the specific can only really be ON *þorn*, m., 'a thorn' or 'a thorn-bush'.

Discussion

This place-name probably contains a personal name. However, it is difficult to determine which name the specific could represent – if we look at the form *Tóra-*, a number of comparative points can be made. In Lind, a number of personal names could fit: m. *Þorri* or *Þori* and f. *Þóra* are possible options but no definite interpretation can be given based on this evidence alone. *Þóra* 'with gen. of the woman's name' is also the interpretation Cox (1987b, 38-9) gives for the specific in the Old Norse formation in *Beinn Thòrabhal* stating that this interpretation is 'very likely'. Watson's (1976 [1904], 271) interpretation of this element as *Thori* is problematic since this is the interpretation he gives for all *Þórr-* names. It is unclear why Oftedal (2009 [1954], 49) interprets the name as '*Torfi*'s farm' since there is nothing to support this interpretation based on the pronunciation he records and the previously listed suggestions are just as likely.

Turning to Gammeltoft (2001a, 155-6) there are some interesting comparative place-names in the form of *Torrabols* and *Torrabus.* In these cases the presence of earlier forms with *Torno-* makes the interpretation likely to be Old Norse *þorn,* m., 'a thorn' or

'a thorn-bush'. The fact that we might be dealing with a common noun rather than a personal name is an important point that needs to be kept in mind considering the lack of earlier forms for place-names containing *Tòra-*. The comparative evidence discussed here can also be used for other place-names containing *Tòra-* in the Lewis material such as *Cnoc Thorabroc* NB448598, *Gleann Thòrradail* NB296404 and *Toirabhal* NB192405. However, for *Tòrastaidh* there is yet another dimension to be considered. If a genitive *s* is present in this name, particularly likely in the forms *Torista* and **Torsdaigh,* the presence of a personal name such as *Þórir* or *Þórðr* would be considerably more likely.

Etymology

pn *Þórir*, m. (c.) or *Þórðr*, m. (c.) or pn *Þorri*, m. (c.) or pn *Þori*, m. (c.) or pn *Þóra*, f. (c.) or ON *þorn,* m. 'a thorn' (d.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

EvClas3

Sron **Thorcasmol** NB262088 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Sròn Thorcasmol*

Etymology

pn *Þorkell*, m. (c.) + ON *möl*, f. 'pebbles, worn stones, i.e. the bed of pebbles on the beach or in a river' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. **Torcaso** for the specific element.

Torcaso NB029352 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Torcaso*

Comparative material

pn *Þorkell*: m., g. -s, but there is also a form recorded as *Torkis* (*NID*)

Discussion

The place-names *Torcaso* and *Sròn Thorcasmol* provide somewhat of a mystery when compared with other potential *Þórr*-names presented here. Although a very tentative interpretation, the specifics in these place-names may represent the personal name *Þorkell* since they, in their current state, at least superficially resemble this personal

name and there are no obvious alternatives. However, the lack of earlier forms and contextual evidence makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions. It is interesting to note that the two entries containing a -*so* ending in the corpus are both located within a kilometre of each other (the other being *Guinnerso*), both being features that could topographically represent either ON *ey* or ON *sær*.

Etymology

pn *Þorkell,* m. (c.) + ON *ey*, f. 'an island' (b.) or ON *sær*, m. 'sea, ?a lake' (c.)

EvClas4

cf. **Guinnerso** for the generic element.

Tordal NB144410 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Tordal*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Tordal*

Previous discussions

under 'Names with religious connotations': 'thór-dalr, *Thor*'s valley (*Tórdail*).'
(MacAulay 1971-2, 334)

Discussion

The lack of any visible inflection in any of the available forms makes the interpretation here problematic, but does not exclude the possibility of a pn being present. Based on comparative evidence from Norway (see 3.1 **Eilean Thoraidh**), the pn *Þórðr* may be the most likely interpretation. It is worth noting that some of the forms for *Àird Tòranais* (see 3.1 **Aird Torranis**) share a similar development. On the other hand, we might interpret it as containing the theonym *Þórr*.

Etymology

pn *Þórðr*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Þórr*, m. (c.) + ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (a.)

EvClas4

Arighean **Torradail** NB303410 (Probable)

Related features: *Druim Torradail* NB295411, *Gleann Torradail* NB297405

Early forms

OS1 *Druim Thórradail, Gleann Thórradail*

Etymology

pn *Þórir*, m. (c.) or *Þórðr*, m. (c.) or pn *Þorri*, m. (c.) or pn *Þori*, m. (c.) or pn *Þóra*, f. (c.) or ON *þorn,* m., 'a thorn' (d.) + ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. ***Torastaidh*** for the specific element.

Torraidh NB072175 (Probable)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Torray*

1832 Thomson *Torray*

OS1 *Tórraidh*

1860 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Toryaidh*

1864 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *(Cleite) Thorraid*

Etymology

pn *Þórðr*, m. (b.) + ON *ey*, f. 'an island' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. *Eilean **Thoraidh*** for the specific element.

Aird **Torranish** NB152335 (Probable)

Related features: *Loch Torranish* NB155335, *Ben Torranish* NB153329, *Torranish River* NB156333

Early forms

1821 Johnson *(Harbour of) Tornish*

1832 Thomson *(Harbour of) Tornish*

OS1 *Aird Thòranish*

1864 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Aird Thoranish*

Previous discussions

'*Thoranish*, Thori's point' (Watson 1976 [1904], 269)

Comparative material

cf. (AÀA 2006-) *Àird Tòranais* (*Ardtornish*) NM702475 with earlier forms: *Ardthoranis, Ardtorinche, Ardtornys, Ardthornis, Ardthoranis, Ard-Torrenish, Ardtorreneish, Ardtoiniss, Ardtorreneish, Ardtorneisch, Ardtornish, Ardtornish, Ard-tòrainnis, Àird Tòirinis*. *Tòranish* ~ headland of Thor.

Discussion

This place-name shares striking similarities with *Ardtornish* in Argyll, both with regards to its linguistic structure and its variant forms. In both cases the ON formation contains the generic ON *nes* 'a promontory' and has then been incorporated into a Gaelic place-name with an epexegetic G *àird* 'a promontory' added.

Etymology

pn *Þórir*, m. (c.) or *Þórðr*, m. (c.) or pn *Þorri*, m. (c.) or pn *Þori*, m. (c.) or pn *Þóra*, f. (c.) or ON *þorn,* m. 'a thorn' (d.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. ***Torastaidh*** for the specific element.

Torray River / Abhainn **Thoraigh** (OS VectorMap) NB350494 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Amhuinn Thórraidh*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Amhuinn Thòrraidh*

Etymology

pn *Þórðr*, m (b.) + ON *ey*, f. 'an island' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. *Eilean **Thoraidh*** for the specific element.

Ben **Horshader** [Beinn **Thòrshader**] NB246427 (Certain)

Related features: *Airigh Horshader* NB250430, *Sithean Horshader* NB243434

Early forms

OS1 *Beinn Thòrshader*

1856-8 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Beinn Thórshader*

Previous discussions

'*Horshader*, Thori's stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 270)

Airigh Thòrsadar:

> With an ON in. fr. *Þórissǽtr* 'the shieling of *Þórir*'*, with* nom./acc. of *sǽtr* nt. The name *Þórir* is common in Norwegian pnn., e.g. Torsæter (GP 260), also fr. ON *Þórissǽtr;* in Orkney, cf. Hourston (FellowsJensen 1984: 159). *Þórir* is well-attested in *LNB*. An alternative solution could be ON *Þórðssǽtr* with gen. of the man's name *Þórðr* m. (Cox 1987b, 12)

Beinn Thòrsadair 'With a specific from ON *Þórissǽtr* 'the dwelling of *Þórir*' [*...*] An alternative solution could be ON *Þórðssǽtr* with gen. of the man's name *Þórðr*.' (Cox 1990, 98)

Comparative material

Torsnes: 'Could be Þórsnes, together with the theonym Þórr.' (*NG*, vol.17, pp. 81-2)[70]

Torsnes: 'Þórsnes, together with the theonym Þórr. This has likely been a shrine for this god.' (*NG*, vol.11, p. 512)[71]

Torsberg: 'from the masculine name Tor, Tord (Þórðr).' (*NG*, vol.6, p. 20)[72]

Torshaugen: 'from the masculine Þórðr […] or maybe from the masculine Þórir.' (*NG*, vol.8, p. 122)[73]

Torsrud: 'from the masculine name Tor (the old Þórðr).' (*NG*, vol.4, p. 45)[74]

Torsrud: 'from the masculine name Þórir.' (*NG*, vol.5, p. 325)[75]

Torstvet:

> Is in *Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne* p. 260 explained as *Þórisþveit from the masculine name Tore (Þórir), but was assumed in Munch, *Norrøne Gude- og Helte-Sagn* (Christiania 1880) p. 211 to be attached to the theonym Þórr. Because of the names of the nearby farms farm number 4 and 5[76] the last explanation appears the most likely. (*NG*, vol.6, p. 339)[77]

Torsnes:

> According to the recorded form from 1433 [Þoresnese], the old form should be Þórisnes, from the masculine name Tore (Þórir). This is possibly correct; it must however be noted that there are places in the country, that evidently were called Þórsnes, after the name of the god Tor (see above p. 275), and that the possibility for an error regarding the form of name in the said letter cannot be excluded. (*NG*, vol.1, p. 361)[78]

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[70] 'Kunde være Þórsnes, sms. med Gudenavnet Þórr'.

[71] 'Þórsnes, sms. med Gudenavnet Þórr. Her har sandsynlig været en Helligdom for denne Gud'.

[72] 'af Mandsnavnet Tor, Tord (Þórðr)'.

[73] 'af Mandsnavnet Þórðr […] eller maaske af Mandsnavnet Þórir'.

[74] 'af Mandsnavnet Tor (det gamle Þórðr)'.

[75] 'af Mandsnavnet Þórir'.

[76] These farms are: *Frostvet* containing the theonym *Frøyr* and *Hofland* containing *hof* 'a court' in the sense of a pagan temple.

[77] 'Er PnSt. S. 260 forklaret som *Þórisþveit af Mandsnavnet Tore (Þórir), men antoges i Munch NGHS. S. 211 at være sms. med Gudenavnet Þórr. Paa Grund af Navnene paa de nærliggende Gaarde GN. 4 og 5 er vel den sidste Forklaring den sandsynligste'.

[78] 'Efter den anførte Form fra 1433 [Þoresnese] skulde den gamle Form være Þórisnes, af Mandsnavnet Tore (Þórir). Dette er mulig rigtigt; det maa dog mærkes, at der findes Steder i Landet, som bevislig hede Þórsnes, efter Guden Tors Navn (se ovenfor S. 275), og at Muligheden for en Feiltagelse med Hensyn til Navnets Form i det anførte Brev ingenlunde kan ansees udelukket'.

Torsæter:

> According to the form T(h)orildsetter occurring in two later sources one might expect that the original form of Torsæter has been Þórhildarsetr, from the feminine name Þórhildr. The strong reduction to the current form would however be more easily understood, if one could assume an original *Þórunnarsetr. (*NG*, vol.12, p. 498)[79]

pn *Þórir*: m., g. -is; pn *Þórðr*: m., g. -ar, but also found in the genitive as *Þoors, Thors, Tors*; pn *Þórr*, m., g. -s. It is worth noting that this name appears to be used exclusively as a theonym and refers to the god *Þórr*. This is in contrast with the other names listed here which all appear to be anthroponyms and were used to refer to humans. In a Scandinavian context, it is found in place-names such as *Þorsland, Þórsnes, Þorsdalr, Þorsey, Þosnes, Þosshof* and *Þossey*. (*NID*)

Discussion

It is likely that we are dealing with the personal name *Þórir* or *Þórðr* which is also the interpretation Cox gives. Comparative evidence from *NG* would indicate that it is likely to contain one of these names. The habitative generic *setr* also increases the likelihood that the specific represents a personal name. Considering the presence of *setr*, it seems more likely that we are dealing with a reference to a real person rather than the theonym. However, the possibility should not be entirely excluded and similar names are further discussed in 5.5.5.

Etymology

pn *Þórir*, m. (b.) or pn *Þórðr*, m. (b.) or pn (myth) *Þórr*, m. (d.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

EvClas3

Mol **Forsuig** [Mol **Thòrsuig**] NB440595 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Mol Fhorsuig*

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[79] 'Efter den i to senere Kilder forekommende Form T(h)orildsetter skulde man vente, at den opr. Form af Torsæter har været Þórhildarsetr, af Kvindenavnet Þórhildr. Den stærke Afslidning til den nuv. Form vil dog lettere kunne forstaaes, om man kan gaa ud fra et opr. *Þórunnarsetr.'

Previous discussions

'*Mol Thòrsaig* [Mol Forsaig on map] […] apparently from ON *Þórsvík* "*Þórr'*s bay", with gen. of the god's name, *Þórr*; but ON *Þórisvík* "*Þórir*'s bay", with gen. of the common man's name, *Þórir*, might also be considered. This does not account for the map form.' (Cox 2006, 25-6)

Comparative material

pn *Þórr*: m. g. -s. Myt. Place-name examples include: '*Þorsnes, Þosnes, Þossey, Þorsland, Þotland, Þorshof, Þosshof*' (*NID*)

[Fig. 3.4 The general vicinity of *Mol Thòrsuig* © Copyright Sofia Evemalm]

Discussion

This entry possibly represents a theonym. Looking at previous scholarship, there have been few discussions concerning this in a Lewis context. Cox (2006, pp. 25-6) states that *Mol Fhorsuig* is 'apparently from ON *Þórsvík* "*Þórr's* bay", with gen. of the god's name, *Þórr*; but ON *Þórisvík* "*Þórir*'s bay", with gen. of the common man's name, *Þórir*, might also be considered.' Although the theonym is given as a possibility, this

interpretation appears tentative. In terms of the linguistics of the formations, if the specific element did indeed represent the god's name, as it is listed by in *NID*, we would expect a form such as *Þors-* or *Þos-*. This might be what is found in *Mol Fhorsuig*, but the overall patterns found in the *Þór-* names of Lewis would seem to suggest that we are more likely to deal with forms other than the god's name for a majority of the entries. Nevertheless, the investigation into the *Þór-* names has also made it clear that it is difficult to establish a particular form based on the spelling of the specific element alone, particularly when we are lacking earlier forms. Therefore although tentative, an interpretation favouring the presence of *Þórr* should be kept in mind as an option in cases such as *Mol Fhorsuig*.

Etymology

pn (theonym) *Þórr*, m. (c.) or pn *Þórir*, m. (c.) + ON *vík*, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (a.)

EvClas4

Torsuigabac NB425589 (Probable)

Early forms

OS1 *Tòrsuigabac*

Discussion

Although there is a considerable lack of early forms here, it is conceivable that this relatively minor feature has been transferred at a time when Norse was still spoken and has been preserved until now, despite the original feature now being lost. It should be noted that this feature can be found within two kilometres of *Mol Thòrsuig*, and we might be seeing the remnants of an original ON *Þórsvík* which at some point was applied to a larger area in that vicinity. This raises intriguing possibilities for these names reflecting an earlier site of some significance, now only surviving in these minor toponyms.

Etymology

pn (theonym) *Þórr*, m. (c.) or pn *Þórir,* m. (c.) + ON *vík*, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (b.) > ON **Torsvík* + ON *bakki*, m. 'a bank of a river, water, a chasm, etc.' (b.)

EvClas3

cf. *Mol **Thòrsuig*** for the specific element.

Creag **Ulabaigh** NB162318 (Maybe)

OS1 *Creag Ullabaidh*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Creag Ullabaidh*

Etymology

pn *Ulli*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Ullr*, m. (c.) or pn *Ulfhildr*, f. (d.) or ON *ull*, f. n.sg. or g.sg. 'wool' (c.) or ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'a wolf' (c.) + ON *bœr*, m. 'a farm' (c.) or ON *vágr*, m. 'a creek, a bay' (d.)

EvClas4

cf. **Ullamor** for the specific element.

cf. Cox (1987b, 162-3) for the generic element.

Loch **Uladail** NB007239 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Loch Ulladail*

1862 Admiralty Charts of Scotland: L. *Ulladail*

Previous discussions

'*Ulladale*, Ulli's dale' (Watson 1976 [1904], 266)

Etymology

pn *Ulli*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Ullr*, m. (c.) or pn *Ulfhildr*, f. (d.) or ON *ull*, f. n.sg. or g.sg. 'wool' (c.) or ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'a wolf' (c.) + ON *dalr* 'a dale', m. (a.)

EvClas4

cf. **Ullamor** for the specific element.

Loch **Ulapuil** NB326223 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Loch Ùlapoll*

Comparative material

cf. *Ullapool* in Ross-shire: 'wool farm or Ulli's farm' (AÀA)

> Loch Ulapoll in east Lewis, though, refers to fresh-water, as does Loch
> Chulapuill in the north of Lewis […] ON pollr, then, survives in quite a large
> group of names in the west of Scotland, but possibly in three different
> senses: the head of a sea-loch, or bay; a pool in a river; and a fresh-water
> pool. (Cox 1994, 54)

Etymology

pn *Ulli*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Ullr*, m. (c.) or pn *Ulfhildr*, f. (d.) or ON *ull*, f. n.sg. or g.sg. 'wool' (c.) or ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'a wolf' (c.) + ON *pollr*, m. 'a pool' (b.)

EvClas4

cf. ***Ullamor*** for the specific element.

Loch **Ullabhat** a Cli NB456435 (Maybe)

Related features: *Loch Ullabhat a' Deas* NB458431, *Druim Loch Ullabhat* NB461432

Early forms

OS1 *Loch Ullabhat a Clith*

Previous discussions

Ullavat 'Ulli's Loch' (Watson 1976 [1904], 272)

Etymology

pn *Ulli*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Ullr*, m. (c.) or pn *Ulfhildr*, f. (d.) or ON *ull*, f. n.sg. or g.sg. 'wool' (c.) or ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'a wolf', (c.) + ON *vatn*, n. 'water' (a.)

EvClas4

cf. ***Ullamor*** for the specific element.

Geodh' **Ullabidh** NB423157 (Maybe)

Related features: Corran Ullabidh NB425158

Early forms

OS1 *Geodh' Ullabidh*

Etymology

pn *Ulli*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Ullr*, m. (c.) or pn *Ulfhildr*, f. (d.) or ON *ull*, f. n.sg. or g.sg. 'wool' (c.) or ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'a wolf' (c.) + (?)

EvClas4

cf. ***Ullamor*** for the specific element.

Ullamor NB219418 (Maybe)

Early forms

OS1 *Ullamor*

Previous discussions

Ullamar: 'of hill with precipice. Certainly fr. an ON form in final *-hamar* acc.m. "crag,

precipice". The first element is not clear. It might simply be *ull*, the stem-form of *ull* f. "wool", as suggested by MacIverMacIver (1934: 4). A form with *Ulfa-* gen. of the man's name *Ulfi* would be expected to yield initial {'uLù(v)}-.' (Cox 1987b, 235)

Comparative material

Ulbister 'ON Ulfr m.: a personal name' (Waugh 1985, 418)

> It seems likely that Glen Ulladale (Uig-1029) got its name from a river called **Ulla* and was therefore known in Norse times as **Ulludalr* […] However, it is possible that the defining element comes from ON *ull* 'wool', indicating a place where wool was washed. On the other hand there seems no reason to associate this Lewis river name with the Norse god *Ullr*, although various Norwegian and Icelandic place names are supposed to commemorate him. (Pálsson 1996a, 317)

Ulbister:

> Waugh (1985, p. 418) has interpreted the specific of the Caithness example as the ON personal name *Úlfr*, m. (cf. Lind 1905-15, cols 1054-5), but there is no genitive marker to indicate so. Of other possibilities, the ON god *Ullr*, m. can hardly be the origin either, as there are no references to heathen cultic practice in the Scottish *bólstaðr*-place-name material. The only plausible alternative is ON *ulfr*, m., 'a wolf' which is often found in Norwegian place names. (Gammeltoft 2001a, 157)

AÀA (2006-) *Ullapool* 'wool farm or Ulli's farm'

Ulleviken:

> *Ullarvík. The 1st element can be gen. of the theonym Ull (Ullr). See Munch, *Norrøne Gude- og Helte-Sagn* p. 211. This explanation, however, is hardly certain, since in place-names there is a root Ull-, which must be independent from the theonym, at least concerning its meaning, e.g. in Uller in Fet (probably originally Ullar); the meaning of this root is thus far not proven. The farmname Ulviken in Urskog (proununced Ull-), of which no form from the Middle Ages occurs, is maybe the same name as this. (*NG*, vol.6, p. 227)[80]

Ulleviken:

> *Ullarvík? Possibly the same name as Ulleviken in Sem [Jarlsberg and Larvik county] (pronounced as here), Vllarvik RB. 188. 202, Wllwigen, Wlfwigen 1593. Ulleviken in Søkkelven (pronounced uLLa-) probably has

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[80] '*Ullarvík. 1ste Led kan være Gen. af Gudenavnet Ull (Ullr). Se Munch NGHS. S. 211. Denne Forklaring er dog neppe sikker, da der i Stedsnavne forekommer en Stamme Ull-, som maa være uafhængig af Gudenavnet, ialfald hvad Betydningen angaar, t. Ex. i Uller i Fet (antagelig opr. Ullar); Betydningen af denne Stamme er hidtil ikke paavist. Gaardnavnet Ulviken i Urskog (udt. Ull-), af hvilket ingen Form fra MA. forekommer, er maaske samme Navn som dette'.

the same origin and maybe Ulviken i Urskog (pronounced u`ll-), for which name no form from the Middle Ages is preserved, but where the double l makes it unlikely that the first 1st element should be the animal name ulfr. The 1st element can be gen. from the theonym Ull (Ullr). This explanation, however, is not certain, since in place-names there appears to occur a root Ull-, which is independent of the theonym, at least regarding the meaning, e.g. Uller in Fet (probably originally Ullar); the meaning of this root has, however, not been demonstrated so far. It is also a possibility that Ulleviken here in Hollen and maybe Ulviken in Urskog can be derived from the feminine name Ulfhildr, which occurs in some place-names, in modern forms often strongly contracted (*Gamle Personnavne i Norske Stedsnavne* p. 269). (*NG*, vol.7, pp. 171-2)[81]

Ulleviken:

The 1stfirst element could be assumed to be the river name Ull, which has been preserved in Ulla in Suldal, and as *NG* vol. III p. 188 presumes to be the basis for the farm-name Ullern in Southern Odalen. See *Norske Elvenavne*, collected by O. Rygh (Kristiania 1904) p. 285. Also compare Ulla, Haram farm number 10. On the county map [Amtskartet] there is no watercourse implied here however. If it is an old name, it can also be compared to Ulviken in Urskog and Ulleviken in Sem (Vllarvik Aslaksson, E. *Biskop Eysteins Jordebog (Den Røde Bog)* (Kristiania 1879)), which maybe comes from the theonym Ullr.' (*NG*, vol.13, p. 142)[82]

Ulviken:

'The pronunciation with double l makes it unlikely that the original form could be Ulfvík, from ulfr, wolf; it could possibly be the same name as Ulleviken which in *Biskop Eysteins Jordebog (Den Røde Bog)* 188. 202 is written Ullarvik (cf. Aker farm number 28).' (*NG*, vol.2, p. 169)[83]

pn *Ulli*: m. n.(?); pn *Ullr*: m. g. -ar 'Quite a few Norwegian toponyms appear, more or less certainly, to be formed with this theonym.'[84] cf. *Vllaland, Ulleland, Ulland*. (*NID*)

ull, f., 'wool' (Cl.-Vig.)

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[81] '*Ullarvík? Maaske samme Navn som Ulleviken i Sem Jb. (udt. som her), Vllarvik RB. 188. 202, Wllwigen, Wlfwigen 1593. Samme Oprindelse har vel Ulleviken i Søkkelven (udt. uLLa-) og maaske Ulviken i Urskog (udt. u`ll-), ved hvilke Navne ingen Form fra MA. er bevaret, men hvor det dobbelte l gjør det usandsynligt, at 1ste Led skulde være Dyrenavnet ulfr. 1ste Led kan være Gen. af Gudenavnet Ull (Ullr). Denne Forklaring er dog ikke sikker, da der i Stedsnavne synes at forekomme en Stamme Ull-, som er uafhængig af Gudenavnet, ialfald hvad Betydningen angaar, t. Ex. Uller i Fet (antagelig opr. Ullar); Betydningen af denne Stamme er dog ikke paavist hidtil. Der er ogsaa en Mulighed for, at Ulleviken her i Hollen og maaske Ulviken i Urskog kan skrive sig fra Kvindenavnet Ulfhildr, som forekommer i nogle Stedsnavne, i Nutidsformer oftest stærkt forkortet (PnSt.S. 269)'.
[82] '1ste Led kunde formodes at være Elvenavnet Ull, som man har bevaret i Ulla i Suldal, og som Bd. III S. 188 formodes at ligge til Grund for Gaardnavnet Ullern i S. Odalen. Se NE. S. 285. Jfr. ogsaa Ulla, Haram GN. 10. Paa AK. er dog intet Vandløb antydet her. Hvis det er et gammelt Navn, kan det ogsaa sammenlignes med Ulviken i Urskog og Ulleviken i Sem (Vllarvik RB.), som maaske kommer af Gudenavnet Ullr'.
[83] 'Udtalen med dobbelt l gjør det uantageligt, at den opr. Form kunde være Ulfvík, af ulfr, Ulv; kunde mulig være samme Navn som Ulleviken i Sem, der i RB. 188. 202 skrives Ullarvik (jfr. Aker GN. 28)'.
[84] 'En hel del norska ortnamn synas, mer äller mindre säkert, vara bildade av detta gudanamn'.

úlfr, m. 'wolf' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

There is considerable comparative material from Norway for forms in *Ull-*. However, the problem is that these forms often demonstrate a long and complex transmission process with a considerable loss of inflections. Without the presence of early forms, which are uniformly lacking for the Lewis *Ull*-names, it is extremely difficult to give any certain interpretations. In *Ullamor*, we appear to be looking at a stem-form *Ull-* whereas the other toponyms show *Ulla-*. However, as evidenced by the comparative material from *NG,* this does not necessarily favour any one interpretation, as a considerable erosion of inflections is often present. However, we would expect some indication of a genitival *s* present if the element represented the pn *Úlfr* as proposed by Waugh. Gammeltoft's statement that *Ulbister* is unlikely to refer to the theonym due to the lack of such references in the Scottish *bólstaðr*-material does not invalidate such an interpretation here, considering the universal presence of topographical generics. The g.pl. of ON *úlfr* 'wolf' must also be considered a possibility here. Although now extinct in Scotland, they could be found until at least the seventeenth century (Hull 2007). Finally, there is of course no indication that these six entries necessarily reflect the same element, and the various possibilities should be further considered for each individual toponym.

Etymology

pn *Ulli*, m. (c.) or pn (theonym) *Ullr*, m. (c.) or pn *Ulfhildr*, f. (d.) or ON *ull*, f. n.sg. or g.sg. 'wool' (c.) or ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'wolf' (c.) + ON *hamarr*, m. 'a hammer, a crag' (a.)
EvClas4
See 5.5.5 for further discussions on the theonym *Ullr* and the interpretation of *Ull*-names in Lewis.

Ungaisiadar NB123296 (Maybe)
Early forms
1821 Johnson *Ungshader*
1832 Thomson *Ungshader*
OS1 *Ungashader*
1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Ungashader*

Previous discussions

Ungashader 'Ung's stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 270)

Ungshader: 'seems to represent an ON *Ungasetr* or *Ungssetr*. The former would contain *Ungi*, an epithet to a man's name, the latter *Ungr* used as a man's name.' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 27)

Unngaiseadar: 'A derivation from ON *Vang(s)sǽtr* 'the dwelling of the meadow' with gen.sg. or stem-form of *vangr* m. 'meadow, field, open place' might, however, account for the unexpected occurrence of a diphthong here.' (Cox 1990, 102)

Comparative material

Unjem 'it can hardly be anything other than *Ungeimr, Unggaarden, Nygaarden. from adj. ungr, young. Compare words like ungmaðr, ungfé, ungviði (young trees).' (*NG*, vol.13, pp. 241-2)[85]

Discussion

A crucial issue of the interpretation of this toponym is the question of whether the specific should be viewed as *Ungs-* or *Unga-*, something Oftedal is not certain of. If an original *Ungs-* is assumed, Cox's suggestion of *vangr* may be more likely than a now lost pn *Ungr*. If we are looking at *Unga-*, the pn *Ungi* would be a possibility. The attestations for such a pn are relatively scarce in the comparative material and in *NID*, -*ungr* is only listed as an affix attached to other names. Similarly, in *NG* it is generally found as an affix, as seen in names such as. *Kjønsvik*: 'the 1st element could possibly be the masculine name *Kynnungr* or *Kinnungr*'.[86] The exception is *Unjem* for which adj. ON *ungr* is given as the specific. Based on this, an interpretation with a pn must remain tentative and several interpretations that do not reflect a pn are possible.

Etymology

pn *Ungi*, m. (c.) or ON *vangr*, m. 'a meadow, a field, an open place' (c.) or pn *Ungr*, m. (c.) or ON *ungr*, adj. 'young' (c.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

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[85] 'Det kan neppe være andet end *Ungeimr, Unggaarden, Nygaarden. af Adj. ungr, ung. Jfr. Ord som ungmaðr, ungfé, ungviði (unge Træer)'.

[86] '1ste Led kunde mulig være det Mandsnavn Kynnungr eller Kinnungr'.

3.2 Extensive analysis of Norse data

3.2.1 Background

This section will form the 'extensive' analysis of the Norse Lewis material as outlined in 1.3.2. It will also further expand on the methodology by discussing the principles that have been used to tackle the uncertainties involved in studying complex onomastic data. The acknowledgement of uncertainty is an integral part of studying the Norse data presented here and forms a significant part of the methodology used. This is primarily reflected by the use of the scale of certainty introduced in 1.3.2.3 which has been used in 3.1 and will be used here. Although Norse Lewis toponyms have been investigated previously, personal names, despite providing a crucial element to the study of these names, have been confined to the periphery of these discussions. It is likely that this is at least partly due to the difficulties of firmly identifying the etymology of the specific elements in these toponyms. Because of this, there is no clear overview of a potential stock of personal names found in the toponyms, and this section attempts to fill that gap. It should be pointed out that, in some instances, some of the personal names listed may look suspiciously similar to each other and the usefulness of trying to distinguish between names that are ultimately variants of the same personal name may seem unnecessary. However, minor differences in name formations can have major implications in terms of the context of naming. For example, are the *Þór-* specifics found in a number of Lewis toponyms a reflection of a masculine name such as *Þórir*, a feminine name such as *Þóra*, or even a theonym, *Þórr*, referring to the Norse pre-Christian god? Based on this, this section will provide an overview of the potential name-stock in the Norse data to form a basis for discussions in subsequent chapters.

3.2.2 The data

As a starting point, it should be noted that because many of the interpretations remain problematic, the scale of certainty will, out of necessity, underpin the presentation and analysis of the data. This can be emphasised by the fact that only five of the listings are given as 'Certain' according to the primary scale and, even then, the question of what the personal name is, according to the secondary scale, is often uncertain (see table 3.1). For

example, *Þolfstaðir (North **Tolsta**) has been categorised as 'Certain' on the primary scale and, although it most likely contains the personal name Þólfr, there are some additional possibilities that need to be included, resulting in: pn *Þólfr*, m. (b.) or pn *Hólmr*, m. (d.) or pn *Hǫlgi*, m. (d.) or pn *Holfr*, m. (d.) or *Talga* 'the cutting one' (d.) + ON *staðr* 'a stead, place, abode' (a.). Finally, the syntax of the original Norse coinings is worth investigating briefly. In the material available to us, the structure is almost entirely uniform and consists of toponyms coined according to the typical syntax of Germanic languages with specific + generic and the entries listed in Table 3.1 all demonstrate this pattern. Thus, in *Karlavágr* we get the specific element pn Karli and the generic element ON *vágr*, m., 'a creek, bay'. The only

Table 3.1 Reconstructed Old Norse formations classified as a. Certain on the primary scale of certainty
*Þolfstaðir (North **Tolsta**) NB535473
*Karlavágr (**Carlabhagh**) NB208423
*Þórissætr (Beinn **Thòrshader**) NB246427
*Þolfstaðir (**Tolastadh** a' Chaolais) NB194386
*Þórey (Eilean **Thoraidh**) NB422201

possible exception to this pattern is *Torsuigabac*, where we might see an existing Norse coining being incorporated into a new one, giving ON *Torsvík* + ON *bakki* 'a bank of a river, water, chasm, etc.' The distribution of toponyms, as outlined in Fig. 3.5 is, as is to be expected, highly concentrated along the coastline. It is also worth noting that it largely corresponds with Oftedal's (2009 [1954], 28-9) map, with a concentration of names around *Loch Eireasort*, northern *Ness*, *Bernera* and *Carloway*.

3.2.3 The name-stock

3.2.3.1 Initial observations

The first observations to be made about the names presented in Table 3.2 must include an overview of the certainty of the interpretations. Although unlikely and rejected toponyms are not included here, the material is also analysed according to the secondary scale, where the likelihood of a certain personal name being present is reflected, as in the case of *Þolfstaðir* above. This means that the number of personal names listed will be considerably higher than the total number of toponyms, since a single toponym may have three or four alternative possible personal names present. It will be noted that only one personal name has been placed in category a; *Karli*. The name in question is a well-attested one, found in a toponym applied to a major feature. There is,

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however, a considerable portion of probable names (19.0%). These names primarily consist of instances where the toponym in question has been categorised as a. Certain on the primary scale, but where there is more than one option as to what the personal name in question is, as in *Þolfstaðir*. The bulk of the data is formed by category c., with 65.3% of the entries. They mainly consist of names where a personal name is a viable option, but where a common noun would be just as likely, or where contextual evidence is too sparse to effectively apply the criteria used in the scale. For example, *Giurshadir*, is given as: pn *Gyrðr*, m. (c.) or ON *gjǫ́* f. 'ravine, gully' (c.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.). Either interpretation of the specific element appears to fit, but because of the lack of contextual evidence and early forms, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions.
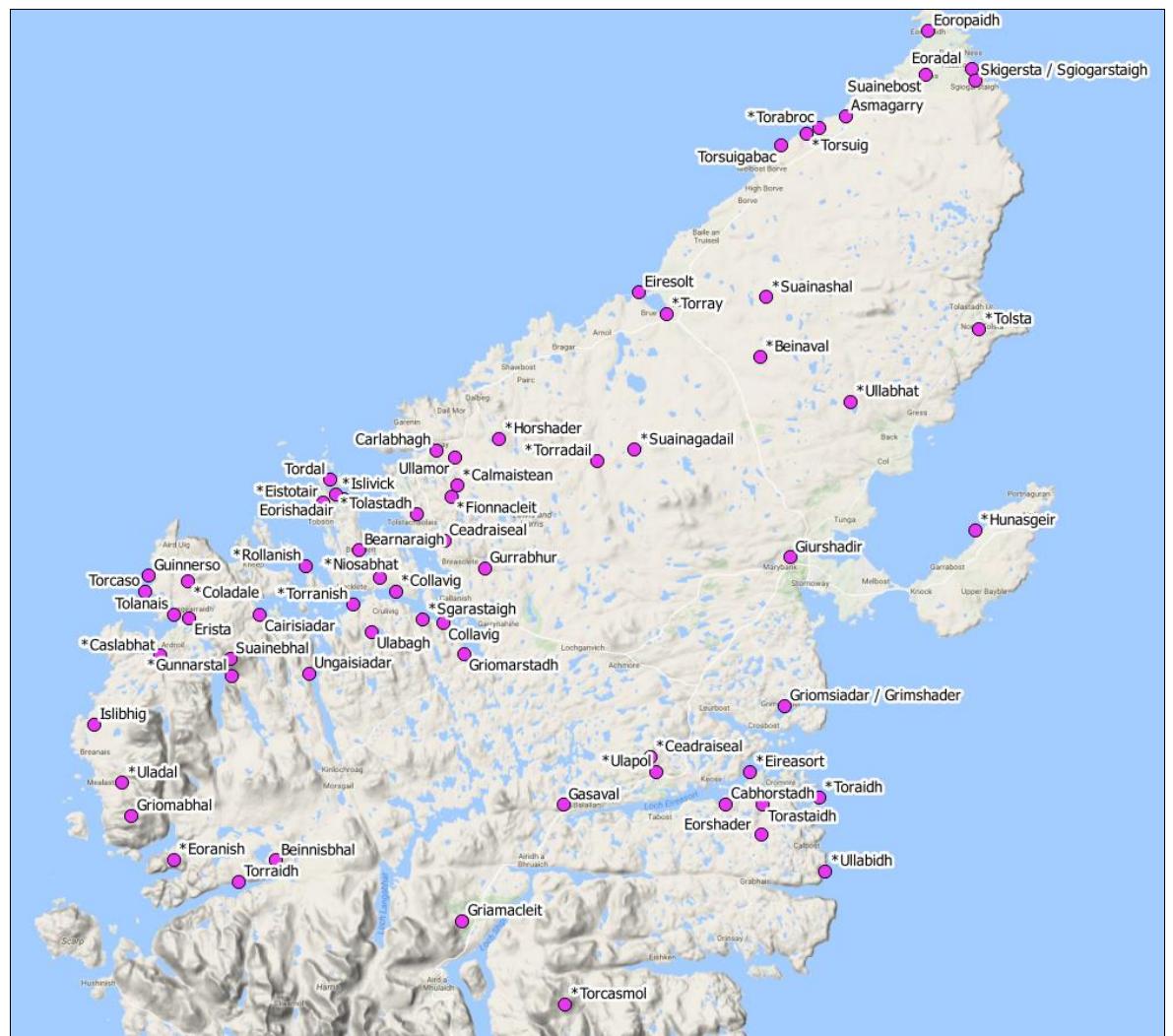
Fig. 3.5 Distribution of reconstructed Norse anthropo-toponyms classified as Certain-Maybe on the primary scale. © Map data 2017 Google

Category d., which shows personal names that are unlikely to be found in the place-names in question, but where the possibility cannot be entirely excluded, form 14.9% of the total

number of potential personal names. Nevertheless, the overall picture presented is one of considerably greater variety than one might have expected. In total, fifty-seven potential personal names have been identified. As discussed, many of these reflect different possible interpretations for the same toponym and this number should not necessarily be regarded as representative of any real Norse stock of personal names in Lewis. However, considering only the certain and probable names, at least fifteen different names can be identified. Considering that the full corpus consists of sixty-seven toponyms, this is not an insignificant number.

Table 3.2 Possible personal names found in Norse Lewis toponyms and their certainty															
pn	a	b	c	d	pn	a	b	c	d	pn	a	b	c	d
*Ungr, m.			1		Gyrðr, m.			1		Kóri, m.			1	
?Nykr, m.			1		Holfr, m.				3	Skári, m.			1	
Ásmundr, m		1			Hǫlgi, m.				3	Skeggi, m.			1	
Beini, m.			1		Hólmr, m.				3	Sveini, m.			2	
Beinir, m.			1		Hrollaugr, m.			1		Sveinki, m.			1	
Biǫrn, m.		1			Húni, m.			1		Sveinn, m.		1		
Egill, m.			1		Iórheiðr, f.		1			Sveinungr, m.			1	
Eiríkr, m.		3			Iórunn, f.			4		Þólfr, m.		3		
Eyiarr, m.			1		Ísleifr, m.			2		Þóra, f.			4	
Eyiólfr, m.			1		Jórekr, m.			1		Þórðr, m.		4	5	
Finni, m.			1		Kalman, m.		1			Þori, m.			4	
Gási, m.			1		Kári, m.		1			Þórir, m.		1	6	
Gasi, m. (nickname)			1		Kárinn (surname)				1	Þorkell, m.			2	
Gríma, f.			2		Karli, m.	1				Þórr, m. (theonym)			3	1
Grimar, m			1		Katla, f.			1		Þorri, m.			4	
Grímr, m.				1	Ketill, m.		2			Ulfhildr, f.				6
Gromr, m.		1			Kofri, m.			1		Ulli, m.			6	
Guðrún, f.		1			Kolla, f.				3	Ullr, m. (theonym)			6	
Gunnarr, m.		2			Kolli, m.				3	Ungi, m.			1	

3.2.3.2 The masculine names

Masculine personal names form the majority of the name-stock presented here. It should be noted that potential surnames, nicknames and theonyms such as *Kárinn* (?surname) and *Gasi* (nickname) have also been included here. Looking at categories a-c., excluding the unlikely interpretations, we can note that variants of *Þór-* form a significant number of the stock. The large number will partly be a result of several of these personal names being given as alternatives for the same toponym, but they nevertheless appear to form an important part of the name-stock. In addition to this, two of the five toponyms categorised as 'Certain' contain *Þór-* (table 3.1). If the interpretation of the six toponyms containing *Ull-* as the pn *Ulli* or the theonym *Ullr* is correct, this would also make this a frequent name. However, the wider context of these names needs to be further investigated and they will be discussed in 5.5. In terms of the remaining name-stock, a considerable variety in the personal names can be found, even when the fact that several different personal names are often listed under the same toponym is taken into account, represented by frequently attested names such as *Eiríkr*, *Egill*, *Gunnarr*, *Sveinn*, and *Þólfr*.

3.2.3.3 Feminine names

Although most of the personal names listed are (not surprisingly) masculine names, there are some notable exceptions. Although feminine names form a significantly smaller number than the masculine ones (18.2% of the total number), there are several interesting factors to consider here. The most notable feminine name is perhaps *Iórunn*, which has already been discussed in 1.2.3.5.[138] However, *Guðrún* is the only feminine name which is categorised as b. Probable and is the only entry where the feminine personal name is given as the only option. Generally, when there is a possible feminine present in a toponym there is also a masculine (and perhaps more likely) alternative. For example, in *Torastaidh*, the feminine name *Þóra* is given as a possibility for the specific element, but the other masculine names would appear to be just as likely. These names will be further discussed in 5.5.

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[138] See 3.1 **Eòrapaidh, Eòradal, Eòranish Mhor, Eorshader**.

3.2.3.4 Theonyms

There are two potential theonyms recorded in the name-stock[139]: *Þórr*: 'The god Thor, the god of thunder' (Cl.-Vig.) and *Ullr*: 'the name of one of the gods, the step-son of Thor' (Cl.-Vig.). These have been included alongside the other personal names (Table 3.2). Perhaps the most significant of these names is *Þórr*, particularly since the exact form of this name appears to only be found as a theonym. However, the identification of this name remains problematic since a different variant of *Þór-* could in many cases easily be used to explain the specific element in a toponym. *Þórðr*, which, in a Norwegian context, appears to develop into *Tor*, 'af Mandsnavnet Tor (det gamle Þórðr) [from the masculine name Tor (the old Þórðr)]' (*NG*, vol.4, 45), is a particularly likely candidate. There are also several issues involved in the case of *Ullr*. Firstly, the interpretation of the specific element in these toponyms as a personal name is far from certain, as outlined in 3.1. Secondly, even if a personal name is present, it may represent the non-theonym *Ulli*. The possibility and significance of theonyms being present in the Norse material will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

3.2.4 Generic elements

3.2.4.1 Background

As previously discussed (see 1.2), scholars such as Nicolaisen have previously made a close association between permanent settlement and habitative generics. Along with the assumption of the close relationship between ownership and anthropo-toponyms (see 1.2.1.2), we would expect the highest numbers of personal names being attached to habitative generics such as ON *bólstaðr* 'a farm', ON *staðir* 'a stead', ON *bý(r)* 'a farm', and potentially ON *setr* 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands'. However, as will become evident, this is often not the case. Additionally, one might expect certain topographical generics to be relatively common – some features are more likely to have a greater abundance of recorded forms and are generally more frequently mentioned in sources. This is particularly the case of major features in the landscape, such as islands, that are commonly used as topographical and navigational descriptors and we would therefore expect a generic such as ON *ey* 'an island' to be relatively common. Here, the commemoration may not be as straightforward as in habitative generics. Some potential

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[139] Excluding the highly doubtful entries with *Skalli*, who according to Lind (*NID*) is the name of a *iǫtunn* 'a giant', see appendix 2 **Scaladale**.

factors to consider include association (secular and religious), discovery, usage, or a particular event giving rise to the place-name in question. This will be further discussed in Chapter 5. Finally, in the few cases where the generic element is not certain (5.9%), they have been excluded from the current table, but can be found with their respective entries in 3.1.

Table 3.3 Generic elements in the Norse anthropo-toponyms of Lewis		
element	No.	feature
fjall, n. 'a fell, a mountain'	8	(top.)
staðir 'a stead, a place, an abode'	8	(hab.)
dalr 'a dale', m.	7	(top.)
setr, n., 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands'	7	(hab.) or (agric.)
vík, f. 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay'	6	(top.)
ey, f. 'an island'	4	(top.)
nes, n. 'a ness'	4	(top.)
vatn, n. 'water'	3	(top.)
klettr, m. 'a rock, a cliff'	2	(top.)
vágr, m., 'a creek, bay'	2	(top.)
bólstaðr 'a farm'	1	(hab.)
bý(r) (*bær*), m., 'a farm'	1	(hab.)
fjörðr, m., 'a firth'	1	(top.)
gerði, n. 'a place girded round, a hedged or fenced field, a garth'	1	(hab.)
hamarr, m., 'a hammer, a crag'	1	(top.)
holt, n., 'a wood, a copsewood, a coppice'	1	(top.)
möl, f., 'pebbles, worn stones, i.e. the bed of pebbles on the beach or in a river'	1	(top.)
pollr, m. 'a pool'	1	(top.)
sker, n., 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea'	1	(top.)
steinn 'a stone'	1	(top.)

topt, f. 'a green tuft or knoll, a green, grassy place; a place marked out for a house or building, a toft'	1	(hab.)
varða, f., 'a beacon, a pile of stones or wood to "warn" a wayfarer'	1	(top.) (but human-made)

3.2.4.2 The generic elements

Habitative generics that can be identified with relative certainty make up 30.2% of the total number of generic elements found in the Norse Lewis data if *setr* is included (Table 3.3). The overall numbers for habitative generics appear to be surprisingly low. Particularly in the case of *bý(r)* 'a farm' and *bólstaðr* 'a farm', with one entry each, one might have expected larger numbers, but this pattern has been previously noted for other Norse Lewis toponyms by scholars such as MacAulay (1971-2, 335). Additionally, the use of *bólstaðr* in our area overall is comparatively sparse, as previously noted by Gammeltoft (2001a, 82) who records a total of sixteen names in *bólstaðr* for Lewis. It might also be suspected that the interpretations would favour habitative generics anyway, since the presence of a habitative generic element might lend strength to the certainty of a personal name being present. These numbers show that this may be an inaccurate assumption, since topographical generics are more frequent. The key point here is that the presence of a topographical generic does not exclude the possibility that a feature is used to denote a settlement, as argued by Kruse (2004, 105) and it certainly does not exclude the possibility of a personal name being present. On the contrary, the Scandinavian evidence would point to the opposite being true, especially if we consider toponyms coined in early phases of settlement and land-claiming, considering major early settlements such as *Dal* and *Nes* (Kruse 2004, 105). Nevertheless, the importance of habitative generic elements should not be ignored and two of the habitative generic elements, *staðir* 'a stead, place, abode' and *setr* 'a seat, residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' provide two of the most frequently used elements in the data (23.8%). The topographical generics that can be identified with certainty form the majority of the generic elements found in the Norse data (69.4%). In fact, the three most frequently occurring topographical generics, ON *fjall,* ON *dalr,* and ON *vík* form 33.3% of the total number. However, it is also worth noting that out of the five entries given as a. Certain in Table 3.1, three contain habitative generics. As stated in the hypothesis, we would expect prominent features in the landscape to be more frequently identifiable, particularly islands. Therefore it is essential to remember that especially

interpretations with ON *ey* categorised as certain can to some extent be accounted for by their very nature as major landscape features. Additionally, as discussed above, it is just as likely that several of the features associated with topographical generics represent settlements. In light of the patterns of Scandinavian settlement mentioned above, we might be particularly likely to find settlement names represented by elements such as ON *dalr* and ON *vík*, several of which may have formed appropriate locations for important settlements.

Chapter 4 Comparative material

4.1 Introducing the comparative areas

4.1.1 Why a comparative study?

The decision to include a comparative discussion of anthropo-toponyms in other areas of Scotland primarily stems from the aim to provide a wider framework for the study of this type of toponym. Models proposed in this thesis are developed by using a geographically restricted set of names from Lewis. To ensure their applicability in a wider context it is necessary to also test these approaches by looking at comparative material. In addition to this, it raises important questions regarding the Lewis material itself. For example, how distinct is the name-material of Lewis, and to what extent are the characteristics of anthropo-toponyms highlighted here a reflection of the naming-patterns found there? One of the major findings of the research into Lewis anthropo-toponyms is the large amount of variety in terms of the motivations for commemorating individuals in toponyms. This is of special interest considering the often easily made assumption that when a personal name is present in a toponym, this reflects ownership. One of the crucial questions as we come to look at comparative material is to ask to what extent this variety can be seen in other areas of Scotland, and indeed other parts of the world. Therefore, this chapter and the subsequent analysis in Chapter 5 needs to address the question of whether the name-material found Lewis is distinctive in showing a greater variety in terms of the motivations for naming than other areas of Scotland. Conversely, we may find that the motivations for coining anthropo-toponyms outside of Lewis are also more varied than is generally assumed and that a disproportionate emphasis has been placed on ownership as a motivation. In addition to this, even if there are stronger patterns of ownership as a motivation in the comparative areas, can further nuances be detected within this motivation? By studying comparative material, it is possible to consider the importance of language, chronology, the nature of the source material, and the impact these factors might have on how we view anthropo-toponyms. For example, does the presence of earlier source material make it more likely that we can determine a motivation? Are earlier dates more prone to certain types of coinings? Preliminarily, I will tentatively propose that the earlier the recorded forms are, the more likely we are to encounter an ownership-type commemoration. This view is based on the importance assigned to concepts of settlement and land-ownership and that these are more likely to be transmitted, as opposed to other types of commemorations encountered when naming places.

4.1.2 The comparative areas

Throughout the research process, various areas were mooted as potential candidates for a comparative survey. It was decided that, to test theoretical models, the most efficient approach would be to use already existing sets of data. This provides an opportunity to study material which is covered on a level of detail which would not have been possible for a comparative study had I compiled it myself. Additionally, this provides data which is unbiased by my own thoughts on anthropo-toponyms and which has not been compiled with the relevant theories in mind, potentially providing a more accurate test of these theories. Based on this, in a Scottish context, there is one obvious candidate. The comprehensive survey of Fife in *PNF* by Taylor with Márkus (2006-12) forms the first comprehensive study of this scale to be completed in Scotland. Further analysing and utilising the data in these volumes forms a stepping-stone to a fuller understanding of Scottish toponyms. Another advantage of using *PNF* is the level of contrast to the Lewis material it provides in terms of the transmission of toponyms and Fife's political, social, linguistic, and topographical history. In addition to the in-depth comparison with Fife, a discussion of the Scandinavian dimension will be included, primarily to shed light on the Norse Lewis material. As previously noted, the Norse data has proved difficult to analyse for several reasons and by including a comparison with Scandinavian material, mainly by looking at *LNB*, it is hoped that it will be possible to gain a greater understanding of these names.

4.1.3 Methodology

The material discussed here has been collected by going through the indices of personal names and compiling a list of relevant toponyms. Material from *PNF* is used to analyse the name-material extensively by comparing source material, and considering any visible motivations for naming. The reasoning behind this lies in the large number of anthropo-toponyms found in *PNF*. In total, *PNF* contains 383 anthropo-toponyms across all volumes, in seventy-one pre-1975 civil parishes. This can be compared to the roughly 470 head-forms for anthropo-toponyms which have been collected for the Gaelic Lewis data. To limit the amount of comparative data, after going through all five volumes, the most appropriate one in terms of the frequency of anthropo-toponyms with material pertinent to the discussion was selected – volume four. This volume contains the largest number of anthropo-toponyms, with 131 entries out of 920 entries found in that volume (ca. 34% of

the total number of anthropo-toponyms in *PNF*). Therefore when considering the Fife material, and particularly when approaching the data extensively, volume four is primarily discussed. However, where appropriate, examples have also been drawn from the other volumes. To maintain consistency, only toponyms that are listed under their own head-forms have been included in the extensive analysis. Also, for the sake of simplicity, only instances where the personal name can be reasonably safely identified have been considered, unless otherwise stated. Had this been a more in-depth study of each of the areas, this may have been approached differently, but the intention here is to provide an overview of the material. When comparing the *PNF* material to the Lewis material, it should be noted that this is primarily done in relation to the Gaelic entries. As previously discussed, the interpretation of many of the Norse Lewis entries are too tenuous to form any meaningful extensive comparison. The subsequent discussion of *LNB* and the Scandinavian dimension will tackle that subject.

4.1.4 The comparative areas: Language and sources

Two factors can be viewed as particularly significant when assessing differences between the Lewis data and that of the comparative areas, namely language and source material. In very general terms, the differences in the source material encountered in *PNF* and Lewis can be summarised as follows: the Fife data is significantly more extensive in terms of early recorded forms. By looking at the earliest recorded form for each of the relevant entries in an area, it is possible to arrive at an average earliest form. In instances where several different personal names are found under the same head-form, each toponym with a different personal name has been considered as one entry, so that in the divisions of *Leuchars* we find **Lucheris-Ramsay* (1515) and **Lucheris-wemis* (1476) as two separate entries (*PNF* 4, 523-5). Instances where the earliest recorded date is not clear have been excluded, but in instances where a range within a decade has been given, the average has been used. For *PNF* 4 the average earliest recorded date for all anthropo-toponyms is around 1600, providing a stark contrast with the Lewis material where the first recorded form for the data is generally in the mid-nineteenth century onwards. The average earliest written form for the Lewis data presented here is 1836 (1849 for Gaelic entries and 1817 for the Norse entries). Also, a significant portion of the *PNF* entries have recorded forms from before the fifteenth century. In addition to this, early source-material in *PNF* does not only refer to early forms of the toponyms in question: the charters frequently provide important evidence in the form of ownership-transfer and other contextual evidence which might give clues as to how that toponym was coined. For example, *Lumbenny Berclay*

'refers to the lands of Lumbennie acquired by David Barclay of Collairnie (Dunbog) in 1510 (*RMS* [*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*] ii no. 3524)' (*PNF* 4, 637), giving a strong indication of the motivations behind that particular form of the name. This provides a significant deviation from the situation we are seeing in the Lewis material. In addition to these points, it is necessary to briefly consider the OSNB dimension. The Ross and Cromarty OSNB have been the primary source for compiling the head-forms and contextual evidence for Lewis, and much of that material reflects the time of their compilation (1848-52). With the abundance of other evidence in *PNF*, it is not as reliant on the OSNB and reflects a more diverse range of sources, including early documents such as the *Inchcolm Charters*, the *Register of the Great Seal* (*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*), and a significant number of early maps (*PNF* 5, 136-46). In addition to this, for comparative purposes, it should be noted that the value of the OSNB as a source for contextual evidence relating to toponyms varies greatly depending on the chronology of the data-collection as well as individual surveyors, even within the same counties. A notable example can be found in Buteshire for which a minor comparative survey has been undertaken. Thus, within the same county, we find significant differences between Bute and Arran (which was formerly part of Buteshire) in the number of stories relating to how the anthropo-toponyms on respective islands have arisen. The OSNB entries for Arran record a wealth of etymological stories such as those of *King's Cave*: 'the caves consecrated by tradition to Fingal and King Robert the Bruce', *Suidhe-Coire Fhionn*: 'One of the stones of the outer circle has a singular perforation to which it is said Fingal used to tie his dog Bran.', *Caibeal Eoin*: 'An oratory or cell of a monk named John stood here, in which place it is said he was buried.', and *Meallach's Grave*: 'it is popularly believed to be the grave of a giant.', to mention a few (Buteshire OSNB 1855-64). This is in contrast with the entries for Bute for which stories of this type are largely absent. It is often not clear to what extent these differences are in fact a reflection of the OS surveyors themselves as a source and to what extent it reflects the naming-patterns and local traditions in that area. In addition to differences in source material, a crucial difference between Lewis and the comparative areas is that of language. In addition to providing the framework for the structures of the toponyms in question, the languages reflect the social environment of their coining and transmission. Based on this, a significant question to pose in relation to this material is to what extent the language used when coining a toponym has an impact on the nature of anthropo-toponyms, particularly on the motivations for commemorating individuals. Of course, it is necessary to highlight the fact that the association of personal names and linguistic origin is often tenuous. We cannot assume that the language of the

etymology of a personal name is in any way related to the use of that name. Therefore when discussing language here, I will refer to the language used when coining the toponym in which a personal name is found. In very general terms, the Fife data reflects a chronology of Pictish, Gaelic and Scots, whereas the Lewis toponyms consist of a chronology of Norse and Gaelic (Taylor 2002, 13). However, it should be noted that this provides a simplified view of the situation and we need to ask how important the role of language and language chronology is to the coining of anthropo-toponyms. Based on this, the aim of the comparative survey is partly to evaluate whether it is possible to pin-point any of these language-based differences.

4.2 Studying the anthropo-toponyms of Fife

4.2.1 Extensive analysis

4.2.1.1 The syntax of anthropo-toponyms

The syntax of the anthropo-toponyms of Fife is outlined in Table 4.1. The variations in the syntax are particularly represented by the number of linguistic layers that are found in the name-material. In addition to this, we find some formations that can be considered quite unique and are not representative of a wider pattern, such as the one in *Newington* where a new name was formed by combining NEW with the first letters ING of the patronymic Inglis together with TON for *toun* (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**). This can be listed as SSE *new* + Y + Z, but the linguistic invention taking place here is worth highlighting.

Table 4.1 Structures of the anthropo-toponyms of *PNF* 4.[140]
Gaelic
Z + G mac + X (as in Balcanquhal) 2
Z + X + -in (as in Kilmany) 2
Z + X (as in Balconie) 9
G *clann* + Y (as in Clamieduff) 1
Z + G mo + X (as in Kilmaron) 1

Scottish Standard English

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[140] Z = generic, X = given name, Y = surname. This is slightly different from the discussion on syntax in the Lewis material in 2.2.4.1 in that the full formation is considered here. Since the variation in expressions used to denote an individual is considerably more uniform in Fife than Lewis, it has been possible to consider the full formation.

X + Z (as in Emily Hill) 6
Y + Z (as in Dandies Wood) 11
X or Y + Z (as in Wilkie's Quarry) 2
Sir X + Y + Z (as in Sir Walter Scott's Tree) 1
Lady X + Z (as in Lady Dundas Bank) 1
X + Y + Z (as in John Blyth's Belt and John Knox's Pulpit) 2
X (as in Dalgairn) 2
SSE saint + X + Z (as in St John's Well and St Mary's Farm) 2

Scots
X + Z (as in Annsmuir) 13
Y + Z (as in Baincraig) 32
X or Y + Z (as in Cowiefauld) 5
Sc sanct + X + Z (as in *St Bride's Well) 3
Z + Y (with Z as a tenurial affix, as in Dunmure-Aytoun) 17 (note that some of these are different affixes attached to the same en)
Z + X (with Z as a tenurial affix, as in Fliskmillan) 1
X + Z (with Z as a tenurial affix, as in *Duffcooper) 1
Y + Z (with Z as a tenurial affix, as in *Wemyss Tarvit) 2
Z + Y (as in Craigdownie) 1
X + Sc tae + Z (as in Eppies Taes Bank) 1

Scots or Scottish Standard English
X (as in Aytoun) 1
SSE saint or Sc sanct + X (St Michaels) 1
X + Z (as in Robin's Brae) 4
Y + Z (as in Cardan's Well) 6
SSE new + Y + Z (Newington) 1

Old Norse?
X + Z (as in Corbie) 1

Pictish or Old Gaelic?
Z + X (as in Ecclesmartin #, Lochmalony) 2

Z + -in + X (as in Logymurdach #) 1

Latin
Z + X (as in *Terra Reginaldi) 1

It should also be noted that the structure represented by a tenurial affix has been listed separately. These entries represent a process of naming which has significant implications for the theory of name-creation and how we view anthropo-toponyms. These names are formed by adding a personal name to an existing name (en), as in the case of *Dunbog-Beaton* (1521), where the generic element *Dunbog* is an en G *dùn* + G *bolg*, and the specific element Beaton is the surname of 'the major land-holder in Dunbog from 1504 until the late seventeenth century' (*PNF* 4, 350-1). It should also be stressed here that the name *Dunbog* had been a well established name since at least the twelfth century when it is recorded as 'capella de *Dunbulc'* (1189 x 1194)' (*PNF* 4, 350). These structures form a significant portion of the data. Although being added as an affix, the personal name is effectively functioning as the specific element, and for the purpose of investigating the linguistic structure of these names, these affixes can be viewed as representing a special kind of specific.

Nevertheless, most of the formations are relatively straightforward and follow the standard Z + X for G (60.0%) or Y + Z and X + Z for SSE and Sc (70.7%). This is in stark contrast to the Lewis material. The most obvious difference is the absence of variations in the structures to represent individuals (see 2.2). There are some exceptions such as the use of SSE *saint*, Sc *sanct* or the use of both a given name and surname (Table 4.1). However, a clear majority of individuals or family groups are represented by a single given name or surname. At least to some extent this is the result of differences in the personal name-stock found in the two areas, as discussed below (4.2.1.3). However, we might also raise the question of whether this difference in syntactical patterns is further indicative of the nature of naming in the two areas. This will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2.1.2 The personal names

Table 4.2 Personal names in the anthropo-toponyms of *PNF* 4[141]
Anacol, m. (1), **Angus, Aonghas**, m. (2), **Ann/Anne**, f. (1), **Arnold**, m. (1), **Arnot**, s. or m. (1), **Ayton**, s. (1)

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[141] With the number of instances. s. = surname, hc. = hypocoristic

?**Bain**, s. (1), **Balfour**, s. (1), **Barclay**, s., (3), **Beaton**, s. (1), ?**Bell**, s. (2), **Boyter**, s. (1), **Bride**, f. (St) (2), **Bruce**, m. or s.? (1), **Bruce**, s. (1), **Buddo**, s. (1), **Buist**, s. (1)

Cardan, s. (1), **Cathal/Cathalan** (hc), m. (1), **Catherine** (St) (1), **Cellach**, m. (1), **Charlotte**, f. (1), **Clement**, m. (1), **Club**, s. (1), ?**Cong-**, m. (1), ?**Corcc**, m. (1), ?**Cowie**, s. or m. (1), ?**Craigingrugie**, s. or m. (1), ?**Crowley**, s. (1), **Cumming**, s. (1)

Dalgairn, s. (1), **Dalyell**, s. (1), **Dandie**, m. (hc) (1), ?**Downie**, s. (2), ?**Dub**, m. (1), **Durward**, m. (1)

Emily, f. (1), **Eppie**, f. (hc) (1)

Fernie, s. (1), **Forbes**, s. (1)

Gervase, m. (1), **Gibb**, s. (1), **Gifford**, s. (1), ?**Gillies**, s. (1), **Goldman**, s. (1), ?**Gray**, s. (1), **Halley**, s. (1), **Hay**, s. (3), **Heggie**, s. (1)

Inglis (Newington), s. (1)

Jenny or **Jeanie**, f. (1), **Jock**, m. (1), **John** (St), m. (1), **John Blyth**, m. (1), **John Knox**, m. (1), **John**, m. (1)

Keggie, s. (1), **Kellock**, s. (1), **Kirsty**, f. (1)

Lady Dundas, f. (1), **Laing**, s. (1), **Lawson**, s. (1), **Lawtie/Latto**, s. (1), ?**Leckie**, s. (1), **Leighton**, s. (1), ?**Lillie**, s. (2), **Lorimer**, s. (1)

Macduff, s. (2), ?**Main, Manna**, or **Mannán** (St), m. (1), ?**Maolan**, m. (2), **Martin** (St), m. (1), **Mary** (St), f. (1), **Mary**, f. (2), **Matadín/Matadán**, m. (1), **McInne**, s. (1), **Melville**, s. (2), **Michael** (St), m. (1), **Miller**, s. (1), **Moncur**, s. (1), **Monypenny**, s. (1), ?**Morton**, s. (1), **Muireadhach** (St?), m. (1), **Murdoch**, m. (2)

Nairn, s. (1), **Narne**, s. (1), **Nechtan**, m. (1), **Nisbet**, s. (1), ?**Norman**, s. or m. (1)

Orm, m. (1)

Paterson, s. (1), **Preston**, s. (1)

Ramsay, s. (1), **Reginald**, m. (1), **Robin**, m. (1), **Rón** (St), m. (1), **Russell**, s. or m. (1)

Samson, m. (1), **Scott**, s. (1), **Sealbhach**, m. (1), **Seaton**, s. (1), ?**Seres/Shirras**, s. (1), **Simon, Sìmidh**, m. (1), **Spears**, s.? (1), **Stenson**, s. (1), **Stirk**, s. (1), **Susie**, f. (1)

Thane, s. (1), **Thomas** (St), m. (1), **Thomas**, m. (2), **Thorir**, m. (1), **Tremblay**, s. (1)
Wallace, s. (1), **Walter Scott**, m. (1), **Wemyss**, s. (2), **Wilkie**, s. or m.? (1)
Young, s.? (1)

The strongest pattern emerging from Table 5.2, particularly in comparison to Lewis, is the variety of the name-stock found within these toponyms. Out of 131 personal name entries, there are roughly 110 different personal names. The table in fact lists 115 personal names, but this table shows the full representation of the individual commemorated, hence John, m., *John Knox*, m., *John Blyth*, m., and *John* (St), m., are listed separately. Nevertheless, variations of a personal name to specify an individual are a relatively rare occurrence and can only be found for the names *John, Mary* (*Mary* (St), f. and *Mary*, f.), *Thomas* (*Thomas* (St), m., *Thomas*, m.), *Scott* (*Walter Scott*, m., *Scott*, s.), and in three of these cases this variation is the representation of a saint. This shows a particularly marked contrast with the Lewis material, where the stock of personal names is relatively limited, but where the same personal name can produce several variations through the use of epithets and patronymics. The next point to raise is the frequency with which the anthroponyms found in the data consist of surnames. Considering that surnames are largely absent from the Lewis material since at the time of coining most of the toponyms surnames were generally not used, it is not surprising that these are more abundant in the Fife material. Nevertheless, the frequency of surnames in comparison with given names is very high and forms a considerable number of the anthropo-toponyms. In the table of personal names (Table 4.2) at least seventy-one of the 131 entries are surnames (ca. 54%). This raises several questions and it is necessary to consider the relationship between the representation of family groups through surnames and how this is connected to the motivations for naming. For example, does the presence of a surname rather than a given name make it more likely that we are dealing with a motivation relating to ownership? It also raises questions relating to the Lewis material and to what extent the differences in the name-stock highlighted here are representative of general naming patterns as well as social and cultural differences. This will be further discussed in 6.2.3. Finally, the question of representations of male and female must be raised. Of course, the use of surnames often makes it difficult to know precisely who the individual in question might be. There are some exceptions to this, an example being *Moncur's Lands*, for which it is stated that: 'In the 1490s the wife of David Kinnear of that ilk in neighbouring Kilmany, who also held part of *Thaneslands

(Leuchars) (q.v.), was called Marjorie Moncur (*RMS* [*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*] ii no. 2082)' (*PNF* 4, 529-30) and it is possible to surmise that it is likely that the name refers to Marjorie, but this is the exception rather than the rule. In terms of given names, ten of the 131 entries (7.6%) are female names, excluding the four references to female saints. It is interesting to note that this presents a very similar pattern to that in Lewis, where references to women comprise 12.1% of the names.

4.2.1.3 Generics

Table 4.3 Generic elements found in the anthropo-toponyms of *PNF* 4.
Gaelic *àth* (1), *baile* (6), *cill* (2), *cnoc* (1), *creag* (1), *crois* (1), *pett* (1), *roinn* (1)
Scots *bank* (2), *boat* (1), *burn or pow* (1), *craig* (4), *fauld* (1), *field* (1), *hall* (3), *haugh* (1), *hill* (1), *hole* (2), *howe* (*holl*) (2), *kame* (1), *land* (17), *law* (2), *mains* (1), *muir* (2), *scaup* (1), *toun* (8), *wall* (3)
Scottish Standard English *(cottage)* (1), *(lodge)* (1), *belt* (1), *bridge* (1), *farm* (1), *field* (3), *hill* (4), *home farm* (1), *house* (1), *lake* (1), *loch* (1), *plantation* (1), *pulpit* (1), *quarry* (1), *stone* (1), *town* (1), *tree* (1), *well* (1), *wood* (4)
Scots or Scottish Standard English *bank* (2), *brae* (2), *burn* (1), *field* (1), *toun or town* (3), *wall* or *well* (2)
Other Pictish or OG *loc* or G *lag* (2), Pictish **eglēs* (1), ON *bý(r)* (1)

Table 5.3 shows the generic elements used to form the anthropo-toponyms in *PNF* 4. The language origin assigned is based on the interpretations of the toponym provided in the volume. The en found in the tenurial affix formations that were mentioned above (4.2.1.1) have not been included in this table, but it should be noted that there are twenty-two instances of an affix being added to an en, where the en can be regarded as the generic element, making this structure more frequent than any of the other elements listed here. This provides an interesting contrast to the Gaelic Lewis material where we essentially see the opposite taking place. As previously discussed, we often see an en being used as the specific element rather than the generic element, as in *Loch Àirigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh* (see 2.2.5.1). Furthermore, the Fife generics show a strong association between families and landholdings. There are seventeen (15.5%) instances of Sc *land*. In addition to

this, in 68.8% of these cases they are formed with a surname as the specific. Other than Sc *land*, the most common generic elements are generally associated with human habitation, with G *baile* and Sc *toun* forming a relatively high proportion of the total number of generic elements (*baile* 5.5% and *toun* 7.2% of the total number of generics listed here). There are several topographical generics such as G *creag*, SSE *lake* and Sc *burn*, but these often only occur once. Some topographical generics such as Sc or SSE *hill* and Sc or SSE *bank* occur more frequently with five and four entries respectively, but there are no strong patterns of topographical generics being used frequently. This is in contrast to the Lewis material where topographical generics such as G *loch* and G *cnoc* represent some of the most frequently used generics in the anthropo-toponyms. This will be further discussed in 5.4.

4.2.2 Studying the motivations for naming

When introducing various motivations in Chapter 2, it was made clear that these were presented using Lewis anthropo-toponyms as a reference point. Can additional motivations be found by investigating comparative material? Do any prominent patterns emerge? Finally, we need to ask whether any differences are a result of social and cultural differences or a reflection of the available source material. Such factors will be further considered and incorporated into the classification proposed in 5.2. In 1.4.4.3 different types of evidence which can be used to determine the nature of a commemoration were discussed and various categories of evidence were listed. These include: EvClas1 Direct accounts, EvClas2 Indirect accounts, EvClas3 Contextual evidence, and EvClas4 Comparative evidence. Motivations determined on the basis of the interpretation of the author of *PNF* are considered as indirect accounts (EvClas2). For example, in the case of *Macduff's Cross*, it is the discussion provided by Taylor (*PNF* 4, 637), where a strong case is made for the motivation of this toponym as a boundary marker is made, which makes it possible to regard this as belonging to EvClas2. The material discussed here has been approached in a similar manner. There is some overlap between the categories, but they are generally approached in a hierarchical manner, with the greatest emphasis being placed on direct accounts. When looking at the *PNF* motivations presented here, we find that eleven entries are placed in EvClas1, nine in EvClas2, and thirty-nine in EvClas3. It should be noted that a strong correlation can be found between motivations relating to residence or ownership and EvClas3 (contextual evidence). Additionally, many of these toponyms are recorded at a relatively early date. The table clearly shows how the source material can have a significant impact on how anthropo-toponyms are viewed. Based on the evidence

presented, an assumption could easily be made that most anthropo-toponyms relate to ownership, particularly at an early date. However, the categorisation of the evidence would partially also suggest that it is rather the lack of direct evidence at an early date which provides these results. The relationship between chronology, evidence types and motivations is one of the issues to be further discussed in 5.4.

Motivations visible in *PNF* 4

Residence or ownership[142]

Arnoldsland (*Arnoldsland* 1888 x 1914), *PNF* 4, 361 (EvClas3)

*Barclay's Cairnie (*Ber<c>lais* Carny 1452 x 1480), *PNF* 4, 615 (EvClas3)

Boulterhall (*<B>oyterhall* 1684), *PNF* 4, 406 (EvClas3)

*Budhouse Lands (*Budhous-landis* 1530), *PNF* 4, 277 (EvClas3)

*Buistslands (*Buistisland* 1609), *PNF* 4, 117 (EvClas3)

Charlottetown (*Charlton* 1855) 'Named after Charlotte Paterson, who held the land here in the mid-nineteenth century, the hamlet and the name came into existence when the Giffordtown Free Kirk was built in 1843. For full details, see Calley [1999] [*Collessie: A Parish Alphabet*], 34.', *PNF* 4, 209 (EvClas2)

*Cumming Lands (*Cumyng Aiker* 1530), *PNF* 4, 281 (EvClas3)

Dalgairn (*Dalyell Lodge* 1828, *Dalgairn* 1856) '[Henry] Stark died in 1796 and by 1800 his widow, Marjory Horsburgh, had sold Bandirran by Cupar to John Dalyell of Lingo, who renamed it Dalyell Lodge (Harley [*Dalgairn: The Story of a House and its Garden* (Fife Folk Museum, Ceres)] 2004, 8). In 1847 William Scott, a farmer from Scones Lethendy Perthshire, bought Dalyell Lodge and it was given yet another name, Dalgairn, which it has retained to this day. The name was connected to this family as his first cousin was called Janet Dalgairns (Harley 2004, 16). While the new

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[142] The early forms given in brackets are the earliest forms containing the personal name in question.

owner personalised it in the same way that Dalyell had done in 1800, he was clearly influenced by the onomastic shape of the earlier name.', *PNF* 4, 284-5 (EvClas1)

Denmuir-Y[143] (*Dunmure-Aytoun* 1590, *Dunmure-Paterson* 1590), *PNF* 4, 346-7 (EvClas3)

Dunbog-Y (*Dunboug Beitone* 1521), *PNF* 4, 350 (EvClas3)

Ferniehall (*Fairny Hall* 1775), *PNF* 4, 286 (EvClas3)

Fliskmillan (*Fliskmyllane* 1506), *PNF* 4, 393 (EvClas3)

Gibbsland # (*Gib's Lands of the Ferry* 1517), *PNF* 4, 370 (EvClas3)

Grayson (1855) 'It was bought in 1960 from the Church of Scotland by Mr and Mrs Lang. One of the conditions of sale was that it should not be called the Old Manse or similar. The Langs therefore coined their own name for the house, taking Mr Lang's middle name, which was Gray, and adding the second element of Mrs Lang's maiden name, which was Anderson. [Informants: Mr and Mrs Henry and Jane Lang, now of Newington Kilmany.]', *PNF* 4, 454 (EvClas1)

Hayston (*Hayistoun* 1627) 'The Hays were in at least part of the lands of Airdit Leuchars by 1516 at the latest, when David Hay is described as being "of Airdit" (*Fife Ct. Bk.* [*The Sheriff Court Book of Fife 1515-22*] 34), and in 1523 they are described as having one quarter of Airdit (*RMS* [*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*] iii no. 237). In 1578 Andrew Hay, feuar of a quarter of Airdit, sold his quarter to Andrew Murray of Arngask Perthshire, Fife (*RMS* iv no. 2820; see Airdit, above). The name Hayston, referring to this quarter, also known as Little Airdit, probably came to be used retrospectively at around this time', *PNF* 4, 518 (EvClas2)

Jarvislands # (*terra Gervasii* 1294), *PNF* 4, 128 (EvClas3)

Kilboisland # (*Kylboysland* 1481), *PNF* 4, 129 (EvClas3)

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[143] Where y represents a surname.

*Laing's Land (*Langisland* 1510) 'The lands of Reedie had formerly been occupied by one Andrew Ramsay and *Laing's Ward had been occupied and claimed by John Laing.', *PNF* 4, 129-30 (EvClas2)

*Leightonslands (*Lichtonis landis* 1512), *PNF* 4, 423 (EvClas3)

Leuchars-Y (*Lucheris-wemis* (1476), *Luchris-Monypenny* (1495), *Lucheris Bruce* (1515), *Lucheris-Forbes* (1513), *Lucheris Ramsay* (1515), *PNF* 4, 523-5 (EvClas3)

Lindifferon-Y (*Lindiffren-Barclay* 1517, *Lindiffren-Seaton* 1517), *PNF* 4, 592-3 (EvClas3)

Lumbennie-Y (*Lumbenny Berclay* 1515) 'Lumbenny Berclay (1515 Fife Ct. Bk. [*The Sheriff Court Book of Fife 1515-22*] 13) refers to the lands of Lumbennie acquired by David Barclay of Collairnie (Dunbog) in 1510 (*RMS* [*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum*] ii no. 3524).', *PNF* 4, 635-7 (EvClas2)

Melville House (the house of *Melvell* 1723) 'built for George, first earl of Melville and president of the Privy Council, in 1697-1703 (Gifford, [*The Buildings of Scotland: Fife* (London)] 1988, 321).', *PNF* 4, 594 (EvClas2)

*Moncur's Lands (*Moncouris landis* 1507), *PNF* 4, 529 (EvClas3)

Newington (*Newington* 1855) a letter from Rev. David Weekes of Kilmany records that: 'Two brothers, Inglis at [neighbouring] Colluthie [Moonzie], decided to divide their lands equally. This meant building a new house, and giving it, and the newly created farm, a name. So they coined NEW-ING-TON. NEW for the obvious reason; ING as the first letters of their patronymic; and TON for the new farm *toun*. The new Laird's house was built in 1828, and so it all took place about then. My source for this is R.W. MacLeod, *Lairds and Farmers in North Fife*, Levenmouth 1998 revision of 1996, p. 103 […] He [wrongly] puts this in Moonzie Parish, and dates the house to the 1890s.', *PNF* 5, 623 (the main entry appears in *PNF* 4, 468) (EvClas1)

Prestonhall (*Prestonhall* 1642) '"The lands of Prestonhall originally formed part of the lands of Thomaston, and previous to 1614 belonged to the Turnbulls of Airdrie (Crail). […] These lands were acquired by Sir John Preston of Penicuik, Bart, […] Sir John, or some of his descendants, erected a mansion house on the lands, and thence the name was changed to Preston-hall" (Leighton [*History of the County of Fife from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*] 1840 ii, 41).', *PNF* 4, 309 (EvClas2)

Pusk-Y (*Pursk Narne* 1516), *PNF* 4, 537 (EvClas3)

Rankeilour-Y ((*Rankillar Hope* 1723, *Rankillar Mackgill's* 1723)), *PNF* 4, 602 (EvClas3)

*Reginald's Land (*terra Reginaldi* 1240 x 1244), *PNF* 4, 569 (EvClas3)

Sandford-Y (*Sandfurd Hay* c. 1560s, *Sandfurd Narne* c. 1560s, *Sanfort Balfour* 1642, *Sanfort Goldman* 1642), *PNF* 4, 432 (EvClas3)

Scotscraig (*Scottis-crag* 1452 x 1480) '"It is stated, though on dubious authority, that the estate was feued during the reign of Alexander II by the bishop of St Andrews to Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie, the father of the famous Michael Scott, the Wizard," hence the name Scotscraig (Millar [*Fife: Pictorial and Historical*] 1895 ii, 275).', *PNF* 4, 373-4 (EvClas1)

Sheirsland # (*Serisland* 1529), *PNF* 4, 435 (EvClas3)

*Thaneslands (*Thanisland* 1457), *PNF* 4, 548 (EvClas3)

*Tremblayslands (*Tremblaisland* 1615), *PNF* 4, 438 (EvClas3)

*Wemyss Hall (*Wemys Hall* 1775), *PNF* 4, 292 (EvClas3)

Y-Tarvit (*Wester Tarvet* alias *Wemys-tarvett* 1620), *PNF* 4, 312-4 (EvClas3)

Boundary

Macduff's Cross (*Corsmacduf* 1428) 'The cross first appears in the written record in 1428 as marking the north-western limit of the Liberty of Cupar […] While it is generally assumed that these Macduff-names mark the north-western edge of the county of Fife, where the Macduff earls of Fife held sway, we may in fact be looking in the wrong direction. It should be borne in mind that the abbacy of Abernethy was in the hands of a cadet branch of the Macduff kindred in the twelfth century, and the later lords of Abernethy belonged to the same family. It may have been this strong Macduff connection with the lands of Abernethy that gave rise to this cluster of Macduff names along their eastern boundary with Fife, rather than any Macduff interests in Fife itself.', *PNF* 4, 637-40 (EvClas2)

Creation

Dandies Wood (*Dandies Wood* 1855) 'It is named after the Forester by whom it was planted.' (OSNB 43, 20), *PNF* 4, 452 (EvClas1)

Miller's Loch (*Miller's Loch* 1856) 'It was made by the late Col. Miller, hence the name.' (OSNB, under Falkland parish 29, 48), *PNF* 4, 698 (EvClas1)

Occupational usage

Durward's Scalp (*Durward's Scalp* 1855) 'the name is derived from a man named "Durward" who formerly rented this fishing station.' (OSNB 39, 16), *PNF* 4, 389-90 (EvClas1)

*Young's Boat (*Youngs boate* 1642) 'Probably refers to a small ferry run by someone called Young.', *PNF* 4, 399 (EvClas3)

Events

Sir Walter Scott's Tree (*Sir Walter Scott's Tree* 1855) 'This name applies to a <u>Planetree</u> in the Valley called *Gowls Den*. It is pointed out to each successive Forester by the Proprietor, for its Protection. The tradition is that "Sir W. Scott when he paid a Visit to the Den or glen, struck <u>this tree</u> with a small mallet pronouncing at the same time the Words <u>'This is my tree'</u>" (OSNB 43, 21)', *PNF* 4, 472 (EvClas1)

Wallace's Bridge (*Wallace's Bridge* 1855) 'The name refers to William Wallace, who is said to have been involved in a military engagement at nearby Earnside (Abdie) [for which see *PNF* 4, 80-2] in 1304.', *PNF* 4, 98-9 (EvClas1)

Hagiotoponyms

*St Bride's Well (*Sanctbrydis Well* 1544) 'It lay on the boundary between those two parishes [Auchtermuchty and Collessie]. This last aspect of the well's position is significant because the church of Abernethy (Abernethy, Perthshire) was dedicated to St Bride or Brigit, and the position of St Bride's Well on the south-eastern parish boundary of Abernethy, Perthshire suggests that it acquired this name because it marked the boundary of St Brigit's territory.', *PNF* 4, 55 (EvClas3)

Bridie's Well (*Bridiis Wel* 1328 x 1332), *PNF* 4, 163 (EvClas3)

St Catherine's Haugh # (*Sanct-Katherinis-hauch* 1519), *PNF* 4, 310 (EvClas3)

Ecclesmartin # ((land of) *Eglismarten* c. 1248), *PNF* 4, 685 (EvClas3)

St John's Well (*St John's Well* 1845), *PNF* 4, 187 (EvClas3)

Kilmany ((church of) *Kilmannin* 1202), *PNF* 4, 456 (EvClas3)

Kilmaron (*Kilmeron* 1199 x 1202), *PNF* 4, 295 (EvClas3)

Logiemurdoch # ((church of) *Logymurdach* 1245 x 1255), *PNF* 4, 567 (EvClas3)

Mares Craig (*Mariscrag* 1541), 'The name is probably connected with the nearby Maryscroft # […] Laing states that The Marie Croft "seems to have lain near the precincts of the Abbey", and insists that Maries Craig is the correct form of the name of the craig now known as Mares Craig ([Laing, *Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh, their History and Annals* (Edinburgh)] 1876, 446). It is plausible, therefore, that Mares Craig contains the personal name Mary, with reference to St Mary, who was one of the chief dedicatory saints of the nearby abbey.', *PNF* 4, 92-3 (EvClas3)

*St Thomas Land (*Sanct-Thomas-land*-endis 1593, but note *Sanct-Thomas Croftis* 1592), *PNF* 4, 238 (EvClas3)

St Mary's Farm (*St Mary* 1828) 'Ultimately the name of the farm and the burn derive from the dedication of the earlier medieval church of Cupar, close to whose site the burn flows', *PNF* 4, 604 (EvClas3)

Transferred association

Halley's Lake (*Halley's Lake* 1855) 'It may have been facetiously named after Halley's Comet, which had last appeared in 1835, with reference to its long narrow shape. (Comet named after the English astronomer Edmund Halley, died in 1742).', *PNF* 4, 633 (EvClas2)

Samson's Stone (*Samson's Stone* 1888 x 1914) 'A fanciful name given to very large stones which could only be lifted by someone with the strength of Old Testament Samson (before his hair cut). There is another such near Callendar (Perthshire).', *PNF* 4, 187-8 (EvClas2)

Other association

Cardan's Well (*Cardan's Well* 1790s) 'The story surrounding this well claims that the extraordinary Jerome Cardan (1501-76), mathematician, physician, cryptographer, astrologer and gambler, cured Archbishop Hamilton of his illness by – among other things – making him walk daily to the well to drink the water.', *PNF* 4, 581 (EvClas1)

John Knox's Pulpit (*John Knox's Pulpit* 1856) 'There is no indication that John Knox ever preached, or did anything else, here. Leighton, however, discusses the religious disputes a century after Knox, noting that when the minister of Strathmiglo conformed to episcopacy "he was deserted by the greater part of his congregation. […] When the dispute became more intense, and persecution began to prevail, the inhabitants of Strathmiglo […] went to the hills and the muirs to hear sermon from, and to worship with, their own outed and persecuted ministers. One of the most noted of the wild places in which they sought to worship in peace after their own fashion was "*Glenvale*", a deep and wild ravine in the Lomond hills, where the shires of Fife and Kinross meet, a place now seldom visited by any one. At the bottom of the wildest portion of this ravine is a large rock formed somewhat like a pulpit, from

which the outed ministers often preached to their harassed flocks; and here on different occasions many persons were apprehended by soldiers sent for that purpose. The rock is still called the preaching rock" (Leighton [*History of the County of Fife from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*] 1840 ii, 193)', *PNF* 4, 691-2 (EvClas1)

4.2.3 Entries from *PNF* 1-3

In addition to the examples from *PNF* 4, there are several interesting toponyms to be found in the other volumes, some of which raise issues that might shed further light on the motivations for coining anthropo-toponyms. In the case of *Burnett's Leap,* the motivation appears to relate to an injury. It is stated that:

> The name commemorates assistant lighhouse-keeper Burnett, who, on 5th April 1889, fell off the road onto rocks here and was seriously injured. He was rushing (in the wrong direction) to assist a steamer called the *Newcastle Packet*, which had run aground near Kirk Haven. The name applies 'to the steep turn on the High Road as it descends to Altarstanes, where a low wall bounds the north side', built after the accident (Eggeling 1985 [1960], 44-5; 245; *PNF* 5, 669)

In the case of *Marr's Bank* the discovery of the feature in question appears to be the motivation. It is stated that:

> John Marr, 'in [*sic*] injenious marriner of Dundee', after whom a North Sea fishing area called Marr Bank was named, some 30 miles off the coast of Fife. John Marr was a celebrated navigator and surveyor, the results of whose work appeared in Elphinstone's map of North Britain (1745) [which] shows *Marr's Bank*, with a note at that place on the map: 'Discovered by a celebrated Navigator of that name. Plenty of Cod Fish and Ling caught all about this Bank' (*PNF* 3, 76).

On the other hand, the nearby *Mars Rocks* appear to have been named after 'a small Latvian cargo steamer of 540 tons […] [which] went aground on North Ness' (*PNF* 5, 677), showing that there can be various contexts to consider in such coinings. Similarly, some of the examples are worthy of mentioning because of their multifaceted nature and to lend support to the argued diversity of anthropo-toponyms. *St Margaret's Stone* is an example of this and Taylor (*PNF* 1, 360) writes that:

> The eponymous stone is still visible on the west side of the main road near the farm. It was traditionally thought that St Margaret rested on this stone on her first journey to Dunfermline, as a nineteenth-century inscription on the stone

records. This is one of several places containing the name of Dunfermline's chief saint.

If the tradition is to be believed, the motivation would relate to her passing the site in question. However, considering that we are dealing with a saint here it could be argued that this entry should be analysed as a hagiotoponym, providing an additional dimension to the discussion. This entry and such nuances present in hagiotoponyms are further discussed below in 4.3. Another interesting toponym is *Mortimer's Deep*. Here, Alan de Mortimer, probably a mistake for William de Mortimer, lord of Aberdour in Fife in the later part of the twelfth century (Taylor 1992, 440), is found dead and according to Robert Sibbald (1803 [1710], 92):

> It is reported, that Alain the founder being dead, the monks carrying his corps in a coffin of lead, by barge, in the night time, to be interred within their church, some wicked monks did throw the samen in a great deep, betwixt the land and the monastery, which to this day by the neighbouring fishing-men and salters is called Mortimers Deep (*PNF* 5, 574).

Here, we also appear to be looking at an event giving rise to the coining of a toponym, in this case the burial, or more correctly the disposal of Mortimer's body. We might also consider one of the *PNKNR* (215) examples in the form of *Kneddry's Cairn* for which it is recorded that it is:

> A spot of ground on the N.E. side of Gelvan Moor where the body of a man of the name of Kneddry was burnt, he having committed suicide in Glen Queich by hanging himself to a tree; his eldest son was made to prepare the fire – the plough has defaced the ground so that the exact spot cannot be determined but the name is still known (OSNB OS1/13/87/7).

If accurate, similarly to *Mortimer's Deep*, the actual motivation relates to the disposal of the body rather than the actual suicide, but nevertheless provides interesting contextual evidence. Similarly, in the case of *Pandler's Know*, 'There is a tradition about [it] that, when dissensions arose between families in different parts of the country, they met there to decide their contention by arms, and those who fell were buried in the tumulus' (*OSA*, 441; *PNF* 2, 252). Finally, *Nannie's Knowe* provides another example of a drowned woman being commemorated in a toponym: 'It allegedly got its name "because a few years ago a woman named Nanny was found drowned within the sea-mark near this knoll" ([OSNB] 97, 53)' (*PNF* 2, 492). Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact circumstance for the coining of many of these toponyms, they do lend further support to the argument made in this thesis that anthropo-toponyms are indeed a multifaceted group of names.

4.3 Hagiotoponyms

4.3.1 Background

A study of anthropo-toponyms cannot neglect one of the most prominent and intriguing groups of toponyms containing personal names found in a Scottish context – hagiotoponyms. The decision to include a discussion on hagiotoponyms as part of the comparative chapter stems from the nature of the data available to us. In comparison with Fife, partially due to the previously mentioned differences in source material, there is a lack of material relating to hagiotoponyms in Lewis. This does not mean that there is none, but, as will be further discussed in 5.2.6, the available material is problematic. Since the cult of saints flourished during the Middle Ages, in order to study the nature of hagiotoponyms, it is crucial to include material with early forms, making Fife an excellent area to do so. For the purpose of this study, the key question is to what extent hagiotoponyms are fundamentally different from other anthropo-toponyms. In theory at least, hagiotoponyms are of course a sub-category of anthropo-toponyms. However, there is reason to believe that the situation is not as straightforward as this. One example of this can be seen by considering Clancy's statement that: 'Few church dedications in Scotland directly reflect an act of church-foundation by the person after whom they are named, or his/her disciples; almost all commemorate saints already dead, and often not of the immediate locality' (Clancy 2014, 1). This highlights the fact that the very nature of hagiotoponyms as promoters of saints' cults makes it unlikely that any of the names were ever coined, or used by the saints commemorated, reflecting very particular circumstances of coining and transmission. In addition to this, they did not necessarily have a direct relationship with the feature in question and they may never have physically been anywhere near the site. Although, today, this is a commonly known fact to the hagiotoponymist, it is significant because it raises issues relating to the study of anthropo-toponymy and the question of how personal names are incorporated into toponyms.

Clancy's paradigms of saints' cults

In his study on insular saints' cults, Clancy (2010, 9) introduces a set of paradigms which can be used as a tool to understand the spread of saints' cults in early medieval Scotland and, to some extent, the coining of toponyms containing saints' dedications. This can also assist an evaluation of how hagiotoponyms differ from other anthropo-toponyms. Although not directly focused on the coining of toponyms, the spread of saints' cults is intrinsically

linked to this issue. Clancy (2010, 5) states that: 'No one paradigm provides the answer for the entirety of the evidence we have, in any of the Celtic regions, and a fuller appreciation of this will also help our growing appreciation of the dynamic nature of saints' cults, and the different ways in which churches, places, times and objects came to commemorate saints.'

Table 4.4 Paradigms of saints' cults set out by Clancy (2010)	
Paradigm	**Description**
Foundational	Dedications to the founding saint
Proprietary	Individuals associated with the church who are not saints
Missionary	Relating to missionary activity
Reliquary	Presence of relics in the church or vicinity
Organisational	Reflecting organisational patterns of certain centres
Political	Dedications that are 'public statements of political allegiance'
National/ethnic	Dedications associated with the promotion of nationality or ethnicity
Emigratory	Dedications reflecting 'larger population movements, whereby cults of the "homeland" may be replicated elsewhere'
Fragmentation and localisation	Dedications where 'saints who may once have been understood as the same individual have become localised and transformed'
Kindred	Referring to 'the urge to domesticate saints, that is, to bring them into the kindred network of local families by making them saints "of" those kin-groups'
Personal	It may be that many of our church dedications derive from the decisions of individual patrons, whose foundations of churches dedicated to certain saints may stem from such circumstances as a belief that a saint has saved them from mortal danger, or a battle has been won on a particular saint's feast day

Devotional	Dedications related to devotion and the 'belief in the efficacy of the saints as patrons' and the 'sense that their help and advocacy was of benefit to the individual'

This idea resonates strongly with the general impression of the material presented here, but perhaps even more so in the case of hagiotoponyms which are particularly prone to show a multifaceted nature. It needs to be emphasised that the paradigms are not exclusive and that the commemoration of a particular saint at any given site may encompass more than one of the paradigms listed. What follows here is a brief overview of the paradigms set out by Clancy (2010, 9-19), but it should be noted that the full article provides a more thorough description (see Table 4.4). It is crucial to point out here that these paradigms cannot necessarily be equated with the motivation for naming, discussed elsewhere in the thesis. They outline some of the ways in which saints' cults spread, but it is important to remember that this is not the same as the coining of a toponym. Although the foundational paradigm includes the foundation of a church or ecclesiastical foundation by the saint commemorated, there is a crucial issue to raise here. When associating a hagiotoponym with the foundation by a saint, one might assume that there is a direct relationship between that saint and the toponym in which he/she is commemorated. However, as Clancy (2010, 10) points out when discussing the foundational role of saints:

> We may say something similar, perhaps about the relationship of the place-name Kildonnan on Eigg to wherever St Donnan's original foundation was. That Donnan founded a monastery on Eigg is not in doubt. When a church dedicated to him, named Cill Donnáin, now Kildonnan, was founded and so named is less clear, and could be separated by some centuries from Donnan's time […] the foundational role of a saint in relation to a given church is not quite the same as the process by which a church becomes associated with him or her as its patron.

It should be noted here that such complexities do not necessarily exclude the classification of such a name. Whether the original coining was directly associated with the founding of a church by Donnan, or, as is more likely, the name was coined later by followers of his cult, the motivation still relates to the founding of a church by a saint. Turning to the proprietary paradigm, it is particularly significant in that it does in fact not represent a hagiotoponym. Rather, it represents dedications to individuals associated with the church who were in fact not saints, mainly as:

> secular donors of estate churches, or as the ecclesiastical personnel attached to or ruling the church at a key phase of its existence (for instance, when

questions of property rights have arisen. Equally, the person named may have been a founder, but not in the first instance regarded as a saint, so that the name, while it commemorated the individual, may not mark a saint's cult as such. In such an instance 'Colmán's church' for instance, might describe a church either founded by a man called Colmán as a patron (rather than a religious founder) or currently managed by a clergyman called Colmán (Clancy 2010, 10).

These dedications may of course be re-interpreted and eventually be viewed as hagiotoponyms by the assumption that the original coining did relate to a saint. The examples given by Clancy (2010) are framed in a Scottish context, but it is possible that we can find similar instances elsewhere. However, where such a process is visible in a hagiotoponym, we should primarily consider the original coining. In such cases, that name should not be classified as a hagiotoponym in a classification of anthropo-toponyms.

4.3.2 Aims

Based on the points raised above, the aim of this section is to discuss the role of hagiotoponyms within the study of anthropo-toponyms. It should be noted that this is not intended as a comprehensive discussion on the nature of the cult of saints in Scotland, which has already been extensively investigated by authors such as Clancy (2014), Edmonds (2009; 2013), Márkus (2008), and Taylor (2000). Rather, the intention here is to draw attention to how these names compare to other anthropo-toponyms, particularly when we consider the motivations for coining names, and to raise further questions regarding a wider understanding of the use of personal names in toponyms. Therefore although it will not necessarily contribute significantly to the study of hagiotoponyms, it will elucidate the relationship between this type of name and other anthropo-toponyms. By their very nature hagiotoponyms are surrounded by myth, political and religious inventions and re-interpretations. It is often difficult or impossible to establish what the actual motivations and circumstances of coining were, an issue previously raised by Padel (2002, 312-3). Here, it becomes even more important to critically consider the interplay between original and perceived motivations for coining. In light of this, the case studies presented below aim to highlight some of the features that are distinct in hagiotoponyms. They use a combination of existing scholarship and material drawn from *PNF*. The saints in question have been chosen on the basis of the available toponyms, the prominence of their cults, and the presence of previous scholars' discussions.

4.3.3 Case studies

4.3.3.1 Columba

Although Columba and the toponyms associated with his cult are among the most prominent in Scotland, this case study does not intend to approach Columba from a holistic perspective. Rather, it deals with a particular dedication associated with Columba found in Fife, in the form of *Inchcolm*. This toponym has been extensively investigated by Taylor (2000, 115-9; *PNF* 1, 72-5) and his findings are of particular interest for the purpose of understanding the process of early toponymic coinings. The attachment of Columba to this site has a long history and very broadly can be summarised as follows:

> The earliest records of this place-name date from the twelfth century, but the name may pre-exist the records by many centuries. The fifteenth century account of the foundation legend of the priory (later abbey) states that when it was founded in the twelfth century there was already a chapel on the island and a hermit dedicated to St Columba ([Bower's *Scotichron*] Bk. 5, ch. 37 (vol. 3, p. 110)) […] The dedication of the island and the fact that it was in a detached parish of Dunkeld diocese, the church to which St Columba's relics were translated in 849 AD, suggest an early connection to the cathedral church, but the Columban dedication may predate even that. (*PNF* 1, 74)

This shows a complex relationship between the original foundation, coining of the name and subsequent perceived motivations for coining. If we look at the paradigms introduced above, several potential factors can be viewed as having a role in the development of the site. The 'Reliquary' paradigm is of course relevant because of the translation of Columba's relics to Dunkeld, but it is difficult to connect this directly to the coining of the name. Although a foundation by Columba himself can be ruled out, it is difficult to determine an actual motivation for the coining of the toponym. As Taylor (*PNF* 1, 74) argues, a potentially earlier date than is evident in the sources is certainly possible for this site and we cannot firmly establish the full process of coining and transmitting this name. Finally, its relationship with the diocese of Dunkeld and the promotion of the cult of Columba in the area raises additional factors to be considered, including 'Organisational', 'Political' and even 'National' patterns. Paradoxically, if we seek the original motivation for the coining of the name *Inchcolm*, the picture likely becomes far more one-dimensional. For example, if the relics of Columba were translated when the toponym already existed, as seems possible, this is a dimension which has nothing to do with the actual motivation for coining the name. However, the issue here is that it is far more difficult to establish a motivation for coining a name than it is to discuss subsequent patterns of dedications emerging from this site. An original coining might be most likely to

be found in the organisational activities of the Columban family of monasteries, considering the close links between the see of Dunkeld and and the Columban tradition (Taylor 1997, 52), but this is not a notion I can assert with any certainty. However, this brief study shows that the original coining and subsequent developments of a hagiotoponym can be vastly different in their nature.

4.3.3.2 Brigit

For the next part of the discussion, we turn to Brigit, whose cult has been described as 'the most widespread of all cults in Scotland outside that of the Virgin Mary' (Clancy 2014, 23). In a Scottish context, she has most recently been discussed by Clancy (2014) and Edmonds (2013), whose discussions form a comprehensive overview of the spread of her cult. Similarly to Columba, Brigit's popularity as a saint makes her a matter of interest from an anthropo-toponymic perspective. Auslander (2001, 191) argues that: 'Brigid's humanity has always been problematic due to lack of historical details on her life and the claim that she is a merely a Christian version of the goddess.' What is particularly notable here is the idea of a saint as a divine being rather than as a person, expressed more prominently in certain saints' cults. The key question here then is: does the way in which Brigit is commemorated differ from that of a saint such as Margaret, who is significantly different in terms of sanctity, chronology, and historicity? It should be noted that, although dedications to Brigit are found in Fife, it is not one of her spheres of notable prominence in Scotland. A more comprehensive study of her dedications in other areas would undoubtedly yield additional results, but for consistency and keeping within the limitations of this study, entries found in *PNF* will be the focus here. There are two wells listed under their own head-forms containing dedications to Brigit: *St Bride's Well* NO236136 and *Bridie's Well* NO377237 (*PNF* 5, 539). In addition to this, there are several minor and/or obsolete toponyms containing dedications, including *Bride's Acre, *Bride's Meadow, St Bridget's Kirk*, and St *Bridget's Lands* # (also known as *St Brides Shode* #) (*PNF* 5, 539).

Although some element of a devotional motivation must be assumed to be present for a majority of hagiotoponyms, if not all, it seems likely that this aspect is more prominent in certain toponyms. Dedications to Brigit may be the most likely candidates available to us in terms of reflecting a strong devotional nature. This is a sentiment already expressed by Clancy (2010, 19). This particularly relates to Brigit's status as a 'Mary of the Gael', as discussed by Auslander (2001) and Clancy (2014). It seems likely that her importance as a nurturer and patron of the poor (Auslander 2001, 194) would make purely devotional

dedications more prominent. This may be especially the case for microtoponyms such as holy wells, of which there are two in *PNF*. The strong association between female saints and holy wells has also been noted by Clancy (2014, 30-2). However, in the entries found in *PNF* the territorial dimension appears to be the main one. Looking at *St Bride's Well*, Taylor (*PNF* 4, 55) states that 'the position of St Bride's Well on the south-eastern parish boundary of Abernethy suggests that it acquired this name because it marked the boundary of St Brigit's territory.' Nevertheless, dedications to saints such as Brigit and Mary are likely to be a good place to look if we are trying to find a devotional motivation. Finally, both Taylor (*PNF* 1, 265) and Clancy (2014, 26) have discussed a possible association of the toponym *Donibristle* with the cult of Brigit. The specific element *Uí Bresail* probably refers to the Leinster kindred associated with Brigit, and the church of the relevant parish, Dalgety, is dedicated to Brigit (*St Bridget's Kirk*). What we may be seeing here then, is a kindred-related dedication. However, the question is whether this should be regarded as a specific motivation for coining a name. Rather, although the coining may be precipitated by kindred associated with a saint, the motivation may be more suitably viewed as a political motivation. Brigit's political dimension should not be neglected and the example of *Donibristle* and *St Bride's Well* serve as an important reminder of this.

4.3.3.3 St Margaret

The final case study looks at Margaret of Scotland, whose transformation from queen of Scotland in life to a national symbol in sainthood makes her a topic worthy of study. What makes Margaret interesting for our purposes is that she is different from the two other saints discussed here in that a significantly larger amount of information is known about her as a historical figure. Also, we know with certainty that she was present in and around the area in which the toponyms discussed here were coined. This presents an especially strong contrast with Brigit, and it could be argued that Margaret represents a more 'human' saint. In *PNF* there are three head-forms containing dedications to Margaret, with related features discussed under these headings: *St Margarets* NT123809 (and *St Margaret's Hope*), *St Margaret's Craig* NT044958 (and *St Margaret's Burn*), and *St Margaret's Stone* NT107848 (and *St Margaret's Cave*). There is also a *St Margaret's Well* (*PNF* 1, 360). Several of these toponyms are interesting from the perspective of showing the multifaceted nature of anthropo-toponymic commemorations. For example, in the case of *St Margaret's Stone* (later the name of a farm) Taylor (*PNF* 1, 360) writes that:

The eponymous stone is still visible on the west side of the main road near the farm. It was traditionally thought that St Margaret rested on this stone on her first journey to Dunfermline, as a nineteenth-century inscription on the stone records. This is one of several places containing the name of Dunfermline's chief saint.

If the tradition is to be believed, one might argue that the name was in fact not originally coined as a hagiotoponym and that we are seeing a motivation similar to those found in other anthropo-toponyms. Similarly, turning to *St Margaret's Hope*, Taylor (*PNF* 1, 388) writes that 'Tradition alleges that Queen Margaret first landed in this bay on her arrival in Scotland c.1074. Fordun, Wyntoun and Boece all have the story of Margaret, in the company of her brother Edgar being forced by adverse winds to take shelter in this bay in the Firth of Forth.' Such circumstances would provide a motivation relating to travel, or perhaps an event. However, the fact that these toponyms are all hagiotoponyms adds yet another dimension to the situation and makes the identification of a clear motivation for coining more problematic. In order to demonstrate this, I will return to the example of *St Margaret's Hope* and propose a hypothetical scenario. If we believe the story that Margaret did indeed arrive in Scotland at the site of *St Margaret's Hope*, the name would either have been coined around the time of her arrival, or at a later stage. If it were coined close to the time of her arrival, it would of course be unlikely that the original name was *St Margaret's Hope*, since she was not a saint at that time. If that were the case, an original formation might have been found in the form of **Margaret's Hope* or perhaps more likely **Queen Margaret's Hope*, and later transformed into the form we have today. In this scenario, the original coining, and therefore the original motivation, is in fact not related to those typically found in association with hagiotoponyms. On the other hand, if the toponym was coined at a later stage when Margaret had already achieved sainthood (popular or official), the situation is different. In that case, political or even national factors considered in the paradigms proposed by Clancy are more likely to have played a part. In the case of *St Margaret's Cave,* (*PNF* 1, 360) we might see a similar instance. It is not improbable that Margaret did have a presence at the site in life and if a toponym containing her name existed in her life-time, the coining would originally not strictly speaking be a hagiotoponym. Based on this, in toponyms such as the abovementioned *St Margaret's Stone*, if originally coined as a hagiotoponym, it might be more likely to have originated as a boundary marker rather than as a resting place. Both in the case of *St Margaret's Craig* and *St Margaret's Burn*, there are strong reasons to believe that they were originally coined as boundary markers. Taylor (*PNF* 1, 360) states that:

It is this liminal position, in the north-west corner of DFL [Dunfermline], which probably gave rise to the name, signalling the boundary of the parish whose chief saint was St Margaret. The burn which flows northwards from St Margaret's Craig into the Pow Burn is called St Margaret's Burn. It once formed the boundary between SLN [Saline] and that part of DFL which lay in KNR [Kinross-shire] i.e. the lands of Moreland.

Such a coining would be most appropriately viewed as relating to 'Organisational' patterns according to the paradigms outlined above. These findings show that, depending on context and chronology, the coining of a hagiotoponym can be significantly varied, giving important clues of the history of that particular name.

4.3.4 Motivations for coining hagiotoponyms

Essentially, this section has attempted to elucidate the role of hagiotoponyms within the study of anthropo-toponyms. From a theoretical perspective, hagiotoponyms are a sub-branch of anthropo-toponyms, but they have received a disproportionally large amount of attention, particularly in a Scottish context. This of course partly highlights the fact that they are indeed a very interesting group of names, both from a historical and linguistic perspective. Although the study of hagiotoponyms and the study of anthropo-toponyms are intrinsically linked to each other, the case studies presented here make it clear that, in many ways, they are fundamentally different. This is particularly the case when we consider the inferred motivations of the coining of hagiotoponyms and other anthropo-toponyms. There is no doubt that in a classification of anthropo-toponyms, it is necessary to categorise hagiotoponyms as their own sub-branch. However, the paradigms outlined above together with the case studies have made it clear that these toponyms rarely reflect a straightforward situation. It may be tempting to simply adopt these paradigms as a sub-branch in a classification, but on a practical level, such a sub-category would give the impression of an overly clear-cut image of the motivations for the coining of hagiotoponyms. The complex interplay between various factors here shows that, for classificatory purposes, it may be necessary to adopt a more general approach. Without abundant contextual evidence, which we rarely have, it is impossible to assign one single motivation for coining a hagiotoponym. Rather, these names reflect a complex interplay between various factors, some of which are highlighted when we look at the paradigms outlined by Clancy. Partially, this shows that although hagiotoponyms are very much anthropo-toponyms, they should be viewed as a distinct sub-branch and they need to be approached differently. To some extent, such characteristics can also be found in other types of anthropo-toponyms and the nature of motivations for coining can be viewed as a

spectrum, where hagiotoponyms, and to some extent mythological names, can be found on one end. An anthropo-toponym such as *Prestonhall* in Fife, where the evidence for the motivation is relatively contemporary to the coining, the personal name belonged to a clearly historically attested individual or family, and there is no, or little, ambiguity surrounding that particular motivation, can be found on the other end (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**).

Finally, the comparison between Brigit and Margaret raises an interesting anecdotal point which may be worthy of further, more comprehensive investigations. This is the idea that the greater the sanctity of the saint, and the further removed from history they are, the more likely the commemorations and the motivations for coining a hagiotoponym are to be different from other anthropo-toponyms. However, here it is significant to note that even for the same saint, their sanctity is not static and may change overtime. In the case of Margaret, Ash (2015, 33) has argued for a shift in perceptions of Margaret's sanctity between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. This again emphasises the necessity to consider the chronology of naming. To summarise, although this investigation has not been an attempt to make a significant contribution to the study of hagiotoponyms, it has hopefully shed some light on the relationship between hagiotoponyms and other anthropo-toponyms. It has demonstrated that it is crucial to consider that the process of coining toponyms containing saints' names often reflects a distinctly different process to that of other anthropo-toponyms, emphasising the role of hagiotoponyms as a branch of anthropo-toponymy.

4.4 The Scandinavian dimension of Norse anthropo-toponyms

4.4.1 Background

A study of the Scandinavian settlement of Lewis and Scotland in general, particularly one focusing on anthropo-toponyms, should not neglect one of the richest sources for medieval Scandinavian settlement available: *Landnámabók,* the *Book of Settlements* (*LNB*), describing the settlement of Iceland. Although it primarily concentrates on the settlement of Iceland, there are numerous references to the British and Irish Isles, revealing the close links between these areas during the Viking Age. There are several instances of settlers travelling from Britain or Ireland to Iceland, the account of Auðr perhaps being the most notable one (*LNB*, 136-47). Additionally, there are a number of personal names of Celtic

origin found throughout such as *Kalman*, *Dufþak*, and *Melpatrix* (*LNB*, 81, 347, 390). In particular, the close association between Iceland and the Hebrides should not be underestimated, and it is partly for this reason that this comparative study is undertaken. *LNB* as a source certainly has its problems. However, this overview is not intended as a critical analysis of this work, nor as an evaluation of the extent to which some of the material is invention. Issues of transmission, chronology and composition have been extensively discussed elsewhere already by scholars such as Pálsson & Edwards (2012 [1972], 1-13). For the purpose of this study, I will adopt the sentiments of Jesch (2015, 193-4) in her statement that:

> Certainly the work is deceptive in the level of detail it seems to provide, and it cannot necessarily be used as a source for the history of any one individual, family or farm. But precisely because it has so much information, it is possible to study some of the patterns in *Landnámabók* without necessarily believing every word it says.

Based on this, the stance taken here is that the stories and motivations provided in *LNB* can give an insight into how the medieval Norse settlers viewed the process of naming the landscape around them. In a traditional society such as that of the Norse in the medieval period, we might suspect that the descriptions of settlement, and their motivations, as found in *LNB* were at the very least plausible to a contemporary audience.

The aim here is to provide an overview of the anthropo-toponyms found in *LNB*, particularly material relating to the context of coining these names. The findings will then be discussed in relation to other material presented in this thesis in Chapter 5. As stated above, the purpose is to highlight patterns that emerge from the stories, patterns which might provide an insight into the whole process of coining toponyms by the Norse settlers, rather than to view individual instances as absolute truths. In addition to this, since this material is primarily investigated in order to shed light on the Lewis data, it is not intended as a comprehensive analysis of Icelandic anthropo-toponyms. However, it is worth noting that there is certainly scope for future comparative studies focusing more directly on naming patterns in Icelandic toponyms. Based on this, the aims of this section are two-fold: firstly, questions will be asked relating to the patterns of naming in *LNB*. For example, what different types of motivations are given for the coining of the toponyms? Which ones are the most common? Secondly, how do these compare with other material presented in this thesis? This includes comparing *LNB* to the Norse Lewis material to attempt to fill some of the gaps there. However, for the purpose of the wider study of anthropo-

toponyms, it can be used to further analyse the context of coining anthropo-toponyms and the patterns of naming as a whole. By listing the personal names found in the anthropo-toponyms of *LNB* it is possible to provide an insight into some of the naming patterns among the Norse in the Scandinavian diaspora. A total of some 256 anthropo-toponyms where some indication of motivation for coining is given has been compiled from *LNB*. [144] Here, it is worth noting that *LNB* records 'the first settler for some 430 farms' (Jesch 2015, 193), and a significant number of these clearly consists of anthropo-toponyms. The nature of *LNB* itself and as a literary source has made it necessary to approach it in a different manner from that used when investigating the other material presented in this work. This is why the emphasis has been placed on entries providing a direct description of the context for naming a place.

4.4.2 The name-stock

4.4.2.1 Personal names

Table 4.5 lists the personal names found in the anthropo-toponyms of *LNB*. As far as possible, epithets such as nicknames have been included. In these instances, they have been listed as a separate name. This means that in the case of a personal name such as *Eyvindr*, m., it is listed as three separate entries with *Eyvindr* on its own being found twice, and twice with epithets (*Eyvindr auðkula* and *Eyvindr hani*). Although genealogies can be traced for some individuals, these have only been included when they are given in direct association with the named individual, as in *Flóki son of Vilgerð Hǫrða-Káradóttur*. The most striking feature which emerges from the name-stock is that there is considerable variety to be found with 188 different expressions denoting an individual. Only the personal name *Grímr*, m. occurs more than three times, and many of the personal names are only found once. This pattern is further emphasised by including the epithets as part of the name. For example, the pn *Bjǫrn*, m. is found six times in the name-stock. However, by the use of epithets, at least four different individuals can be identified: *Sléttu-Bjǫrn, Bjǫrn enn austrœni, Bjǫrn gullberi* and *Bjǫrn sviðinhorni*. The main conclusion to draw from this pattern is that these epithets function as ways to identify individuals and make them recognisable, both in the written material, and presumably also in the communities in which they were used. This provides a valuable insight into the naming patterns among the Norse and we would expect to see similar patterns in other areas, such as Lewis. Additionally, these epithets are significant because they are sometimes incorporated into

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[144] All the *LNB* entries discussed here are based on the edition by Benediktsson (1986).

the toponyms. We see this in toponyms like *Gullberastaðir* (from Bjǫrn gullberi) and *Hringstaðir* (from Haraldr ringr) (*LNB*, 72, 214). It is interesting to note that this pattern of denoting individuals is quite similar to what we see in later Gaelic Lewis toponyms where a combination of patronyms and nicknames is used to denote individuals. Particularly the most common personal names are generally given epithets.

Table 4.5 personal names in the anthropo-toponyms of *LNB*[145]
Ævarr, m. (1), **Álfgeirr**, m. (1), **Án**, m. (1), **Ármóðr** enn rauði, m. (Þorbjarnarson, fóstbróðir Geirleifs) (1), **Arneiðr**, f. (dóttur Ásbjarnar) (1), **Arnlaugr**, m. (1), **Ásbjǫrn**, m. (1), **Áskell** hnokkan, m. (1), **Ásmundr**, m. (1), **Ásólfr**, m. (1), **Atli**, m. (1), **Auðr** ennar djúpauðgu, f. (1), **Auðun** skǫkull, m. (1)
Bálki, m. (Blængsson, Sótasonar af Sótanesi) (1), **Bárðr**, m. (1), **Bárðr**, m. (son Heyjangrs-Bjarnar) (1), **Baugr**, m. (1), **Bekan**, m. (1), **Bersi** goðlauss, m. (1), **Bjǫrn** enn austrœni, m. (1), **Bjǫrn** gullberi, m. (1), **Bjǫrn** sviðinhorni, m. (1), **Bjǫrn**, m. (1), **Bǫðmóðr**, m. (2), **Bót**, f. (1), **Brúni** enn hvíti, m. (1)
Drumb-**Oddr,** m. (1), **Dufþak**, m. (2), **Dýri**, m. (1)
Einarr, m. (2), **Eiríkr** rauði, m. (2), **Eiríkr**, m. (3), **Eyvindr** auðkúla, m. (1), **Eyvindr** hani, m. (1), **Eyvindr**, m. (2)
Faxi, m. (1), **Finni**, m. (1), **Flóki**, m. (1), **Flóki** son Vilgerðar Hǫrða-Káradóttur, m. (3), **Friðleifr**, m. (2)
Galmr, m. (1), **Garðarr**, m. (1), **Geirhildr**, f. (1), **Geiri**, m. (3), **Geirmundr**, m. (1), **Geirólfr**, m. (1), **Geirr** enn auðgi, m. (1), **Geirsteinn** kjálki, m. (1), **Geirþjólfr**, m. (Valþjósson) (1), **Gísl** skeiðarnef, m. (1), **Grímólfr**, m. (1), **Grímr**, m. (4), **Gríss**, m. (1),

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[145] As stated above, this includes anthropo-toponyms where a motivation for coining is given.

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Guðlaugr, m. (2), Gull-**Þórir**, m. (1), **Gunarr**, m. (1), **Gunnbjǫrn**, m. (1), **Gunnólfr** enn gamli, m. (1), **Gunnólfr** kroppa, m. (2)

Hafgrímr, m. (1), **Haki**, m. (1), **Hákon**, m. (1), **Hallbjǫrn**, m. (1), **Hallgeirr**, m. (1), **Hallkell**, m. (1), **Hallormr**, m. (1), **Hallstein**, m. (son Þórólfs Mostrarskeggs) (1), **Hallvarðr** súgandi, m. (1), **Haraldr** ringr, m. (1), **Haukr**, m. (1), **Hávarðr** hegri, m. (1), **Helgi**, m. (2), Hella-**Bjǫrn**, m. (son Herfinns ok Hǫllu) (2), **Herjólfr**, m. (3), **Hildir**, m. (2), **Hjalti**, m. (son Þórðar skálps) (1), **Hjǫrleifr**, m. (1), Hólmgǫngu-**Máni**, m. (2), **Holti**, m. (1), **Hǫrðr**, m. (2), **Hǫskuldr**, m. (1), **Hrafn**, m. (1), **Hrafnkell**, m. (1), **Hrani**, m. (1), **Hreiðarr**, m. (1), **Hrolleifr** enn mikli, m. (2), **Hrómundr**, m. (1), **Hrútr**, m. (1), **Hundi**, m. (1), **Hvati**, m. (1)

Ingimundr, m. (1), **Ingjaldr**, m. (Brúnason) (1), **Ingólfr**, m. (3), **Ísleifr**, m. (1), **Ísrøðr**, m. (1)

Jólgeirr, m. (1), **Jǫrundr** háls, m. (1)

Kalman, m. (2) , **Karl**, m. (2), **Ketil**, m. (2), **Ketill** blundr, m. (1), **Ketill** gufa, m. (6), **Ketill** þistill, m. (1), **Kjallakr** ungi, m. (1), **Kjallakr**, m. (son Bjarnar ens sterka, bróður Gjaflaugar) (1), **Kjaran**, m. (1), **Kolbein**, m. (2), **Kolli**, m. (2), **Kolli**, m. (Hróaldsson) (1), **Kollsveinn** enn rami, m. (1), **Kolr**, m. (1), **Kóri**, m. (1), **Kýlan**, m. (Kárason) (1)

Leiðólfr kappi, m. (2), **Ljótólfr**, m. (1), **Loðmundr**, m. (1)

Máni, m. (2), **Már**, m. (Naddoddssynir) (1)

Náttfari, m. (1)

Oddbjǫrn, m. (1), **Oddgeirr**, m. (2), **Ófeigr** grettir, m. (1), **Ófeigr**, m. (1), **Óláfr** bekkr(?), m. (1), **Óláfr** belgr, m. (4), **Óláfr**

tvennumbrúni, m. (1), **Ǫlvir**, m. (1), **Ǫnundr** bíldr, m. (1), **Ǫnundr**, m. (Víkingsson, bróðir Þórðar í Alviðru) (1), **Ørlygr**, m. (1), **Ormr**, m. (1), **Ǫrn** enn gamli, m. (1), **Ǫrn**, m. (4), **Ǫrnólfr**, m. (?) (3)

Patrek, m. (1)

Rauða-**Bjǫrn**, m. (2), **Rauðr**, m. (1), **Reistr**, m. (Reistr son Bjarneyja-Ketils ok Hildar, systur Ketils þistils, faðir Arnsteins goða) (1), **Roðrekr**, m. (1), **Rǫnguðr**, m. (1)

Sæmundr, m. (3), Sel-**Þórir**, m. (1), **Sigmundr**, m. (1), **Signý**, f. (1), Skalla-**Grímr**, m. (1), Skjalda-**Bjǫrn**, m. (1), **Skjǫdólfr**, m. (1), **Skjǫdólfr,** m. (Vémundarson, bróðir Berðlu-Kára) (1), **Skorri**, m. (3), Sléttu-**Bjǫrn**, m. (2), **Snjallstein**, m. (1), **Sǫkkólfr**, m. (1), **Sǫlvi**, m. (2), **Sóti**, m. (1), **Steingrímr**, m. (1), **Steinólfr** enn lági, m. (2), **Steinrøðr**, m. (son Melpatrix af Írlandi) (1), **Stórólfr**, m. (Hœngsson) (1), **Svart**, m. (1)
Sveinungr, m. (1)

Þór, m. (theonym) (3), **Þóra**, f. (Langaholts-) (1), **Þórarinn** korni, m. (1), **Þórarinn** krókr, m. (2), **Þorbjǫrn** bitra, m. (1), **Þórbjǫrn** kólka, m. (1), **Þorbrandr** ørrek, m. (1), **Þórdis,** f. (1), **Þórðr** knappr, m. (1), **Þórðr** skeggi, m. (1), **Þorgauti**, m. (1), **Þorgeirr**, m. (1), **Þorgrímr** bíldr, m. (bróðir Ǫnundar bílds) (1), **Þóri** þurs, m. (1), **Þórir** dúfunef, m. (1), **Þórir**, m. (1), **Þormóð**, m. (1), **Þóroddr**, m. (1), **Þórólfr**, m. (bróðir Ásgerðar) (1), **Þorsteinn** lunan, m. (1), **Þorsteinn** svarfaðr, m. (1), **Þórunn**, f. (1), **Þorvarði**, m. (1), **Þrandr** mjǫksiglandi, m. (Bjarnarson, bróðir Eyvindar austmanns) (1)

Úlfarr kappi, m. (1), **Uni**, m. (son Garðars) (2)

Vékell enn hamrammi, m. (1), **Vestar**, m. (1), **Vestmaðr**, m. (1), **Vífil**, m. (3)

4.4.2.2 Generics

As previously stated, although the toponyms found in *LNB* cannot be viewed as a historical representation of the Icelandic settlement, they do give an insight into some of the contexts in which certain generics might have been used. Based on this, the generics found in the anthropo-toponyms with various motivations have been listed in Table 4.6. Some of the patterns found in the generic elements may be applicable elsewhere. One feature to note is the frequency of topographical generics used in a land-claiming and settlement context. As previously noted, a strong association between habitative generics and personal names is often made, particularly in the context of associating anthropo-toponyms with ownership. However, the frequency of topographical generics found in association with land-claiming and settlements at least shows that toponyms containing topographical generics should not be disregarded as potential anthropo-toponyms. Here, we should also highlight the fact that the Icelandic settlers arrived in a largely uninhabited, non-settled landscape which may partly account for the frequency of topographical generic elements.

Table 4.6 Generics in the anthropo-toponyms of *LNB*[146]			
á 'a river' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas1.c (3); AntClas1.d (7); AntClas4.h (1)	*hváll* 'a hill' (top.)	AntClas4.e (1)
bjǫrg 'a mountain' (top.) (Laidoner, 152)	AntClas4.b (1)	*leið* 'a lode, a way, a road or a grave' (top.)	AntClas4.b (2)
bœli 'a farm, a dwelling' (hab.)	AntClas1.d (1)	*lœkr* 'a brook, a rivulet' (top.)	AntClas1.d (2)
brekka 'the edge of a slope' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1)	*mǫrk* 'a forest' (top.)	AntClas6.e (1)
dalr 'a dale' (top.)	AntClas1.b (24); AntClas4.d (2)	*mýrr* 'a moor, a bog, swamp' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1)
ey 'an island' (top.)	AntClas1.b (2); AntClas1.c (1); AntClas4.a (1); AntClas4.b (1); AntClas4.h (1)	*nes* 'a ness' (top.)	AntClas1.b (5); AntClas1.c (1); AntClas1.d (2); AntClas3.a (1); AntClas4.h (2)
fjall 'a fell, a mountain' (top.)	AntClas1.b (11); AntClas1.c (1); AntClas4.b (1); AntClas4.e (1)	*óss* 'a mouth or an outlet of a river or lake' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas3.c (1)
fjǫrðr 'a firth' (top.)	AntClas1.b (29); AntClas1.c (2);	*sandr* 'sand' (top.)	AntClas1.b (2)

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[146] See 5.2 for an explanation of 'AntClas'.

	AntClas3.a (1); AntClas5 (1)		
gata 'a way, a path, a road' (top.)	AntClas3.d (1)	*skáli* 'a hut, a shed' (hab.)	AntClas1.c (3) (all the same person); AntClas2.c (1)
gerði 'a place girded round, a hedged or fenced field' (hab.)	AntClas1.b (1)	*skarð* 'a mountain pass' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas4.d (2)
gil 'a deep narrow glen with a stream at bottom' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas3.c (1)	*skeið* 'a course' (top.)	AntClas4.h (1)
gnúpr 'a peak' (top.)	AntClas3.a (1) AntClas1.d (1)	*sker* 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea' (top.)	AntClas3.a (1); AntClas3.c (1); AntClas4.c (1); AntClas4.h (1)
		skor 'a rift in a rock or precipice' (top.)	AntClas4.d (1)
grǫf 'a pit, a grave' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas4.b (1)	*staðir* 'a stead, a place, an abode' (hab.)	AntClas1.b (47); AntClas1.c (3)
hamarr 'a hammer-shaped crag, a crag standing out like an anvil' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1)	*strǫnd* 'a strand, a coast, a shore' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1)
haugr 'a how, a mound' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas4.b (3)	*þufa* 'a mound' (top.)	AntClas1.d (1)
hjalli 'a shelf or a ledge in a mountain's side' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1)	*tópt* 'a toft'	AntClas1.b (3)
hlíð 'a side' (top.)	AntClas1.b (2)	*tún* 'a town'	AntClas1.b (1)
hǫfði 'a headland' (top.)	AntClas1.b (3); AntClas1.c (1); AntClas3.a (2)	*tunga* 'a tongue' (top.)	AntClas1.b (4)
hǫfn 'a holding, a possession or a haven, a harbour' (hab.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas3.a (1); AntClas3.c (1)	*vágr* 'a creek, a bay' (top.)	AntClas1.c (1); AntClas3.a (1)
hóll 'a hill, a hillock' (top.)	AntClas1.b (4); AntClas4.d (2); AntClas4.e (1)	*varða* 'a beacon, a pile of stones or wood to "warn" a wayfarer' (top.)	AntClas3.a (1); AntClas3.c (1); AntClas4.e (1)
hólmr 'a holm, an islet' (top.)	AntClas1.c (1); AntClas3.c (1)	*vatn* 'water, fresh water' (top.)	AntClas1.b (1); AntClas1.d (1); AntClas4.c (2); AntClas4.d (1)
holt 'a rough stony hill or a ridge (in Icel. Usage) (top.)	AntClas1.b (5); AntClas1.c (2); AntClas4.a (1)	*vík* 'a small creek, an inlet, a bay' (top.)	AntClas1.b (9); AntClas4.h (1)

horn 'a corner, a nook, an angle' (top.)	AntClas1.d (1)	*vǫllr* 'a field' (top.)	AntClas1.b (2); AntClas4.h (1)

Additionally, the generic elements found in toponyms apparently coined as boundary markers, perhaps not surprisingly, tend to be strongly represented by hydronyms. The evidence in *LNB* lends support to the idea that some hydromic anthropo-toponyms might have been coined as boundary markers and further investigation into this may prove fruitful (see 5.3). Some of the patterns may serve as a warning against generalisation. Looking at the use of ON *ey* 'an island', there is one instance of it being used in a temporary settlement, two instances of land-claiming and settlement, and three instances relating to various events. This is interesting because in a Lewis context, some of the toponyms that can be interpreted as anthropo-toponyms with the greatest certainty contain this element as their generic (see examples such as *Guinnerso, Beàrnaraigh*, and *Eilean Thoraidh*). This will be further discussed in 5.5. The elements found in the anthropo-toponyms of *LNB* may not provide any absolute truths about the generics in use among the Norse settlers as a whole, but they do strengthen the view that we should be cautious and not make assumptions about the use of certain types of generics. Particularly the generally prominent association between personal names and habitative name-elements should to some extent be questioned.

4.4.3 Motivations in *LNB*

When studying motivations for naming in *LNB*, there is inevitably a certain degree of subjectivity present in terms of the explicitness (or implicitness) of the stories. There are instances that have not been included where a process of settlement and/or land-claiming is likely to have been involved. For example, there are several entries describing individuals in terms such as 'Þorfinnr á Þorfinnsstǫðum [Þorfinnr at/from Þorfinnsstaðir]' (*LNB*, 87). However, it would be problematic to include these since this would adopt the same assumptions about anthropo-toponyms that this study is partly trying to challenge. It also aids in keeping the collected data consistent. Although this discussion aims to avoid making assumptions about the association between anthropo-toponyms and ownership, it should be noted that a high proportion of material relating to land-claiming and ownership is to be expected. After all, *LNB* is a book of land-taking and we would therefore expect a high proportion of entries dealing with this. Finally, it should be noted that in terms of

geography, an inclusive approach has been used and relevant entries relating to non-Icelandic toponyms have also been included.

Settlement / land-claiming (167[147])

Examples:

Holtastaðir 'Holti hét maðr, er nam Langadal ofan frá Móbergi ok bjó á Holtastǫðum [There was a man called Holti, who took possession of Langadal down from from Móberg and lived at Holtastaðir]' (*LNB*, 226)[148]

Karlsdalr and *Karlsfell* 'Karl nam Karlsdal upp frá Hreðuvatni ok bjó undir Karlsfelli [Karl took possession of Karlsdalr up from Hreðuvatn and lived under Karlsfjall]' (*LNB*, 88).

Temporary settlement (16)

Examples: *Eiríksey* 'Hann var en fyrsta vetr í Eiríksey [He spent the first winter in Eiríksey]' (*LNB*, 132)

Gufuskálar, Gufunes 'Ketill gufa hét maðr Ørlygsson, Bǫdvarssonar, Vígsterkssonar […] sat hann enn fyrsta vetr at Gufuskálum, en um várit fór hann inn á Nes ok sat á Gufunesi annan vetr [There was a man called Ketill gufa son of Ørlygr, son of Bǫdvar, son of Vígsterkr […] he stayed the first winter at Gufuskálar, and in the spring he travelled into Nes and stayed another winter at Gufunes]' (*LNB*, 167)

Boundaries (17)

Examples: *Grímsá* 'Skalla-Grímr gaf land Grími enum háleyska fyrir sunnan fjǫrð á milli Andakílsár ok Grímsár [Skalla-grímr gave land to Grímr a Hálogalander south of the firth between Andakílsár and Grímsár]' (*LNB*, 71)

Vestmannsvatn 'Vestmaðr ok Úlfr fóstbrœðr fóru einu skipi til Íslands; þeir námu Reykjadal allan fyrir vestan Laxá upp til Vestmannsvats [Vestmaðr and Úlfr foster-brothers set out with one ship to Iceland; they took possession of all of Reykjadalr to the west of Laxá up to Vestmannsvatn].' (*LNB*, 276)

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[147] Number of entries.
[148] Translations are my own.

Sea-faring association (9)

Examples: *Eiríksvágr* 'Hann bjó skip í Eiríksvági [he prepared a ship in Eiríksvágr]' (*LNB*, 131)

Geirólfsgnúpr 'Geirólfr hét maðr, er braut skip sitt við Geirólfsgnúp; hann bjó þar síðan undir gnúpinum at ráði Bjarnar [There was a man called Geirólfr, who wrecked his ship at Geirólfsgnúpr; he lived there afterwards under the peak at the advice of Bjǫrn].' (*LNB*, 197)

Discoveries (6)

Examples: *Gunnbjarnarsker* 'hann sagði þeim, at hann ætlaði at leita lands þess, er Gunnbjǫrn son Úlfs kráku sá, er hann rak vestr um Ísland þá er hann fann Gunnbjarnarsker [he told them, that he intended that land, which Gunnbjǫrn son of Úlfr kráka saw, when he was driven west beyond Iceland where he found Gunnbjarnarsker]'. (*LNB*, 131)

Herjólfshǫfn 'ok sleit frá þeim bátinn ok þar á Herjólf; hann tók þar sem nú heitir Herjólfshǫfn [and the boat drove away from them with Herjólfr in it; he landed at the place which is now called Herjólfshǫfn]' (*LNB*, 38)

Deaths and burials (9)

Examples: *Arnarfjall* 'Ǫrn unði svá illa við félát sitt, at hann vildi eigi lifa ok fór upp undir fjallit, er nú heitir Arnarfell, ok týndi sér sjálfr [Ǫrn took the loss of his money so badly, that he did not want to live and travelled up under the mountain, which is now called Arnarfjall, and killed himself]' (*LNB*, 235) (*fé-lát* 'loss of money' Cl.-Vig.)

Ásmundarleið 'Ásmundr var heygðr í Ásmundarleiði ok lagðr í skip ok þræll hans hjá honum [Ásmundr was placed in Asmundarleið (*leið* 'a tomb') and placed in a ship and his thrall beside him] (*LNB*, 102)

Kornahaugi 'Þeira son var Þórarinn korni. Hann var hamrammr mjǫk ok liggr í Kornahaugi. [Their [Grímkell and Þorgerð's] son was Þórarinn korni. He was a great shapeshifter and lies in Kornahaugi] (*LNB*, 110)

Þórisbjǫrg 'Þeir Sel-Þórir frændr enir heiðnu dó í Þórisbjǫrg [The heathen kindred of Sel-Þórir died into Þórisbjǫrg]' (*LNB*, 98) (see 5.5.5)

Births (2)

Þórdísarholt 'Þórdís, dóttir hans, var alin í Þórdísarholti [Þórdis, his [Ingimundr's] daughter, was born in Þórdisarholt]' (*LNB*, 219)

Þórunnarey 'Í búfœrslunni varð Þórunn léttari í Þórunnareyju í Eyjafjarðará; þar fœddi hún Þorbjǫrgu hólmasól [During the removal of the household Þórunn gave birth in Þórunnarey in Eyjafjarðará; there she gave birth to Þorbjǫrg hólmasól]' (*LNB*, 252)

Drownings (3)

Einarssker 'ok Einarr skálaglamm, er drukknaði á Einarsskeri í Selahólm [and Einarr skálaglamm who drowned at Einarssker in Selahólm]' (*LNB*, 123)

Geirhildarvatn 'þar týndisk Geirhildr dóttir hans í Geirhildarvatni [there his [Flóki Vilgerðarson's] daughter Geirhild died (drowned) in Geirhildarvatn]' (*LNB*, 36)

Hǫskuldsvatn 'Hǫskuldr nam lǫnd ǫll fyrir austan Laxá ok bjó í Skǫrðum; við hann er kennt Hǫskuldsvatn, því at hann drukknaði þar [Hǫskuldr claimed all the land east of Laxá and lived in Skarðar; Hǫskuldsvatn is named after him, because he drowned there]' (*LNB*, 276)

Murders (9)

Examples: *Bótarskarð* and *Hakaskarði* 'Þá [t]ók hann silfrit upp á fjallit á tveimr yxnum ok Haki þræll hans ok Bót ambátt hans; þau fálu féit, svá at eigi finnsk. Síðan drap hann Haka í Hakaskarði, en Bót í Bótarskarði [Then he took the silver up on the mountain with two oxen and Haki his thrall and Bót his bondwoman; they hid the treasure, so that it could not be found. Then he killed Haki in Hakaskarð, and Bót in Bótarskarð]' (*LNB*, 385-6)

Kylanshóll 'Þjóðólfr, son Karla, drap Kýlan Kárason í Kýlanshólmum [hólum?] [Þjóðólfr, son of Karli, killed Kýlan Kárason in Kylanshóll]' (*LNB*, 82)

Battles (4)
Examples: *Hranafjall* 'ok Þorgestr, er fekk banasár, þá er þeir Hrani bǫrðusk, þar sem nú heitir Hranafall [and Þorgestr, who received a fatal wound, when him and Hrani fought, in the place which is now called Hranafjall]' (*LNB*, 86)
Þórishóll 'þeir Refr ok Þórir bǫrðusk hjá Þórishólum; þar fell Þórir ok átta men hans [Refr and Þórir fought beside Þórishóll; there Þórir fell and eight of his men]' (*LNB*, 58)

Other Events (1)
Example: *Dúfunefsskeið* 'Þeir riðu báðir suðr um Kjǫl, þar til er þeir kómu á skeið þat, er síðan er kallat Dúfunefsskeið [They both [Þórir dúfunef and Þóri from Hvinverjadalr] rode south across Kjǫl, until they came to the course which afterwards was called Dúfunefsskeið]' (*LNB*, 235)

Religious (3)
Patreksfjǫrðr 'Þá hét Ørlygr á Patrek byskup, fóstra sinn, til land-tǫku þeim, ok hann skyldi af hans nafni gefa ørnefni, þar sem hann tœki land […] Þeir tóku þar, sem heitir Ørlygshǫfn, en fjǫrðinn inn frá kǫlluðu þeir Patreksfjǫrð [Then Ørlygr promised Bishop Patrick, his foster-father, that if he brought them to land, he would make a place-name with his name, where he landed […] They landed in that place, which is called Ørlygshǫfn, but the firth inward from it they called Patreksfjǫrðr]' (*LNB*, 53-4)
Þórsmǫrk 'Ásbjǫrn helgaði landnám sitt Þór ok kallaði Þórsmǫrk [Ásbjǫrn dedicated his land-claim to Þór and called it Þórsmǫrk]' (*LNB*, 346)
Þórsnes 'þá skaut hann fyrir borð ǫndvegissúlum sínum; þar var skorinn á Þórr […] þar fann hann Þór rekinn í nesi einu; þat heitir nú þórsnes [then he threw overboard his seat-pillars; on them was an image of Þórr […] there he found the image of Þórr at a headland; that place is now called Þórsnes]' (*LNB*, 124-5)

Transferred (1)
?*Áshildarmýrr* 'Þorgrímr [ørrabeinn] lagði hug á Áshildi, þá er Óláfr var dauðr, en Helgi vandaði um; hann sat fyrir Þorgrími við gatnamót fyrir neðan Áshildarmýri […] Þeir bǫrðusk; þar fell Þorgrímr [Þorgrímr [ørrabeinn] took a liking to Áshildr, when

Óláfr [her husband] was dead, but Helgi objected to it; he ambushed Þorgrímr by the crossroads below Áshildarmýrr […] They fought; there Þorgrímr fell]' (*LNB*, 377) (If the account relates to the coining of the name it could be considered a transferred name. However, it is far from certain that this was not entirely separate from the event in question.)

4.4.4 Identity and naming

One of the most prominent patterns that emerges from an investigation into the anthropo-toponyms in *LNB* is the strong association between individuals and the places they settled and named. This further provides insights into the identity of the settlers and how they viewed the landscape around them. It should be noted here that this is not only expressed through anthropo-toponyms. Some of the individuals in *LNB* appear to have received epithets based on their place of residence. This goes beyond simply stating that they were from that area and a certain degree of invention is often present, as in the case of Tungu-Kári: 'Kári hét maðr, er nam land á milli Norðrár ok Merkigils ok bjó í Flatatungu; hann var kallaðr Tungu-Kári [There was a man called Kári, who settled land between Norðrá and Merkigil and lived at Flatatunga; he was was called Tungu-Kári]' (*LNB*, 234). This is further evidence of a close association between individuals and the areas they settled. However, it should be pointed out that this is not a phenomenon confined to the new areas of settlement, as evidenced by the man named Loðinn ǫngull: 'Loðinn ǫngull hét maðr; hann var fœddr í Ǫngley á Hálogalandi [There was a man called Loðinn ǫngull; he was born in Ǫngley in Hálogaland]' (*LNB*, 273). The descriptions of land-claiming and settlement also raise significant questions relating to who is doing the coining. When *LNB* describes the settlement by Karl as 'Karl nam Karlsdal upp frá Hreðuvatni ok bjó undir Karlsfelli' (*LNB*, 88), is the implication that these toponyms emerged as a result of the nearby community simply referring to the area as *Karlsdalr*, or would we expect a more conscious coining of such a name on the part of the settlers themselves? Although it is difficult to know with certainty, it seems likely that the answer is closer to the latter. The anthropo-toponyms in *LNB* would appear not only to show a close association between the settlers and their toponyms, but an active process of asserting their claim through the naming of the areas they settled.

Chapter 5 Analysis

5.1 The properhood of anthropo-toponyms in theory and practice

5.1.1 Background

The properhood of nouns can have significant implications for our understanding of the nature of anthropo-toponyms. It is a long-debated subject which continues to cause dissent amongst scholars and is unlikely to see a clear solution within the near future. The debate on properhood spans multiple time-periods, at least going back as far as Plato's *Cratylus* which, according to Richard Coates (2006, 357-8), through the question of the appropriateness of the name of Hermogenes 'foreshadows the possibility of distinguishing etymological from synchronic meaning, and arguably the possibility of distinguishing between a unified concept of etymology/sense on the one hand and pure referentiality on the other.' Additionally, properhood is debated in various academic disciplines, most notably linguistics and philosophy. In philosophy, historically, the key issue of the debate primarily stems from the question of whether proper nouns contain meaning. Various theories have been proposed by philosophers, perhaps most notably by John Stuart Mill (1889, 20) in his *System of Logic* who states that:

> Proper names are not connotative; they denote the individuals who are called by them; but they do not indicate or imply any attributes as belonging to those individuals. When we name a child by the name of Paul, or a dog by the name Caesar, these names are simply marks used to enable those individuals to be made subjects of discourse.

However, this study approaches properhood primarily from a linguistic, onomastic perspective, and philosophical theories will not take a central role here. It will become increasingly obvious that concepts of properhood can make an essential contribution to our understanding of anthropo-toponyms and the data presented here. At the heart of the debate lies the question of how proper nouns differ from common nouns – in other words, what constitutes their 'properhood'? My initial view is that anthropo-toponyms are inherently different from most other types of toponyms by the fact that the specific element is a proper noun in itself. To some extent, similar issues can also be found when analysing place-names containing a transferred name as its specific element, as discussed below in 5.1.3. By raising a number of issues relevant to this question, I hope to shed some light on the matter. This includes investigating whether proper nouns have semantic meaning and whether or not they can be viewed as mono-referential. It should be clarified here that in making any contributions to the discussion of the properhood of names, I follow previous

scholars such as Coates (2005, 125-6) and Vibeke Dalberg (2008, 1-12) in taking a pragmatic approach to the debate, and the arguments have primarily been based on the discussions by these scholars. Therefore rather than attempting to establish a philosophical or even linguistic definition of the proper noun, my aim is to investigate the theories of properhood in order to further understand the nature of the data studied here. Because of this, some of the finer details which can be found in the debates on the proper noun in other disciplines such as philosophy are omitted. I will use the term 'semantic meaning' here rather than referring to the concept as 'sense', as is often done in these discussions. I will also distinguish between the use of a toponym as descriptive or denoting. Coates uses the terms semantic and onymic to refer to these concepts (2005, 133). When an expression is used descriptively, it will generally be possible to detect semantic meaning, whereas when it is used denotingly, it is used as a proper noun. In addition to this, concepts of 'uniqueness' and 'mono-referentiality', although similar, need to be distinguished from one another. Dalberg (2008, 1) states that: 'Proprial function is assigned to a linguistic unit when it, by convention, is allowed to refer to one item only. This item is in principle unique'. In contrast with her view, Coates (2005, 127) has stated that there is an inherent flaw in this argument: 'in order to properly do their job of referring uniquely, [proper names] might be expected to have the property of denoting uniquely; but they characteristically don't [...] It is trivial to point out that there are many *John Smiths*.' Ultimately, however, I must object to Coates' approach in his dismissal of the uniqueness as a property of the proper noun. It is significant here to distinguish between uniqueness and mono-referentiality. The term uniqueness carries connotations of properties which, as rightly argued by Coates, proper nouns do not always have. However, this does not mean that proper nouns are not mono-referential and I would argue that a proper noun by its very nature and function will always be mono-referential in the sense that they denote a particular individual, place, or object. Therefore when the parish name Ness is used for that particular area of Lewis, it is only referring to that area, whether or not there are additional homonymous instances where the name is used in other contexts. Based on this, the matter of the uniqueness of proper nouns is quite a separate issue from that of mono-referentiality. This shows that the mind of the name-user is crucial here, but also that mono-referentiality can be highly contextual and contingent. Adding yet another dimension to the nature of properhood, Staffan Nyström (2016, 47) has argued that:

> Apart from the lexical meaning and the proprial meaning [...], every proper
> name in a given situation gives rise to one or more presuppositional meanings,

varying from person to person, from group to group: categorical meaning, associative meaning, and emotive meaning.

The question of properhood is particularly relevant to the material studied here. Toponyms are of course generally considered proper nouns themselves, but in addition to this, this study looks at elements, in this case anthroponyms, that were also proper nouns in their own right; at least before becoming incorporated into a toponym. When approaching the debate as a scholar of anthropo-toponyms, the initial area of investigation naturally requires asking the question as to how these elements differ from other toponymic elements considering their status as proper nouns. This topic raises two pertinent questions:

1. In the context of the debate on properhood, do the linguistic properties of anthroponymic elements differ from those of other toponymic elements?
2. How does the question of whether there is semantic meaning in a proper noun relate to the characteristics of anthropo-toponymic elements? Also, more specifically, is there semantic meaning in these elements and the toponyms of which they form a part?

Certain characteristics of the data studied here make it particularly suitable for a discussion on the properhood of names. For example, the issue of translatability is connected to the fact that there are numerous instances in the data where the properhood of an expression before it becomes incorporated into a toponym is not entirely obvious. This particularly includes entries containing potential patronymics (the question of whether some of these names should be viewed as patronymics or surnames is an issue in itself. This was mentioned in 2.2.2 and will be further discussed below) such as *Mac Ruairidh* or potential nicknames such as *An Saor* (see 5.1.4). If viewed descriptively, *Mac Ruairidh* could easily be translated as 'the son of *Ruairidh*' and *An Saor* as 'the carpenter', but if they are used denotingly, as proper nouns, we must ask the question as to whether it is appropriate to translate them. The approach adopted here has been outlined in 1.4, but there is no single universal formula which covers an appropriate level of translation for all onomastic expressions.

5.1.2 Defining the proper noun

Firstly, the question of whether or not proper nouns have semantic meaning needs to be addressed. Dalberg (2008, 4) states that:

From an etymological point of view, place-names can certainly be coined as descriptive formations. However, once a linguistic unit takes on proprial function, i.e. starts referring to one unique object only, the appellative semantic properties present in the preproprial phase are suspended.

She further argues that when proper nouns correspond with lexical items 'these are all examples of synchronous rub-off effect from the lexicon, and should be seen in the light of the continuous interaction between the proprial and the lexical component of language' (Dalberg 2008, 5). In the same vein, Coates (2006, 363), states that:

> whatever meaning proper names possess, it is not characterizable in terms of connotation or, in modern terminology, sense [which I term 'semantic meaning'], that is, it cannot be represented as a network of interlocking relations with other names or with lexical items.

It is this inherent lack of a position within the network of interlocking connections within the lexicon which sets the proper noun apart and makes it problematic to assign semantic meaning in the same way that it is applied to a common noun. We can detect semantic meaning in proper nouns in a number of ways, primarily through focusing on the key stage of creation, or transmission, when an expression was used descriptively. Nevertheless, proper nouns in their own right cannot be defined by the presence of semantic meaning. Therefore although a toponym such as *Loch an Tobair* (G *loch* 'a loch' + G *tobar* 'a well') may have been created in a descriptive fashion, with semantically appropriate elements, once it has been established as a proper noun, the semantic meaning cannot be assumed to be present. It is still possible to discuss the probability of its presence in relation to its coining and consequent use, but on its own, it simply represents a denotation of a particular location. Turning to the matter of anthropo-toponymic elements, I initially set out with the opinion that these elements would be fundamentally different in their nature and contain a different set of properties due to their status as proper nouns before being incorporated into a toponym. However, according to the definition discussed here, in terms of the denoting function of a proper noun, once they become part of a toponym, any previous differences between that element and other types of elements (common nouns) are lost. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is semantic meaning to be found in toponyms – otherwise the onomastician would have very little to study in terms of the history and coining of these names!

It is my opinion that Richard Coates' (2005; 2006; 2011) 'pragmatic theory of properhood' partially solves the problem by proposing 'that one and the same expression can be both proper and common' (Coates 2006, 369). Here, he argues that: 'we can

distinguish between two **modes of referring**, one semantic [descriptive], where the entailments accruing from the words used in particular structures are preserved intact, and one onymic [denoting], where they are not' (Coates 2005, p. 130). This brings us to the core of the argument: that it is possible for an expression to be both proper and common depending on the context in which it is used. Coates (2005, 128-33) demonstrates this in his example of the Icelandic patronymics Vigdís Finnbogadóttir and Halldór Guðmunðarson. According to the principle that proper nouns lack sense, the fact that these patronyms contain semantic meaning (Finnbogi is the father of Vigdís and Guðmunðr the father of Halldór) would invalidate them as proper nouns. Rather than drawing this conclusion, Coates (2005, 133) states that: 'Rather than boldly saying that the patronymics Finnbogadóttir and Guðmunðarson are by-names and therefore not proper, it would be preferable to say that, like any other NP [noun phrase] expression with relevant structure, they may on a given occasion be used with either semantic [descriptive] or onymic [denoting] reference.' Of course, it needs to be pointed out here that the patronymic situation in Icelandic is quite different from that in Gaelic Scotland, in that Icelandic patronyms are to a greater extent still living genealogical expressions. Therefore although the principle is still valid, quite a different interpretation may be necessary when approaching the Scottish Gaelic material. It should be noted that we are particularly likely to be able to infer semantic meaning at certain stages during the creation and transmission of toponyms. The reason for this lies in the context of their creation and the fact that a toponym will typically emerge as a descriptive expression, unlike some proper nouns which may be considered to be more archetypal. For example, no one would doubt the status of the pn Anna as a proper noun. The conclusion here must be that the key to understanding the status of properhood in an expression lies with the users and how an individual processes that expression as either a proper noun or a common noun. This idea can be linked to, and to some extent supported by, neuropsychology where the key lies in the finding that: 'studies have revealed that proper names are neuropsychologically and anatomically processed in a manner that differs from the processing of common nouns' (Yasuda, Beckman & Nakamura 2000, 1067) and it has further been noted that 'processing proper nouns seems, as a consequence, to require special cognitive and neural resources' (Semenza 2009, 347). What this shows is that, although an expression could effectively function as both a proper noun and a common noun, in reality the determiner is the way in which our brains process the expression – a process which is not yet fully understood.

Fig. 5.1 The typical structure of anthropo-toponyms

X = generic, Y = common noun toponymic element, Z = anthroponymic element

Denoting: X of Y (proper noun)	X of Z (proper noun)
Describing: X (common noun) of Y (common noun)	X (common noun) of Z (proper noun)

Based on these findings, we shall return to the anthroponymic elements whose properties were to some extent dismissed as being no different from that of other toponymic elements. However, in light of the idea of the dual capacity of an expression, it is possible to think further on the nature of anthroponymic elements. As argued above, in terms of an expression used to denote, there is no difference between the elements used to coin anthropo-toponyms and other types of toponyms. However, turning to the potential simultaneous descriptive function, it is indeed possible to infer semantic meaning. When we discuss an expression in these terms I would argue that anthroponymic elements are indeed different from other toponymic elements. This is particularly the case when we discuss a toponym in terms of its coining. The basis for the difference in approach when studying anthroponymic place-name elements and other types of place-name elements has been outlined in Fig. 5.1.

5.1.3 The semantic meaning of proper nouns?

When a toponym is considered as a description, it is possible to approach the anthroponymic element of that toponym as a proper noun in its own right. At that point, the anthroponymic element, whilst still part of the toponymic expression, is being used to denote the individual(s) associated with that toponym. When looking at it from this perspective, there is a clear difference between anthroponymic place-name elements and other place-name elements. Based on this, it is necessary to approach them differently in order to investigate the properties unique to these elements. Since it is a proper noun, we cannot approach it by focusing primarily on its semantic content. Rather, it is necessary to try to determine what the context and nature of the reference to the individual(s) in question are in relation to the topographical area the toponym denotes.

To substantiate these arguments, I will compare two entries from the area of focus here: *Abhainn na Cloich* NB519520 and *Cnoc Fhionnlaidh* # NB384543. Investigating the presence of semantic meaning in *Abhainn na Cloich* involves a relatively standard process

of onomastic analysis. The questions to be asked are: does the toponym refer to a stream since its generic element is G *abhainn* 'river'? Is there a stone present since the specific element is G *clach* 'stone'? If the answers to these questions are yes, it is apparently a place-name which was formed with semantic appropriateness. If the answer is no, we need to start asking questions as to why this is the case. For example, had there originally been a stone present which had subsequently been moved? Whatever the case is in this particular instance, the expectation for this type of descriptive formation is that at the time of coining, it would have been semantically appropriate to its location. Based on this, from a semantic perspective this toponym is relatively speaking straightforward. Turning to the second example, *Cnoc Fhionnlaidh*, a similar question can be asked for the generic element: does the place-name refer to a hill (G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll')? However, turning to the specific element, the situation becomes more problematic. We cannot approach it from an etymologically semantic perspective – the etymology of the pn *Fionnlagh* would not help much here. The next step, and the most natural approach to an anthropo-toponymic element, would be to ask who the individual of reference here is, that is, who is/was the *Fionnlagh* of *Cnoc Fhionnlaidh*? Determining this partly provides some context, but it does not show the full picture. To fully understand the role of the individual and the element in the toponym, it is necessary to ask both who the individual was and what that individual's relationship with the topographical feature in question was. Similarly, consider the two *PNF* entries *Yellow Hill* and *Charlottetown*. In the case of *Yellow Hill* 'It probably refers to an abundance of gorse or broom' (*PNF* 4, 718) and in a word-semantic classification the specific element can then relatively easily be categorised according to its semantic properties as a colour term. Turning to the anthropo-toponym *Charlottetown*, it was 'Named after Charlotte Paterson, who held the land here in the mid-19th C' (*PNF* 4, 209). However, despite having some context of the coining process, in a word-semantic classification it would be limited to being classified as a personal name. On the other hand, by using the name-semantic approach discussed here, it is possible to further categorise it according to the appropriate motivation, in this case ownership.

In some instances, serious doubts must be raised as to whether a name was ever used by the local population, or anyone for that matter, excepting the scribe recording it! For example, looking at *Terra Reginaldi* '*Reginald's Land*', Taylor (*PNF* 4, 569-70) writes that it is: 'A large division of the lands of Kedlock, this only occurs in Latin, and probably translates the Older Scots "Reginald or Ronald's Land".' This does not necessarily mean that it was never used by the local population in a vernacular form, but such a name is not

visible to us. It does not seem to have survived in any form, and may never have functioned fully as a place-name.' Essentially, the question is whether these formations should be viewed as a description or a proper noun. For example, what is more accurate: '*Rankillar* [owned by] Mackgill' or '*Rankillar Mackgill*' (*PNF* 4, 602)? This also raises questions about how descriptions transform into toponyms and the process it entails. To tackle this issue, I will return to the viewpoint that the key to this question lies in the minds of the users. Problematically, in a significant proportion of these instances, we cannot know for certain who the users of the expressions were, let alone how they thought of them. Approaching them pragmatically, we cannot assume that the form given in the charters was a generally accepted form of the name. It is likely that the longer a form is visible in the sources, the more likely it is to have been commonly used, but it is important to remember that this may also reflect a practice of mechanically copying name-forms, whether or not these were in general use among the local population. It is also important to remember that, as argued in this thesis, properhood does not have an absolute status and that there may be a dual function present in a given expression. Therefore the answer to the question of whether an expression should be assigned properhood or not may depend on the users of that name. These users did not necessarily have a single coherent view of them and it might have varied significantly. For example, the landowners themselves would most likely be more willing to adopt the form containing their name than the local population. In some cases, we might seriously doubt whether it was ever viewed as a proper noun by anyone, even the person referred to in the expression itself. This is particularly the case in instances such as the above-mentioned example of *Reginald's Land*.

This conclusion brings us to the core of the matter: namely that a name-semantic model, as outlined in 1.2.4, is the most appropriate one for the study of anthropo-toponyms, This theory can be further substantiated by drawing on evidence from the recently published Mapping Metaphor database (2015) which represents the metaphorical links between language and thought in the English language and therefore functions as a useful tool when trying to understand how we cognitively process different linguistic expressions. The key point here is that you will be unable to find expressions that are considered personal names, since they do not form a part of the semantic network in a dictionary. Rather, people, whether consciously or sub-consciously, analyse the toponyms around them in terms of motivation. How often do people not find themselves thinking 'I wonder why X is called such and such'? This may partly explain the frequency of the assumption that the

presence of a personal name in a toponym is motivated by ownership, as an attempt to explain and understand our surroundings when direct evidence is lacking. However, it may also partially account for the re-interpretation of toponyms and the invention of motivations for coining. To some extent, anthropo-toponyms can be compared to toponyms containing a transferred name as its specific element since in both cases we are dealing with a specific element represented by a proper noun. For example, in a name like *Allt Druim nan Cnàmh* NB299347 (Cox 2002, 161) the existing name *Druim nan Cnàmh* has been used to form a new toponym. When used as a specific element, at the time of coining, *Druim nan Cnàmh* is a proper noun in its own right. This is similar to what we find in anthropo-toponyms. It appears that the key to determining the nature of these expressions depends on the way in which they were thought of by the coiners of the names in question. Yet again, it becomes a matter of trying to reach the core of what was going on in the minds of the name-users at the time of coining. However, the difference is crucial in that when an existing name has been used to form a new toponym, it is still possible to trace the formation back to an original toponym where all the elements have originally been formed by using common nouns. This means that, although there are similarities between the use of personal names and transferred names as elements in toponyms, there is a greater need to approach anthropo-toponyms differently.

The transition from description to proper noun and its chronology is also a relevant topic when studying *LNB* material. The importance here lies in the fact that the names described in *LNB* reflect a living onomastic landscape with a high degree of fluidity and capacity for change. For example, many of the toponyms appear to simply be descriptions of the abode of the person commemorated. This is supported by the frequency of semantically appropriate entries such as:

> Holti hét maðr, er nam Langadal ofan frá Móbergi ok bjó á Holtastǫðum (*LNB*, 226).
> [There was a man called Holti, who took possession of Langadalr down from Móberg and lived at Holtastaðir].

Additionally, there are several instances of name changes found in *LNB*, one example being the previously mentioned account of Stafngrímr:

> […] faðir Gríms, er kallaðr var Stafngrímr. Hann bjó á Stafngrímsstǫðum; þar heitir nú á Sigmundarstǫðum (*LNB*, 76).
> [[…] father of Grimr, who was called Stafngrímr (Prow-Grímr) and lived at Stafngrímsstaðir, now called Sigmundarstaðir].

Such instances of name-changes presumably reflect some change of the current inhabitants in the relevant area and shows an active and dynamic naming-tradition which can be used to suit the coiner(s) and their surroundings as well as containing a degree of semantic meaning. On the other hand, there are also instances of an explicit change of ownership where the old name appears to have been retained and would technically not be semantically appropriate. An example of this is found in the account of how:

> Hann [Grímkell] rak á brott þaðan Saxa Álfarinsson Válasonar, ok bjó hann síðan í Hrauni hjá Saxahváli (*LNB*, 110).
> [He [Grímkell] drove out thence Saxi Álfarinsson Válasonar, and he lived afterwards in Hraun, at Saxahváll].

It is impossible to know the reason for retaining that name, despite the seemingly abrupt change of hands, and there is no way of knowing if this was actually the name used by Grímkell, but it does give further evidence of the multi-dimensional nature of the naming-patterns described in *LNB*. How can we approach an analysis of an onomastic landscape of such considerable fluidity? To tackle this, it is necessary to return to the concept of the duality of expressions, as introduced in 5.1.2. Appropriately, the example used by Coates (2005, 133) there refers to the possibility for a dual function in Icelandic patronymics. In the context of some of the entries found in *LNB* it is possible to envisage a similar situation where an expression can be viewed as a proper noun or a description depending on the given occasion and usage. The chronology in the life of a toponym is also a factor here, and it is possible to return to the tenurial affix-names in *PNF* and draw some parallels. In *LNB* we are generally only provided with a brief glimpse into the life of the toponym, but it is easy to envisage a similar situation where, the longer a name is retained, the more firmly embedded into the landscape as a proper noun it becomes and increasingly loses any potential dual function as both descriptive and proper noun.

5.1.4 Nicknames and epithets

The subject of nicknames may pose one of the most onomastically confusing areas in terms of defining properhood and the boundary between proper and non-proper is often exceptionally blurred. Lewis toponyms contain numerous potential nicknames. As previously discussed, most of these have not been included in the Gaelic corpus of names. However, there is a significant portion of toponymic elements that clearly refer to an individual, as in occupational denotations. Examples of this can be found in instances like *Tom a' Mhinisteir* (G *tom* 'a hillock' + G *ministear* 'a minister') and *Cnoc a' Phiobaire* (G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + G *pìobaire* 'a piper'). While these are likely

to denote an individual, determining whether it might represent a nickname is more problematic. Returning to Cox, several relevant points relating to what constitutes a name (proper noun) are made. It is significant to note that in his categorisation of personal names, one of the categories is given as 'Art. + noun: where the noun (a) is preceded by the article, e.g. *An Siorraidh* 'the sheriff' (Cox 2002, 24). Additional examples include '*Eilean Clann an t-Saoir* "*Clann an t-Saoir's* island"' and '*Sgeir Mhic an Tàilleir* "*Mac an Tàilleir's* skerry"' (Cox 1987a, 53). In these instances, Cox has been able to classify these elements as representing a personal name due to the presence of contextual evidence. With the benefit of direct contextual evidence in the form of oral accounts, he is able to provide several instances of formations that do indeed refer to nicknames. Here, it becomes evident that contextual evidence is the key to successfully categorising some of these names. For example, in the case of *An Siorraidh*, without the knowledge that this term has developed into a family nickname (Cox 2002, 92), it would be impossible to safely categorise it as a personal name since it could just as likely refer to any sheriff in a general sense. Some entries are more likely to denote some form of epithet, especially when they are part of a personal name, as in *Airigh Aonghais Tàilleir* (G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Aonghas Tàillear* 'Aonghas the tailor'). Typically, the presence of the definite article might indicate that the formation refers to a common noun, but as demonstrated by the examples found in Cox, this is not necessarily the case and the definite article can be retained as part of the nickname. The problem here is that we may run the risk of seeing nicknames everywhere. For example, would it be entirely preposterous to suggest that an expression such as *Tom na Nathrach* (G *tom* 'a hillock' + G *nathair* 'a snake') may in fact refer to the nickname of a person? Animal-names used as nicknames are certainly not unheard of (cf. 1.3.2). Of course, this opens a can of worms since, for the overwhelming majority of such formations, they most likely do not refer to a nickname. This raises the previously discussed issue of how to tackle the analysis of toponyms where contextual evidence is lacking. For many of these entries, without further contextual evidence, it is impossible to know whether or not they might represent a nickname, and by extension a proper noun at the time of coining. It is primarily for this reason that these entries have been excluded from the corpus of anthropo-toponyms, unless explicit contextual evidence showing that they are a nickname is present. However, despite this exclusion, it is important to have an awareness of potential nicknames and it is wise to remember that what may seem like a straightforward descriptive formation may in fact represent a proper noun.

Similarly, it is important to have an awareness of the practice of using epithets as part of the naming system in a Viking Age Norse context. There are several instances in the *LNB* material where nicknames are incorporated into toponyms and we should be aware of the fact that an element which may seemingly refer to a descriptive common noun (at the time of coining) may in fact be a reference to an individual. For example, we are told that:

> Bjǫrn gullberi nam Reykjardal enn syðra ok bjó á Gullberastǫðum (*LNB*, 72). [Bjǫrn gullberi ['the gold-bearer'] took possession of south Reykjardalr and lived at Gullberastaðir].

This provides further evidence of the complex relationship between anthropo-toponyms and other types of toponyms and the significance of considering the distinction between the two. Some relevant points can also be made with regard to the Norse Lewis material: there are a number of specific elements that appear to represent animal-names, but when investigated more closely, it seems possible that several of these in fact represent personal names or nicknames. An example of this is *Gasaval*, but it should be noted that the interpretation of this name is far from certain, as reflected in its data entry (see 3.1 **Gasaval**). The potential interpretations list it as either a personal name (*Gási*, m.), an animal-name (ON *gassi*, m. 'a gander'), or a nickname (*Gasi*, m.), which would originate from the animal-name. We are faced here with a similar situation to that raised by the nicknames found in a Gaelic context. Are they representative of proper nouns or should they be viewed as descriptive expressions? Also, it should be noted that whether or not this is the case for this particular name a similar issue can be found in some toponyms in Scandinavia such as *Gaaserud* and *Gasaholt*.

5.1.5 Patronymics

In addition to nicknames, patronymic formations pose similar problems relating to the properhood of a given expression. This is demonstrated by names such as *Sgeir Mhic a Gobhann*. As with the discussion on the tenurial affixes and nicknames above, the answer might seem deceivingly simple: if the coiners of the name in question thought of the formation as denoting an individual, and if it was used mono-referentially, it would be a proper noun. However, we find that there are various levels of likelihood of these expressions representing proper nouns. A number of toponyms contain occupational denotations, as in the case of *Airidh Mhic an t-Sealgair* # (G *sealgair* 'a hunter') or *Sgeir Mhic a Gobhann* (G *gobhainn* 'a smith'). It is likely that this type of formation, when used

as a specific element in a toponym, referred to an individual at the time of coining, but a number of questions remain relating to their exact nature. For example, were formations such as *Mhic an t-Sealgair* or *Mhic a Gobhann* used as personal names for these individuals? The presence of the definite article here may raise suspicions and indicate that, at the very least, such an expression is a reflection of a living tradition where semantic meaning was present at the time of coining rather than as a fossilised patronymic surname. The use of G *mac* to represent an occupational surname may lend further support to this. Some formations employing *mac* can also reflect a given name. The case of *MacBeth*, from OG *MacBethad*, raises the possibility of this type of formation occurring in the data. It should be noted that none of the examples in the Lewis material, except *Macc-bethad*, can be found in O'Brien's 'Old Irish personal names' (1973, 211-36), but this does not necessarily exclude it as a possibility for other entries. An issue that was previously raised is that of trying to determine whether a formation with a patronymic marker represents a surname or a patronymic. Without extensive contextual evidence it seems necessary to generally adopt Cox's (1987a, 50) approach of not explicitly distinguishing between the two. Nevertheless, turning to the translations provided by the OSNB, some additional points can be made on the subject. In these translations, a distinction appears to be made between patronymic and surname. For example, compare the translations provided for some of the entries:

Cleit Gil Mhic Phaic: 'Signifies Eminence of McFay's Glen.' (OSNB OS1/27/126/10)

Allt Buaile Mhic Phersoin [now *Allt na Buaile*]: 'Signifies the <u>Stream</u> of <u>McPhersons Park</u> [added] Is it not the stream of the McPhersons Fold, or enclosure? <u>Buaile Park</u> in the Lewis.' (OSNB OS1/27/75/15)

Tom Mhic Neacail: 'Signifies Nicolson's Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/123/49)

Tob Mhic Iain Dhuibh #: 'Signifies Bay of Black John's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/122)

Airigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh: 'Signifies Finlay's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/25/46)

Is this simply a reflection of individual surveyors, informants, or the type of name listed? Alternatively, do these translations reflect sufficient local interaction or information to give a hint about how the users of these names thought of them? In some instances, we might

suspect that the translations are a reflection of the surveyor's own familiarity with an expression as a surname, or as not being a surname, possibly giving us a clue for some of these names.

5.1.6 Final thoughts on properhood

The material discussed here lends support to the argument that anthropo-toponyms are fundamentally different from other types of toponyms and that it is necessary to carefully consider the distinction between the two at the time of coining. As we turn to the classification of anthropo-toponyms it becomes crucial to make a distinction between the two. For example, consider the Argyll mountain summit of *The Cobbler* NN259058, which is given its name because of its characteristic shape. Semantically, it can be compared to the potential occupational nicknames discussed above such as *An Siorraidh*, but when considering the motivation for coining they are clearly significantly different, one referring to the shape of the rock and the other denoting an individual. Additionally, material both from Lewis and comparative areas have characteristics that make it clear that the line between descriptiveness and properhood are often blurred. A living landscape such as that described in *LNB* supports the argument of the potential dual function of a given expression. Although a lack of contextual evidence often makes it difficult to provide a sufficient analysis of these names, it is crucial to consider these matters from a theoretical perspective and, as far as possible, a practical one. Having an awareness of such issues can also prove beneficial for future studies of other data-sets, particularly when there is contextual evidence present.

5.2 Classification of anthropo-toponyms

5.2.1 Proposal of categories for a name-semantic classification of anthropo-toponyms

Based on what has been discussed above we need to make certain considerations when approaching the analysis of anthropo-toponyms, particularly since a personal name, at the time of being incorporated into a toponym (and sometimes after the coining), is a proper noun. Several examples have demonstrated that, because of its status as a proper noun, it is different from other types of toponymic elements, both with regards to how our minds process them as linguistic expressions and how they relate to the landscape as part of a toponym. It has also been highlighted that they generally do not relate to the physical

landscape in the same way that other toponymic elements do, as demonstrated by the example of *Cnoc Fionnlaidh*. Since anthroponymic elements do not hold a place in the semantic network of lexical items in the same way that common nouns do, they cannot be properly represented in a classification that essentially is a reflection of the said network. Based on these points, we can conclude that a word-semantic analysis, where the emphasis is placed on the semantics and etymology of individual words, generally fails to show the varieties within anthropo-toponyms. The result is a lesser understanding of the name in question in terms of its cultural, social and linguistic context as well as the nature of its transmission and subsequent use. Therefore the aim here is to combine the evidence presented throughout this study in order to propose various categories for a classification of anthropo-toponyms. These categories are collectively referred to as 'AntClas'. As already stated, the classification is primarily based on category 1.c in Gammeltoft's model but also extends to category 1.d (see 1.2.4). It should be noted here that although the categories are based on the data investigated here, in theory, this classification should be largely applicable in any geographical context. It should also be pointed out that the benefit of this approach is that it will allow for the modification of the various categories to be more suitable for different geographical areas where the naming contexts might be different from that of Lewis. For example, in a coastal setting such as that of Lewis, it is not surprising that we should find commemorations relating to shipwrecks. On the other hand, in an inland context it is highly unlikely that we should find such a commemoration. This example demonstrates potential adjustments that need to be made on a very basic level, but more complex social and linguistic factors may also precipitate other changes. This of course also includes the potential to expand the classification for anthropo-toponymic data-sets of a different nature, such as the hagiotoponyms discussed above. A significant number of anthroponymic place-name elements only survive as a specific element in an existing name which has been incorporated into a new coining. An example of this is *Rubha Tigh Phàil* where a **Taigh Phàil* 'Paul's house' would originally have existed and has then been incorporated into a new toponym with a separate generic element – G *rubha* 'a point'. To study the context of naming with regards to the personal names it is necessary to consider the formation which uses the personal name as the specific element – generally the primary formation. Because of this, the primary formation will be considered when classifying the data here, a similar approach to that used in the extensive analysis in 2.2. This means that rather than considering *Rubha Tigh Phàil,* the **Taigh Phàil*, which must have existed at one point, is investigated.

5.2.2 AntClas1 'Residence or ownership'

As stated previously, ownership or habitation is generally given as a proxy motivation for anthropo-toponyms and this alone necessitates further investigation into this area. Although it can be argued that its role within anthropo-toponymy has been overemphasised in previous scholarship, it is nevertheless undoubtedly a significant part of the study of these toponyms. In 2.2.6 several entries were tentatively assigned motivations relating to residence. However, these were all relatively uniform and lacking extensive contextual evidence. Additionally, the proportion of ownership-names is relatively low in Lewis (22.6%). When turning to comparative toponymic data, the ownership-dimension does indeed become more prominent. For example, a large percentage of the *PNF* anthropo-toponyms are most likely motivated by ownership (see 4.2.2). For classificatory purposes the challenge becomes a question of going beyond simply stating that a coining is motivated by ownership and to distinguish between different types of ownership. The comparative material has highlighted that it does not suffice to simply state that anthropo-toponyms relate to ownership, even when this is the case. Two main areas of nuance have emerged within motivations relating to ownership and residence when looking at the comparative data. Firstly, motivations relating to ownership can take very different forms depending on the circumstances in which they were coined. Secondly, the question of who is doing the coining and for what purpose is an essential part of understanding the motivations and contexts for coining a toponym. When studying motivations in the Fife material, the seemingly large number of toponyms relating to ownership might be surprising. There are sixty-eight names which can tentatively be assigned a motivation and forty-six of these relate to ownership (67.6%), providing a considerably higher proportion than the Lewis material. In 1.2.1.2 the issue of automatically equating the motivation of coining anthropo-toponyms with ownership was raised. Although the numbers for Fife may appear to support such a notion I will argue that despite many motivations likely relating to ownership, my argument is in fact not invalidated. Rather, the nature of ownership-type commemorations in this area raises questions that require further investigation, and a greater emphasis on the ownership motivations and their chronology may be necessary. The clear majority of the toponyms which have tentatively been analysed as relating to 'Residence or ownership' are based on contextual evidence (EvClas3), with thirty-six of these entries being assigned EvClas3. This is primarily based on the generic element present, most notably Sc *hall* or Sc *land* as well as when an en is used as the generic when a tenurial affix is present. In the case of Sc *hall* or Sc *land* we get toponyms such as *Ferniehall* and **Tremblayslands* (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**)

that can be associated with landowning families in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries (*PNF* 4, 286, 438) and it seems highly likely that the naming of these features is part of a process of claiming the land or feature in question, or acknowledging an existing claim in the landscape. In addition to toponyms analysed on the basis of contextual evidence (EvClas3), we have instances where the evidence provides a more direct relationship between an individual or family and a toponym, mainly in the form of indirect accounts relating to the naming of the feature (EvClas2). In the case of ownership associations, this mainly consists of examples where we have accounts of the acquisition of the land or feature by the family or person commemorated. In the example of **Laing's Land* (also known as the *Ward*), we are told that: '*Laing's Ward had been occupied and claimed by John Laing' (*PNF* 4, 129-30). In these cases, the deliberate process of imposing the name of an individual or family onto the land is even more visible than the names categorised according to contextual evidence.

Although these evidence-types (EvClas2 and EvClas3) form the bulk of the ownership-type motivations, there are a handful of entries where we have direct accounts (EvClas1). These include *Grayson, Dalgairn* and *Newington* and possibly *Scotscraig* (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**). Apart from the dubious account of *Scotscraig*, of which the reliability must be questioned, the remaining toponyms are late coinings, all from the nineteenth or twentieth centuries. What is interesting about these later names is that although they reflect ownership, they have lost the necessity to outwardly put a claim on the land, or feature in question, in that they appear to be novelty names, designed as family jokes, their full meaning only obvious to those familiar with their origins. Therefore they do not necessarily provide an obvious meaning to other users of the name. This adds yet another layer to the question of motivations relating to ownership: for whom are the names coined? Is there an external or internal intention with the coining? Finally, it should also be pointed out that a significant portion of the toponyms assigned to the ownership category have surnames as their specific element. Forty of the forty-six entries listed under 'Residence or ownership' in 4.2.2 appear to represent a surname, showing an even stronger pattern than the general numbers given in 4.2.1. However, it should be noted that this is probably at least partly a reflection of the nature of the source material and that it is more likely that ownership is visible in a toponym containing a surname than a given name. Some of these surnames may simply represent an individual and a representation of family connections is not necessarily its primary function. However, especially with major families with a significant presence in that area, even if the commemoration signifies an

individual, we cannot ignore the implied family connections. This adds yet another layer to the discussion in terms of the motivations: the process of claiming ownership, as well as the circumstances of the coining. How does the presence of a surname differ from that of a given name? Instinctively, we might think that the representation of a family group rather than an individual shows a stronger pattern of an institutionalised process of claiming land and establishing family interests. This might indeed be the case, and if so, it raises the significant question of how this compares to the Lewis material. Of course, surnames of the type found here are largely absent in that data and generally the anthropo-toponyms appear to reflect an individual rather than a family group. This is a key difference which will be further discussed in 5.4. Finally, it is worth pointing out that there are instances where an anthropo-toponym is coined with a given name and a surname and is eventually reduced to only show one of the names. An example of this is *Watston* in Kilmadock which is 'on record from at least 1491 as *Wat Doggistoun* and *Wat Smy[tht]toun*' (McNiven 2011, 127). The key argument that arose from studying the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis was that there is considerable variety within this group of toponyms and that we need to go beyond simply assuming that a coining relates to ownership. To some extent this finding has been challenged by the comparative material presented here with a much larger number of toponyms that, realistically, do relate to ownership. Nevertheless, what has emerged from the data is also the realisation that motivations relating to ownership are far from one-dimensional. Therefore it is necessary to further consider the nuances within the ownership category to provide a balanced analysis of the nature of anthropo-toponyms.

Additionally, it is important to consider the relationship between residence or ownership. When investigating Lewis toponyms, there was no sufficient evidence to draw any clear conclusions about the relationship between the two (see 2.2). However, this may partly be a result of the limitations in direct evidence for toponyms motivated by residence or ownership. Although residence or ownership can in some instances be viewed as two different motivations, especially in a feudal or quasi-feudal society, the comparative evidence has highlighted the fact that they are intrinsically linked, and it is often impossible to make a distinction between the two. In both *PNF* and *LNB* the bulk of the data does not reflect a distinction between residence or ownership and generally, in the minds of the coiners, they would likely have been viewed as one and the same unless otherwise stated. It has therefore been concluded that it would be unwise to list 'Ownership' as a separate motivation. The combined evidence from Lewis and *LNB* also gives evidence for motivations relating to temporary settlement. Potential Lewis examples

of temporary settlement can be found in *Tigh Mhaoldònuich* and *Creag Sgàire* for which the OSNB records:

> tradition says that a man of the name of Ludovick was transported from Rona to Sulisgeir for sheep stealing and this is the house or hut he lived in – he was found dead when a boat went to take him back (OSNB OS1/27/136/61)

> Tradition says that about four hundred years ago, an outlaw of the name Zachary, resorted to it as a hiding place (OSNB OS1/27/84/41)

There are at least sixteen entries of temporary residence described in *LNB* and they often have a clearly established chronology. This is perhaps to be expected considering that a highly dynamic namescape is being described. An example of this is *Baugstaðir*, for which it is stated that:

> Baugr hét maðr […] hann fór til Íslands ok var enn fyrsta vetr á Baugsstǫðum (*LNB*, 352).
> [There was a man called Baugr […] he travelled to Iceland and spent the first winter at Baugsstaðir].

Finally, some anthropo-toponyms appear to have been coined as boundary-markers. This is significant because, although it represents a motivation associated with ownership, the relevant toponyms are generally of a different character to other entries in this category. For example, potential candidates are often hydronyms and are represented by a generic element relating to watercourses, a characteristic which is rarely found in the context of other ownership-motivations. In a Lewis context, direct evidence for anthropo-toponyms as boundary markers is largely absent, but can be found in both *PNF* and *LNB*. These toponyms will be further discussed below, in the context of hydronyms (see 5.3). In *PNF* 1 we may also see a very early example of this in the case of **Gruoch's Well*, for which Taylor writes:

> Ballingry contains what is as far as I am aware the only place-name in Scotland which refers to Queen Gruoch, wife of MacBethad, king of Scots 1040-57. […] [This is] probably the gushing spring on the slopes above and to the south-west of Ballingry Farm at NT168977. This is the source of the burn which is described as forming the march. Queen Gruoch, along with her husband King MacBethad, gave the lands of Kirkness to St Serf's monastery in Loch Leven in the mid-eleventh century (*St A. Lib.* 114). (*PNF* 1, 135)

Additionally, *Macduff's Cross* most likely also represents some type of boundary-marker relating to the influence of the Macduff earls of Fife (*PNF* 4, 637) (also see 4.2.2 **Boundary**). These entries have warranted the introduction of a sub-category relating to boundaries (AntClas1.d).

Settlement and land-claiming in *LNB*

At least as presented by the authors of *LNB*, anthropo-toponyms are an integral part of the process of land-claiming and settlement and the coining of toponyms is frequently motivated by this. This is reflected by the close association between individuals and the places they settled and is further emphasised by the frequency of these entries in *LNB*. Out of the 256 anthropo-toponymic entries, 199 have been categorised as relating to residence or ownership. For most of the data, the context is implied by the circumstances in which the settlement takes place. A typical entry will take the format of 'X settles XY and lives at XZ' as in the case of *Holtastaðir*, *Karlsdalr,* and *Karlsfell*:

> Holti hét maðr, er nam Langadal ofan frá Móbergi ok bjó á Holtastǫðum (*LNB*, 226).
> [There was a man called Holti, who possessed Langadalr down from Móberg and lived at Holtastaðir].

> Karl nam Karlsdal upp frá Hreðuvatni ok bjó undir Karlsfelli (*LNB*, 88).
> [Karl possessed Karlsdalr up from Hreðuvatn and lived under Karlsfjall].

In these cases, the settler will typically claim an area of land which is given a topographical generic, either as an anthropo-toponym, or with a different specific element. The abode of the settler is then given, generally as an anthropo-toponym, frequently with a habitative generic. In these entries, there is an almost formalised process of arriving in Iceland, claiming land and settling in an area along with the naming of relevant places, often with at least one of these places containing the settler's own name. This provides valuable insights into the settlement process and its prominence as a template for land-claiming in *LNB* and raises questions regarding to what extent this pattern might be found elsewhere. Of course, it does raise the question as to what extent the formulaic nature of the settlement process is an indication of later invention on the part of the authors. Does it indicate a formalised process of settlement, later invention or a combination of both? However, clearly during the settlement of Iceland, and in later time periods, there was indeed a strong pattern of associating individuals with the places they settled. Additionally, although the settlement-process is presented in a formulaic manner, several of the stories contain characteristics that are of interest. One example of this is *Þórutóptar*, for which we are told that:

> Ásmundr bjó í Langaholti at Þórutóptum; hann átti Langaholts-Þóru. Þá er Ásmundr eldisk, bjó hann í Ǫxl, en Þóra bjó þá eptir ok lét gera skála sinn um

þvera þjóðbraut ok lét þar jafnan standa borð, en hon sat úti á stóli ok laðaði þar gesti, hvern mat vildi eta (*LNB*, 102).
[Ásmundr lived in Langaholt at Þóratóptar; he married Langaholts-Þóra. When Ásmundr was older; he lived at Qxl, but Þóra lived there afterwards and had her hall made across the high road and always let there be a table set there, and she sat outside on a chair and invited guests there to eat any food they wanted].

Here, the narrative recounts the very particular story of how the settlement was given its name; this only appears to have happened after the husband of Þóra had moved away and the (presumably) unusual circumstances surrounding the settlement. Some of the stories recount how individuals are given land by prominent figures. *Ketilsstaðir* is an example of this, for which it is stated that:

Auðr gaf land skipverjum sínum ok leysingjum. Ketill hét maðr, er hon gaf land frá Skraumuhlaupsá til Hǫrðadalsár; hann bjó á Ketilsstǫðum (*LNB*, 140). [Auðr gave land to her shipmates and free men. There was a man called Ketill, to whom she gave land from Skraumuhlaupsá to Horðadalsá; he lived at Ketilstaðir].

If such accounts have their basis in reality, it shows that the coining of anthropo-toponyms relating to land-claiming and settlement among the Norse settlers do not have a single standardised formula.

AntClas1 and its sub-categories

By studying these patterns from a comparative perspective, some of the differences found in various geographical areas can be highlighted. A key factor here is that the nature and extent of ownership-motivations may be significantly different depending on geography and chronology. Based on this, the motivations visible in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis, *PNF,* and *LNB* have been collated and 'AntClas1: Residence or ownership' along with its sub-categories is proposed here. Some of these sub-categories are more applicable in certain areas. For example, comparing *LNB* and *PNF*, although prevalent in both areas, it is clear that the nature of ownership commemorations is considerably different. Particularly important here is the fact that the Icelanders described in *LNB* arrived in a largely uninhabited land and that the naming-process included the physical settling and claiming of the landscape. It is for this reason that the sub-category of land-claiming and settlement has been added to the classification, representing instances where the coining of toponyms forms part of a wider settlement process. This is not necessarily confined to *LNB* material and may also be applicable elsewhere. The most important point to be made here is that ownership is not as straightforward as it appears, and when trying to classify motivations for naming, a single category showing ownership may not suffice. As it currently stands,

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'AntClas1: Residence or ownership' in the classification of anthropo-toponyms is as follows:

> **AntClas1: Residence or ownership**
>
>   a. General
>   b. Land-claiming and settlement
>   c. Temporary residence
>   d. Boundaries

5.2.3 AntClas2 'Agriculture and industry'

Motivations relating to agriculture and industry are generally considerably more straightforward than AntClas1, and the evidence presented across the geographical areas studied here is more consistent. Particularly the Lewis material provides useful evidence for motivations relating to agriculture. This includes a strong likelihood of many of the *àirigh*-names being coined by motivations associated with agriculture (see 5.4.3.3). Additionally, both *Àird Dubh Mhic Shomhairle Bhain* and *Creagan Stob* can be categorised as being motivated by agriculture, relating to a sheep fold and a peat-stack respectively, whereas *Rathad Mhic Aoidh* and *Druim Mor Mhic Shomhairle Bhain* are motivated by construction and hunting respectively (see 2.2.6 **Agriculture**, **Hunting**, **Construction**). Similarly, in *PNF* the coining of *Durward's Scalp* appears to have been motivated by its use as a fishing station, and *Dandies Wood* and *Miller's Loch* were constructed or created by the individuals whose name they contain (see 4.2.2 **Creation**). Although a case could be made for the motivation for the coining of **Young's Boat* relating to travel (see 4.2.2 **Occupational usage**), the occupational dimension arguably takes precedence here, necessitating the addition of another sub-category. Based on these entries, 'AntClas2: Agriculture and industry' can be proposed:

> **AntClas2: Agriculture and industry**
>
>   a. Agricultural usage
>   b. Hunting and fishing
>   c. Creation and construction
>   d. Occupational

5.2.4 AntClas3 'Travel'

Similarly to AntClas2, motivations relating to travel appear to be relatively consistent across the geographical and chronological areas, with some minor variations. The only motivation possibly relating to travel found in the Lewis material is represented by *Sgeir Hurry*, which might have been used as a landing-place, but it may be more appropriately viewed as relating to a particular event (see 2.2.6 and below). Based on the material in *LNB* and *PNF*, a sub-category relating to discoveries can be added. There are direct accounts of discoveries giving rise to anthropo-toponyms to be found both in both sources, as seen in entries such as *Marr's Bank* (see 4.2.3) and *Gunnbjarnarsker* (4.4.3). It is not surprising that several of the entries in *LNB* deal with travel and sea-faring, considering the migratory dimension. This is particularly the case for the stories dealing with the early discoveries and journeys to Iceland, although it should be noted here that these stories are particularly surrounded by myth and uncertainty. Examples of this include the accounts of the discoveries by Garðarr and Faxi of *Garðarshólmr* (Iceland) and *Faxaóss* (*LNB*, 36-8). In addition to this, several motivations relating to various aspects of sea-faring can be found. These are represented by a common sub-category with entries such *Eiríksvágr*, describing ship-preparation, found in *LNB*. It should be noted here that instances of shipwrecks, although of course related to sea-faring, are discussed under 'AntClas4: Events', since it seemed more appropriate to stress these as an event, alongside other types of events like drownings and murders. Motivations relating to discoveries and sea-faring are particularly interesting from the perspective of the coining and transmission of names since there is generally an implication that the person(s) who gave their name to the site did not remain there permanently. This raises questions regarding who would coin and transmit such names. Unless they were located in the immediate vicinity of areas they settled, they would presumably be transmitted by the local community, potentially providing an interesting contrast to the patterns of transmission seen in land-claiming/settlement toponyms. Currently, the proposed 'AntClas3: Travel' is as follows:

> **AntClas3: Travel**
>
> a. Sea-faring association
> b. Landing-place
> c. Discoveries
> d. Other

5.2.5 AntClas4 'Events'

Motivations relating to events are by their very nature highly circumstantial and the appropriate categories may entirely depend on the data-set being investigated. This is where we see the greatest variety in terms of motivations across the data. However, it is interesting to note that although there are some variations, motivations relating to events are surprisingly consistent across geographical areas and certain motivations are prominent in all the areas investigated. Particularly murders and deaths are found throughout and may give some insight into the psychology behind the coining and transmission of anthropo-toponyms beyond the traditional narrative. This is further investigated in (5.6). In the Lewis material we find a number of events relating to births (*Creagan Iain Ruaidh*), drownings (*Geodha Bean Mhurchaidh, Geodha Mhic Sheòrais*), shipwrecks (*Sgeir Chaptein Grenn, ?Sgeir Hurry*), and injuries (*Creagan Thormoid Phàraig*) (see 2.2.6 **Births**, **Drownings**, **Shipwrecks or landing places**, **Injuries**). In the case of *Clach Fhionnlaidh Ghearr* for which we are told that 'this name is derived from a man leaping on this stone when chased by others for an act of murder' (OSNB OS1/27/114/20), it would be easy to assume that the motivation here is related to the murder, but the coining of the actual toponym is more accurately the pursuit of the person in question. Similarly, in the comparative material we see a variety of events giving rise to toponyms, some of which can be paralleled with the Lewis entries. This includes injuries (*Burnett's Leap*), burial (*Pandler's Know* and, more correctly, disposal of the body in the case of *Mortimer's Deep* and *Kneddry's Cairn*), and drowning (*Nannie's Knowe*) (see 4.2.3). However, we also find several other types of events, some of which are very difficult to assign a sub-category to. In Lewis the entry for *Cnoc Sheonaidh*, whose rape of a woman gave rise to a toponym (*GPNC*, 239), constitutes such an event. In *PNF* we find the instances of *Sir Walter Scott's Tree* and *Wallace's Bridge* (see 4.2.2 **Events**). As a result, a sub-category relating to 'other' events has been created.

LNB provides a rich source for events giving rise to the naming of places in keeping with the narrative context of this source. Although some caution must be taken not to assume their historicity, as with the stories provided in the OSNB for Lewis, direct accounts of how a place was given its name are extremely valuable in this study. Whether or not individual stories have their basis in reality, they are indicative of the thought process behind the naming of places and how the Norse thought about the landscape and namescape around them, making it valuable in providing context for the Norse Lewis material. In a source focusing on the process of settlement in a new, unfamiliar, and often

harsh environment, it is not surprising that there are a number of events relating to deaths. Because of this, several categories can be seen to reflect the motivations for the naming of these places. This might include burial sites, as in the case of *Ásmundarleið*: 'Ásmundr var heygðr í Ásmundarleiði ok lagðr í skip ok þræll hans hjá honum [Ásmundr was placed in Ásmundarleið (*leið* 'a tomb') and placed in a ship and his thrall beside him] (*LNB*, 102). However, the motivations are often of a more violent nature, and murders are relatively common, as in the case of *Hakaskarð* and *Bótarskarð*:

> Þá [t]ók hann silfrit upp á fjallit á tveimr yxnum ok Haki þræll hans ok Bót ambátt hans; þau fálu féit, svá at eigi finnsk. Síðan drap hann Haka í Hakaskarði, en Bót í Bótarskarði (*LNB*, 385).
> [Then he took the silver up onto the mountain with two oxen and Haki his thrall and Bót his bondwoman; they hid the treasure, so that it could not be found. Then he killed Haki in Hakaskarð, and Bót in Bótarskarð].

There are at least four examples of battles giving rise to an anthropo-toponym described in *LNB*, as in the case of *Þórishólar* (*LNB*, 58). Similarly violent are the instances of slaves (*þræll*) escaping and the chase after them giving rise to toponyms, seen in entries such as *Kóranes, Svartsker*, and *Skorrey* (*LNB*, 168). On the other hand, there are also two instances of births being used as a motivation for the coining of toponyms, as seen in *Þórdisarholt* and *Þórunnarey* (*LNB*, 219, 252). The obvious sea-faring association mentioned above also becomes relevant in toponyms where drownings have given rise to a coining. A particularly interesting example of this can be found in the account of *Geirhildarvatn*, for which we are told 'þar týndisk Geirhildr dóttir hans í Geirhildarvatni [there his [Flóki Vilgerðarson's] daughter Geirhildr died (drowned) in Geirhildarvatn]' (*LNB*, 36). What is especially interesting about these events is that they generally reflect similar patterns to what we find elsewhere. Particularly in Lewis, there are several entries that are described as having been motivated by births, deaths, shipwrecks, drownings, murders, chases and more. These close parallels might give some credence to the stories in *LNB* and show that we should not simply disregard them as invention altogether. Rather, it attests to how some of the toponyms might have been coined, and it is likely that some of these patterns can be found in other geographical areas of the medieval Norse settlers. This might also provide a clue for how particular generics and personal names have generated Norse toponyms in Lewis.

Returning to the question of who is doing the coining, we are faced with a rather different situation from that in the 'Ownership'-category. The concept of a particular event giving rise to a toponym implies commemoration rather than possession by its very nature. One of

the most obvious examples of this is when the person in question has died, as in instances of deaths, burials, and drownings. In these cases, it is obvious that there is a commemorative rather than a possessive aspect. However, the commemorative nature of these toponyms raises further questions relating to the chronology of coining and transmission. For example, are such names generally coined in chronological proximity to the event or does local knowledge enter the sphere of folklore before the toponyms are coined? Alternatively, has the prevalence of such narratives for toponyms created these stories in the folklore, in order to explain names for which the actual motivation remains unknown, and was unknown at the time. Such patterns show the importance of undertaking further detailed case-studies of toponyms motivated by events. 'AntClas4: Events' is currently given as follows:

AntClas4: Events

    a. Births
    b. Deaths and burials
    c. Drownings
    d. Murders and killings
    e. Battles
    f. Shipwrecks
    g. Accidents and injuries
    h. Pursuit
    i. Other

5.2.6 AntClas5 'Hagiotoponyms'

It has already been noted that the lack of extensive hagiotoponymic data in a Lewis context, particularly data of an early date, has made the inclusion of comparative material crucial here. Through the investigation into *PNF* hagiotoponyms in 4.3 it has become increasingly clear that these anthropo-toponyms have certain characteristics which make it necessary for them to be represented by their own category. However, it was also noted that the complex interplay between original motivations, transmission, and perceived motivations make it difficult to accurately represent in a classification all the nuances found in hagiotoponyms. This further highlights the fact that, often, no single motivation can accurately be established for these names. Additionally, although the paradigms proposed by Clancy (2010) presented in 4.3.1 outline some of the ways in which saints' cults can spread, this does not necessarily mean that it is possible to pinpoint the motivation for the coining of the hagiotoponyms associated with these cults. Therefore

there are currently no sub-categories proposed for the hagiotoponyms category. Doing so would present an inaccurate and overly simplified picture of the situation. Turning to the Lewis material, as already made evident, the motivations for coining are often extremely difficult to ascertain for hagiotoponyms. Nevertheless, some tentative suggestions can be made for the characteristics of several of the entries presented in 2.1.2. In entries that are of some antiquity, we might argue that the coining of the toponyms ultimately stems from some type of early missionary activity, with examples such as *Eilean Chaluim Chille* and *Tobha Rònaidh* where the evidence suggests an early religious presence. Arguably, most of the coinings, particularly in the case of parish churches dedicated to major saints, such as *Teampull Eoin*, *Cladh Mhicheil*, *Teampull Pheadair*, and *Teampull Thòmai*s, are likely to reflect organisational patterns in the early modern church. However, in line with the points raised here, I have not attempted to determine a specific motivation for the coining of these names. The study of hagiotoponyms in this thesis has highlighted the fact that, although they are a sub-branch of anthropo-toponymy, they are in many ways distinct, highlighting the validity of undertaking further studies focusing specifically on hagiotoponyms. 'AntClas5: Hagiotoponyms' is given as follows:

AntClas5 Hagiotoponyms

5.2.7 AntClas6 'Mythology and folklore'

This category remains one of the more tentative ones included in the classification. Partially, this is a reflection of a lack of extensive evidence for this type of motivation in the material studied here. Nevertheless, the basis for such a category is so prominent in other parts of Scotland, and elsewhere, that it would be unwise to ignore it here. However, it is necessary to distinguish between several different types of mythology and folklore and it is often extremely difficult to get to the root of the actual motivation for coining in these toponyms. Firstly, it is possible to identity several entries where the anthroponymic dimension is fictional. As discussed previously, in the case of *Carn a' Mharc* where it is likely that 'Barp or Bare [barrow] has been transformed into a son of the King of Lochlinn, who was killed on that spot while on a hunting expedition, and was buried there, hence called Carn Bharce Mhic Righ Lochlinn.' (Thomas 1890, 377) Here it is likely that the original name of the feature has played a crucial role in the incorporation of folklore into the toponym in question. Such entries can be closely associated with the arguments presented by Meek in his outline of the relationship between Gaelic ballads and toponyms.

As previously mentioned, he provides a similar example in the instance of *Carn Fraoich*, for which he states: 'Originally it may have meant nothing more than 'Cairn of Heather', since *fraoch* commonly means 'heather' in Gaelic and Irish. However, *fraoch* can also mean 'bristle', which has a secondary meaning of 'rage, anger', making it an appropriate name for a warrior.' (Meek 1998, 151) Similarly, several toponyms found in the Fife data have origin stories attached to them relating to a person or event which most likely took place significantly earlier than the coining of the name. This can be seen in entries such as *MacDuff's Cave*, for which Taylor (*PNF* 3, 278) states:

> Wood (1887, 10) accounts for the name thus: 'according to legend and tradition, Macduff (11th century) concealed himself in the cave at Kincraig which bears his name. A substantial wall built across the recess of the cave is pointed out as having been built to shelter Macduff, but it is of much later date.' This has clearly developed from the story, first told by Wyntoun (c.1420), of MacDuff sailing from Earlsferry in his flight to England to escape Macbeth, although Wyntoun's account makes no mention of a cave (*Chron. Wyntoun* vol. 4, 284–7). NMRS [National Monuments Record of Scotland] records nothing of archaeological significance here.

The earliest recorded form of this name is 1775 (*PNF* 3, 278). This shows several layers of folklore developing over a long time, but it seems clear that the motivation cannot be assigned to AntClas4 in the classification since it is highly unlikely that the toponym did in fact arise from the event the legend alludes to. For several of the Lewis OSNB entries this may also be the case, but it is worth keeping in mind that the time of coining and recording of such stories are often considerably closer together. Rather, the motivation relates to folklore and should be classified as such. Secondly, across Britain and Ireland there are numerous references to various known figures from traditional tales and folklore in toponyms. The process and motivations for coining these toponyms are poorly understood and further research is sorely needed. As previously discussed, some progress is being made in this area and one suggestion for motivations relate to coinings based on the topography and physical characteristics of the feature in question, as in the case of the previously discussed example of 'Finn McCool's Fingers' (see 1.2.1). In *PNF* there are also more problematic examples, such as *Norrie's Law* which:

> is the name of a prehistoric tumulus or cairn [...] Norrie would appear to be a personal name [...] While Norrie is a modern hypocoristic of the name Norman, it may also be associated with Norway, as Wood's alternative *Norroway's Law* suggests (1887, 3). If this latter is the case, then the name is probably an antiquarian coining of the eighteenth century, when it was common-place to associate burial mounds and other prehistoric features with

the Norse. There are various local folk-traditions about the origin of the name Norrie's Law. (*PNF* 2, 342)

These traditions include an encounter of a cowherd by the name of Tammie Norrie with a ghost guarding a treasure near the site and the cairn being the burial-place of a warrior (*PNF* 2, 342). Similarly to *Macduff's Cave*, the origin of the toponym is likely to belong in the folklore category, but it seems probable that the coining of the toponym is strongly related to the fact that it is attached to a prehistoric burial mound and this may be the primary motivation for such an invention. Finally, some entries from the Norse Lewis corpus as well as *LNB* material potentially belong in this category. These include potential references to the gods Þórr and Ullr in various toponyms and the intriguing possibility of the mythological creature Nykr being found in *Loch Niosabhat*. Whether or not it should be viewed as an anthropo-toponym, if the identification of the specific element is correct, we are very likely looking at a coining stemming from the characteristics of the site in question (see 3.1 *Loch **Niosabhat***). One of the unique events found in *LNB* is the tradition of the Norse settlers of throwing their seat pillars[150] into the ocean and of settling wherever they found them washed up on the shore. One such story, recounting Þórólfr's arrival in Iceland, is of particular interest. Not only does his finding the seat-pillars give rise to an anthropo-toponym, but a theonym, since he dedicated the area to the god Þór because of the image of the god being carved into the seat-pillars (*LNB*, 125) (also see 5.5.5). Although the historicity of such a story must be treated with considerable caution, it does give an indication of the importance surrounding the naming of the landscape and the potential ritualistic aspect previously mentioned.

Although quite separate from each other, there are several similarities between hagiotoponyms and mythological names that are worth noting. Particularly the concept of an abstract representation of an individual separates these names from other anthropo-toponyms. As with hagiotoponyms, it is often not simply an individual being commemorated in a toponym, but rather the toponym in question invokes certain attributes related to the saint or figure in question. These attributes can relate to the landscape, a likely case for many Finn-names, or they may attempt to invoke some other characteristic of the site in question. These findings all provide further evidence of the need to distinguish between different types of anthropo-toponyms and to further elucidate their

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[150] For a more detailed discussion on seat pillars (high-seat posts), cf. Sunqvist (2015b, 231-42), who states that they were 'important religious symbols and/or ritual objects. They constituted an architectural part of the ceremonial buildings. Most likely they were used as roof-carriers in the central area of such buildings.'

various characteristics. Essentially, we appear to be seeing two primary contexts in which mythological and folkloric toponyms can be coined. Firstly, they frequently appear to stem from some type of re-interpretation, whether name-related (as is likely in *Carn a' Mharc*) or site-related (as is likely in *Norrie's Law*). Although not an anthropo-toponym, a clearer example of such re-interpretations can be found in coinings such as *The Giant's Grave* in *Magheraghanrush*, Ireland, 'a very fine prehistoric megalithic tomb that crowns a limestone ridge in the townland' (FitzPatrick 2012, 107). Such a coining seems very likely to have been at least partially motivated by the topography of the site in question, despite its obvious re-interpretation as the grave of a giant. Alternatively, the topography of the area in question, or a particular event may give rise to an original mythological or folkloric name. Although further research is necessary in this area, I have tentatively proposed the following sub-categories for the classification of toponyms relating to mythology and folklore. It should be noted that there is potential for many of the examples from the previous category of events belonging to AntClas6.d (Event-related coining) proposed here.

AntClas6: Mythology and folklore

    a. Name-related re-interpretation
    b. Site-related mythological re-interpretation
    c. Site-related mythological coining
    d. Event-related coining
    e. Non-Christian religious coining

5.2.8 AntClas7 'Transferred association'

It is noteworthy that there are examples of anthropo-toponyms coined where the individual whose name is used has no direct association with the site in question. In *PNF* we find several entries containing a female name for which there is evidence that a relative coined the place-names as commemorative names. For example, we know that *Annsmuir* was 'named after a member of the Melville family' (Calley [1999], 21). A similar situation is likely in the case of *Emily Hill* for which Taylor (*PNF* 4, 253) states that 'It was common practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for land-owners to re-name features on their land after female members of their family, and this is very probably the case here.' It is also possible to find other likely examples in *PNKNR*, similar to already mentioned examples; under *Alice's Bower* it is stated that Alice 'may be Graham Montgomery's wife, Alice Hope Johnstone, or she may be his fourth daughter, Alice Anne' and in *Maryburgh*

'The eponymous Mary is Mary Adam née Robertson, wife of William Adam. Adam acquired the estate of Blair Crambeth # in 1731, renaming it Blairadam (q.v., above), and established the village of Maryburgh' (PNKNR, 117, 271). These examples strongly relate to the discussion above where the questions of who is doing the coining, and for what purpose, were raised. Essentially, the key factor here is that the coining of these names does not necessitate a direct association of the person with the feature in question, but rather it shows that a member of their family created the commemoration. Whether it is more likely that this reflects an actual presence or direct association with the site, or simply a dedication to the memory of that person remains open to interpretation. However, it is likely that there are instances of commemorations where the site lacks a direct connection and instead was coined as a memorial commemoration. Such transferred associations all appear to be of a commemorative nature and have been placed in its own category:

> **AntClas7: Transferred association**

5.2.9 AntClas8 'Other usage or association'

Some of the Lewis entries appear to reflect particularly circumstantial motivations that simply cannot be assigned to any of the other categories. This includes *Sgor Dhòmhnaill Duncan* where Dòmhnall Duncan used to relieve himself, and *Cnoc na Cùirt* where a woman 'used to do her courting' (*GPNC*, 234, 365-6) (See 2.2.6 **Other usage or association**). They cannot be assigned to AntClas4 since they represent habitual, re-occurring usage rather than a particular instance. Therefore an additional 'AntClas8: Other usage or association' has been created for these entries.

> **AntClas8: Other usage or association**

5.2.10 The proposed classification

Based on the evaluation presented here, the current classification can be given as follows:

1. **Residence or ownership**
   a. General
   b. Land-claiming and settlement
   c. Temporary residence
   d. Boundaries

2. **Agriculture and industry**
   a. Agricultural usage
   b. Hunting and fishing
   c. Creation and construction
   d. Occupational

3. **Travel**
   a. Sea-faring association
   b. Landing-place
   c. Discoveries
   d. Other

4. **Events**
   a. Births
   b. Deaths and burials
   c. Drownings
   d. Murders and killings
   e. Battles
   f. Shipwrecks
   g. Accidents and injuries
   h. Pursuit
   i. Other

5. **Hagiotoponyms**

6. **Mythology and folklore**
   a. Name-related re-interpretation
   b. Site-related re-interpretation
   c. Site-related mythological coining
   d. Event-related mythological coining
   e. Non-Christian religious coining

7. **Transferred association**

8. **Other usage or association**

5.2.11 The misleading nature of anthropo-toponymy

Several of the toponyms found in the Fife material pose their own problems relating to the theory of names. One such name is *Halley's Lake*, which may have been named after Halley's Comet (see 4.2.2 **Transferred association**). There are several additional factors which may have influenced the original coining. For example, the tidal nature of the lake as a coastal feature may evoke characteristics of coming and going, similar to that of a comet. Additionally, 'as it is a feature in shifting sandbanks, it may have first appeared around the time of Halley's Comet'.[151] This provides an extraordinarily interesting name from a theoretical perspective. Halley is of course a personal name and the toponym would therefore presumably be categorised as an anthropo-toponym. However, this is problematic. If the lake is in fact named after the comet, it is of course strictly speaking not an anthropo-toponym. Rather, it shows two stages of the name being transferred, firstly from the person to the comet and secondly from the comet to the lake. Hence, the actual motivation for naming the lake relates to an object, not a person and should in this case be classified as an astro-toponym. This example also extends further to other instances where the nature of naming can be put into question. For example, in both Lewis and the comparative areas there are several examples of shipwrecks giving rise to toponyms, as in the case of *St David's* (*PNF* 1, 275-6), possibly *Norman Rock* (*PNF* 3, 78), and *Mars Rocks* (*PNF* 5, 677) (see 4.2.3). Nevertheless, this does not necessarily have an impact on the classification and if *Halley's Lake* is indeed named after the comet, this should be viewed as a transferred association. The initial transfer of the personal name to the comet does not automatically have an impact on the name itself. Similarly, the instances of shipwrecks relate to an event and can be placed in AntClas4.f.

5.3 Case study - hydronyms

The incorporation of anthroponyms into hydronyms presents an area worthy of further investigation due to the characteristics of these toponyms. In some of the areas investigated in this study, a considerable number of the data entries consist of toponyms with a generic element representing a watercourse. In the Gaelic Lewis corpus, 16.9% of the generic elements are hydronymic and in *LNB*, the number is even higher at 26%. However, it should be noted that regional patterns can differ significantly, and in the *PNF* 4 anthropo-

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[151] Simon Taylor pers.comm.

toponyms, less than 4% of the generics are hydronymic. However, the motivation for the coining of these names is rarely explicitly stated. Thus, it is appropriate to study these names in their wider context in order to shed further light on them. Two primary factors will be considered here: firstly, events, particularly those associated with drownings; secondly, the use of hydronymic anthropo-toponyms as boundary-markers.

The concept of drownings giving rise to toponyms provides a particularly interesting topic. In the material presented here there are six instances of drownings being directly described as the motivation for naming (Table 5.1). For our purposes, this might seem like a disappointingly small number overall, but the key lies in the universality of descriptions of people drowning being commemorated in toponyms.

Table 5.1 Drownings in anthropo-toponyms
Lewis
Geodha bean Mhurchaidh
Geodha Mhic Sheòrais
PNF
Nannie's Knowe
LNB
Geirhildarvatn
Einarssker
Họskuldsvatn

In addition to the material presented here, scholars in other geographical areas have expressed an interest in the pattern of drownings in toponyms. To give an example of this, Björn Collinder (1964, 14) writing about the Sámi toponyms in Sweden states that:

> När ett personnamn är förled i ett naturnamn, utgöres anledningen
> vanligen av ett dödsfall, oftast genom drunkning eller förfrysning.
> [When a personal name is the first (specific) element in a topographical
> name, the cause is usually a death, most often through drowning or
> freezing to death.]

Anecdotal observations of a similar nature can be found throughout northern Europe. However, there are serious problems in that no systematic studies investigating drownings in toponyms have been undertaken in any of these areas. Therefore a serious gap in the scholarship can be identified and it is likely that a comprehensive study encompassing various geographical regions would prove fruitful. In fact, perhaps one of the most

intriguing entries in the *LNB* material investigated here relates the story of a toponym coined to commemorate a drowned woman. We are told that:

> Hann [Flóki Vilgerðarson] fór fyrst til Hjaltlands ok lá þar í Flókavági;
> þar týndisk Geirhildr dóttir hans í Geirhildarvatni (*LNB*, 36).
> [First he [Flóki Vilgerðarson] travelled to Shetland, and landed there in
> Flókavágr. There Geirhildr, his daughter drowned in Geirhildarvatn].

What makes this entry particularly intriguing is that the loch in question can be identified as modern day *Loch of Girlsta* (*LNB*, 36). Here, the specific element of the original toponym was used to create the settlement-name *Girlsta*, which subsequently was incorporated into the new name for the loch. The story of Geirhildr appears to have become firmly embedded in local folklore and there are various accounts (sometimes of questionable credibility) describing the event. It should be noted here that this phenomenon is not necessarily confined to anthropo-toponyms, and there are similar instances of drownings being used as a motivation in other toponyms, as in the case of *Carraig Aonmhná* 'the rock of the one woman' in west Sligo, Ireland, for which the Ordnance Survey Parish Name Book of Kilglass, Sligo (1836) records:

> Concerning the origin of this name, the following story is told. It is said
> that a woman was gathering shellfish at this point & before she was
> aware, the tide came upon her & she was drowned. It seems to signify the
> rock of the woman.[152]

Drownings also enter the sphere of mythical accounts, a notable example in an Irish context being the traditions surrounding the name of *Loch Feabhail* in Derry, Ireland. This material provides some of the earliest textual evidence relating to 'Immram Brain', for which oral material may date back to the late seventh or early eighth century (Carney 1976, 174-5). The story recounts how Bran, son of Febal, king of Mag Feabail, travels to the Otherworld and loses a contest (*immarec*) and, as a result:

> Through this disaster, and doubtless as a result of the vengeance of the
> Otherworld women, we are to assume the bursting of the well so that the
> kingdom of Febal became Loch Febail, and a once 'flowery plain'
> became 'a stony sea'. (Carney 2005, 506)

Additionally, it is worth noting that the *Ordnance Survey of the County of Londonderry* (1837) records:

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[152] I am grateful to Conchubhar Ó Crualaoich for supplying this information and bringing my attention to the Irish entries discussed here.

> The origin of this name is explained in the 'Ɗınnɼeanċuɼ' – a manuscript anterior to the 12th century – by a legend of the Tuatha-de-Dananns, who are stated to have been a Greek colony, importing that at the time when the lake was formed Feval, the son of Lodan, was drowned, and that its waves cast his body on the shore, and rolled a stone over it, which formed his sepulchral monument.

Whatever the original meaning and motivation for the coining of *Loch Feabhail*, the presence of drowning accounts and the association between anthropo-toponyms and hydronyms in the sphere of mythology provides further evidence of the universality of such stories entering the toponymicon. Closer to the areas investigated here, we find a similar situation in the *River Leven* for which the poem from c.1200 tells us that:

> One day when Leven, mother
> of slender-fingered Maine
> was with fifty white-soled girls
> swimming in the river's mouth,
>
> she is drowned within the harbour,
> Leven, Fearadhach's daughter:
> Thence you are christened Leven,
> A memory not bad to tell.[153] (Clancy 1998, 259)

One explanation for the universality of toponyms motivated by drownings may be that, where traditions and stories accompanied them, they served a real function to warn people of the dangers of the site in question. This seems particularly likely for the Lewis entries where the steep, rocky shores must have formed a real and persistent danger. Mythological names could also fulfill such a function, and there is nothing to suggest that the event necessarily has to be genuine to efficiently warn people of the dangers of a site. However, the large number of hydronymic anthropo-toponyms present makes it preposterous to suggest that they were all motivated by drownings. Perhaps the most plausible explanation for a large percentage of these toponyms, particularly those referring to watercourses, is as boundary-markers. Especially the *LNB* material lends support to this theory and there is reason to believe that around sixteen of the entries are described as boundary-markers. Good examples of this are provided by instances such as *Flókadalsá* where the phrasing itself indicates a liminal character of the site in question:

> Flóki son Vilgerðar Hǫrða-Káradóttur fór til Íslands ok nam Flókadal milli Flókadalsár ok Reykjarhóls (*LNB*, 242).

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[153] Translated from Old Gaelic.

[Flóki, son of Vilgerð daughter of Hǫrða-Kári travelled to Iceland and took possession of Flókadalr between Flókadalsá ['Flóki's valley's stream'] and Reykjarhóll].

Additionally, in *PNF*, a particularly interesting example is that of **Gruoch's Well*, which probably reflects a boundary marker (see 5.2.2). Turning to Lewis, there is a lack of direct evidence for anthropo-toponymic hydronyms as boundary markers, but this does of course not mean that they were never coined. One might imagine a situation where, similarly to the numerous *àirigh*-names, there is a lack of direct contextual evidence recorded simply because there was no need to record it. Such names, and their context of coining, if known, would be firmly embedded in the local knowledge and it is unlikely that they would be considered noteworthy enough to record in the OSNB. Although the OSNB often provide information about the site in question, actual motivations and contextual evidence regarding the coining of names are usually only recorded if the circumstances appear to be noteworthy or out of the ordinary. The overall evidence presented here at the very least shows that one of the motivations for incorporating a personal name into a hydronym is as a boundary-marker. However, in order to further investigate how extensive this pattern is, particularly in an area such as Lewis where direct evidence for it is lacking, it may be necessary to take a different approach. A line of investigation which may prove fruitful would be to further explore the geophysical properties of the watercourses in question in order to determine how likely they are to represent boundaries. This is entering the sphere of research closely associated with that undertaken by King (2008) in his work on hydronyms and is beyond the scope of this investigation. However, this brief study has made it clear that there is ample scope for further studies in the area of anthropo-toponyms and hydronyms. Drownings, whether real or invented, capture people's imagination and may even have had a practical function in providing a warning of the dangers of the location in question.

5.4 The characteristics of anthropo-toponyms

5.4.1 Aims

The aim of this section is to evaluate various characteristics of anthropo-toponyms as presented throughout this study in order to investigate whether it is possible to establish a profile of the characteristics of anthropo-toponyms. This profile will be created on the basis of transmission-patterns and a combination of the extensive and intensive analyses presented throughout this study. By creating such a profile, it will be possible to answer

some of the key questions asked here regarding the nature of anthropo-toponyms, and particularly to decide to what extent Lewis anthropo-toponyms reflect a distinctive naming-tradition. It should be noted that, as with the general approach taken throughout this work, Norse and Gaelic material from Lewis will be treated separately and the Norse data will primarily be evaluated alongside *LNB* material. The reason for this is that the Gaelic and Norse bodies of names are sufficiently distinct from each other, linguistically, chronologically, and culturally to warrant them being treated as two distinct data-sets.

5.4.2 Naming and transmission

5.4.2.1 Background

The first step towards establishing a profile of anthropo-toponyms in any given area must be to evaluate the characteristics of transmission in that area. A comparison between the transmission and chronology of toponymics in Lewis and Fife is necessary in order to provide a comparison of the two areas. For example, it has previously been noted that there appear to be considerably stronger patterns of ownership as a motivation for the coining of anthropo-toponyms in a Fife context. However, in order to evaluate the validity of this, it is necessary to consider to the time-period in which they were coined, who coined them, and who recorded and transmitted them as well as to what extent this has an impact on the overall picture presented.

5.4.2.2 Chronology

Perhaps the most crucial aspect of comparing the transmission of toponyms is their chronology. The Norse anthropo-toponyms, although often first recorded in written form in the nineteenth century, were coined considerably earlier. Although an exact chronology of Norse settlement of Lewis is difficult to establish, it is likely that the majority of toponyms were coined before the thirteenth century. The Gaelic anthropo-toponyms of Lewis on the other hand, as presented here, have a clearly definable transmission process where the vast majority of names were written down in the mid-nineteenth century through the OSNB. Until then, the toponyms would largely have been transmitted orally, spanning a longer time-period, visible in the material here roughly from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, where specific dates can only occasionally be established. However, based on entries where some chronology is visible, the majority of Gaelic toponyms recorded in the OSNB are likely to belong to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the earlier material is often transmitted because of some unique circumstance surrounding its coining. Some

examples of this are *Creag Sgàire*, supposedly coined in the mid-seventeenth century, and anthropo-toponyms associated with Dòmhnall Cam, also assigned to the seventeenth century. However, here it is difficult to ascertain whether these are reflective of the general chronology of toponyms or whether they have survived due to the extraordinary circumstances of their coining. As further discussed below (5.4.3), the bulk of Gaelic anthropo-toponyms in Lewis are *àirigh*-names, and the observations provided by the OSNB-surveyors might give a clue regarding the chronology and transmission of these names. By far the most common description of the *àirigh*-sites is of being in a ruinous state, with at least twenty-two instances. For example, in the case of *Airigh Aulaidh*, the OSNB record that it is 'a shealing in ruins, on the bank of Gil Airidh Aulaidh It was built of peat sods and stones' (OSNB OS1/27/114/19). Some appear to have completely vanished, as in *Àirigh Mhurchaidh*: 'There has been a shealing on it at a remote period of which there is now no trace' (OSNB OS1/27/78/50). Some, such as *Airighean Bò Nighean Mhuirich* were still in use at the time of the OSNB: 'Three shealings with a sm[all] enclosure, which are occupied by the people of Bhunna in the summer season for about six weeks' (OSNB OS1/27/98/34). This not only shows that active usage of the site is not necessary for the transmission of the name, but also indicates that some might be of relatively great age, possibly having been coined hundreds of years earlier. Finally, it should be noted that some of the entries which are derived from MacIver (1934) and Cox (2002) are of a later date than the OSNB, having likely been coined in the twentieth century (see 2.2.6). As previously discussed, the Fife material provides a considerably earlier stratum of toponyms, as demonstrated by the earliest entry included here, *Balkaithly*, being recorded in 1202 x 1207, and the average date for *PNF* 4 being ca. 1600. However, in the *PNF* material as a whole we are not only seeing forms of a considerably earlier date than Lewis, but the chronology is also more varied, ranging from the eleventh century up until modern times.

5.4.2.3 Sources and modes of transmission

Several aspects of the transmission process are relevant here. Firstly, it is worth noting that it could be argued that overall, Fife has a more visible transmission due to the greater presence of written records, resulting in a greater body of contextual evidence. Out of 131 names, 58 of the Fife entries have been assigned a motivation for coining (see 4.2.2). In the Lewis material on the other hand, the number is significantly smaller with 46 out of 406 entries being assigned a motivation, all of which are Gaelic entries since I have not been able to establish any certain motivations for the Norse entries (see 2.1). Therefore although

when considering motivations, the number of entries is comparable in both areas, the total number of anthropo-toponyms is significantly higher for Lewis. As already mentioned, up until the recording in the OSNB, the transmission of Lewis anthropo-toponyms was largely oral. It is therefore likely that much of the richness of local traditions associated with toponyms has been lost. Additionally, the concept of orality and literacy is closely related to the question of who is doing the coining and transmission. In Lewis, it is necessary to consider at least two stages of transmission. Originally, the toponyms would have been coined locally and internally (see below), but these were subsequently recorded by the OSNB surveyors, providing a largely external dimension to the transmission. In Fife, the recording of toponyms, particularly in the charters, provides a more complex interplay between the people who coined, used, and recorded the names. Finally, it is necessary to consider what is being transmitted. A majority of the Gaelic data presented here consists of relatively minor toponyms. This includes *àirigh*-names such as *Airigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh* (G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Fhionnlaidh* < G *mac* 'son' + pn *Fionnlagh*) and topographical names such as *Cnoc Aonghais* (G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Aonghas*). In Fife on the other hand, particularly in early time-periods, we frequently find larger features, or areas, represented in the toponymy. Examples of this include **Leightonslands* (pn *Leighton* + Sc *land*) and *Prestonhall* (pn *Preston* + Sc *hall*) (see 4.2). It is, however, very likely that a large portion of minor topographical names have been lost due to them never having been recorded in written form. Such minor, local coinings may be more similar to those we find in the Lewis material. However, it is also worth noting that *PNF* did not use OS1 as the base map for collecting data, which may also have an impact on the number of minor toponyms included. To summarise, a crucial aspect of establishing a profile of anthropo-toponyms in any given area involves considering the transmission patterns. It is obvious that these patterns are significantly different in Lewis and Fife. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that we should not underestimate the transmission-process as evidence for the nature of coining itself. It reveals vital information about the purpose and function of these toponyms, closely related to the motivation for naming. For example, in Fife, in contrast to Lewis, the written recording of toponyms, particularly medieval ones, contributes significantly to the transmission and survival of these names. We can therefore conclude that transmission has a significant impact on how we view the name-material, but that it does not invalidate a comparison between various areas. It is on this basis I shall attempt to study the regional patterns of coining anthropo-toponyms and attempt to establish a general profile in both areas.

5.4.3 Lewis and Fife – how different are they?

5.4.3.1 Background

A comparison between the characteristics of anthropo-toponyms in Fife and Lewis is closely tied to the previously discussed problem of anthropo-toponyms often being viewed as a relatively homogenous group in terms of the motivation for naming. By studying Lewis material and with the creation of a classification designed specifically for the analysis of anthropo-toponyms, it has been possible to demonstrate that in a Lewis context, the available evidence points to a rather different situation. It is evident that in instances where a direct motivation (EvClas1) is present, it does not often relate to residence or ownership, as has often been assumed. In fact, as visible in 2.2.6, even when hagiotoponyms are excluded, most visible motivations can be placed in other categories than AntClas1 (Residence or ownership). This finding needs to be evaluated in the context of one of the key questions that has been raised in this work: how distinct are Lewis anthropo-toponyms? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to continue taking a comparative approach and evaluate the characteristics of the Lewis material in relation to other areas of Scotland (and elsewhere where relevant). Three factors provide particularly noteworthy points of comparison: the syntax of the toponyms, the personal names present, and the generic elements.

5.4.3.2 Comparing the name-material

Syntax of names

The structures of expressions denoting an individual in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis and Fife are considerably different. However, whether this is indicative of varieties in the general naming-practices of the population in respective areas or the nature of the transmission, collection, and surveying of the areas remains to be seen. As discussed in 2.2, there are various structures found in Gaelic Lewis toponyms which can be used to denote an individual. This mainly consists of the use of patronymics and epithets as in *Airigh Mhurchaidh Mhic Thormoid* (G *àirigh* 'a shieling'+ pn *Murchadh Mhic Thormoid <* pn *Murchadh* + pn *Mhic Thormoid <* G *mac* 'son' + pn *Tormod*') and *Tom Fhionnlaidh Ruaidh* (G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Fionnlagh Ruaidh <* pn *Fionnlagh* + G *ruadh* 'red, rust-coloured'). However, as noted previously, the vast majority of anthropo-toponyms are formed by using a specific element which consists of a single given name, from a relatively small name-stock, as in the case of *Sgeir Fhionnlaidh* ('G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Fionnlagh*). Looking at the Norse entries, as noted in 3.2

the syntax is almost entirely uniform consisting of specific + generic as in *Karlavágr* (specific pn *Karli* + generic ON *vágr*, m., 'a creek, bay'). In Fife, the presence of several linguistic layers, including Gaelic, Scots, Scottish Standard English, Norse, and ?Pictish naturally presents greater variety in the syntax of the names. However, most names have been coined in Sc or SSE, forming 84.7% of the total number of structures (111 out of 131). In Sc/SSE, the standard specific personal name + generic pattern forms 70.7% of the entries, as in the case of *Annsmuir* and **Buistslands*. Additionally, there are twenty-one tenurial affix-names in *PNF* 4 such as **Lumbennie Barclay* and **Sandford Balfour* (*PNF* 4, 432, 635).

Personal names

When looking at the name-stock found in the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis and Fife, there are also considerable differences. The 406 Gaelic entries given for Lewis represent variations of 67 given names (including surnames). When considering certain and probable entries for the Norse Lewis entries, 11 potential names are given for 68 names. In Fife, the 131 entries are represented by 110 names (including surnames). Additionally, the frequency of the three most common given names found in Gaelic Lewis toponyms is completely unparalleled in the *PNF* data, comprising 22.3% of the total name-stock. This probably partly explains why the Lewis material shows more variety in syntax and uses different structures to represent a smaller number of given names. The Fife material on the other hand is characterised by the use of surnames and a more consistent syntax. An explanation for the differences in the two areas can be proposed by considering two main factors. Firstly, the most obvious explanation is that this is a reflection of the general naming-patterns in the two areas. Secondly, the names in Lewis anthropo-toponyms function on a much more local level and the same distinction on a larger geographical scale may not be necessary. This second explanation may find support in further considerations of the pattern in Lewis anthropo-toponyms where single given names, often the same ones, are included as the specific element without any further distinction. This pattern will be further discussed below, in 5.4.3.4.

Generics

The generic elements used in anthropo-toponyms in Lewis and Fife are also in stark contrast to each other. There is a significant difference in the type of generic element we find in both areas. In Lewis, as discussed in 2.2.5, the proportion of Gaelic anthropo-toponyms coined with G *àirigh* as the generic is overwhelming, with sixty-four entries

(15.5%). Additionally, 63.9% of the generics are of a topographical nature. Similarly, 69.4% of the generics found in Norse formations are of a topographical nature. In *PNF* 4, the most common type of generic used is formed by using an existing name, generally in the form of tenurial affix-names, as in the case of *Lindiffren-Barclay* (see 4.2.1) and there are twenty-one occurrences of these names. The second most common generic element is Sc *land* with seventeen instances. Although topographical generics such as G *cnoc* and Sc *burn* are found, these are of a considerably lower proportion than the Lewis generics. Some generics with agricultural connotations such as SSE *plantation* or Sc *field* may be found, but these are rare (see 4.2.1). It is possible that differences in the generic elements attached to personal names are partially a reflection of agriculture, settlement patterns and topography in respective areas. However, it seems likely that they are also indicative of the function of the toponyms in the two areas and that, as we investigate the material further, these differences in function will become even more evident.

5.4.3.3 Lewis àirigh-names

As noted above, one of the most prominent patterns in the Lewis material is the high frequency of anthropo-toponyms coined with the generic G *àirigh* 'a shieling', warranting some further consideration of these names. These names are closely associated with the agricultural practices of the early modern period onwards, characterised by transhumance and the use of shieling-huts. The vast majority of (if not all) *àirigh*-names can be identified as such. The practice itself 'had two interrelated purposes, to make use of upland pastures to produce cheese and butter from the cows and sheep by the inhabitants of the permanent settlements and the removal of grazing animals from the infield in the growing season' (ScARF 2012, 92-3). Based on this, although it is possible to outline a general context and likely motivation where we are dealing with agricultural usage by the local population, the exact process of coining and transmission is not fully understood, making these names problematic. Often, these toponyms lack extensive contextual evidence, as evidenced by the fact that in the corpus in 2.1, only three *àirigh*-names appear. Cox (2002, 88) has previously stated that: 'Few of the place-names involved have traditions attached to them, and it seems likely that many people would have had their names recorded in this way simply because they spent time at a particular location while watching their stock.' Such a statement can be closely tied to many of the *àirigh*-names, and it is likely that these are primarily the type of names Cox is referring to. However, this statement is problematic in that it appears to assume a process of coining whereby the toponym simply appears in local usage. There is always a motivation for coining, and if his assessment of the names as

being primarily motivated by an individual habitually watching their stock there is accurate, we can assign them to AntClas2.a (Agriculture and industry – agricultural usage). In some rare instances we do have traditions associated with the coining of *àirigh*-names, as in the case of *Airigh Dhomhnuill Chaim*, where 'he used this area as summer pasture for the cattle' (CECL, 29318). Such instances lend support to the motivation being related to agricultural usage. Although many toponyms may have been coined for agricultural purposes, the significance of such coinings should not be underestimated. Firstly, the practical function they would have in the local community should be pointed out. Closely tied to the agricultural practices associated with the use of shielings, these names would have formed an essential part of landscape orientation and day-to-day life for their users. They were not simply created to humour the coiners, but would have had an active and practical role in the agricultural practices of the local community. However, I believe that there are also strong grounds to argue for a more multi-dimensional coining process and we should not underestimate the event-naming dimension here. Although I do not have any direct evidence for an event giving rise to an *àirigh*-name, a relevant example here can be provided in the case of *Creagan Iain Ruaidh*, for which it is said that 'his mother was returning from the shieling and gave birth to Iain Ruadh here' (*GPNC*, 255). Although this event did not result in the coining of an *àirigh*-name, it is possible to imagine such circumstances giving rise to other toponyms.

5.4.3.4 The expression of ownership and family ties

One of the differences between Lewis and Fife is that, as noted in 5.4.3.2, the high frequency of surnames in the Fife material might give the impression of a stronger emphasis on expressing the wider interests of a particular family, especially if it is a prominent one. This can partially be tied to the greater frequency of ownership-claims in the Fife material. On the other hand, the Gaelic Lewis material presents a different picture with its frequency of single given names in the anthropo-toponyms. Does this indicate a greater emphasis on individuals in Lewis anthropo-toponyms? I would argue that the answer is no, but that the overall contexts for expressing the interests of wider family-groups are significantly different in the two areas. To elaborate this, it is necessary to return to the questions asked in an intensive toponymy-approach, as discussed in 1.3.2 The key questions are: who is coining the names and for whom are they coined? The answer to these questions is very different in Lewis and Fife. As a whole, the Lewis material is largely internal, and the toponyms are coined by and for the local community. For example, in the case of *Bothan Neil*, 'the retreat of an outlaw, of the name of McLeod'

(OSNB OS1/27/26/87) we should assume that it was at the very least coined by people living in relative proximity to the site, and who personally knew who the Niall in question was. The Fife material is more varied, but we can find a considerably more external dimension here. Especially in coinings associated with prominent families such as *Prestonhall* which was acquired by Sir John Preston and subsequently a mansion hall was erected (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**) (*PNF* 4, 309). In such instances, it appears to be the land-owners who coin the names. This shows that it is not always sufficient to ask what the motivation for coining was, but that it is also necessary to ask by whom and for whom the toponyms are coined. I would argue that we are not necessarily seeing a stronger expression of family-ties in the Fife material, but that the context for coining Lewis anthropo-toponyms is overall considerably more internal and localised. Therefore any expressions of ownership do not need to be as explicitly stated in the toponyms, since they would be understood by the local community. They are coined for and by that community and further distinction may not be necessary. In a toponym such as *Cnoc Thormoid Lagaich*,[154] the individual associated with the site appears to have been Norman Macdonald, for which it is said that:

> Norman was illegitimate. His mother was Catherine Macleod, said to be from Breanish, Uig and his father was Neil Macdonald 'Niall Bhearnaraidh Bheag'. As was the custom then, the mother was asked what she would like as a gift for the child (there was no question of marriage). She replied that all she wanted was the permission for her son to carry the father's name. This was granted and he became Norman Macdonald. He settled in Gisla and lived there until his death in the 1840s. He was affectionately known as Tormod Laghach because of his loving, pleasant nature. (CEBL, 12732)

Of course, for our purposes the existence of such contextual evidence in written form is crucial, but the local community would have been aware of the individual and his family ties without this being explicitly stated in the toponym. The frequency of single given names may also indicate the close-knit nature of the communities that coined the toponyms where the radius of such names was relatively limited and functioned on a very local level.

5.4.3.5 Establishing a profile of anthropo-toponyms

Each area and time-period has specific naming-environments. By using a name-semantic model and intensive toponymy, certain patterns emerge in various areas and characterise

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[154] Although the OS form gives *lagach*, OS1 records it as *laghach* which is the standard Gaelic spelling (G *laghach* 'nice, kind').

the names there. Although the 'who-questioning' introduced by Tent (2015) can form part of a general, extensive analysis, there is also reason to argue that it should to some extent be included as part of more detailed analysis. Support for this can in fact be seen in Tent & Blair's (2009, 4) approach to anthropo-toponyms in their early classification. There they categorise anthroponymic specific elements as being coined commemoratively or possessively, providing at least a partial answer to the 'who-question'. Examples of possessive coinings can be demonstrated by the toponyms in *PNF* recorded in early charters, perhaps most clearly seen in the tenurial affix-names. In these names, they represent a naming-process where possessive naming is an integral aspect of the creation of said name and is closely associated with the claiming of land or property. Firstly, these names show very clear examples of a naming process which is imposed rather than having organically evolved. The coining of these names is part of the land division process itself, as evidenced by the charter-material. Toponyms like **Sandford* can found with forms in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as *Sandfurd Hay, Sandfurd Narne, Sanfort Balfour,* and *Sanfort Goldman*, all containing surnames functioning as tenurial affixes (*PNF* 4, 432). Here, it could be argued that the name itself reflects part of the process of making distinctions of ownership, whether coined by the owners or others. In some instances, the development is shown to be more gradual, as in the case of *Denmuir Paterson*. A John Paterson is given as a landholder of part of *Denmuir* as early as 1516, but it is not until 1590 that the form *Denmuir Paterson* appears (*PNF* 4, 347). Similarly, **Barclay's Cairnie* is given in 1452 x 1480, but as early as 1342 x 1352 'David de Barclay (Dauid de Berclay) is described as Lord of Cairnie (domin<us> de *Carny*)' (*PNF* 4, 615). It is difficult to know what the exact process of naming was since the charters do not necessarily provide the complete story. However, it is worth keeping in mind that we are possibly seeing at least two slightly different processes of naming here – one where the act of land transfer creates the toponym itself and another one where the process is more gradual.

On the other hand, there are coinings of a more commemorative nature, some of which have already been discussed. The clearest examples here can be found in the incorporation of the name of a female relative by land-owners in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as seen in *Alice's Bower* and *Maryburgh* in Kinross-shire (*PNKNR,* 324, 167). To some extent this line of questioning also extends to the matter of for whom the names are coined and who the users of the names are. Various potential users of any given toponym can be proposed, including the coiners themselves, their peers (especially in names coined by

land-owning families in *PNF*), the local population, or a combination of these. As an example, we can consider a toponym such as the already discussed *Prestonhall* (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**). There are several potential layers of users to consider here. It is very likely that there is a usage on the level of the land-holders in question and their peers considering the erection and (presumably) naming of the mansion house. The usage among the local population is more difficult to ascertain, but one might suspect that, considering the physical presence of a mansion house bearing the name and the survival of the toponym, it would have entered local usage relatively smoothly. On the other hand, returning to our Lewis data, a toponym such as *Stac Dhòmhnuill Chaim*, the residence of the legendary outlaw Dòmhnall Cam, reflects quite a different process. Here, the name is found on a considerably more local level and the coining and transmission are largely dependent on the local usage and oral transmission. Additionally, he presumably did not name the site himself. Considering such patterns, it is possible to give a general, over-arching summary of the characteristics of anthropo-toponyms in any given area which is largely based on that used by Tent (2015, 68). The creation of such a profile makes it possible to provide a more clearly defined comparison between the two areas than is outlined above. Due to the often uncertain nature of the Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms, I have focused on the Gaelic material here.

Gaelic anthropo-toponyms in Lewis

> **Where?** Isle of Lewis
>
> **Who?** The anthropo-toponyms were largely coined by and for the local community and are of an internal nature.
>
> **When?** The sixteenth[155] to twentieth centuries, with the bulk of material included here most likely having been coined in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.
>
> **Why?** As evidenced in 2.2.6, there are various motivations visible in the data, including residence, agriculture, hunting, construction, births, murders, drownings, shipwrecks, injuries, transferred associations, hagiotoponyms, and mythology and folklore. A majority of the entries where direct contextual evidence (EvClas1&2) is present consists of residence and agricultural motivations, but the portion of other motivations is not insignificant.

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[155] Although some of the names may have been coined earlier, the traditions which provide some chronology begin appearing in the sixteenth century.

What? The anthropo-toponyms here are largely associated with agricultural or topographical generic elements such as G *àirigh* 'a shieling'or G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll'.

Fife presents a different situation, but the visibility of a long transmission-process of that material makes it necessary to distinguish between different time-periods. These time-periods are further defined and discussed below (5.4.3.6). However, for comparative purposes we shall attempt to establish a profile of medieval-early modern Fife anthropo-toponyms:

Medieval-early modern anthropo-toponyms in Fife

Where? Fife

Who? Many of these toponyms may have been coined initially on a land-owning level, sometimes indicating an external coining. It is difficult to know the exact nature of their coining and usage, but it seems likely that some of these names would never have been adopted by the local community.

When? The twelfth to nineteenth centuries.

Why? The overwhelming majority of these toponyms appear to have been motivated by ownership-purposes, with various nuances. Where contextual evidence is present, some type of ownership or transaction is almost always recorded, as in **Lumbennie Barclay* which 'refers to the lands of Lumbennie acquired by David Barclay of Collairnie (Dunbog) in 1510' (*PNF* 4, 637).

What? As discussed above, a considerable portion of these toponyms contain Sc *land* and tenurial affixes; generics which can be closely associated with ownership and land-holding. Examples include **Moncur's Lands* (pn *Moncur* + Sc *land*) and *Dunbog-Beaton* (en *Dunbog* + pn Beaton) (*PNF* 4, 529-30, 350-1). The personal names in question very frequently consist of surnames, providing further evidence of the importance of expressing family ties in these names.

Again, we are likely seeing the patterns of transmission having a strong influence on our understanding of these names. As noted above, it is likely that there is a large loss of minor toponyms in the early Fife material. These toponyms would have been transmitted on a

considerably more local, internal level than the names recorded in the charters, and may have aligned more closely with the Lewis coinings in terms of function and motivation. These names are largely absent from the early Fife material, with some possible exceptions. The toponym *Young's Boat* (see 4.2.2 **Occupational usage**) may provide an unusual example of such minor coinings.

5.4.3.6 Creating a chronological profile of Fife anthropo-toponyms

As established above, in a Fife context, the abundance of source-material makes it possible to provide a more detailed overview of anthropo-toponyms there. Here, it is necessary to distinguish between different time-periods when attempting to create a profile of anthropo-toponyms and a tentative chronological profile may be attempted. In this profile, the material can be divided into three main time-periods. In comparison, the Lewis material can be broadly divided into the Norse and Gaelic periods of naming. The earliest stratum of coinings where contextual evidence can be found in Fife is sometimes of considerable antiquity, and although they may be older, their earliest recorded forms belong to the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Although this is roughly contemporary with the beginning of the second stratum, their nature and transmission make them standout, and their context often appears to have a legendary nature attached to them. Frequently, they have royal or religious connotations, which may partly account for their importance. Examples from *PNF* include:

> *Donibristle* (*Donibressil* 1162x1169) According to Bridget's genealogy, she belonged to the kin of Uí Bresail. In early medieval Ireland we know that members of a saint's kin were closely involved with the promotion of his or her cult over a wide geographical area, so this juxtaposition of a St Bridget dedication and a place-name containing her kin-name may not be coincidental (see Ó Riain 1983, 25; *CGSH* §670.11). (*PNF* 1, 265-6)

> *Naughton* (*Hadhnachten* 1140x1152) As to who Nechtan (Pictish Naitan or Naiton) might be, the fragmentary evidence points to the Pictish king Naiton (G Nechtan) son of Erp or Irb, reputed founder and major benefactor of the church of Abernethy c.600 AD (see Anderson [*Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (revised edn, Edinburgh; 1st edn 1973)] 1980, 247 etc.). […] As Naughton is the first territory along the Tay east of Abernethy which did not belong to Abernethy's ancient ecclesiastical lordship, it is possible that this land could have retained the name of the king to indicate the land along the Tay which remained in royal hands after the endowment of Abernethy. (*PNF* 4, 184)

To these can also be added *Inchcolm* and **Gruoch's Well*, both discussed above (see 4.3.1.1 and 5.2.2). The second stratum, for which a profile has been outlined above, forms

the bulk of the material and encompasses a relatively long time-period, spanning roughly the twelfth to eighteenth centuries. However, with a more detailed analysis of the material it would probably be possible to make further distinctions. Here, we see the strongest representation of ownership-names, often associated with families of some standing at the time. Examples include: *Leightonslands* (*Lichtonis landis* 1512) and *Melville House* (the house of *Melvell* 1723) (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership**). Such names are generally well-attested in the charters and the ownership-dimension is prominent in the written records. Here, the names are prone to change depending on the current owner and the presence of a name may fill a practical function in establishing the ownership of those lands. Finally, from the late eighteenth century onwards we see a new type of anthropo-toponym emerging alongside ownership-type motivations, where the function appears to be quite different. Examples include: *Pillar of Hercules* (1856) 'Inspired by the classical bent of Onesiphorus Tyndall Bruce, laird of Falkland and Nuthill from 1828 to 1855' (*PNF* 2, 179)*, Newington* (1855), and *Sir Walter Scott's Tree* (1855) (see 4.2.2 **Residence or ownership** and **Events**). Such names could be seen to represent a more internal, localised pattern of coining. From here on the situation becomes more nuanced, showing a mix of ownership, events, and fanciful names. It should be noted that to some extent this may be a reflection of such minor names becoming more visible in the source-material. As argued in 5.4.2 these patterns may not be reflective of the toponyms as a whole, but rather of what is being recorded, transmitted, and surveyed, and that there is likely to have been a significant loss of minor toponyms of an early date. However, such patterns still give an indication of the coining and transmission-environment, providing valuable clues as to how these names were thought of and what their function was.

5.4.3.7 Summary

Based on the analysis provided here, there are considerable differences between the anthropo-toponyms of Lewis and Fife. Beginning with the Norse material, many of the entries may be more closely tied to the Fife material chronologically, and we might expect to see similarities here. The issue for the Norse Lewis material is the lack of contextual evidence which makes it problematic to provide a clear answer to the crucial questions of who and why. This will be further addressed below (5.5). Gaelic Lewis anthropo-toponyms in particular are characterised by a largely local, internal coining and transmission process of a relatively late date. A large portion of the coinings appear to have been associated with agricultural practices, and the motivations often reflect this. There also appears to be a

considerable number of event-names where a particular event or situation has given rise to the coining of an anthropo-toponym. Fife on the other hand follows the traditional narrative of strong ownership-patterns as a motivation for coining anthropo-toponyms more closely. Nevertheless, this investigation has also showed that considering ownership-motivations as a one-dimensional occurrence is not a valid approach. On the contrary, as discussed in 5.2.2, ownership-motivations reflect a multifaceted process which is highly dependent on location and time. Additionally, if we consider the overall patterns of Fife and Lewis anthopo-toponyms, one might argue that the lack of ownership-motivations in Gaelic Lewis names is partially a reflection of chronology. The strong ownership-patterns noted for Fife are characteristic of all the strata present in the coining of toponyms. On the other hand, if we turn to Lewis, the lack of ownership-motivations is primarily evidenced by the Gaelic material, which forms its own distinct stratum, quite different from the Norse one. It is very possible, and indeed likely, that the Norse material shows stronger ownership-patterns than the later Gaelic names. If this is the case, we might argue that strong associations between anthropo-toponyms and ownership-motivations are partially a reflection of the time in which they were coined, and that medieval names are overall more likely to reflect such patterns. Future studies might benefit from continuing the comparative approach and study Lewis alongside material from other Hebridean isles in order to further elucidate the relationship between ownership-motivations and the chronology of naming. Overall, one of the strong patterns emerging in both areas is that events motivating the coining of anthropo-toponyms have been seriously underestimated. Throughout this study, numerous instances of unique events have been provided, and there is no way of knowing how many such coinings and traditions may once have existed, but are now lost to us. It is likely that this pattern is not unique to anthropo-toponyms, and that event-names are frequently underestimated in toponymic studies as a whole, but it seems to be particularly evident here. The occurrence of event-names, although varying in frequency, is one of the characteristics all areas investigated have in common. Some of these events appear to be especially universal, including deaths and murders, which will be further discussed below (5.6). As outlined above, the defining characteristics in each area can be used to create a profile of anthropo-toponyms which is largely based on Tent's (2015, 68) intensive toponymy model. The creation of a profile of this type appears to work especially well for a defined data-set, such as the material presented here. As part of a large-scale study, it would be possible to create profiles of a similar type in other geographic and chronological areas. Finally, the crucial question that remains is: do Gaelic Lewis anthropo-toponyms reflect a distinctive pattern of naming? I would argue that the

naming-process itself is not necessarily unique, but that a combination of regional characteristics, chronology, social factors and the transmission process has led to the Lewis material reflecting a particularly interesting combination of non-ownership motivations and names relating to events. Partially, this may also be a reflection of language and the importance of the transmission of oral tradition in Gaelic culture. Therefore our understanding of how anthropo-toponyms are coined has to some extent been skewed by overemphasising the importance of early written evidence, which places greater importance on the ownership-dimension.

5.5 Norse anthropo-toponyms in theory and practice

5.5.1 Background

Throughout this work, the problematic nature of Norse Lewis toponyms has been emphasised. As demonstrated in 3.1, the etymology of individual toponyms is often in doubt, and even when we can establish that a formation is indeed an anthropo-toponym, there is a complete lack of any direct contextual evidence relating to the motivations for coining. Nevertheless, we are not entirely left in the dark. One of the most intriguing areas, which remains relatively unexplored, is the idea of using Icelandic material comparatively alongside Hebridean Norse data. By doing this, it may be possible to provide a greater insight into the general patterns of coining and the process behind the naming of places.

5.5.2 Iceland and Lewis

As a starting point, it is necessary to evaluate the relationship between Iceland and Lewis during the Norse period. This also includes determining how far, and in what ways, it is possible to use *LNB* material comparatively alongside Lewis material. As already noted, there are indications that the Hebrides and Iceland were more closely connected during the Viking Age than is often appreciated, as argued by Pálsson (1996b), and that there may have been real cultural continuity between the two areas. In a more general sense, Jesch (2015, 55-6) has argued strongly for the transfer of a shared cultural heritage in the Viking diaspora and that we are likely to find common beliefs and cultural practices evident in the material. However, it is also necessary to consider some of the ways in which the two areas differ. It is crucial to remember that when studying the Norse anthropo-toponyms in Lewis and *LNB*, we are dealing with two very different data-sets in terms of contextual evidence and transmission (see 4.4). For example, in comparison with Iceland, the number of Norse anthropo-toponyms in Lewis is limited. Is this lack reflective of differences in the naming

patterns, or is it more reflective of the transmission of toponyms and a disappearance of such name-material in a Lewis context? The latter may be more likely considering the later Gaelic dimension in Lewis. There is no way of knowing what a contemporary toponymic landscape might have looked like in a Norse Lewis, and the surviving material should not be considered as wholly representative of the overall naming-patterns. It is significant also to point out that there are obvious differences in the landscapes of Iceland and Lewis that faced the settlers when they arrived. This aspect has previously been discussed by Jesch (2015, 19-29), who provides a thorough overview of the various areas of the Viking diaspora. One key factor here is that Iceland was largely unsettled as opposed to Lewis. Although the Norse settlers in Lewis did generally not incorporate elements of any previous nomenclature into their toponyms, such differences are important to remember. Keeping these factors in mind, if there was ever any doubt, it is clear that we cannot simply apply the patterns found in *LNB* to the material found in a Lewis context. We can, however, analyse the patterns in a wider sense and fill some of the major gaps in the Lewis material. The cultural continuity between Lewis and Iceland is sufficient to assume certain common patterns, culturally and linguistically. Based on this, the following sections will tackle the question of to what extent *LNB* can be used to analyse the Norse dimension of Lewis anthropo-toponyms. This particularly includes making some tentative suggestions regarding possible motivations for naming in the Norse period of settlement in the Hebrides.

5.5.3 Comparing the data

The key argument that I wish to make here is that it seems very unlikely that the coining of Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms can be explained in a one-dimensional manner and that a lack of contextual evidence does not justify viewing them as such. The combined evidence for the nature of anthropo-toponyms presented throughout this study strongly indicates that there is considerable variety to be found in the coining process. Material in *LNB* lends support to the concept of a rich naming-tradition amongst the Norse settlers, especially if we consider the perceived patterns of naming. Although the traditional ownership-dimension may have a significant role in the coining of these names (cf. 5.2.2), they should not be viewed exclusively in this manner, and where ownership-motivations are likely, it is necessary to investigate them further.

Personal names

The data presented in Chapter 3 by itself reflects a considerably more varied stock of personal names than has often been appreciated in previous scholarship. The problem of Watson's interpretation of essentially all possible *Þór-* names as the pn Thori has already been mentioned in 1.2.3.3. Rather, toponyms beginning with *Þór-* appear to reflect various personal names. The ones I have proposed for Lewis toponyms are: *Þórir*, m., *Þórðr*, m., *Þórr*, m. (theonym), *Þorri*, m., *Þori*, m., *Þóra*, f., and *Þorkell*, m. Considering the obvious productivity of personal names derived from *Þór-* in Scandinavia we should hardly be surprised. In addition to the *Þór-*names, as discussed in 3.2.3.1, out of sixty-seven Norse entries, it is possible to identify at least fifteen different personal names with relative certainty.[156] In a geographical area where the anthropo-toponymic dimension has been largely overlooked this is not an insignificant number. Turning to *LNB*, we find a similar situation, and one of the most striking patterns noted in 4.4.3 was the considerable variety present in the personal name-stock, with 188 expressions denoting an individual found in the anthropo-toponyms out of 256 entries where motivations are visible. Additionally, in *LNB* the presence of contextual evidence further highlights the varieties within the name-stock by the extensive use of epithets and nicknames, often incorporated into the toponyms, with examples such as *Gufuskálar* and *Gufunes*, derived from *Ketill gufa*. Such expressions are not as clearly visible in the Lewis material and only one possible example of a nickname; pn *Gási*, m. from ON *gassi* 'a gander' has been included. However, it is possible that some of the entries that have been deemed 'Unlikely' to reflect anthropo-toponyms may in fact be nicknames or personal names, particularly when a possible animal-name is present. For example, *Airnistean* probably contains ON *ǫrn*, m., g.pl. 'eagle', but could potentially be pn *Ǫrn* (see Appendix 2).

The generic elements

Within the context of Norse Lewis material, the overall lack of contextual evidence makes it inevitable that we put greater emphasis on the generic elements than we might usually do when studying anthropo-toponyms. The material from both Lewis and *LNB* shares ON *staðir* 'stead, place, abode' as the most frequently occurring habitative generic, with eight (11.9%) and fifty (19.5%) entries respectively. Considering its general productivity as an element in the Viking diaspora this is hardly surprising, and 'scholars are agreed that most *-staðir* names are not the highest-status farms, and seem to be secondary to the earliest

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[156] *Ásmundr, Biǫrn, Karli, Eiríkr, Gromr, Gunnarr, Guðrun, Iórheiðr, Kári, Kalman, Ketill, Sveinn, Þólfr, Þórir, Þórðr.*

settlements' (Jesch 2015, 44). It is interesting to note that in Fife we also find eight occurrences of Sc *toun*, forming 12.3% of the total number of Scots entries. Is it possible that we are seeing similarities between the occurrence of habitative generics across the areas as a result of the names being coined in a relatively comparable time period? On the other hand, if we consider the Gaelic material in *PNF*, also chronologically comparable to Norse Lewis names, G *baile* forms 42.8% of the total number. However, it should be noted that there are only fourteen anthropo-toponyms coined in Gaelic found in *PNF* and such a small number of names may not be representative of the naming patterns overall. Returning to Lewis, in similarity with *staðir*, it seems likely that the second most frequently occurring habitative generic in Lewis, *setr*, 'a seat, residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands'[157] would not be reflective of the initial settlement period. This element is completely absent from the *LNB* anthropo-toponyms discussed here, but appears to have been very productive in Lewis. The exact meaning of this element has already been discussed by scholars such as Cox (1990) and, most recently and extensively, by Ryan Foster (2017, 126-30). In his research on -*sætr* and -*ærgi* in the Hebrides Foster has argued that environmental factors may have played a significant part in the predominance of such elements in certain geographical areas. Based on this, it is tempting to link the prominence of *setr* with the nature of the landscape itself. There still does not appear to be any clear consensus regarding to what extent *setr*-names reflect settlements as opposed to summer dairy-pastures (Cox 1990, 97). If we consider the nature of the *setr*-names present here, we find that many of these sites now represent settlements, as in *Griomsiadar/Grimshader*, *Cairisiadar*, and *Ungaisiadar*. If there is any contintinuity present, we might suspect that the original Norse coinings were more likely to have represented settlements than pasture lands. However, as emphasised throughout, the significance of topographical generic elements should not be underestimated and it is possible that some of them represent settlements and sites of some importance. This can be compared to the situation in *LNB* where a considerable number of the early settlements were named after natural features such as *dalr* 'dale' and *vík* 'small creek, inlet, bay', with examples such as *Ǫrnólfsdalr* and *Óláfsvík* (*LNB*, 84, 112). Such patterns have led Jesch (2015, 47-8) to conclude that 'a majority of names, not only of landscape features but also of settlements, are topographical, reflecting the pattern established in Norway that the earliest settlements tend to be named after natural features'. The evidence strongly points towards a similar situation in Lewis and we are just as likely to find settlement-locations of some importance in toponyms containing topographical generics. An especially likely candidate here might

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[157] Cl.-Vig. states that as 'mountain pastures, dairy lands' it is 'better spelt *sætr* (mod. Norse *sæter*)'.

be found in the case of *Torsuig and *Torsuigabac* (see 3.1 *Mol* **Thòrsuig**, **Torsuigabac**). As seen in Chapter 3 these are geographically very close (within 2 kilometres of each other) and they may reflect an original ON *Þórsvík. With its prominent coastal location, potentially being used to refer to a larger area than the immediate area, we may be seeing the remnants of an important Norse site. By the time the written records begin for Lewis such sites may have lost their prominence and we should remember that a lack of written sources does not necessarily disprove any earlier significance of the site.

Theorising motivations for naming and settlement patterns

Based on these comparisons, is it possible to make any suggestions regarding the nature of motivations present in Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms? Firstly, as previously discussed a majority of scholarship looking at the Scandinavian diaspora looks at anthropo-toponyms from a strictly habitative viewpoint, assigning ownership as the main (only?) motivation for using a personal name as a specific element. However, the combined material presented throughout this study has shown that this is not a valid assumption. Especially the *LNB* material presents a landscape where people perceived the coining process as a multifaceted one which could often have highly contingent circumstances. Firstly, even within the context of ownership, there are several nuances present. In *LNB*, we find various motivations relating to settlements, land-taking, temporary settlements, boundaries and more (see 4.4.3). Looking at the Lewis material in consideration of this, it is possible to make some tentative suggestions. Whether or not this is reflected in the surviving material, a similar combination of early settlement, land-claiming, and temporary settlements might be expected. Particularly in the case of anthropo-toponyms, unique circumstances may have led to the coining of names, similar to entries in *LNB* such as *Hranafjall*: 'ok Þorgestr, er fekk banasár, þá er þeir Hrani bǫrðusk, þar sem nú heitir Hranafall [and Þorgestr, who received a fatal wound, when he and Hrani fought, in the place which is now called Hranafjall]' (*LNB*, 86). It is worth considering that, as in instances such as *Vestmannsvatn* and *Grímsá* in *LNB* (71, 276), it is possible that some of the anthropo-toponyms with generic elements such as *dalr* or *vatn* may in fact represent territorial boundaries. Additionally, it is necessary to consider that the coining of several of the Norse anthropo-toponyms of Lewis may not have been motivated by ownership. One possible line of investigation is to consider the element ON *ey* 'island'. Some of the most certain anthropo-toponyms in Lewis are found with this element, including *Beàrnaraigh* and *Eilean Thoraidh*. In *LNB*, six entries containing *ey* have been included, and here we find several different motivations. These include temporary settlement, deaths, and births (see

4.4.3). We should therefore consider the possibility that such names may have been created as a result of particular circumstances and events, and should not necessarily be viewed only as a result of land-claiming. Some of the event-names (AntClas4) found in *LNB* may also be relevant here. The universality of death-related events as a perceived motivation for the coining of a toponym makes it likely that such instances would have been current in Lewis as well, as further discussed below (5.6).

5.5.4 The Norse gender dimension

Although more extensive discussions in the future are necessary here, the Norse material provides basis for some consideration of the gender dimension in anthropo-toponyms. In *LNB*, it is interesting to note that accounts of women often deviate significantly from the typical pattern of settlement accounts relating to anthropo-toponyms. For example, the unique circumstances of Þóra's living conditions have already been discussed above in 5.2.2. Disregarding the fact that there are, unsurprisingly, a much smaller number of female settlers listed, the ones that do appear warrant further consideration. Gender in *LNB* has previously been discussed by Callow (2011, 14) and the relevant anthropo-toponyms align with his statement that: 'the accounts of individual female colonists, like the accounts of male colonists, do not conform to a single pattern.' There are four instances of female personal names giving rise to toponyms in relation to settlement/land-claiming, all in quite different contexts. Perhaps not surprisingly, considering her prominence, the description of Auðr's settlement follows that of her male counterparts most closely:

> Auðr nam ǫll Dalalǫnd í innanverðum firðinum frá Dǫgurðará til
> Skraumuhlaupsár. Hon bjó í Hvammi við Aurriðaárós; þar heita Auðartóptir.
> [Auðr took possession of all the Dalalands inside of the firth, from Dǫgurðará
> to Skraumuhlaupsá. She lived at Hvammi by Aurriðaáróss; that is called
> Auðartóptir] (*LNB*, 139).

However, it is worth noting that even in Auðr's case, the generic *tópt* 'toft'[158] rather than the more frequently used *staðir* 'stead, place, abode' is found in the toponym containing her name. The account of Þóra has already been discussed above and certainly appears to reflect very particular circumstances of coining. In the case of Arneiðr, we are told that:

> Ketill keypti Arneiði dóttur Ásbjarnar tveim hlutum dýrra en Véþormr mat
> hana í fyrstu; en er kaupit var orðit, þá gerði Ketill brúðkaup til Arneiðar. Eptir

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[158] For discussion of this element in an Insular context see Gammeltoft, P., '"I sauh a tour on a toft, tryelyche i-maket": on Place-Names in *-toft*, *-tote* and *-tobhta* from Shetland to the Isle of Man', *Nomina* 24 (2001), 17–32.

þat fann hon grafsilfr mikit undir viðarrótum. Þá bauð Ketill at flytja hana til frænda sinna, en hon kaus þá honum at fylgja. Þau fóru út ok bjǫggu á Arneiðarstǫðum (*LNB*, 297).

[Ketill bought Arneið daughter of Ásbjǫrn for twice as much as Véþormr had originally estimated her; and when the deal was done, Ketill married Arneið. After that she found a lot of buried silver under tree roots. Then Ketill offered to bring her back to her kin, but she chose to follow him. They travelled out and settled at Arneiðarstaðir].

As with Þóra, the circumstances of her settlement are very particular and one might wonder if it was her newfound wealth that precipitated her name, rather than her husband's, being incorporated into the name of their settlement. Finally, we are told that Signý's brother: 'gaf Signýju systur sinni Signýjarstaði, ok bjó hon þar [gave Signý his sister Sygnýjarstaðir, and she lived there]' (*LNB*, 74). As with Þóra and Arneiðr, her settlement is defined in relation to her male relatives, but has been named after her. What do these accounts reveal about the gender dimension of anthropo-toponyms in *LNB*? It would appear that there is even more of a gendered aspect to be found in the anthropo-toponyms than in *LNB* as a whole. If we accept the notion of a formalised process of settlement described amongst the male settlers (see 5.2.2), the findings in relation to female settlers tie in well with previous arguments made by Clunies Ross in relation to gender where she argues that there may have been certain formalised rituals that were specifically associated with women (Clunies Ross 1998, 147). However, whether this is more reflective of differences in the process of land-claiming between genders during the settlement period or of the motivations of the authors of *LNB* (conscious or sub-conscious) remains open to interpretation. It does, however, seem appropriate to conclude that when anthropo-toponyms containing female personal names in the Norse period are encountered, we should be aware of potential deviations from any patterns that are found. It also lends some further support to the potential presence of feminine names in the Lewis material, including the possible instances of *Gríma*, *Guðrun*, *Iórheiðr*, *Iórunn*, *Katla*, *Kolla*, *Þóra*, and *Ulfhildr* (see 3.2.3).

5.5.5 Mythological names

Whether the accounts in *LNB* reflect an original coining or a perceived motivation invented much later, the mythological aspect is prominent enough for us to further consider this dimension in relation to the Lewis material. In the context of theonyms, there are two potential gods of interest. *Þórr* 'The god Thor, the god of thunder' (Cl.-Vig.) is the only one which has previously been discussed as a potential theonym in Lewis by Cox, who rather tentatively states that *Mol Thòrsaig* (see 3.1 *Mol **Thòrsuig***) is: 'apparently from ON

Þórsvík '*Þórr*'s bay', with gen. of the god's name, *Þórr*; but ON *Þórisvík* '*Þórir*'s bay', with gen. of the common man's name, *Þórir*, might also be considered.' *Þórr* is listed as a possibility for three other entries (see 3.1 **Tordal**, *Beinn* **Thòrshader**, and **Torsuigabac**), but as discussed above (3.1), there are strong reasons to believe that *Mol Thòrsuig* and *Torsuigabac* are derived from the same formation. It is, however, tempting to draw analogies between a potential **Þórsvík* on Lewis and the story of the seat-pillars in *LNB*:

> þá skaut hann fyrir borð ǫndvegissúlum sínum; þar var skorinn á Þórr […] þar
> fann hann Þór rekinn í nesi einu; þat heitir nú þórsnes. (*LNB*, 125)
> [then he threw overboard his seat-pillars; on them was an image of Þórr […]
> there he found the image of Þórr at a headland; that place is now called
> Þórsnes.]

Sundqvist (2015b, 293-4) writes that: 'It should be noted that the claimed lands and places were often dedicated to specific deities. In *Landnámabók* we read, for instance, that Þórólfr promised to dedicate his entire land claim to Þórr (*at helga Þór allt landnám sitt*) and call it after him.' He further states that 'Most scholars have also argued that these narratives reflect genuine pre-Christian customs and rituals from the *landnám* period' (Sundqvist 2015b, 233). In light of this we would be unwise to confine our investigations into Norse beliefs to traditional cult-sites, especially in the diaspora. In general, the evidence for dedications to the god Þórr is considerable and, as Brink (2007, 113) states: 'The god Þórr might perhaps be expected to be well represented in place-name evidence with examples evenly spread all over Scandinavia. This is in fact the case, but with some exceptions'. I would argue that it is in the context of such traditions, often found on an individual level rather than reflecting organised cult-practices, that we should look for potential religious dedications.

Any potential references to the god Ullr 'the name of one of the gods, the step-son of Thor' (Cl.-Vig.) must be treated with considerable caution, and we can hardly draw any firm conclusions about the likelihood of dedications to Ullr in a Lewis context based on the evidence presented here. However, in the context of a study of anthropo-toponyms, the possibility should be considered. There are at least six toponyms in Lewis which contain *Ull-*,[159] and various interpretations can be given for these names. The details are outlined in (3.1) with a discussion on the likelihood of the other interpretations being present, including pn Ulli, m., m., pn Ulfhildr, f., ON *ull* 'wool', f. n.sg. or g.sg., and ON *úlfr*, m. g.pl. 'wolf'. It is unfortunate that the generic elements do not give any strong indications of

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[159] See 3.1: **Ullamor**, **Ullabhat*, **Ulabaigh*, **Ullabidh*, **Ulapol*, and **Uladal*.

the nature of these names, as is the case with many of the Scandinavian equivalents containing clear references to cult sites (Brink 2007). *Ull*-names are all exclusively found with topographical generic elements in Lewis, raising two important points. Firstly, one of the most commonly given explanations for toponyms in *Ull-* in Scotland as 'wool', especially when a habitative generic is present, as in *Ullapool* in Ross and Cromarty (wool farm or Ulli's farm (AÀA)), must be seriously questioned. Although a topographical generic does not necessarily exclude the possibility of references to wool or settlement, it does necessitate a revision of the idea of 'wool farms', but it is possible, as Pálsson (1996a, 317) states, that some areas may be otherwise associated with wool production, such as washing the wool. Pálsson (1996a, 317) completely rejects the idea of the theonym as a possibility, despite asserting the presence of such dedications in Iceland and Norway. Secondly, although Gammeltoft (2001a, 157) states that 'the ON god *Ullr*, m. can hardly be the origin either [for *Ulbister*], as there are no references to heathen cultic practice in the Scottish *bólstaðr*-place-name material', the entries found here show that *Ull*-names may be more common in Scotland than has been assumed. In Scandinavia, we are able to draw several interesting parallels. Brink (2007, 116) highlights the regionality of dedications to Norse gods in general, but in particular to Ullr, stating that:

> A most elusive god in the pagan Scandinavian pantheon is Ullr […] One gets the impression that Ullr must have been a major god, but the Ullr names also reveal that the cult of Ullr was never pan-Scandinavian. His occurrence in the toponymic material is confined to two distinct regions: the provinces around Lake Mälaren, including central parts of Östergötland, and the area around Viken, principally restricted to Østfold, Vestfold, and Akershus.

Additionally, Jesch (2015, 135) highlights the fact that Ullr is not found in the Danelaw or in Denmark. If dedications to Ullr were more centred around Norway (and the Hebrides?), it might partly explain why the Ullr dimension has been overlooked in Britain, considering the dominance of the Danelaw-material in scholarship. *LNB* does not appear to mention any such dedications, but Pálsson (1996a, 317) states that such dedications do exist in Iceland. At this stage, I will not attempt to draw any firm conclusions about the likelihood of *Ull*-names in Lewis representing a theonym, but the sheer number of entries containing *Ull-* makes it appropriate to consider the possibility.

In the context of this study it is also worth mentioning concepts of ancestor worship in *LNB* which have recently been explored by Triin Laidoner (2015). In Scandinavia, such concepts have generally been considered in relation to sacral kingship and Olof Sunqvist (2015a, 204) states that: 'the rulers of pre-Christian times in Scandinavia applied different

religious strategies for raising themselves above common people. Among other things, legitimacy and/or political authority was achieved by means of claiming the ruler's close relation to the mythical world'. However, when discussing Iceland, he goes on to argue that: 'The religious ruler strategy of the Þórsnesingar is not associated with a divine descent of the family. The chieftains in this family had another type of relationship to the god. *Eyrbyggja* saga says that Þórólfr was a "very good friend of Þórr" (*mikill vinr Þórs*)' (Sundqvist 2015b, 87). Such concepts reflect methods of claiming legitimacy through religion in ways considerably different from those found in Scandinavia, and show the development of new traditions in a new area of settlement. The key point here is that, if we are trying to find evidence for pre-Christian Norse beliefs in Scotland, we should not necessarily look to Scandinavia, but rather to Iceland for comparative material. Laidoner (2015, 49-50) argues that the stories of concepts of 'dying into' mountains[160], for example found in *Þórisbjǫrg* 'Þeir Sel-Þórir frændr enir heiðnu dó í Þórisbjǫrg [The heathen kindred of Sel-Þórir died into Þórisbjǫrg]', may be based in similar concepts of establishing a genealogy where your power is legitimised through your ancestry. Although there is no direct evidence to support such practices in the Lewis material, they should be further considered in a wider Scottish and Hebridean context. Here we can note the number of possible anthropo-toponyms containing the generic element ON *fjall* (eight entries) in Lewis and it would be tempting to draw parallels. However, at this stage any suggestions would be no more than conjecture and further studies are necessary. Nevertheless, these points further show the importance of considering regional characteristics, similar to those described by Brink (2007, 125) in a Scandinavian context. It is likely that we would be seeing strong patterns of local traditions and beliefs such as those described in *LNB* emerging in areas like Lewis which are part of the Scandinavian diaspora. The points here are not meant to be a conclusive study of possible religious and mythological dedications in the Hebrides. Rather, it has served to highlight some of the parallels that can be drawn with the Scandinavian material, and to show that it would be unwise to make assumptions about the absence of pagan dedications in Scotland without further studies.

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[160] cf. Laidoner (2015, 17-9) 'Various recent studies emphasise that people's daily beliefs involved nature, the land and most importantly gravemounds, which were linked intimately to belief in local family ancestors […] we learn that some dead continued life in the land of the immortals (e.g. *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs* in *Haustl*. II, ch. 1) while others presumably sailed ot the otherworld by boat (e.g. *Vatnsdœla saga* ch. 23; *Laxdœla saga* ch. 7). Other prevalent beliefs involve dead people passing into mountains (e.g. *Eyrb*. chs 4-11; *Landn*. 197: 233; 69: 98-99) or simply continuing life in gravemounds (e.g. *Flóamanna saga* ch. 13; *Grettis saga* ch. 35; *Eyrbyggja saga* chs 50-53), while others continue living in their graves fiercely guarding treasures (e.g. *Harðar saga* ch. 15)'.

5.5.6 Summary

In conclusion, I would argue that despite the complex nature and lack of contextual evidence in Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms, an investigation of the available material alongside comparative evidence makes it possible to draw some conclusions that may alter our perception of these names. I would argue that *LNB* material can be used as evidence for the multi-dimensional nature of the coining of anthropo-toponyms in a Norse-Hebridean context and that the evidence reflects sufficient interaction between the Hebrides and Iceland to propose some continuity between the two areas. Therefore we should not assume that Norse anthropo-toponyms found in Lewis are simply a reflection of ownership. *LNB* material can give us some indication of how the Norse thought about the coining and function of toponyms. It also corroborates the overall pattern of events giving rise to anthropo-toponyms as being a more significant part of the coining-process than has previously been assumed.

There are strong grounds for believing that this is the case in Lewis too. Even in instances where some form of ownership or land-taking may have been the primary motivation, we are not looking at a one-dimensional process. The possibility for anthropo-toponyms reflecting temporary settlements, boundary markers, burial markers, relating to beliefs and mythology, or stemming from a particular event must therefore be considered. Nevertheless, it seems likely that ownership did indeed play a significant role in the claiming and naming of land. The important association between individuals and the places they settled is evident in *LNB*, as argued in 4.4.4, and we should approach Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms with a similar mind-set. It is likely that the toponyms reflect a close relationship between the indvidiuals in question and their toponyms, often being inherently linked to their identity. It is worth noting that although the *PNF* material has been largely considered alongside the Gaelic Lewis entries, chronologically many of the entries are closer to the Norse material. Based on this, a strong ownership-dimension represented in *PNF* and Norse Lewis toponyms may at least partially be a reflection of medieval naming trends, as opposed to later early modern and modern ones. Finally, we should further consider the regional characteristics of specific areas. Both material from *LNB* and the general patterns in Scandinavia and its diaspora present strong regional patterns of naming places, but with common shared cultural traditions. The key point here is that there is likely to be considerably more variation than the Norse Lewis material allows us to clearly see in its current form. Finally, although this comparative approach out of necessity is somewhat hypothetical, I would argue that there is sufficient evidence of the traditions

surrounding the naming of the landscape amongst the Norse settlers to conclude that the Norse anthropo-toponyms of Lewis, as they survive, are a remnant of a once rich naming-tradition. Although this is now largely lost, continued comparative studies into the Scandinavian diaspora may shed further light on the local traditions and beliefs which would once have existed.

5.6 Case Study: deaths and murders

Events relating to deaths and murders in anthropo-toponyms is a theme which binds all the investigated areas together. Such events can provide a fascinating insight into the cognitive process of coining names and interpreting/re-interpreting them. Instances of drowning have already been covered in 5.3, and whereas these coinings and their attached traditions may have had a practical function as a warning of a potentially dangerous site, other types of deaths and murders cannot be explained so easily. Therefore it is necessary to further investigate the frequency with which these coinings appear in the name-material. In addition to accounts of drowning, we find three instances of death-related events. Although, as discussed in 5.2, the actual motivation for the coining of *Clach Fhionnlaidh Ghearr* is the pursuit of Fionnlagh Geàrr rather than the murder, it is clearly associated with the event. The coining of *Creag Sgàire* on the other hand is clearly perceived as having been motivated by the murder of Sgàire by the Morrisons of Ness (see 2.1.1 **Creag Sgàire**). In the instance of *Botan Thòmais*, we are told that: 'This boy used to follow him, and Tòmas didn't like this at all. He tried to send him away, but he couldn't, and in the end he killed him in a spring there. It's because of that the place is called Botan Thòmais' (*GPNC*, 187). In addition to the drowning of Nannie (see 4.2.3), *PNF* contains two instances of death-related events giving rise to toponyms: *Pandler's Know* and *Mortimer's Deep* (see 4.2.3). Turning to *LNB,* with its rich tradition of stories attached to the toponyms, it provides a number of particularly interesting events relating to deaths and murders. Some of these are comparable to those found in Lewis and *PNF*, such as accounts of drownings and murders, as in *Geirhildarvatn* and *Kylanshóll* (see 4.4.3). We also find several accounts of battles which almost always lead to some death, as in *Þórishóll* (see 4.4.3). There is even a suicide in the case of *Arnarfjall* (see 4.4.3). However, as discussed above, some of the entries provide death-related events that cannot be paralleled with the other material and may in fact partially reflect circumstances unique to Iceland, including the accounts of 'dying into a mountain' (see 5.5.5). Considering the emphasis placed on the connections between Lewis and Iceland during the Norse settlement, this naturally leads to the question of to what extent we might find similar circumstances in the Hebrides.

Unfortunately, as already mentioned, the generic elements provide little aid here as the *LNB* material shows that topographical generics are frequently found in such instances. If the identification of *Gurrabhur* as 'Guðrún's cairn' is correct, this may perhaps be the most likely candidate in the Lewis material for a death-related commemoration. Although there are no obvious traces of a burial cairn at the site, this does not exclude the possibility of a commemorative coining (see 3.1 **Gurrabhur**).

Based on the accounts discussed here, several different factors appear to contribute to the incorporation of events relating to deaths and murders in anthropo-toponyms. There is an obvious fascination with such events and it is not difficult to see why they would capture people's imagination, whether real or invented. Because of this, an argument can also be made for such stories being more likely to have been coined and transmitted in the first place – we should not underestimate the significance such an event may have had to the local community, particularly in tight-knit communities such as those in Lewis. In light of this, it could even be argued that we should expect more such stories being present, but the considerable loss of transmitted local, largely oral traditions may be significant here. In some instances, the extraordinary circumstances surrounding an event may have played a role in its coining, as in *Clach Fhionnlaidh Ghearr* and *Mortimer's Deep.* Additionally, in some cases, their coining may have had a practical function, especially in instances of drowning-related events. However, especially when we look at the Norse material, we may also see religious beliefs reflected in the anthropo-toponyms, albeit largely invisible to us in their current form.

Chapter 6 Conclusions

6.1 Defining the role of anthropo-toponyms in onomastics

This study set out to define what constitutes an anthropo-toponym, both linguistically and culturally, and to investigate what role it plays in onomastic studies. I would argue that there are grounds for considering these names as sufficiently distinct from other onomastic material to warrant the use of an established term, the most appropriate one being 'anthropo-toponym'. Increased recognition of this term in onomastics may benefit future studies in this area. From a theoretical perspective, I have demonstrated that its linguistic properties are different from those of other toponyms. Notably, two layers of properhood can be detected in anthropo-toponyms. If a personal name is present in a toponym, even if the full expression is viewed descriptively, the personal name itself represents a proper noun. The main outcome of this finding has been the conclusion that it is largely inefficient to study anthropo-toponyms from an etymological, word-semantic perspective and that it is more appropriate to adopt a name-semantic approach, where the motivations for naming are emphasised. However, this study is merely intended as a springboard for future studies, and additional research, both from the perspective of historical and modern onomastics, is necessary.

6.2 Moving forward

6.2.1 The role of anthropo-toponymy in onomastic studies

Throughout this study, it has been made clear that anthropo-toponymy is often confined to the periphery of onomastic studies, despite playing a central role. Not only should it be established as an onomastic branch in its own right, but some of the most intensively studied toponyms in a Scottish context should in fact be viewed as a sub-branch of anthropo-toponyms. This particularly includes the study of hagiotoponyms and some mythological toponyms. They need to be considered in the wider context of anthropo-toponyms, particularly drawing on additional linguistic and anthropological material. The discussion on hagiotoponyms has made it possible to understand the role of these names within anthropo-toponymy. However, it is also clear that these names have certain characteristics that justify them being viewed as its own distinct sub-branch. As argued in 4.3, there is often an inherent difference in the way saints are commemorated in toponyms. Often, commemorations of saints reflect abstract representations of an individual, invoking

certain characteristics of the saint in question, rather than commemorating any real historical figure. The more prominent a saint is, the more likely this seems. Brigit, with her numerous minor dedications and status as a 'Mary of the Gael' may serve as a particularly clear example of this. Similarly, in mythologically motivated anthropo-toponyms (including ones that were originally not coined as such), including entries like *Carn a' Mharc* and *Norrie's Law*, we often find that any potential personal name refers to an abstract representation of a person rather than any real historical figure.

6.2.2 Changing our approach to anthropo-toponyms

The most basic shift in our attitude towards anthropo-toponyms is a very simple one. When encountering a personal name in a toponym, the most obvious question to ask is: who was the person being commemorated? An extension to this question should be added, namely, why was the person being commemorated and who was doing the coining? By using this approach, we can also begin attempting to classify anthropo-toponyms. The classification proposed in Chapter 5 is largely formed by asking what the motivation for naming was. This has made it possible to highlight the multifaceted nature of coining anthropo-toponyms. Rather than simply reflecting ownership, we find various contexts precipitating their coining. They may have been coined as boundary markers, for agricultural usage, be associated with travel, or, most notably, originate in a specific event, such as a birth, murder, drowning, battle, shipwreck, or accident. By applying the principles of this classification to other data-sets we should also expect to find additional patterns and motivations.

6.2.3 Patterns of anthropo-toponymic coining

One of the questions continually posed throughout this study has been to what extent Lewis anthropo-toponyms are distinct. In 5.4 I argue that the naming-process is not necessarily unique, but that a combination of regional, social, and linguistic characteristics, along with the nature of transmission, has resulted in a body of anthropo-toponyms that emphasise the importance of the non-ownership dimension. Additionally, the study has highlighted the importance of considering the perceived motivation for naming. Toponyms which may not originally have been coined as such, can be transformed into anthropo-toponyms through the perception of the users of that name. Depending on time and geography, we can find specific patterns reflected in the material. As discussed in 5.4, Gaelic Lewis is characterised by a largely internal coining-environment in the sixteenth to

twentieth centuries, with a considerable number of anthropo-toponyms being associated with agriculture and minor, topographical features. In Fife on the other hand, the medieval-early modern material shows strong patterns of ownership, and there may often be an external, less localised process of coining and/or transmission. However, it is possible and indeed likely that if we include the Norse dimension of Lewis anthropo-toponyms, stronger patterns of ownership may emerge. The chronology of patterns of naming is a key factor and it is likely that, the earlier the date of the name in question, the more likely we are to find stronger ownership-patterns compared to the later Gaelic material. However, perhaps the most significant result of this study is the fact that it has been able to demonstrate that event-naming has been seriously underestimated in the analysis of anthropo-toponyms. As argued in 5.4.2, this may partly be the result of an overemphasis on early written material which is more prone to record ownership-type motivations. As stated above, particularly the material from Lewis and *LNB* gives evidence for a wide range of events which can give rise to the coining of anthropo-toponyms and ownership should not be viewed as the only factor in coining these names. Such patterns are not only relevant for anthropo-toponyms, and the importance of event-naming should be further studied in toponomastics as a whole. The investigation has also shown that Norse Lewis anthropo-toponyms have been seriously overlooked in previous scholarship, and that there is plenty of scope for further detailed studies in this area. One of the main issues when studying Norse Lewis toponyms has been the lack of direct contextual evidence. However, it is significant to remember that just because they are not clearly visible to us, we should not assume that the naming-patterns were uniform. Rather, it is more likely that the material reflects a situation comparable to that found in Iceland, particularly if we consider what people's perception of the origins of their toponyms were. Additionally, the close association between toponyms and identity, especially in a medieval landscape, should be further emphasised. *LNB* material demonstrates that individuals were often instrisically linked to the places they settled and named. In the context of Norse toponyms, the religious and mythological dimension has been left rather open, with the conclusion that we may find dedications to the gods Þórr and Ullr in Lewis, but that further investigations into the wider context of Scandinavian beliefs are necessary.

6.2.4 Future studies

Anthropo-toponyms are a rich and diverse area of study. Further research highlighting the particular nature of these names can contribute to expanding the current view of their properties. As final proof of the relatively neglected status of anthropo-toponyms I would

like to draw attention to the *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming* (2016) which currently forms the most comprehensive account of onomastics as a whole. Despite covering a large number of topics, ranging from settlement names and nicknames to commercial names and aircraft names, there is no chapter specifically looking at the interface between anthroponyms and toponyms. Studies highlighting the importance of this area may, however, make such a chapter possiblie in future editions. Whilst this study has taken an inclusive, comparative approach, with material from a number of linguistic and cultural environments, future studies focusing more closely on specific areas, languages, and topics are necessary. For example, Norse anthropo-toponyms in the Hebrides would benefit from further detailed studies in which the Icelandic dimension is carefully considered. Additionally, simply acknowledging the fact that Norse anthropo-toponyms in Britain and Ireland are not necessarily a reflection of ownership can provide new insights into the available material. In particular, we should consider the possibility for event-names and names associated with religious beliefs. Other anthropo-toponymic studies could be approached in various ways, but I believe that an interdisciplinary survey of toponyms with traditions relating to drownings (real or perceived), combining aspects of geography, onomastics, history, and literature could yield fruitful results. We should also continue to bridge the gap between anthroponymy and toponymy. This study has primarily been approached from a toponymic perspective, but it is clear that considering anthropological and psychological aspects of naming can be beneficial.

6.3 Final thoughts

Finally, it is appropriate to return to the two examples introduced at the beginning of the thesis. The first example, *Lockyer Land* can be classified fairly easily and should belong to AntClas7 (Transferred association). The example of *Rome* is slightly more complicated as the anthroponymic associations are largely folkloric and the result of narrative re-interpretation, but we find parallels to several of the instances of re-interpretation raised throughout. Therefore according to the classification, *Rome* belongs in AntClas6.a (Mythology and folklore - Name related re-interpretation). This final example reveals the fascinating nature of anthropo-toponyms and the fact that they are often not as straightforward as they initially appear. I hope that I have been able to demonstrate the richness of the material and that the reader finds that there is indeed a case for establishing anthropo-toponymy as a recognised sub-branch of onomastics.

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Appendix 1 Complete list of Gaelic Lewis anthropo-toponyms

Cleite **Adhamh** NB052282

Situation: 'Adjoining to and north of Tarain, 100 chains N. By E. Of Taithabhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A steep rocky heathy hill affording very poor and scanty pasture.
Signifies Adam's Eminence' (OSNB OS1/27/77/19)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *Adhamh* (Adam), m.

Baile **Ailein** NB287207

Situation: 'Between the Harris Road and the northern bank of Loch Erisort and from 12
to 14 miles South West of Stornoway.'
Descriptive remarks: 'One of the largest villages in 'Lewis' composed of a number of
detached huts extending along the northern margin of Loch Erisort forming nearly a
parallel[ ] run of about 2 miles in length by ½ in bredth. They are partly built of peat
sods and stones and the roofs thatched with straw, the interior are usually very filthy the
whole presenting a very humble appearance. Signifies Allans Town.' (OSNB
OS1/27/106/24)

G *baile* 'a town' + pn *Ailean* (Alan), m.

Cnoc **Ailean** # NB094369

Situation: 'In the West centre of the plan 40 chains S.E. of the letter U. in Uig parish
name, at the Eastern side of Valtos Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill on the shore of Loch Roag, on which are two
old enclosures. "Cnoc Ailean" signifies Allan's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/42/61)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Ailean* (Alan), m.

Cnoc **Ailean** # NB199427

Situation: 'Adjoining to and East of Beinn Bheag, Eight chains South by West of Loch
an Tabhan.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small arable hillock, on the Southern base of which are the ruins
of a couple of huts. "Cnoc Ailean" signifies Allan's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/43)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Ailean* (Alan), m.

Loch Crois **Ailein** NB385160

Situation: 'In the western side of the plan, 40 chains N.W. of Grabhir village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A long narrow fresh water loch N. of Gravir village, its shape is very irregular, the western portion is connected to the eastern by a narrow channel not more than two chains wide and about twelve long. It is moderately deep and discharges a large stream and receives several others. Signifies Allan's Cross Loch' (OSNB OS1/27/113/29)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Crois Ailein* < G *crois* 'cross' 'a cross' + pn *Ailean* (Alan), m.

Port **Alasdair** NB557600

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the eastern side of the plan, 100 chains E.N.E. of Campar Mor.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek, or indentationin the sea-shore, which has a small beach at low water. It is surrounded by a steep cliff. Signifies Alexander's Port.' (OSNB OS1/27/4/35)

G *port* 'a port, a dock' + pn *Alasdair* (Alexander), m.

Stac **Alasdair** # NB128305

Situation: 'In Loch Roag 131 chains W.S.W. of the Trigt. Station on Beinn Drobhinish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large rock, standing about six feet from the level of the rock, of which it forms a part and is covered at high water of spring tides Stac Alasdair Signifies Alexander's Rock or Pillar' (OSNB OS1/27/62/82)

G *stac* 'a precipice, a steep/high cliff' + pn *Alasdair* (Alexander), m.

Tom **Seilisdeir** [Alasdair] NB368285
OS1 *Tom Alastair*

Situation: 'It is 4 ½ miles S. West of Stornoway 15 chains East of the road from thence to Harris.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large rocky hill on which is a Trig Station. It is about 6 miles from Stornoway on the road leading from thence to Harris Tom Alastair = Alexanders Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/70/32)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Alasdair* (Alexander), m.

Airigh **an t-Saoir** NB208420

GPNC, 151 (a man's nickname)

Situation: 'On the Western bank of Amhuinn Carlobhaidh, adjacent to the Eastern base of Talamh Flod.'
Descriptive remarks: 'The ruin of a shealing which was built of peat sods and stones. "Airidh an t-Saoir" signifies Carpenter's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/65)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *An t-saor* 'the carpenter' (nickname)

Abhainn **Aonghais** NB462384

Situation: 'In the farm of Upper Coll on the West side of the Gress Road and which it crosses and falls into Broad Bay.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small river flowing into Oitir Chuil. Amhuinn Aonghais signifies Angus's River.' (OSNB OS1/27/53/9)

G *abhainn* 'a river, a stream' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Carn **Aonghais** NB377159 (not on OS1)

G *càrn* 'a cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Clach Airigh **Aonghais** NB359493

Unable to find OSNB entry.

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + en *Airigh Aonghais* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Clach **Aonghais** NB003286

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 110 ch" [?] N.W. of Mealasbhal.'

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Descriptive remarks: 'A large flat rock of a green color. It is about 5 feet high and very conspicuous. Signifies Angus's Stone.' (OSNB OS1/27/76/21)

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Cnoc **Aonghais** NB134276

Situation: 'In the western centre of the plan, 80 chains W.N.W. of Druim nan Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small round hill of rocky heathy and mossy pasture, and over which passes a fence, Cnoc Aonghais Signifies Angus Hill,' (OSNB OS1/27/81/19)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Drochaid **Aonghais** NB461385 (not on OS1)

G *drochaid* 'a bridge' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Gil **Aonghais** NB008288

Situation: 'In the northern side of the plan, at the Eastern base of Druim Raoidhs, 110 chs" [?] N.N.West of Mealasbhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A narrow hollow, or Glen, It is smooth and shallow, and covered with rocky heathy pasture and moss. Signifies Angus's Glen or Hollow' (OSNB OS1/27/76/50)

G *gil* 'a gully' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Màs Leac **Aonghais** NB175433

Situation: 'In the North Eastern section of the plan, 7 chains N.W. of the letter C in Lochs parish name, and 30 chs. N.W. by N. of Beinn Laimisheadar.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek, on the sea shore surrounded by a bold rocky cliff. There are isolated stratified rocks seen at Low water. Màs Leac Aonghais signifies Bottom or Base of Angus's Flag or Flat Rock.' (OSNB OS/1/27/25/68)

G *màs* 'bottom, behind' + G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + pn *Aonghas* (Angus), m.

Àirigh **Aonghais Taillear** NB271306

Situation: 'It is 6 ½ miles East by South of Callernish 6 chains north of the Stornoway road 48 c hains E by South of Iomluachair.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A rock on which is a small shealing from which it takes its name. It lies close to the Stornoway & Callernish road about 12 miles from Stornoway Airidh Aonghais Tailear Signifies Angus the Tailor's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/69/5)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Aonghas Tàillear*, m.

Artoir Lag **Artoir** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy pasture Glen, through which flows Allt Lag Artoir. Signifies Arthur's Hollow.' (OSNB OS1/27/132/22)

G *lag* 'a cavity, a hollow' + pn *Artair* (Arthur)

St **Aula**'s Church (remains of) / Teampall **Amhlaigh** NB490415
OS1 *Cross Church*

Unable to find OSNB entry.

G *teampall* 'a church' + pn (St) *Olaf* (king of Norway)

Airigh **Aulaidh** NB148122

Situation: 'In the south Eastern section of the plan 84 chains south of the letter G. in Uig parish name and 40 chains South of Creag na Lubaig.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A shealing in ruins, on the bank of Gil Airidh Aulaidh It was built of peat sods and stones. Signifies Aulays Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/114/19)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Amhlaigh* (Aulay), m.

Airigh **Aulaidh** NB329120

Situation: 'On the Southern side of the plan, 90 chains W. by N. of Stiomrabhagh Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small low rocky heathy and arable hill. Signifies Aulay's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/120/44)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Amhlaigh* (Aulay), m.

Buaile Airidh **Aulaidh** # NA994259

Situation: 'On the Eastern side of Breidhnis Village, 120 ch" [?] W.S.West of Mealasbhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small, low and nearly round mossy and rocky heathy pasture hill, on which is an old fence. Signifies Aulay's Shealing Park.' (OSNB OS1/27/76/69)

G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + en *Airigh Aulaidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Amhlaigh* (Aulay), m.

Carnan **Aulaidh** NB160347

Situation: 'In the Southern margin of the plan, 64 chains South of the letter I in Uig parish name, and 106 chains South of Breacleit Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small round hillock which forms the top of Chleiter, on which is a Trigt. Station, there is no carn on this hill,' (OSNB OS1/27/43/116)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Amhlaigh* (Aulay), m.

Cleit **Aulaidh** NB201395

Situation: 'Adjoining to, and on the East side of the Callernish and Barvas road, on the West side of Oirtheanan.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A large rocky heathy hill. "Cleit Aulaidh" signifies Aulay's Cliff or Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/44/69)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *Amhlaigh* (Aulay), m.

Cnoc **Aulaidh** # NB145366

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 40 chains W.N.W of the letter U, in Uig parish name, and 82 W. by S. of Breacleit Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small round arable [hill crossed out], and rocky arable hill, in the village of Valasie "Cnoc Aulaidh" Signifies Aulay's Hill.'

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Amhlaidh* (Aulay), m.

Totaichean **Aulaidh** NB352176

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Sithean Totaichean Aulaidh 110 chains N.E. by E. of Beinn Buidhe.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Four shealings, one of which is a ruin. They are built of peat sods and stones. Signifies Aulay's Roofless Walls.'

G *tobhta* 'a ruin (of a building)' + pn *Amhlaigh* (Aulay), m.

Cnoc **Barbara** NB213413

Unable to find OSNB entry.

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Barbara* (Barbara), f.

Geodha **Bean Mhic Iain Oig** (Crossed Out, around NB536501)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small sharp point at high water at the extremity of Port na Claich.' (OSNB OS1/27/22/37)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + G *Bean Mhic Iain Òig* < G *bean* 'wife' + pn *Mac Iain Òig*

Geodha **Bean Mhurchaidh** NB555371
See 2.1.1

Sgeir Mhara na **Birlinn** NB133252

Situation: 'On the western side of Little Loch Roag 75 chains N.E. by N. of Loch Phudharoil.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rock at low water on the western shore of Little Loch Roag, It is black, low and scarcely distinguishable from the adjacent shore, Sgeir Mhara na Birlinn Signifies Mherry's Sea Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/83/44)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + G *muir* 'sea' + ?pn *Birlinn* or ?G *méirneal* 'merlin'

Bogha **Bridog** NB248013

Situation: 'In the sea on the western side of the plan, 10 chains south of Rudha Bhridog.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low water rock at the mouth of Loch Seaforth, and about give chains south of Rudha Bhridog. It is about seventy links long, by thirty links wise, and cannot be seen until about half tide.' (OSNB OS1/27/133/9)

G *bogha* 'a bow, a bend' + ?pn *Bridog*, ?m.

Rubha **Briodog** NB246015

Situation: 'On the sea coast in the western side of the plan, at the southern end of Caiteseal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low but prominent headland at the mouth of Loch Seaforth. It forms the most southern point of Caitseal which is a remarkable hill. It is composed of a number of rocky knolls but has no defined termination towards the north, it being merely the continuation of Caitseal.' (OSNB OS1/27/133/8)

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + ?pn *Bridog*, ?m.

Teampull **Bhrighid** (site of) NB409573

See 2.1.2

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*Tobar **Bhrighid** # NB410573

See 2.1.2

Beinn **Chailein** NB349372

Situation: 'It is 5 miles N.N.West of Stornoway and about 2 miles North of the Stornoway and Callernish road.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A tolerably large hill of rocky heathy pasture, on which is a Trigt. Station called Benmulloch. Beinn Chailean signifies Colins Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/54/5)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Cailean* (Colin), m.

Beinn **Chaillein** NB481425

Situation: 'On the Eastern bank of Amhuinn Ghriais ¾ of a mile North of Back Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large hill on which is a Trigt Station. Beinn Chailean signifies Colins Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/23)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Cailean* (Colin), m.

Cnoc **Chailein** NB537354

Situation: 'This is in the same locality as the above and a few chains north of it.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small heathy hill[164] adjoining Cnochasepie and in the farm of Suilshader.' (OSNB OS1/27/55/31)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Cailean* (Colin), m.

Grainn **Chailean** NB157383

Situation: 'In the South Eastern section of the plan, 40 chains S. by E. of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 90 chains S.E. by E. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small portion of arable land, on the sea shore, it appears that this portion of cultivated land belonged formerly to a person of the name of Colin, from which it is supposed to have derived its name. Grainn Chailean signifies Colin's Disgust or Loathing.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/39)

G ?*grainn* 'loathing' + pn *Cailean* (Colin), m.

Sgeir **Chaptein Grenn** NB174423

See 2.1.1

Cnoc **Chaitriana** NB478395

See 2.1.2

Geodha **Caitriana** NB181367

Situation: 'On the Eastern side of Great Bernera Island 5 chains South East of Geodha Lamaragolag.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek or indentation of the sea shore. "Geodha Catriane" signifies Catharine's Creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/30)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Catrìona* (Catherine), f.

Eilean **Chaluim Chille** NB385214

See 2.1.2

Allt **Chalum Ghille** NB543483

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[164] note: from 'a small heathy hill' in different hand-writing, one section crossed out and replaced with farm

Situation: 'Flows E. in the N.E. section of the plan and falls into the sea, 40 ch. N.N.E. of Tolastadh o Dheas Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream which has its rise in the moss crosses the road leading from Stornoway to Ness and empties itself into the sea after passing by the Village of Tolsta. Signifies Stream of Malcolm's Lad.' (OSNB OS1/27/24/11)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + pn *Calum Ghille*, m.

Sìthean **Chalum Ghille** NB153334

See 2.1.2

Allt **Catriane** NB361372

Situation: 'Rises near the Eastern base of Beinn Mholach and flows toward the South East and falls into Amhuinn [*sic*] Laxdale.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, which rises in the East side of Beinn Mulloch. Allt Catriane signifies Catherines Stream.' (OSNBS OS1/27/49/16)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + pn *Catrìona* (Catherine), f.

Cleite **Catriona** NB313118

See 2.1.2

Clach **Chlann Allain** # NB142361

Situation: 'In the Western centre of the plan, 48 chains West by South of the letter U. in Uig parish name, 103 chains S.W. of Breacleit Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small low water rock, in Caolas Bhalasea which is very dangerous for small boats or vessels, in consequence of its not being visible except at low water.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/28)

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + G *Clann Ailein*

Moine **Chlann Iain Oig** # NB148330

Situation: 'On the southern side of Loch Roag, 38 chains north of the north western base of Beinn Drobhinish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small point of Land, of Rocky heathy pasture, "Moine Chlann Iain Oìg" Signifies The Peats of Young John's Children.' (OSNB OS1/27/62/14)

G *mòine* 'a peat, a peat-bog, a moor' + G *Clann Iain Òig*

Airigh **Chlainn Neil** NB166135

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, at the Western base of Liuthaid.'
Descriptive remarks: 'Two shealings in ruin South of Chleit Earscleit which were built of peat sods and stones. Signifies Shealing of Neil's Children.' (OSNB OS1/27/115/25)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + G *Clann Nèill*

Mula **Chlainn Neil** NB175137
OS1 *Mulo Chlainn Neil*

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, on the top of Liuthaid.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small Hill on the Top of Liuthaid, on which is a Trigt. Station' (OSNB OS1/27/115/25)

G *mula*? 'a stack' + G *Clann Nèill*

Bàgh **Chlann Neill** NB131400

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan, 38 chains N.W. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 60 chains N.N.W of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small bay, which is surrounded by a rocky low shore, and the portion between high and low water mark is composed of boulders, and a few rocks at high water mark. "Bagh Chlann Nèil" signifies Niel's Children's Bay.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/157)

G *bàgh* 'a bay, a cove' + G *Clann Nèill*

Bàgh **Chlann Neill** NB435983

Situation: 'On the eastern side of Eilean Mhuire, 15 chs. S.E. of Airidh Mhuire.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A bay of a semi circular shape, on the Eastern coast of Mary's Island. At its south end, it terminates in a small cove, about five chains long by forty links wide, in which boats sometimes seek a temporary shelter from the west wind. Signifies Neil's Childrens' Bay.' (OSNB OS1/27/134/21)

G *bàgh* 'a bay, a cove' + G *Clann Nèill*

Cnoc **Eoin** NB518336

See 2.1.2

Cnoc **Ni' Bheilder** # NB153345 [note: other modes of spelling: Cnoc na Bheilder]

Situation: 'on the southern side of Great Bernera Island adjacent to and East of Tacleit village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill of rocky and arable pasture,' (OSNB OS1/27/60/32)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + ?pn *Ni Bheilder*, f.

Airigh **Choinnich** NB488467

Situation: 'On the Northern margin of Loch Airidh Choinnich.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Two shealings in ruins. Airidh Choinnich signifies Kenneth's Shealing.'' (OSNB OS1/27/38/39)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Airigh Cùl **Choinnich** NB443414

Situation: 'On the Western side of Gile an t-Sagairt and at the South Eastern base of Cnoc na Caorach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of a shealing on the edge of Gile an Sagart. Airidh Cùl Choínnich signifies Back of Kenneth's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/37/34)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + G *cùl* 'back' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Beinn **Choinnich** NB280431

Situation: 'Adjoining to and East of Beinn Chrotaich[?] and South of Creag Leathan and Beinn Sheithabhall.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large & rocky hill. Beinn Choinnich signifies Kenneth's Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/30/23)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Cotan **Choinnich** # NB209443

Situation: 'On the Eastern margin of Loch Sgórashal, adjoining to, and South of Sgorashal Mhor.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low flat, rocky heathy hill. "Cotan Choinnich" signifies Kenneth's Pin-fold.' (OSNB OS1/27/26/48)

G *cotan* 'a fold/pen for young animals' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Eilean **Choinnich** NB231383

Situation: 'Near the Southern end of Loch LAcsabhat Iorach 2 chains East of Eilean na h Iolaire.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small island. Eilean Choinnich signifies Kenneth's Island.' (OSNB OS1/27/44/83)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Gearraidh **Choinnich** NB282429

Unable to find OSNB entry.

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Loch Airigh **Choinnich** NB369145

Situation: 'On the Southern side of the plan, 60 chains S.W by W. of Airidh Dhriseach Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch, about five chains by three, out of which flows a small stream into Loch na Cuile Signifies Kenneth's Shealing Loch' (OSNB OS1/27/112/38)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Airigh Choinnich* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

Tota **Choinnich** NB112164

Situation: 'At the junction of Amhuinn Mhor Chann Resort, Amhuinn a Chlair Bhig and Allt Gil a Chlair Mhoir.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A cluster of shealings [ ] in ruins, which were built of peat sods & stones. The name Signifies Kenneth's Ruins.' (OSNB OS1/27/101/18)

G *tobhta* 'a ruin (of a building)' + pn *Coinneach* (Kenneth), m.

St **Columb**'s Church (remains of) NB385210

See 2.1.2

Stac a' **Chonuil** NB506418

Situation: 'On the sea shore two chains West of Sgeir Shaile.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky island at low water. No signification can be given for this name.' (OSNB OS1/27/39/78)

G *stac* 'a precipice, a steep/high cliff' + ?pn *Conall*, m.

Dùn **Chonaill** NB262159

See 2.1.1

Bogha **Charmaig** NB130414

Situation: 'In the North Western section of the plan, 115 chains N.W. by N. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stratified low water rock, on which there is generally a very heavy swell at low water, which causes it not to be very dangerous as it can be seen at a distance.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/251)

G *bogha* 'a bow, a bend' + pn *Cormag* (Cormack), m.

St **Cowstans** Chapel NB515335

See 2.1.2

Cnoc Buaile **Chrìsgean** NB247477

Situation: 'Adjacent to and West of Leathad Mòr on the North East side of Sheabost a Deas village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill, partly arable, and partly rocky heathy pasture.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/20)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en *Buaile Chrisgean < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + ?pn *Crìsgean*, m.

Knock **Crishnie** NB293488

Situation: 'Adjoining to and East of Cnoc, half a mile north of Bragair a Tuath.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill, on which are the ruins of two houses or huts.'
(OSNB OS1/27/15/20)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Risnidh* (Ritchie)

Loch **Dhaibhidh** # NB562375

Situation: 'Near the Northern part of Eye District on the boundary between the farm of
Portmholler and Portnan Guiran.'
Descriptive remarks[165]: 'A little pool of water on the Boundary between Portnaguran
and Portmoller farm in the farm of Portnaguiran.' (OSNB OS1/27/55/7)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Dàbhaidh* (David, Davy), m.

Airigh an **Domhnuill** NB268107

Situation: 'In Gleann Airidh an Domhnuill, 90 chains N.E. by N. of Beinn Mhor.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A number of shealings in ruins with a small portion of arable or
green pasture around them there is one of them larger than the usual size, and one
situated along and on both sides of Amhuinn Gleann Airidh an Domhnuill. Signifies
Donald's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/121/6)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + G *an Dòmhnuill* 'the Donald'

Cleite **Dhomhnuill** NB074366

Situation: 'On the Western bank of Camus na Cleibhe 125 chains E.S.E. of Aird Uige
village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rugged rocky hill on which is a Trigt Station. "Cleite
Dhomhnuill" signifies Donald's Hill or Eminence.' (OSNB OS1/27/40/24)

Situation: 'On the western side of Loch Roag, about two miles South East of Gallon
Head. and 1 Mile North of Gleann Bhaltois.'

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[165] N.B. in different hand-writing.

Descriptive remarks: 'A bold rocky Heathy hill on which is a Trigt. Station. "Cleite Dhomhnuill" signifies Donald's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/59/31)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald), m.

Druim Airidh **Dhomhnuill** (does not appear on OS1, around NB224404, does not survive on OS)

Situation: 'On the Eastern side of Amhuinn Charlobhaidh, adjoining to and North of Cleite Dubh.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy rocky heathy hill, but on which there is no shealing. "Druim Airigh Dhomhnuill" signifies Donald's Shealing's Eminence.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/96)
G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en **Airidh Dhomhnuill* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald), m.

Peighinn **Dhomhnuill** # NB044320

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 170 chs. West by North of Suainabhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of a village of huts, with a portion of good arable land attached. Signifies Donald's Penny.' (OSNB OS1/27/58/24)

G *peighinn* 'a penny, pennyland' + pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald), m.

Tom **Dhòmhnaill** NA995226

Situation: 'In the northern side of the plan, 50 chains N.W. of Griomabhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hillock The rocks on it are small and few and the pasture good. The name signifies Donald's Hillock' (OSNB OS1/27/95/42)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald), m.

Tom **Dhomhnuill** NB081316

Situation: 'In the north western side of the plan 60 chains noth west of the letter U in Uig parish name, and 210 chains W. by N. of Ungashader.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A large rocky heathy hill. "Tom Dhomhnuill" signifies Donald's Hill or Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/61/15)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald), m.

Tom **Dhomhnuill** NB118320

Situation: 'In the north Eastern corner of the plan, 79 chains north of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 120 chains N. [by W crossed out] of Ungashader.'

Descriptive remarks: 'This is a small rocky heathy knoll. "Tom Dhomhnuill" signifies Donald's Hillock' (OSNB OS1/27/61/33)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Dòmhnall* (Donald), m.

Airidh an **Domhnullaich** # NB524565

Situation: 'On the Eastern side of the plan, 120 chains E. of Beinn Dhail.'

Descriptive remarks: ,A small shealing in ruin, which was build of peat, moss and stone.' (OSNB OS1/27/9/34)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + G *an Dòmhnallach* 'the MacDonald'

Àirigh an **Domhnullaich** NB029246

Situation: 'In the western side of the plan, 90 chains WS.W. of Teinneasbhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A shieling in ruins which was built of stone a portion of the walls is still standing. The name Signifies Mc Donald's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/79/35)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + G *an Dòmhnallach* 'the MacDonald'

Loch **Dhòmhnaill Bhig** NB291221

Situation: 'It lies at the Eastern base of Gil nan Uan and on the western side of Bhatarall Bheag.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large irregular loch in which are several islands Loch Dhomhnuill Bhig Signifies Little Donald's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/90/39)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Dòmhnall Beag*, m.

Airigh **Dhomhnuill Chàim** NB243147

See 2.1.1

Priosan **Dhòmhnuill Chaim** NB36554

See 2.1.1

Stac **Dhòmhnaill Chaim** NB002315

See 2.1.1

Sgeir **Dhomhnuill Chuagaich** NB173378

Situation: 'In the Eastern section of the plan, 86 chains N. by E. of the letter G. in Uig parish name, and 66 chains N.E. of Breacleit Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small low water rock, in Caolas Eilean Bheag, of which there is very little to be seen at low water. Sgeir Dhomhnuill Chuagaich signifies Lame Donald's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/77)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Dòmhnall Cuagach*, m

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Loch **Dhomhnuill Mhic Eachainn** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A very small fresh water loch or pool, out of which flows Allt na Saighde, and into which flows a small nameless stream. Signifies Donald Hector's Son's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/120/55)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Dómhnall Mac Eòghainn*, m.

Geodha **Dhomhnuil Mhic Iain** # (around NB529654)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small cove on the sea-shore East of Teampull Ronaidh. Its shore is very rugged, and attached to it are several high water rocks. Signifies the Cove of Donald John's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/2/18)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Dòmhnall Mac Iain*, m.

Long **Dhòmhnuill Mhic Uilleam** NB562609

Situation: 'On the sea coast in the eastern side of the plan, 140 chains N.E. of Campar Mor.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, nearly around, high water rock, with no vegetation on it. It is about 40 feet high. Signifies Ship of Donald William's son.' (OSNB OS1/27/4/28)

G *long* 'a ship' + pn *Dòmhnall Mac Uilleim*, m.

Muilionn **Dhomhnuill Mhuirich** # NB157363

Situation: 'In the Eastern centre of the plan, 22 chains E. by N. Of the letter U. In Uig parish name, and 36 chs S.W. of Breacleit Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of a small corn mill. (built of stone) about 10 feet square. Muilionn Dhomhnuill Mhuirich signifies Mill of Donald Murdo's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/66)

G *muileann* 'a mill' + pn *Dòmhnall Mhurchaidh*, m.

Carnan **Dhomhnuill Oig** NB251330

Situation: 'A quarter of a mile west of Loch an Tairbert and 12 chains South by East of Loch Cleadhaich.'

Descriptive remarks: 'This ia a hillock on which is a Shealing It is adjacent to Loch Cladhaich. there are a couple of small nameless Lochs adjacent to this Hillock Càrnan Dhomhnuill Signifies Young Donalds Pile' (OSNB OS1/27/64/18)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Dòmhnall Òg*, m.

Cleite **Dhomhnuill Ruaidh** (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small high water rock between Caolas Lobasgeir, and Caolas Tarsgeir. It stands perpendicularly out of the water to a height of about 40 feet, The passage which separates it from Lobasgeir is about 10 feet wide and very deep. Signifies Red Haired Donald's Eminence' (OSNB OS1/27/136/30)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *Dòmhnall Ruadh*, m.

Allt **Dhonnachaidh** NB384416

Situation: 'Nearly midway between Tom Dhonnchaid and Eubhat na Liana Bàine. It falls into Gleann Airidh na Fang.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream rising in the moor near the base of Tom Donnche and emptying into Gleann Airidh a Fang. Allt Dhonnachaidh signifies Duncans Stream.' (OSNB OS1/27/36/18)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Àirigh **Dhonnachaidh** NB038275

Situation: 'On the Eastern margin of Loch Raonasgail, 70 chans N.W. by N. of Taithabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of three shealings which were built of stone, portions of the walls of which still remain. Signifies Duncan's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/77/37)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Buaile **Dhonnachaidh** NB368537

Situation: 'On the northern side of the plan, 100 chains North of Barabhas Uarach Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large extent of moor adjacent to the sea caost. It produces very indifferent mossy pasture and has a small rising ground on its Western side. Signifies Duncan's Peats.' (OSNB OS1/27/14/20)

G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Cnoc Buaile **Dhonnachadh** NB192414

Situation: 'On the Western side of the Callernish and Barvas road, adjacent to and South of Rothasgeir.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill. The detached boundary between Lochs and Uig, runs between it and Beinn Dun. "Cnoc Buaile Dhonnchaidh" signifies Duncan's Rock Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/20)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Buaile Dhonnachadh* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Dhonnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Cnoc Buaile **Dhonnachaidh** NB214358

Situation: 'On the Northern side of Breascleit village, adjoining to and West of Cnoc Leathainn.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill. "Cnoc Buaile Dhonnchaidh" signifies Duncan's Park Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/60)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en *Buaile Dhonnachaidh* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Cnoc **Dhonnachaidh** NB185328

Situation: 'On the Southern bank of Loch Roag midway between Beinn Thinndealan and Tob Linndail.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A long narrow rocky hill. Cnoc Dhonnchaidh signifies Duncans Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/63/58)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Gleann **Dhonnachaidh** NB041210

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 110 chs. South of Tamanaisbhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small and very shallow glen, [section crossed out] which produces tolerable moor pasture, Signifies Duncans Glen,' (OSNB OS1/27/96/15)

G *gleann* 'a glen, a valley' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Poll **Dhonnachaidh** NB298011

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the Eastern side of the plan 10 chains East of Loch Bhalamuis.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, but deep, salt water loch, which extends in a North Westerly direction and nearly joins Loch Bhalamuis at its head. At high tides a small beach is visible Its shore is steep and rugged. Signifies Duncan's Pool' (OSNB OS1/27/133/35)

G *poll* 'a mire, a pond, a pool, a peat bank' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Sgeir **Dhonnachaidh** # NB138381

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan, 60 chains S. by E. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 67 chains S.S.W. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small low water rock in Camus Shonnthig, which produces a considerable quantity of sea weed. Sgeir Dhonnachaidh signifies Duncan's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/94)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Tom **Dhonnachaidh** NB377410

Situation: 'A quarter of a mile West of Tom Sealga 7 miles North West of Stornoway.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy hill on which is a Trigt. Station named Clahire(?).
Tom Dhonnachaidh signifies Duncan's Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/36/17)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Donnchadh* (Duncan), m.

Loch **Dhonnachaidh an Droma** NB256405

Situation: 'At the Southern base of Toma Giara, a little more than half a mile East of
Loch Shanndabhat.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch, out of which flows Feadan na Gille.
"Loch Dhoonnchaidh an Droma" signifies Duncan's Loch of the Eminence.' (OSNB
OS1/27/45/25)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Donnchadh an Droma*, m.

Airigh **Dhughaill** NB503508 (OS VectorMap)

Situation: 'In the North Eastern section of the plan, on the northern side of Gleann Mor,
100 chains E.N.E of Beinn Mheadhonach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'Two shealings on the South side of Gleann Mhor. Signifies
Dugald's Shealings.' (OSNB OS1/27/21/12)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Dùghall* (Dougal), m.

Cnoc **Dhughaill** # NB153399

Situation: 'In the North Eastern section of the plan, 43 chains N.E. of the letter I. in Uig
parish name, and 60 chains E.N.E. of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small long hill of rocky pasture. "Cnoc Dhughaill" signifies
Dugal's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/262)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Dùghall* (Dougal), m.

Allt Sniomh **Eanruig** NB036258

Situation: 'Flows from the western side of Taithabhal into Amhuinn Fhid, 35 chains S. of Loch Raonasgail.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream which flows from Taithabhàl into Amhainn Fhìd. It flows through a deep channel, on either side of which is a quantity of red clay & gravel, cast up by it in times of floods Signifies Henry's Spinning Stream.' (OSNB OS1/27/77/46)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + G *snìomh* 'twist, curl' + pn *Eanraig* (Henry), m

Beinn **Eanruig** # NB525305

Situation: 'On the sea coast in the South Western portion of Eye about 50 chains South of Pabaill Ard village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill on the sea shore, Bounded by the stream "Allt [section crossed out] Driseach [?]" on the North side and the sea on the East. Beinn Aenric signifies Henrys Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/75/17)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Eanraig* (Henry), m.

Cnoc **Eanruig** NB407250

Situation: 'Adjoining to and West of Cnoc a' Mhiosaid, and East of Cnoc Scealasal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill, on which are a few houses. Cnoc Eanruig Signifies Henry's Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/93/44)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Eanraig* (Henry), m.

Tigh **Eanraic** (in ruins) # NB44337
See 2.1.1

Àirigh **Eibhric Bàine** NB208235

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan, 48 chains S.E. by East of the letter G, in Uig parish name, and 60 chains S. by W. of Cireabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Three shealings two of which are in ruins the other is inhabited for about 6 weeks in the summer season "Airidh Eibhric a Baine" Signifies Fair Haired Henrietta's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/86/68)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Oighrig Bhàine*, f.

Garadh **Eigineach** NB130245, NB132244

Situation: 'On the west side of the head of little Loch Roag, 55 chs E.N.E. of Loch Phudharoil.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small round rocky heathy knoll, which abounds with rock, and produces little pasture, It is bounded on the Southern side by Gàraidh Eignaig,' (OSNB OS1/27/83/101)

G *gàradh* 'a garden, a wall, a dyke, a mound' + ?pn *Eigineach, Eineig* (?Evanderina), f.

Beinn **Eineig** NB213285

Situation: 'In the northern section of the plan, 45 chains north of the letter U, in Uig parish name, and 180 chains E. Of Griosamol.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large rocky heathy hill, on which is a Trigt Station, Beinn Eineig Signifies Evanderina's Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/84/55)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + ?pn *Eigineach, Eineig* (?Evanderina), f.

Leac **Eiric a' Buidhe** NB522442

Situation: 'In Port Bun a Ghlinne 7 chains South of Bun a Ghlinne.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small headland or promontory in Port Bonna Gleanna. Leac Eiric a Buidhe signifies Yellow Henriettas Flag or Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/89)

G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + pn *Oighrig a' Buidhe* ('the yellow Henrietta'), f.

Crò **Firig**? [**Eirig**] NB155343

OS1: Cro Eirig NB155343

Situation: 'In Loch Roag at the Southern side of Great Bernera Island 17 chains South East of Tacleit Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A cluster of flat rocks, between high and low water mark, "Cro Eirig" Signifies Henrietta's Fold' (OSNB OS1/27/60/40)

G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn *Oighrig* (Euphemia), f.

Cnoc Airigh **Eòghainn** NB248471

Situation: 'On the Eastern side of Sheabost a Deas village, and adjacent to and North of Cnoc an Fhuarain.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hillock, arable rocky pasture. Cnoc Airidh Eòghainn signifies Ewen's Shealing Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/32)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Airigh Eòghainn* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Eòghann* (Ewan), m.

Sgeir **Eòghainn** NA981255

Situation: 'Off the coast of Aird Bhreidhnis, 20 chains W. by S. of Breidhnis village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'This is a small isolated stratified high water rock Signifies Ewen's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/78/21)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Eòghann* (Ewan), m

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Allt Buail' **Eoin** NB518340

Situation: 'In the farm of Garrabost four or five chains West of the village above mentioned.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream[166] having its source in Garrabost Village and emptying into Allt na Muil near the Free Church. It is in the farm of Garrabost.' (OSNB OS1/27/55/46)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en **Buail' Eoin* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn (?St) *John*

(this is right next to *Cnoc Eoin*, but is not included in DoSH)

Teampull **Coin** [**Eoin**] (remains of) NB288489

See 2.1.2

Àirigh **Fhearchair** NB342195 (not on OS1)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Fearchar* (Farquhar), m.

Airigh **Fhionlaidh** NB367370

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[166] note: from 'a small stream' in different hand-writing, one section crossed out and replaced with farm.

Situation: 'One mile East of Beinn Chailean and two miles North of the Stornoway & Callernish road.'

Descriptive remarks: 'This name applies to town shealings on the northern bank of Amhuinn Lacasdaill in two groups about 20 chains apart. Airidh Fhionlaidh signifies Philips Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/54/6)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Rudha **Fionnaghal** # NA994286

Situation: 'On the Sea Coast in the N.W. section of the plan, 140 chains N.W. by W. of Mealasbhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small but steep and rocky headland, at the northern entrance of Geodha na Gile, altho very steep and rugged it is not inaccessible. Signifies Flora's Point' (OSNB OS1/27/76/15)

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + pn *Fionn(a)ghal* (Flora or Florence/Fiona)

Acarsaid **Fhionnlaidh** NB500416

Situation: 'On the sea shore between Cnoc Buaile Thorradhol and Gearraidh na Muilne.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small portion of sea shore on which small boats land. Acarsaid Fhionnlaidh signifies Philip's Harbour or Haven.' (OSNB OS1/27/39/81)

G acarsaid 'anchorage, harbour' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Àirigh **Fhionnlaidh** NB206381

Situation: 'Between the Callernish and Barvas road and Loch na Muil'ne, 12 chains East of Cnoc a Bhoineid.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small portion of rocky land. Airidh Fhionnlaidh, signifies Finlay's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/44/61)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Cnoc **Fhionnlaidh** NB386544

Situation: 'In the western side of the plan, 20 chains South W. of Seadeir Iochdrach village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, round, low, arable hill, in the village of Sheadair Iochdrach, on which are the remains of a few houses in ruins. There is a small road leading through it. Signifies Finlays Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/7/14)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Sgeir **Fhionnlaidh** NB242478

Situation: 'On the West coast a quarter of a mile North West of Sheabost a Deas village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A bed of strati(a?)fied rocks, stretching into the sea, between high and low water mark. Sgeir Fhionnlaidh signifies Finlay's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/17)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Cnoc Àirigh **Fhionnlaidh** NB181362

Situation: 'On the Eastern margin of the Eastern bank of Loch Golach, between Cnoc Aird Sheasgaig and Cnoc Chrisbeg.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small circular rocky heathy hill. "Cnoc Airidh Fhionnlaidh" signifies Finlay's Shealing's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/84)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Àirigh Fhionnlaidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Cnoc Dubh Airigh **Fhionnlaidh** NB284446

Situation: 'On the Northern bank of Gleann Alamagro ten chains South of Loch Nighean Shomhairle.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill of rocky heathy pasture. Cnoc Dubh Airidh Fhionnlaidh signifies Finlays Shealings Black Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/30/18)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Airigh Fhionnlaidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Fionnlagh* (Finlay), m.

Clach **Fhionnlaidh Ghearr** NB153126

See 2.1.1

Cnoc **Fhionnlaidh Ruaidh** # NB141386

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 42 chains S.S.E. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 43 chains South of Druim na Monach. A small rocky knoll, in the village of Tobson. It consists of tolerably good arable land interspersed with numerous rocks. Cnoc Fhionnlaidh Ruaidh signifies Red Finlay's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/77)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Fionnlagh Ruadh*, m.

Tom **Fhionnlaidh Ruaidh** NB542575

Situation: 'In the northern side of the plan, 110 chains N.W by W. of Cellar Head.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy knoll, on the margin of Feadan Dhuibh, and a little S.W. of Tom Fheadagro. Signifies Red Finlay's Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/10/8)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Fionnlagh Ruadh*, m

Cnoc **Ghilleaspuig** NB214331

Situation: 'In Callernish Village 10 chains East of Creagan na Buaile Coire.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A Small rocky hill, means Archibald's Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/63/39)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Gilleaspuig*, m.

Gearraidh **Ghill Bhride** NB220269

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan, 54 chains S.E. by East of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 250 chains E. by S. of Griosamol.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A number of shealings in ruins, which were built of peat moss sods, and stones, to which is attached a small portion of green or arable land, "Gearraidh Ghille Bhrìde" Signifies McBride's Shealings' (OSNB OS1/27/84/71)

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + pn *Gille Bhride*, m.

Cnoc **Ghille Bhriceal** NB382268

Situation: 'Nearly half a mile north west of Beinn Innealta and the same distance north of Beinn Bhuidhe.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Rocky heathy hill, on which is a Trigt. Station. Cnoc Ghille Bhriceal Signifies The Speckled Lad's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/93/7)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + ?pn *Gille Bhriceal*, m.

Creag **Ille Chaluim Ghlais** [**Gille Chaluim Ghlais**] NB158347

Situation: 'Near the Southern extremity of Great Bernera Island, on the Eastern margin of Loch Bharabhat.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky, heathy hill, but on which there is no Carn. "Creag Ille Chalum Ghlais" Signifies Grey Malcolm's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/60/25)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Gille Chaluim Ghlais*, m.

Allt Blàr **Ille Chalum Ghior** [**Gille Challum Ghior**] NB304440

Situation: 'Rises at the Eastern base of Druim Spealtrabhat and runs South West for better than a ¼ of a mile and falls into Gleann Bhragair.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, which rises in the East side of Druim Spealtravat, and runs into Glean Bragger.' (OSNB OS1/27/32/6)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en **Blar Ille Chalum Ghior* < G *blàr* 'a field, a plain, a battlefield, a battle, a flat area of moor' + pn *Gille Chalum Ghior*, m.

Cnoc **Ille Chònic** [**Gille Chònic**] NB274480

Situation: 'On the north eastern margin of Loch na Muil'ne between Leathad Loch na Muil'ne and Druim Bhreidhbhat.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/76)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Gille Chonaing*, m.

Cnoc **Ille Dhomhnuill** [**Gille Dhomhnuill**] NB182356
OS1: Cnoc Riasg Dhomhnuill NB181357

Situation: 'On the Eastern margin of Lochs na Craobhaig and Golach, adjoining to and South of Cnoc Ghrisbig.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A hill of arable, and rocky heathy pasture. "Cnoc Riasg Dhomhnuill" signifies Hill of Donald's Moss.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/89)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Gille Dhòmhnuill*, m.

Àirde **Gille Mhicheil** NB208255

Situation: 'On the South Eastern side of the plan, 45 chains South by West of the letter G, in Uig parish name, and 240 chains S.E. of Griosamol.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill, the western side of which borders on Loch Faoghail Chìreabhal, and Faoghail Chìreabhal. Airde Gille Mhìcheil Signifies Michael's Point or Eminence.' (OSNB OS1/27/84/78)

G *àird* 'a headland' + pn *Gillemìcheal*, m.

Creag **Ille Mhicheil** # [**Gille Mhicheil**] NB103385

Situation: 'On the Northern side of Pabaidh Mhor Island, 58 chains N. of the letter I in Uig parish name, and 90 chains N.N.E. of Valtos village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small point of the sea shore, on the northern side of Pabaidh Mhor Island. "Creag Ille Mhicheil" signifies Carmichael's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/42/12)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Gillemìcheal*, m.

Cnoc Beag **Gille nan Naomh** NB204439

Situation: 'On the North Western margin of Loch Dubh Druim Thorraig, adjoining to and North of Druim Thorraig.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill on which the rocks are large and prominent. "Cnoc Beag Gille nan Naomh" signifies The Saints' Lad's Little Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/26/9)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + G *beag* 'little, small' + pn *Gille nan Naomh*, m.

Sgeir **Ghormuil** NB033329

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Camus Uige, 37 chains N. by W. of Carnis Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large isolated rock in Camus Uige s small portion is seen at high water of spring tides. Signifies Gormelin's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/57/64)

[note: descriptive remarks, but not signification, in a different hand]

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Gormal* (Gormelia) f.

Tobar **Huisdein** NB514336

See 2.1.2

Cleit **Iain** NB178290

Situation: 'In the north western side of the plan, 50 chains north of the letter U, in Uig parish name, and 30 chains E. of Griosamol.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill, "Cleit Iain" Signifies John's Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/84/21)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *Iain* (John), m.

Leac **Iain** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A portion of rocky shore on the southern entrance to Geodha nan Con, it is low, sloping and of a black color. ' (OSNB OS1/27/76/28)

G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + pn *Iain* (John), m.

Leac **Iain** NB052388

Situation: 'On the sea coast 53 chains North by E of Aird Uige village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small point of land, or protruding rock on the sea coast, it is without vegetation, and nests at the base of a very high cliff. Leac Iain signifies John's Flag or Flat Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/40/47)

G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + pn *Iain* (John), m.

Airigh **Iain Bhain** NB202399 (OS VectorMap)

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Cleit Alaghair near the Western margin of Loch Airidh Iain Bhain.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A few shealings on the top of Cleit Alagair. Airidh Iain Bhàin signifies John Bain's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/44/68)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Iain Bàn*, m.

Creagan Poll **Iain Bhàin** # NB386155

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, at the northern side of Grabhir Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy knoll the rocks on it are large and few and of greyish color Signifies Fair Haired John's Pool Rocky Hillock' (OSNB OS1/27/113/66)

G *creagan* 'a little/small rock' + en **Poll Iain Bhàin* < G *poll* 'mire, pond, pool, peat bank''a mire, a pond, a pool, a peat bank' + pn *Iain Bàn*, m.

Cladach Crò **Iain Dheirg** HW804322

Situation: 'On the sea shore at the south W. side of Rona Island.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A creek or indentation in the shore of Rona, in which a landing may be effected in very fine weather with a southerly wind. The coast here is very low and composed of stratified rock. Signifies Red John's Bold Beach.' (OSNB OS1/27/136/32)

G *cladach* 'shore' + en **Crò Iain Dheirg* < G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn *Iain Dearg*, m.

Loch Gil Àirigh **Iain Dhuibh** NB031316

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan 30 chains of Carnis Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch in Druim Carnish. It is long narrow and shallow and is bounded on the south by a large new fence. Signifies Loch of Black John's Shealing Hollow.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/101)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Gil Àirigh Iain Dhuibh* < G *gil* 'a gully' + en **Àirigh Iain Dhuibh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn Iain Dubh, m.

Loch Crò **Iain Ghriasaich** NB038306

Situation: 'In the western side of the plan, 170 chains W. of Suainabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A fresh water loch which is about three chains by 1 ½ wide, and contains but little water, there is some small trout in the loch. Signifies John the Shoemaker's Bothy Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/58/64)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Crò Iain Ghriasaich* < G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn ?*Iain Greusachd*, m.

Airidh **Iain Mhic Ailean** # NB358090

Situation: 'On the Western side of the plan, 130 chains S.W. by W. of Tigh a Gheumpail.'
Descriptive remarks: ,A shealing in ruins, on the south-east side of Roin. Signifies John, Allan Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/125/58)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Iain Mac Ailein*, m.

Airigh **Iain Mhic Ailein** (Old Shieling) NB549564

Situation: 'On the Southern side of the plan 50 chains W.N.W of Cellar Head.'
Descriptive remarks: 'Five shealings and 3 ruins on the margin of Feadan a Maoime, near Tom Morn a Maoime. Signifies Shealing of John Allan's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/10/27)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Iain Mac Ailein*, m.

Geodh' **Iain Mhic Aonghais** # NB132395

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 57 chains W of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A very small creek, the shore here is bold high and rocky with a cliff. Geodh' Iain Mhic Aonghais signifies Creek of John the Son of Angus.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/162)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Iain Mac Aonghais*, m.

Cnoc **Iain Mhic Dhomhnuill** # NB122284

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 150 chains W.N.W. of Druim nan Caorach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky arable hill in the village of Eunacleit. Its pasture is tolerably good for sheep and cattle. Cnoc Iain Mhic Dhomhnuill Signifies John Donald's Son's Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/81/54)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Iain Mac Dhòmhnuill*, m.

Feadan Dubh **Iain Mhic Ghille Chalum** # (Crossed Out, NB510527?)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Stream, which flows from a soft, even mossy moor; runs in a Southerly direction and joins Amhuinn na Cloich, about twenty four chains East of the junction of Feadan na Caothadh. Signifies Black Stream of John, Son of the Lad Malcolm.' (OSNB OS1/27/11/24)

G *feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' + G *dubh* 'black, dark' + pn *Iain Mac Ghille Chaluim*

Allt Muilean **Iain 'ic Gille Phadruig** [**Iain Mhic Gille Phadruig**] NB116292

Situation: 'Runs out of Loch Sanndabhat into Loch Chroistean 50 chains south of the letter G in Uig parish name [and crossed out] 40 chains W. of Ungashader.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small Stream, which runs out of Loch Sanndabhat into Loch Chri[o?]stean. "Allt Muilean Iain a Gille Phadruig" Signifies Stream of John Peter's Son's Mill.' (OSNB OS1/27/61/66)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en *Muilean Iain 'ic Gille Phadruig < G *muileann* 'a mill' + pn *Iain Mhic Ghille Phadruig*, m.

Àirigh **Iain Mhic Iain** NB206222 (not on OS1)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Iain Mac Iain*, m.

Cnoc **Iain Mhic Iomhair** NB534477

Situation: 'In the northern side of the plan 20 chains W.NW. of Tolastadh o Dheas Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small low oval shaped hill, bounded on the N.E. by the road leading from Stornoway to Ness and on the S.W. by an old fence. Its surface is rather uneven, and thinly interspersed with small rocks. The soil is thin, poor and unfit for

cultivation but produces a very scanty supply of grass and that of the worst quality.
Signifies John Mc Iver's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/24/12)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Iain Mac Iomhair*, m.

Geodha **Iain Mhic Thormaid** NB540509

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the N.E. section of the plan, 130 chs N.N.E. of Tolastaidh
o Thuath Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small sharp rock in the face of the cliff. Signifies Creek of John
Norman's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/22/24)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Iain Mac Thormoid*, m.

Sgeir **Iain Mhòir** NA989239

Situation: 'On the Sea Shore in the Western side of the plan, 10 chains South of
Mealastadh Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'This is a small low isolated high water rock and connected with
the shore at low water Signifies Big John's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/78/69)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Iain Mòr*, m.

Tighe **Iain Oig** (in ruins) # NB133273

Situation: 'On the Eastern bank of Little Loch Roag, 85 chains W. by N. of Druim nan
Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'Two houses in ruins which was built of peat sods and stones, in
Schalisgro Village, Tighe Iain Oig Signifies Young John's House,' (OSNB
OS1/27/81/24)

G *taigh* 'a house' + pn *Iain Òg*, m.

Leac **Iain Tailleir** HW819321

Situation: 'On the sea shore at the S.E. side of Rona Island.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A portion of cliff adjacent to and North of Prigahune Lamhigh [?]
and for the most part perpendicular. Signifies John the Tailor's Flat Rock.' (OSNB
OS1/27/136/23)

G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + pn *Iain Tàillear*, m.

Loch **Ibheir** NB264222

Situation: 'On the Eastern base of Druim Loch Ibheir and South of Airidh Ur.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch with an island in it. Loch Ibheir Signifies Evanders Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/90/24)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Loch **Ille Bhidein Bhig** NB015305

Situation: 'In the Western centre of the plan, 50 chains S.E. of Mangursta Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch, out of which flows a small stream into Loch Sandabhat.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/139)

G *loch* 'a loch' + ?pn *Ille Bhidein Bhig* (?G *biodan* 'sharp-topped'), m.

Loch **Ille Bhidein Mhòr** NB018305

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 105 chains S.W. by S. of Carnis Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch. It is long narrow and [?] deep, and out of which flows a small nameless steam into Feadan Strath Ghainneis.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/154)

G *loch* 'a loch' + ?pn *Ille Bhidein Mhòir* (?G *biodan* 'sharp-topped'), m.

Loch Buaile **Ille Chalmoir** NB154391

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan, 7 chains South of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 65 chains E.S.E. of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch out of which runs Allt Loch Buaile Ille Chalamoir. It is tolerably long but very narrow particularly so about its centre.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/273)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Buaile Ille Chalmoir* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn ?*Ille Chalmoir*

Cnoc **Ille Mhaoil** # NB277201

Situation: 'On the northern bank of Loch Erisort, at the Western end of Balallan Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hillock on the north side of Loch Erisort and near to Goba Creagan. Cnoc Ille Mhaoil Signifies Bald Lad Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/106/13)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + ?pn *Ille Mhaoil*, m.

Sgeir **Ille Pharra' Mhoir** # NB133324

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Loch Roag 99 chains W.N.W. of the Trigt. Station on Beinn Drobhinish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rock in Loch Roag. Sgeir Ille Pharra' Mhoir Signifies Big Peter's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/62/57)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + ?pn *Ille Pharra' Mhoir* (OSNB 'Big Peter')

Sgeir **Ille Pharra' Mhoir** # NB148405

Situation: 'In the Northern side of the plan 58 chains N. by E. of the letter I. in Uig parish name, and 63 chains N.N.E. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stratified rock which is connected with the shore at low water mark. Sgeir Ille Pharra' Mhoir signifies Big Peter's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/223)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + ?pn *Ille Pharra' Mhoir* (OSNB 'Big Peter'

Sgeir **Ille Phàrra' Mhoir** # NB166340

Situation: 'In Loch Bharraglom or Loch Roag, 11 chains East by North of Earshader village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Rock in Loch Roag, covered at extraordinary spring tides, on which is a Trigt. Station "Sgeir Ille Phàra' Mhoir" signifies Big Peter's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/60/51)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + ?pn *Ille Pharra' Mhoir* (OSNB 'Big Peter')

Cnoc na h-**Inghinn Cais** NB465426

Situation: 'Adjoining to and West of Cnocan Beaga and South of Cnoc Dubh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy hill. Cnoc na h-Inginne Cais, signifies Cross Girls Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/25)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + ?nickname *na h-Inghinn Cais*, f.

Beinn **Iobhair** NB290169

Situation: 'On the South Western side of Cleit Ard, and half a mile East of Loch na Muil'ne.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large Hill on which there is a Trigt. Station it is about ½ mile north of Loch Seaforth. Beinn Ibheir Signifies Evander's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/106/56)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Cnoc **Iobhair** NB441329

Situation: 'On the road leading from Bay Head to Melbost one mile from Stornoway.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low hill, on the farm of Stenish the soil is of rough pasture and on it is a Trigt Station called Staynish. Cnoc Iobhair signifies Evanders Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/72/56)

Situation: 'On the road leading from Bay Head to Melbost one mile from Stornoway.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low hill, on the farm of Stenish the soil is of rough pasture and on it is a Trigt. Station called Staynish. Cnoc Iobhair Signifies Evanders Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/72/56)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Loch **Iobhair** NB399279

Situation: 'Two chains West of Loch Innseag at the foot of Druim na Linish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch near Loch Innseag in the Farm of Rarnish. Loch Ibhair signifies – Evander's Loch' (OSNB OS1/27/73/37)

[remarks in a different hand]

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Airigh **Lobheir** [**Iobheir**] NB093348

Situation: 'On the northern margin of Loch Mhiabhag or Ceann Langabhat adjoining to and South of Nisa Mhor.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large rocky hill. Airidh Iobheir signifies Evenaders Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/59/43)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Beinn **Iobheir** NB203418

Situation: 'On the northern margin of Loch Fàsgro, on the East side of and adjoining to the Callernish and Barvas road.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A mossy rocky heathy hill. Beinn Iobheir signifies Evanders Hill or Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/64)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Beinn **Iobheir** NB495433

Situation: 'On the Southern margin of Loch Beinn Iobheir and adjacent to the West side of the Tolsta road.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large mossy hill on which is a Trigt Station. Beinn Iobheir signifies Evander's Hill or Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/36)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Gruba **Iobheir** # NB189346

Situation: 'In Circabost Village, on the Southern end of Leathad Mòr a little East of Cnoc Moiraig.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small arable hill, on which are the ruins of a few huts.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/101)

G ?*gruba* + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Tom **Iomhair** NB244108

Situation: 'In the north Eastern section of the plan, 80 chains N.W by N. of Beinn Mhor.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small low, and nearly round, rocky heathy pasture hill, on which are two shealings in ruins.' (OSNB OS1/27/118/14)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Iomhar* (Ivor), m.

Geodha **Lathuirn** NB370074

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, 150 chains S.S.W of Tigh a Gheumpail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small glen, at the south east base of Fiat Chreag, It is composed of rocky heathy pasture.' (OSNB OS1/27/125/70)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Latharna* (Lorne)

Sgeir **Lathuirn** NB128282

Situation: 'On the East side of Little Loch Roag, 120 chains NW by W. of Druim nan Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A large flat rock, which projects into the sea on the Eastern side of Little Loch Roag, It is covered at high water of all tides, and is connected with the shore,' (OSNB OS1/27/81/39)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Latharna* (Lorne)

Àirigh **Leòid** NB234370

Situation: 'Eight or Ten chains South East of Druim Airidh Leoid, a quarter of a mile North by East of Cnoc a Radhaire.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A cluster of shealings, built of stone, and peat sods. "Airidh Leoid" signifies Leoid's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/67)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Leòd* (Leod), m.

Allt Ath **Leoid** NB496418

Situation: 'Runs out of Amhuinn Mhor and empties itself into the sea at Gearraidh na Muilne.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream which runs out of Abhainn Mhor and into the sea at Garradh na Maoile.' (OSNB OS1/27/39/39)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en **Ath Leoid* < G *àth* 'a ford' + pn *Leòd* (Leod), m.

Druim Talamh **Leoid** NB156393

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan, 5 chains E by S. of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 75 chains E. by S. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill, which is very rocky, but produces good moor pasture. Druim Talamh Leoid signifies Eminence of McLeod's Ground.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/273)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en **Talamh Leoid* < G *talamh* 'earth' + pn *Leòd* (Leod), m.

Gleann **Leoid** NB233370

Situation: 'Flows out of a small Loch, a quarter of a mile West of Loch an Fhraoich toward the East and North West into Loch Lacsabhat Iorach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream which runs out of a loch on the summit of Cnoc a R[*sic*] and runs into Loch Lacsabhat Irach [*sic*].' (OSNB OS1/27/44/94)

G *gleann* 'a glen, a valley' + pn *Leòd* (Leod), m.

Tom **Mhic na h Aìghe** NB359424 (OS: Tom an Aighe NB358422)

Situation: 'A little more than a quarter of a mile North of Loch Scarabhat a little more than half a mile West of Tom Biorach a' Bhlair.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill, on which is a Trigt. Station.' (OSNB OS1/27/33/15)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + ?pn *Mac na h-aighe* (?G *agh* 'heifer' or ?G *àigeach* 'stallion'), m.

Buaile **Mhic Aoidh** NB413561

Situation: 'On the northern side of Amhuinn nan Cuig Peghinnean, 60 chains South of Mealabost.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small portion of rocky hill pasture, adjoining the West base of Druim Meadhonach. Signifies McKay's Park.' (OSNB OS1/27/5/42)

G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Mac Aoidh*

Uadha **Mhic Aonghais** # NB525443

Situation: 'On the sea shore 15 chains South East of Bun a Ghlinne.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small portion of steep sea shore. Uadha Mhic Aonghais Angus Son's Cave.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/88)

G *uamh* 'a cave(rn)' + pn *Mac Aonghais*

Tachd **Mhic Artoir** NB127266

Situation: 'On the western bank of Little Loch Roag, 110 chains W. by S. of Druim nan Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill adjacent to the western shore of Little Loch Roag, It rises gradually from the west towards the East, and then falls abruptly. Tachd Mhic Artoir Signifies Mc Arthur's Farm' (OSNB OS1/27/81/77)

G *tachd* '?farm' + pn *Mac Artair*

Tòb **Mhic Artoir** NB129267

Situation: 'On the western side of Little Loch Roag, 97 chains W. by S. of Druim nan Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek or indentation of the sea [sea crossed out] shore, on the western side of Little Loch Roag, Tòb Mhic Artoir Signifies Mc Arthur's Creek' (OSNB OS1/27/81/70)

G *tòb* 'a bay, a cove' + pn *Mac Artair*

Druim Àirigh **Mhic Aulaidh** NB277467

Situation: 'On the western side of Cnoc Buaidhe Allt Mhic Dhugaill and South of Loch an Duna.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy rocky hill. Druim Airidh Mhic Aulaidh Signifies Hill of Aulays Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/30/8)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en **Airigh Mhic Aulaidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Aulaidh*

Tom **Mhic a' Bhadanaich** NB469608

Situation: 'On the western side of the plan, 90 chains W.S.W of Dail O Dheas village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small round mossy Knoll or hillock on the summit of which is a Trigt. station. Its surface is much broken and affords bad pasturage.' (OSNB OS1/27/1/20)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + ?pn *Mac a' Bhadanaich* (G *badanach* 'tufty, bushy'), m.

Carnan **Mhic Beatha** NB206292

Situation: 'In the South East corner of the plan, 90 chains S.W. by S. of [section crossed out] Loch Ceann Thulabhig, & 70 chains S. of Collabhall Mhor.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small circular formed rocky heathy hill, but on which the[re] is no Cairn, "Càrnan Mhic Beatha" Signifies Mac Beth's Stone Heap' (OSNB OS1/27/65/47)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Mac Bheatha*, m.

Geodha **Mhic Ciamain** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek or indentation in the southern shore of Sulisgeir, between Creag Eriga and Mol Leatheann.' (OSNB OS1/27/136/58)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + ?pn *Mac Ciamain*

Lochan **Mhic Coir** NB314424
OS1 *Lochan Mhic Cóir*

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Gleann Iothagro, 10 chains North of Loch Thulagabhall.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch out of which runs a stream into Gleann Yegro(?). Lochan Mhic Còir signifies the Kind or Liberal Son's Little Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/32/22)

G *lochan* 'a small lake, a loch' + ?pn *Mac Cóir* (G *còir* 'kind(ly), decent, worthy, dear, right' = the kind son?), m.

Tòb **MhicColla** NB271159

Situation: 'On the southern side of the Loch Seaforth 150 chains W.N.W. of Feiridhisbhall.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek on the southern shore of Loch Seaforth[.] It affords good anchorage, and tolerable shelter to small boats. Signifies Mac Coll's Bight' (OSNB OS1/27/108/8)

G *tòb* 'a bay, a cove' + pn *Mac Cholla*

Cnocan na **Mi-Chomhairle** [**Mac Chomhairle**] NB326220

Situation: 'Adjoining the north side of the Harris & Stornoway road 110 chains South East from Loch Ulapoll.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill, between Laxay Village and Loch Ulapoll and adjacent to the Stornoway and Harris road. Hillock of Mc Cowall[?]' (OSNB OS1/27/91/24)

G *cnocan* 'a hillock' + pn ?*Mac Comhaill*

Slugan Gearraidh **Mhic Corr** NB044351

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 100ch. SW. by W. of Forsnabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A long narrow glen of rocky heathy pasture between Cuil Totar and Searstal na [?]' (OSNB OS1/27/56/52)

G *slugan* 'a whirlpool, a little deep pool, a deep pool in a stream' + en **Gearraidh Mhic Corr* < G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + ?pn *Mac Corr* (?G *corra-ghritheach* 'heron'), m.

Gearraidh **Mhic Cothail** NB210382

Situation: 'Flows out of Loch Dubh Oirtheannan toward the South and falls into Loch nan Goirtairean.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream flowing out of Loch Dubh Oirtheanan into Loch nan Goirtairean.' (OSNB OS1/27/44/78)

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + ?pn *Mac Cothail*

Caisteal **Mhic Creacail** (Chambered Cairn) NB543366

See 2.1.1

Airigh **Mhic Crishnidh** NB252480

Situation: 'On the Western bank of Loch Sheaboist, 25 chains North of Seann Bhaile.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small hillock, which has on it a few scattered rocks. Airidh Mhic Crishnidh Signifies Mac Ritchie's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/12)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Risnidh*

Àirigh **Mhic Cruislig** NB003276

See 2.1.1

Allt **Mhic Cruislig** NB001278

See 2.1.1

Both Mhic **Cubhaig** (Old Shieling) NB047222

Situation: 'On the northern side of the plan, 60 chains S.E. by S. of Tamanaisbhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'Three shealings in ruins, two of which are adjacent to one another the third about 150 yards north of them, the name signifies "Mac Cuthaig's or "Cuaigs Bothy" "Mac Cuthaig" signifies son of the Cuckoo"'. (OSNB OS1/27/96/18)

G *both* 'a cottage' + ?pn *Mac Cùbhaig*

Loch Lèoba **Mhic Cùbhaig** NB143350

Situation: 'In the Southern side of the plan, 70 chains S.W. by W. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 130 chs. S.W. of Breacleit Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch out of which Allt Loch Leup a Cuig flows. It is nearly dry and has a quantity of long grass growing in it. (OSNB OS1/27/43/40)

Cnoc Leoba Mhic Cùbhaig NB142351

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Lèoba Mhic Cùbhaig* < G *leòb* 'a lazybed' + ?pn *Mac Cùbhaig* (G cu'ag, cubhag 'cuckoo'), m.

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Lèoba Mhic Cùbhaig* < G *leòb* 'a lazybed' + ?pn *Mac Cùbhaig* (G cu'ag, cubhag 'cuckoo'), m.

Staca **Mhic Cubhaig** NB397565

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the South W section of the plan 100 chains W.S.W of Mealabost.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A point of shore, which is covered at high water. It consists of small rocks which are seen only at low water. Signifies McCuaig's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/5/30)

G *stac* 'a precipice, a steep/high cliff' + ?pn *Mac Cùbhaig* (G cu'ag, cubhag 'cuckoo'), m.

Airigh **Mhic Dhomhnuill Bhàin** NB195417

Situation: 'On the Western side of the Callernish and Barvas road adjacent to and East of Baile an Teampuill.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill. On the Western side of which there is a steep and precipitous cliff. Airidh Mhic Dhomhnuill Bhain signifies Donald Bain's Son's Shealing or Fair-haired Donald's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/18)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Bhàin*

Gearraidh **Mhic Dhomhnuill Dhuibh** NB467607

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the western side of the plan 100 chains W.S.W of Dail O Dheas village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of two small houses, which were built of stone and to which is attached a small portion of arable land. Signifies Black Donald Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/1/19)

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Dhuibh*

Airidh **Mhic Dhomhnuill Mhic Ailein** # NB399189

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 70 chs" [?] W. by S. of Marabhig Village.'

Descriptive remarks: ,A shealing in ruins which was built of peat sods and stones, It gives name to the hill on which it is situated Signifies Son of Donald, Allan's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/111/30)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Mhic Ailein*

Cleite Beag **Mhic Dhomhnuill Ruaidh** NB228159

Situation: 'A quarter of a mile East of the Harris road on the Eastern margin of Loch a Rathaid.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A Hill, South of Chleit a Mor Mhic Donald Ruadh, and adjacent to and East of Loch a Rathad. Cleit Beag Mhic Dhomhnuill Ruaidh Signifies Little Hill of Red Donald's Son' (OSNB OS1/27/105/29)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + G *beag* 'little, small' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Ruaidh*

Cleite Mòr **Mhic Dhomhnuill Ruaidh** NB230163

Situation: 'A quarter of a mile East of the Stornoway and Harris Road and half a mile South of Tob Cheann Tarrabhaidh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A Rocky Hill, adjacent to and west of Loch a Bhòineid, and south of Abhainn [section crossed out] Mhor Cheann Tarrabhaidh. It Signifies Red Donals Son's Big Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/105/15)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + G *mòr* 'big, large' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Ruaidh*

Druim **Mhic Dhomhnuill Uaine** NB141379

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan 70 chains S by W of the letter U in Uig paridh name and 74 chains S of Druim na Monach. A small rocky heathy hill, on which is a Trigt Station. This hill produces good moor pasture. Druim Mhic Dhomhnuill Uaine signifies Eminence of Green Donald's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/97)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Uaine*

Mol **Mhic Dhomhnuill Uaine** # NB034333

Situation: 'On the Eastern side of Camus Uige, 60 chains N. by E. of Carnis Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small cove and beach on the shore of Tolm. It is composed of boulders and flat rocks. No boats are here. Signifies Green Donald Son's Beach.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/54)

G *mol* 'a shingle beach' + pn *Mac Dhòmhnuill Uaine*

Cleit **Mhic Dhonnachaidh** NB203243

Situation: 'In the Eastern centre of the plan, 20 chains north by East of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 70 chains W. of Cireabhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A long narrow rocky heathy hill, on which is a number of shealings one of which is in ruins, "Cleit Mhic Dhonnchaidh" Signifies Duncan's Son's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/86/63)

G *clèit* 'a rocky outcropping in a cliff' + pn *Mac Dhonnchaidh*

Allt **Mhic Dhughaill** # NB282469

Situation: 'Rises between Druim Airidh Mhic Aulaidh and Cnoc Buidhe Allt Mhic Dhughaill and flows into Loch an Duna.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, having its rise in the moss and flowing into Loch an Duna. Allt Mhic Dhùghaill signifies Dugald Son's Stream.' (OSNB OS1/27/30/6)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + pn *Mac Dhùghaill*

Leac **Mhic Dhuibhain** # NB125286

Situation: 'On the western side of Little Loch Roag, 145 chains N.W by W. of Druim nan Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small flat rock, at Low water mark, on the western shore of Little Loch Roag. The shore here is flat and covered with loose stones,' (OSNB OS1/27/81/43)

G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + ?pn *Mac Dubhain* (?G *dubh* 'black' = dark(haired) son?), m.

Rubha **Mhic Eoin** NB365119

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, in the village of Orosaigh 80 chains West of Leumrabhagh Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small arable headland, It is low and flat and remarkable for the quantity of Kelp, yearly burnt on it. Signifies John Son's Point.' (OSNB OS1/27/123/16)

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + pn *Mac Eòin*

Eilean **Mhic Fail** NB214231

Situation: 'In the South Eastern side of the plan in Loch Airidh na h Airde, 75 chains S.E. by E of the letter G, in Uig parish name, and 70 chains S. of Cireabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy Island, in Loch Airidh na Airde, Eilean Mhic Fail Signifies McPhail's Island.' (OSNB OS1/27/86/7)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *Mac Phàil*

Airigh **Mhic Fhionnlaidh** NB188439

Situation: 'In the North Eastern side of the plan, 70 chains North E by North of Beinn Laimisheadar.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low long rocky pasture and mossy hill, on the sea shore. Airidh Mhic Fhionnlaidh signifies Finlay's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/25/46)

Situation: 'On the sea coast, adjoining to, and North West of Carnan an Fhithich, a quarter of a mile West of Gearranan Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small flat rocky hill. "Airidh Mhic Fhionnlaidh" signifies Finlay's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/26/55)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Fhionnlaigh*

Loch **Mhic Fhionnlaidh** NB272391

Situation: 'Midway between Loch Ceann Allabhat and Druim Mor. 30 chains South of Loch Mor Dubh Ceann Allabhat.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch. "Loch Mhic Fhionnlaidh" signifies Finlay's Son's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/14)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Mac Fhionnlaigh*

Feadan **Mhic Fhionnlaidh Bhàin** NB496525

Situation: 'Flows from the South West section of the plan into Loch Mor Sanndabhat, 90 chains E. by S. of Blair nam Faoileag.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small but rapid stream wherever it flows above ground. It flows from a number of small lochs, on the South-East end of Blair nan Foileag, and runs in an easterly direction, partly under ground and partly abve ground. It empties itself into Loch Mor Sanndabhat. Signifies Fair haired Finlay's Son's Stream' (OSNB OS1/27/11/10)

G *feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' + pn *Mac Fhionnlaigh Bhàin*

Loch Àirigh **Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh** NB279380

Situation: 'At the Western base of Leathad an Uirnain 5 chains East of Loch nan Caorach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch, into which flows Allt Loch Ceann Allabhat. Loch Airidh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh signifies Black Finlay's Son's Shealing Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/48/15)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Àirigh Mhic Fhionnlaidh Dhuibh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Fhionnlaigh Dhuibh*

Fèith **Mhic Ille Bhàin** [**Mac Gille Bhàin**] NB338402

Situation: 'Rises on the Southern base of Druim Allt an Daimh and flows West into Gleann Shuainagadail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream flowing from the South end of Druim Allt an Damh. Feith Mhic Ille Bhain signifies White Lads Son's Bog or Marsh.' (OSNB OS1/27/32/51)

G *feith* 'a bog, a quagmire, a fen' + ?pn *Mac Ghille Bhàin*

Allt **Mhic Ille Chetheir** [**Mac Gille Chetheir**] NB263363

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream rising in the moss adjacent to Cleithaichean Beag and flowing into Loch an Tharabert na Cleithaichean. It means the Stream of the Wax Mans Son.' (OSNB OS1/217/47/48)

Situation: 'Flows around the Western base of Cletiachaid Beag and falls into Loch an Tearabert nan Cleiteachan.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, which takes its rise in the moss, and flows on a Southerly direction into Loch an Thairbert na Cleitaichean.' (OSNB OS1/27/47/21)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + ?pn *Mac Ghille Chetheir*

Feadan **Airidh Mhic Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh** # (Crossed Out)

Situation: 'Flows out of a small loch on the eastern side of the plan, into Amhuinn a Ghlinne Ruaidh, 120 chains E.N.E. of Beinn Sheunta.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, which flows out of a small fresh water loch, at the northern end of Blar nan Faolaig, and runs in a northerly direction into Amhuinn a Ghlinne Ruaidh. it receives a few small tributaries in its course.' (OSNB OS1/27/8/19)

G *feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' + en *Airidh Mhic Ghille Chriosda Dhuibh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Gille Chriosda Dhuibh*

Crò **Mhic Iain Choinnich** HW807322

Situation: 'On the south western side of Rona Island, a little W. of Ronaidh old village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'The ruin of a hut, with three large, and the same number of small enclosures. Most of the walls of the former are still standing, they are about four feet high and composed of stone and earth. The fences of the latter are built of stone and are about two feet high. They appear to be very old. Signifies Son of John Kenneth Son's Fold.' (OSNB OS1/27/136/37)

G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn *Mac Iain Choinnich*

Cnoc **Mhic Iain Deirg** NB224330

Situation: 'Seven or eight chains North of the Stornoway and Callernish road about 30 chains East of the latter plan.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill of rocky heathy pasture. Cnoc Mhic Iain Deirg signifies Red John Son's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/63/36)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Mac Iain Deirg*

Tob **Mhic Iain Dhuibh** # NB160353

Situation: 'In the South Eastern section of the plan, 40 chains S. by W. of the letter I. in Uig parish name and 80 chains S. of Breacleit Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small narrow portion of Loch Bharabhat, of which it is the most Easterly part. "Tòb Mhic Iain Dhuibh" signifies Bay of Black John's Son.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/122)

G *tòb* 'a bay, a cove' + pn *Mac Iain Dhuibh*

Uamha **Mhic Iain Duibh** (Cave) NB330024

'On the sea shore in the southern side of the plan 160 chains S. by W. of Uisenis.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small cove on the coast of the Minch overhung by a steep bold rocky cliff against which the sea beats very forcibly in rough weather. Signifies Black John's Son's Cave' (OSNB OS1/27/131/49)

G *uamh* 'a cave(rn)' + pn *Mac Iain Dhuibh*

Gob Crò **Mhic Iain Mhòir** NB367093

Situation: 'On the western side of the plan, 90 chains W.SW. of Tigh a Gheumpail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small point of sea-shore, which is round, low, and rocky, and nearly level. Signifies Big John Son's Fold Point.' (OSNB OS1/27/125/56)

Rubha Crò Mhic Iain Mhòir NB364094

Situation: 'In the western side of the plan, 90 chains W.S.W. of Tigh a Gheumpail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky point of shore. It is low and round, and has on each side of it, a small rocky cliff. Signifies Big John Son's Fold Point.' (OSNB OS1/27/125/55)

Tòb Crò Mhic Iain Mhòir NB366093

Situation: 'On the western side of the plan, 60 chains WS.W of Tigh a Gheumpail.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek on the sea-shore, at the East base of Cnoc Laimhrig Mhuirchaidh. Its shore is low and rocky, a part of ti being commanded by a small cliff. Signifies Big John Son's Fold Creek' (OSNB OS1/27/125/56)

G *gob* 'pointed/sharp end' + en *Crò Mhic Iain Mhòir* < G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn *Mac Iain Mhòir*

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + en *Crò Mhic Iain Mhòir* < G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn *Mac Iain Mhòir*

G *tòb* 'a bay, a cove' + en *Crò Mhic Iain Mhòir* < G *crò* 'an enclosure, a fold, a pen, a ree' + pn *Mac Iain Mhòir*

Creag **Mhic Iain Riabhaich** NB539505

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the Eastern side of the plan, 100 chains N. by E. of Tolastadh o Thuath Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'a prominent point on the sea coast at the entrance ofo Geodha na Creag [?] [Ard] Signifies John Son's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/22/32)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Mac Iain Riabhaich*

Geodha **Mhic Iain Riabhaich** NB539505

Situation: 'On the sea coast on the Eastern side of the plan. 100 chains N. by E. of Tolastadh O Thuath Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small narrow crack in the sea shore. Signifies Greyish John's Son's Creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/22/31)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + *Mac Iain Riabhaich*

Gearraidh **Mhic Lobhair** [**Iobhair**] NB289480

Situation: 'On the North side of Bragair a Deas Village 5 or 6 chains West of Ceann na Dròma.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill on which is a Trig. Station. Gearraidh Mhic Iobheir signifies Evander's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/15/24)

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + pn *Mac Iomhair*

Druim **Mhic Iobheir** NB413253

Situation: 'On the Southern margin of Loch Grimashadar, a quarter of a mile west of Druim na Thurghlinn.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A low rocky hill, on which is a Trigt. [Station] Druim Mhic Iobheir Signifies Mac Iver's Eminence' (OSNB OS1/27/93/68)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + pn *Mac Iomhair*

Eilean Dubh **Mhic Leoid** NB279255

Situation: 'In Loch Threalabhall which is on the Southern base of Lag Sith.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small island of rocky heathy pasture in the north of Loch Threalabhall and near which are several small islands. Eilean Dubh Mhic Leoid Signifies the Black Island of McLeod.' (OSNB OS1/27/88/33)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + G *dubh* 'black, dark' + pn *Mac Leòid*

Loch **Mhic Leoid** NB274314

Situation: 'Four and a half miles S.S East of Callernish and [ ] a mile north of the road to Stornoway.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch into which runs Amhuinn Chealagro and Garbh Allt and out of which runs Fiar Allt. Loch Mhic Leoid Signifies McLeods Loch' (OSNB OS1/27/67/14)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Mac Leòid*

Tom **Mhic Leoid** NB310323

Situation: 'It is ¼ of a mile S.East of Loch Urabhat and a little more than 1 mile North of the Stornoway Callernish road & 7 miles W by South of Stornoway.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Rock near the source of Allt Ruadh. Tom Mhic Leoid Signifies McLeods Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/68/6)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Mac Leòid*

Tom **Mhic Leoid** NB350275

Situation: 'It is 6 miles S.W. of Stornoway a few chains West of the Harris road on the angle formed with it by the new road Branching off to Callernish.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small eminence on which There is a Trig Station called Crosshill, It lies near the junction of Road leading from Stornoway to Callernish and about 4 miles from the former place It Signifies M Cleods Mount (OSNB OS1/27/70/32)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Mac Leòid*

Loch Talamh **Mhic Mhàmein** NB137392

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 8 chains S by E. of the letter U in Uig parish name, and 25 chains S.W. by W. of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch out of which flows a small nameless stream into Loch a Sgal.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/174)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Talamh Mhic Mhàmein* < G *talamh* 'earth' + ?pn *Mac Mhàmein* (?G *mam* 'hill of a particular form?*), m.

Eilean **Mhic Mhurchaidh Mhic Aonghais** NB190205

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, [section crossed out] in Uig parish name, and 120 chains East of Ascleit. A small heathy Island, on the Northern shore of Loch Langabhat, [section crossed out] "Eilean Mhic Mhurchaidh Mhic Aonghais" Signifies The Son of Murdoch The Son of Angus Island.' (OSNB OS1/27/102/14)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *Mac Mhurchaidh Mhic Aonghais*

Cnoc **Mhic Mhurchaidh Uilleim** NB415342

Situation: 'About a mile west of Stornoway on the north side of the Callernish road.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A low hill on the farm of Guirshadir and about [ ] of a mile south of Cnoc nan Uan the soil is of rocky pasture Cnoc Mhic Mhurchaidh Uilliam Signifies

the Son of Murdoch the Son of Uilliams Hill. [inset:] Signifies – The Hill of William Mc. Murdoch' (OSNB OS1/27/71/11)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Mac Mhurchaidh Uilleim*

Tom **Mhic Neacail** NB381131

Situation: 'In the north Eastern section of the plan, 70 chains N. of Leumrabhagh Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heatrhy hill, consisting of two conical Knolls, [crossed out: There are the ruins of a number of shealings at its Eastern base] Signifies Nicolson's Hillock' (OSNB OS1/27/123/49)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Mac Neacail*

Cnoc **Mhic Neil** NB188302

Situation: 'In the southern centre of the plan, 50 chains West of [section crossed out] Loch Smuaisabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A considerably sized rocky heathy hill, the Southern base of which joins the northern base of Cearsta Cleit, and along the western base which runs [section crossed out] Gil Caol Cheartagleit.' (OSNB OS1/27/65/60)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Mac Nèill*

Beinn **Mhic Neill** NB295378

Situation: 'On the South Eastern margin of Loch na Moineach, adjacent to and East of Leathad an Uirnain.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy hill. Beinn Mhic Neil signifies Neil's Son's Hill or Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/48/10)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Mac Nèill*

Gil **Mhic Phaic** NB219082?

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 130 chains W. by S. of Mulan a Caillich.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A ravine about 10 chains long, 80 links wide, and forty feet deep, It is near the shore of Loch Seaforth. A stream of considerable size flows through it.' (OSNB OS1/27/126/6)

G *gil* 'a gully' + pn *Mac Phaic*

Gil **Mhic Phaic** NB340099

Situation: 'On the Southern margin of Loch Shell, 35 chains East of Budhanais Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small but deep ravine or Glen, on each side of Allt Gil Mhic Phaic, for about [ ] chains the sides of it are steep and grassy.' (OSNB OS1/27/122/18)

G *gil* 'a gully' + pn *Mac Phaic*

Àird **Mhic Phail** NB216344

Situation: 'At the entrance of and at the Southern side of Tob Breascleit. 29 chains North North West of Callernish School House.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small headland, which separates Tòb Bhreascleit, from Tòb an Faodhail. "Aird Mhic Phail" signifies Mac Phail's Point or Eminence.' (OSNB OS1/27/4652)

G *àird* 'a headland' + pn *Mac Phàil*

Allt **Mhic Phail** NB235444

Situation: 'Rises on the East side of the Callernish and Barvas road at the base of Cnoc an Breac, and runs North East into Allt Dhaile Beaga.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, having its rise at the base of Cnocan Breac, and flowing into Allt Dhaile Beaga. "Allt Mhic Phail" signifies Mac Phail's Stream.' (OSNB OS1/27/26/19)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + pn *Mac Phàil*

Allt na Buaile [**Mhic Pherson**] NB526308
OS1 *Allt Buaile Mhic Phersoin*

Situation: 'On the South East coast of Eye it runs through Pabaill Iosal and empties itself into Bay Phabaill Iosal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, having its source from the surface [?], on the west side of Pabaill Iosal passing that village, and emptying itself into Bagh Phabaill Iosal Allt Buaile mhic Phersoin Signifies the <u>Stream</u> of <u>McPhersons Park'</u> [added: Is it not the stream of the McPhersons Fold, or enclosure? <u>Bhaile Park</u> in the Lewis] (OSNB OS1/27/75/15)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en *Buaile Mhic Phersoin* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + ?pn *Mac Pherson*

Dùn **Mhic Phi** NB296107
See 2.1.1

Loch **Mhic Raonull** NB341187

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 60 chs south of Cearshadar Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch, about twelve chains in length, which discharges its water into Loch Leathain. Signifies Ronald Son's Loch' (OSNB OS1/27/107/53)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Mac Raghnaill*

Geodha **Mhic Reacail** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky creek, which is shallowand unsafe as a landing place owing to a low water rock at its mouth. Signifies Nicolson's Creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/136/13)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Mac Neacail*

Sidhean Tom **Mhic Reacail** NB333148

Situation: 'In the Southern side of the plan, 60 chains W.S.W. of Druim a Choin Bhain.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A portion of tolerably dry upland moor of considerable size, and consisting of a number of small hills or hillocks, of rocky heathy pasture which is good for sheep and cattle, there are a number of shealings on its summit some of which are in ruins. There is also a Trigt. Station on it. Signifies Nic[h crossed out]olson's Hillock or Knoll Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/109/43)

'with more propriety it ought to be – Sithean Tom Mhic Neacail' (OSNB OS1/27/109/88)

G *sìthean* 'a little hill or knoll, a fairy hill, (rarely) a big rounded hill' + en *Tom Mhic Reacail* < G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Mac Neacail*

Geodha **Mhic Risnidh** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A small narrow cove in the shore West[?] of Crowlsta its banks are steep and its beach composed of stratified rocks' (OSNB OS1/27/57/55)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Mac Risnidh*

Carnan **Mhic Ruairidh** NB137385

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 40 chains South of the letter U in Uig parish name, and 50 chains S.S.W. of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small arable hillock on which is [a] hut built of peat moss sods, and stones, and thatched with straw, this hill is of a circular form, and has a few rocks scattered over it. Càrnan Mhic Ruairidh signifies Roderick's Son's Pile or Cairn.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/78)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Mac Ruairidh*

Mula **Mac Sgiathain** NB024276

Situation: 'On the Eastern margin of the plan, adjoining to, and north of Mealasbhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A steep rocky heathy hill, which forms the north end of Meilasbhal. [ ] is bounded on the north by one of the highest inland cliffs in Lewis, on the west the slope is steep but gradual [ ] easy of ascent. The rocks on [ ] are neither large nor numerous [ ]' (OSNB OS1/27/76/58)

G *mula*? 'a stack' + ?pn *Mac Sgiathain* (?G *sgiath* 'wing' cf. Ir *sgiathán* 'wing' or ?G *sgiath* 'shield'), m.

Geodha **Mhic Sheòrais** NB557377
See 2.1.1

Uamha **Mhic Sheothail** # NB018290

'In the South Eastern section of the plan, 115 chains S.S.E. of Mangursta Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Three shealings in ruins, one of them is built on a small rocky knoll, in which are numerous small caves or crevices, hence the name.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/190)

cf. Cox, 2002, p. 239 *Cnoc Sheothal* 'On Name Perhaps In *-Hóll*'

G *uamh* 'a cave(rn)' + ?G beag 'little, small' + ?ON **Seothal*

Geodha Andra **Mhic Sheumais** NB559379

Situation: 'In the northern part of Portnan Giuran farm.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky creek on the sea shore near Geodh Leag [Eisg] and in the farm of Portnaguran.' (OSNB OS1/27/55/12)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + en **Andra Mhic Sheumais* < G ?*andra* + pn *Mac Sheumais*

Allt **Mhic An t-Slinnteir** # NB151366

Situation: 'In the Northern side of the plan, 27 chains North of the letter U. In Uig parish name, and 45 chains W. By S. Of Breacleit Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'The Southern end of Allt Loch an Fheoir, which runs out of Loch an Fheoir, into Tòb Ceannhulagatob, but receives its name at the end of the fence which divides Cnoc Mor Eanhul, from Drommean Beaga. This stream is small but tolerably rapid and has for the most part a gravel bed.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/59)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + ?pn *Mac an t-Slinnteir*

Garadh **Mhic Shomhairle** NB227266

Situation: 'In the South Eastern section of the plan, 66 chains South of the letter G, in Uig parish name, and 230 chains S.E. of Griosamol.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small, low, hill, of rocky heathy pasture, and which is nearly surrounded by fresh water lochs. "Garadh Mhic Shomhairl" Signifies Samuel's Son's Dyke or Fence' (OSNB OS1/27/84/74)

G *gàradh* 'a garden, a wall, a dyke, a mound' + pn *Mac Shomhairle*

Àird Dubh **Mhic Shomhairle Bhain** NB094262

See 2.1.1

Feadan **Mhic Smail** NB995206

Situation: 'Rises on the north western side of Cleiteachan an Tairbh and flows west into the sea at 90 chains S.W. of Griomabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream which flows from Chleit na Cloiche Iomhair into the sea at Drolla Geodha, A portion of it runs underground.' (OSNB OS1/27/95/74)

G *feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' + ?pn *Mac Smail*

Carnain **Mhic Snaig** NB004280

Situation: 'In the northern side of the plan, 80 chains N.W. of Mealasbhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy Knoll, in the moss, on the summit of which is a small pile of stones from which it derives its name.' (OSNB OS1/27/76/56)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + ?pn *Mac Snaig*

Talamh **Mhic Thèoil** NB140391

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 16 chains S.E. by E. of the letter U in Uig parish name and 15 chains S by W of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A slope of hill consisting of rocky arable, and rocky heathy pasture. (OSNB OS1/27/41/165)

G *talamh* 'earth' + ?pn *Mac Thèoil* (?G *teothachd* 'temperature'), m.

Cnoc **Mhic Thomais** NB222417

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Cam Allt at the South Western base of Sithean Mor.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy rocky heathy hill. Cnoc Mhic Thòmais Signifies Thomas Son's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/91)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Mac Thomais*

Cnoc **Mhic Thomas** NB252381

Situation: 'At the Southern side of Lacsabhat between Corra Chnoc and Druim Mor a Lacsabhat.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky knoll, on which there are a few shealings, and over which falls the boundary between Lochs and Uig. "Cnoc Mhic Thomais" signifies Thomas' Son's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/39)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Mac Thomais*

Àirigh **Mhic Thorcaill** NB048288

Situation: 'On the northern side of the plan, 130 chains N. of Taithabhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Two shealings, in a patch of arable land, they are built of stone and are in a ruinous state. Signifies Torquil's Son's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/77/11)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Mac Thorcaill*

Buaile **Mhic Thorcaill** # NB150383

Situation: 'In the South Eastern section of the plan, 54 chains S.S.E. of the letter I. in Uig parish name and 70 chains S.E. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small round hill, of rocky heathy pasture, which is tolerably good for sheep and cattle. Buaile Mhic Thorcaill signifies Torquil's Son's Fold or Park.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/38)

G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Mac Thorcaill*

Eilean **Mhic Thormaid** NB411205

Situation: 'In Camus Thormaid, at the western entrance to Tob Aird Fhalasgair near the Eastern base of Sobhall.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small island between high and low water mark. "Eilean Mhic Thormaid" Signifies Norman's Son's Island' (OSNB OS1/27/94/72)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *Mac Thormaid*

Eilean **Mhic Thormaid** NB420206

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Loch Erisort, between Eilean Rosaidh and Eilean Thorraidh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small island, covered with rocky heathy pasture. Eilean Mhic Thórmaid Signifies Norman's Son's Island' (OSNB OS1/27/94/89)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *Mac Thormaid*

Buaile **Mhaighstir Iomhair** NB154359

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 12 chains S.E. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 60 chains S.W. by S. of Breacleit village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small low rocky heathy hill, on which there is a Trigt Station. The rocks on it are small and not very numerous. "Buaile Mhaighstir Iomhair" signifies [*sic*] Mr. Evander's Park.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/67)

G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Maighstir Iomhar*, m.

Clach **Mairead** NB185419

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Loch Charlobhaidh, at the base of Molanish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A portion of rocky shore Clach Màirad Signifies Margaret's Stone.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/106)

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + pn *Maighread* (Margaret), f.

Bruach **Mairi** / **Mary** Bank (OS VectorMap) NB409338

See 2.1.2

Cnoc **Mairi** / **Mary** Hill (OS VectorMap) NB406341

See 2.1.2

Geodha **Mairi** HW816324

Situation: 'On the sea shore at the eastern side of Rona Island.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small creek or indentation in the Eastern coast of Rona Signifies Mary's Creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/136/21)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Màiri* (Mary), f.

Cnoc **Màiridh** # NB386246

Situation: 'On the northern bank of Loch Luirboist north of Crossbost Free Church, and South of Eastapar.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy hill. "Cnoc Màiridh" Signifies Mary Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/93/21)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Màiri* (Mary)

Loch Sgal **Mannus** NB135397

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan, 16 chains N.W. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 40 chains W.N.W. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch out of which runs Allt Loch Sgall Manas. This loch is situated on the summit of a hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/159)

G *loch* 'a loch' + G ?*sgal* 'echo' (*GPNC*, p. 173) + ?pn *Mannus* (?pn Magnus), m.

Cnoc **Mhuldonaich** # NB298205

Situation: 'Within 2 chains of the northern bank of Loch Erisort in the Easterm part of Balallan Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill in the village of Balallan Cnoc Mhuldonaich Signifies Ludovicks Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/106/28)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Maoldònuich* (Ludovick)

Àirigh **Mhaoldònuich** NB177346

Situation: 'In the South Eastern corner of the plan, 72 chains S.E. by S. of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 130 chains S.E. of Breacleit Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy mossy, and arable hill, on which is a Trigt. Station, but no shealing. "Airidh Mhaoldonuich" signifies Ludovick's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/43/108)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Maoldònuich* (Ludovick), m.

Tigh **Mhaoldònuich** # HW620305

See 2.1.1

Carn a' **Mharc** (Chambered Cairn) NB473438

See 2.1.1

Beinn **Mhartain** NB354246

Situation: 'Lies West of Creag Mhoir, South East of Loch Shubhall and South of Loch nam Bronn.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A tolerably large flat and low hill and composed of moss & Rocks and at whose Western base lies Loch an Inghean.' (OSNB OS1/27/92/31)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + *Martainn* (Martin), m.

Geodha **Mhàrtainn** NA981260

Situation: 'On the Sea Shore in the N.W. section of the plan, 25 chains N.W. of Breidhnis village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'This is a small round creek on the sea shore, which is composed at low water mark of stratified rock and boulders the shore here is low and level, Signifies Martin's Creek' (OSNB OS1/27/78/10)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Martainn* (Martin), m.

Gearraidh **Mhartin** [crossed out]

Descriptive remarks: 'This is a small low flat portion of moor composed of rocky heathy pasture of very good quality,' (OSNB OS1/27/78/16)

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + pn *Martainn* (Martin), m.

St **Mary**'s Chapel (remains of) NG431987 (not on OS1)

See 2.1.2

Cladh **Mhicheil** NB544479

See 2.1.2

St **Moluag**'s Church NB519651

See 2.1.2

Breagh Loch **Mòradh** NB496479

Situation: 'In the Eastern centre of the plan, 110 chains E.S.E. of Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A long narrow pool or loch, having several small islands in it It is about nine chains long and a little more than one wide. Signifies Marion's Pool.' (OSNB OS1/27/23/17)

?G *brèagh* 'beautiful, pleasant' + G *loch* 'a loch' + *Mòrag* (?*Mòradh*) (Marion)

Cnoc **Mòiraig** NB187346

Situation: 'Adjoining to and North East of Chlaroch at the Northern end of Circabost Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A low flat rocky and arable hill. "Cnoc Moiraig" signifies Little Marion's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/101)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Mòrag*, f.

Tota Maol **Moirag** NB089303

Situation: 'On the western side of the plan, 15 chains S.E. of the letter U in Uig parish name, and 180 chains West of Ungashader.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A large Hill, of rocky heathy pasture, on which is a Trigt. Station,' (OSNB OS1/27/61/46)

G *tobhta* 'a ruin (of a building)' + G *maol* 'bare' + pn *Mòrag*, f.

Airigh **Mhuire** NG431985
See 2.1.2

Cladh **Mhuire**, St Mary's Church NB352516
See 2.1.2

Eilean **Mhuire** NG431985
See 2.1.2

Àirigh **Mhurchaidh** NB000251

Situation: 'On the northern side of the plan, 80 chains W.N.W. of Laibhal a Tuath.'
Descriptive remarks: 'This is a small rocky knoll at the base of Tairebhal, There has been a shealing on it at a remote period of which there is now no trace hence its name, Signifies Murdo's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/78/50)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Allt **Mhurchaidh** NB233316

Situation: 'Flows out of Loch Mhurchaidh towards the south and after a course of half a mile falls into Loch Roag.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream flowing in a southerly direction and emptying itself into [section crossed out] Loch Ceann Thùlabhig. Allt Mhurchaidh Signifies Murdoch's Stream.' (OSNB OS1/27/64/27)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Carnan **Mhurchaidh** NB273485

Situation: 'Adjoining to and South of Aird Mhor Bhragair adjacent to the West end of Bragair a Deas Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill, on which is a Trigt. [Station.] it appears that a pile of stones stood where the Trigt. Station now stands. Carnan Mhurchaidh Signifies Murdochs Stone Heap.' (OSNB OS1/27/1/5/12)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Cnoc a' Deas Àirigh **Mhurchaidh** NB167323

Situation: 'In the north western corner of the plan, 35 chains north of [section crossed out] Loch Fhreunadail.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill. "Cnoc a Deas Airidh Mhurchaidh" Signifies South Hill of Murdo's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/65/11)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + G *deas* 'south' + en **Àirigh Mhurchaidh* < *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Cnoc a' Tuath *Àirigh* Mhurchaidh NB167324

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 25 chains north of [section crossed out] Loch Fhreunadail.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill. "Cnoc a Tuath Airidh Mhurchaidh" Signifies North Hill of Murdo's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/65/14)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + G *tuath* 'north' + en **Àirigh Mhurchaidh* < *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Cnoc **Mhurchaidh** NB241338

Situation: 'About a quarter of a mile East of Cnoc nan Calg and 25 chains North by West of Loch Falasgeir.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill adjacent to Allt Loch a Laogh. Cnoc Mhurchaidh signifies Murdoch's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/64/7)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Laimhrig **Mhurchaidh** NB367092

Situation: 'In the South western side of the plan, 85 chs S.W by W. of Tigh a Gheumpail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A tolerably prominent and bold point of sea-shore, which is low and rocky. Signifies Murdo's Landing Place.' (OSNB OS1/27/125/57)

G *lamraig* 'a harbour, a landing/mooring stage' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Loch **Mhurchaidh** NB216270

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan, 37 chains S.E. of the letter G in Uig parish name, and 240 chains E. by S. of Griosamol.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch, into which flows a small stream out of Caol Loch, and out of which flows another, into Loch na Plaide. "Loch Mhurchaidh" Signifies Murdo's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/84/65)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Loch **Mhurchaidh** NB235330

Situation: 'A quarter of a mile north of the Callernish Road and 6 Chains East of Loch an Fheoir.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A fresh water Loch between Airidh Gradig and Cnoc an Eun Loch Mhurchaidh Signifies Murdoch's Loch' (OSNB OS1/27/64/9)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Rubha **Mhurchaidh** NB486391

Situation: '15 chains West of Geodha Mhor Chul a Rudha and a quarter of a mile South East of Gearraidh nan Geadh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small projection in the shore near Eurrachd. Rudha Mhurchaidh signifies Murdo's Point.' (OSNB OS1/27/39/23)

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Rudha **Mhurchaidh** # NB212313

Situation: 'On the Western bank of Loch Ceann Thulabhig 30 chains South by East of Linshader.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A point of Land of Arable, rocky, heathy pasture Rudha Mhurchaidh Signifies Murdo's Point' (OSNB OS1/27/63/66)

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Sìthean Àirigh **Mhurchaidh** NB461442

Situation: 'On the Western bank of Amhuinn Ghriais 20 chains North by East of Cotan Mòr and (and) 20 chains E by South of Airigh Eàgisgrath.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A number of Shealings.' (OSNB OS1/27/35/20)
'It means Murdoch's Fairy Shealings.' (OSNB OS1/27/35/55)

Druim Airigh Mhurchaidh NB467443

Situation: 'On the Eastern bank of Amhuinn Ghriais between the Streams Allt Loch Ghrinnabhat and Allt an Tartair and South of Blar Loch Ghrinnabhat.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy hill Druim Airidh Mhurchaidh signifies Eminence of Murdo's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/35/29)

G *sìthean* 'a little hill or knoll, a fairy hill, (rarely) a big rounded hill' + en **Àirigh Mhurchaidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en **Airigh Mhurchaidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh* (Murdoch), m.

Gil **Mhurchaidh Dhuinn** NB095316

Situation: 'On the Western side of Aithnebhal, 60 chains N.E. by N of the letter U in Uig parish name, and 170 chains W. by North of Ungashader.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, narrow, but rocky and precipitous glen, its depth is about 30 feet and width 70 links at the top. Gil Mhurchaidh Dhuinn Signifies Brown Haired Murdock's Glen.' (OSNB OS1/27/61/13)

G *gil* 'a gully' + pn *Murchadh Donn*, m.

Leac **Mhurchaidh Mhic Mhurchaidh** NB413109

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the South Eastern section of the plan, 65 chs. S.E. by South of Beinn Bhreac.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A portion of steep rocky shore forming a small but precipitous cliff, a little south of this point the cliff is large but not so steep. Signifies Flat Rock of Murdo the Son of Murdo.' (OSNB OS1/27/124/48)

G *leac* 'a flagstone, a slab, a tile' + pn *Murchadh Mac Mhurchaidh*, m.

Airigh **Mhurchaidh Mhic Thormaid** NB468543

Situation: 'In the north eastern section of the plan, 110 chains N.E. by E. of Beinn Sheunta.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A number of shealings, the greater portion of them are in ruins the remainder are inhabited in the summer season by the people of galson. Signifies Murdo's Norman's son's shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/8/16)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh Mac Mhurchaidh*, m.

Cnoc **Mhurchaidh Mhòir** NB241385

Situation: 'On the North Western margin of Loch Lacsabhat Ard, between Tom a Bheaga and Druim nan Cnamh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, but very rocky hill over which passes the boundary between Lochs and Uig. "Cnoc Mhurchaidh Mhoir" signifies Big Murdochs Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/38)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Murchadh Mòr*, m.

Creag **Mhurchaidh Mhòir** NB183414

Situation: 'On the southern bank of Loch Charlobhaidh adjoining to and East of Geidramer.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A steep and precipitous cliff about 70 feet high. "Creag Mhurchaidh Mhoir" signifies Big Murdoch's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/108)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Murchadh Mòr*, m.

Loch Dubh **Mhurchaidh na Buaidhe** NB464526

Situation: 'On the south eastern margins of the plan, 90 chains E.S.E. of Beinn Sheunta.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A tolerably large fresh water loch out of the Northern end of which flows Ghlobha a Tuath. It is bounded on the Eastern side by Blar nam Faoileag. Signifies Victorious Murdoch's Black Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/8/22)

G *loch* 'a loch' + G *dubh* 'black, dark' + pn *Murchadh na Buaidhe*, m.

Airigh **Mhurchaidh Ruaidh** NB226425

Situation: 'On the Southern side of Amhuinn Heidagul, adjoining to and East of Sithean Mor.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy rocky heathy hill, but on which there is no shealing. "Airidh Mhurchaidh Ruaidh" signifies Red Murdoch's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/87)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Murchadh Ruadh*, m.

Baile **Neacail** # NB048325

Situation: 'In the north western section of the plan, 165 chs. W.N.W. of Suinabhal.''
Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of an old village, attached to which is a portion of good rocky pasture also a little arable land. Signifies Nicol's Park.' (OSNB OS1/27/58/17)

G *baile* 'a town' + pn *Neacal* (Nicholas), m.

Cnoc Buaile **Neacail** NB150397

Situation: 'In the North Eastern section of the plan, 32 chains N.E. by N. of the letter I. in Uig parish name, and 45 chains N.E. by E. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small round rocky heathy hill, it is high, very rocky and produces but little vegetation. Cnoc Buaile Neacail signifies Nicol's Fold's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/264)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en *Buaile Neacail* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Neacal* (Nicholas), m.

Airidh **Nèil** # NB088342

Situation: 'Near the southern side of Loch Mhiabhag, adjacent to and East of Druim na h Uamhe.'

Descriptive remarks: ,A small rocky heathy hill. "Airidh Nèil" Signifies Neils Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/59/12)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Bothan **Neil** NB234455

See 2.1.1

Carn **Neil** NB006255

Situation: 'Eighty chains E. of Breidhnis Village, and 70 chains SW. by S. of Mealasbhal.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, round, low hill, of rocky heathy & mossy pasture, on which there is no carn. Signifies Neil's Cairn.' (OSNB OS1/27/76/94)

G *càrn* 'a cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Eilean **Nèil** NB129294

Situation: 'In Loch Roag two miles South West of the Trigt. Station on Beinn Drobhinish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Island of heathy pasture. Eilean Nèil signifies Neil's Island' (OSNB OS1/27/62/94)

G *eilean* 'an isle, an island' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Mula **Neil** NB338070

Situation: 'On the South Eastern margin of the plan 130 chs. S.S.E. of Budhanais Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'This is the eastern, and chief part of Uisnis, its figure is oval, and its top is considerably elevated above the adjacent hills – the rocks on it are neither so large nor to numerous as on the adjacent hills. It produces excellent moor pasture. Signifies Neil's Hill or Summit' (OSNB OS1/27/122/41)

G *mula*? 'a stack' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Àirigh **Neill** NB242205 (not on OS1)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Creag **Neill** NB419149

Situation: 'On the northern side of and at the entrance to Loch Odhairn, 180 chains East of Grabhir Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A rock between high and low water mark, it is low and shil[ ] and of a dark color. Signifies Neil's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/113/97)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Druim **Neill** NB241204

Situation: 'On the Southern bank of Allt a Bhealaich a quarter of a mile East of Suil na Cloiche.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small round hill of rocky heathy pasture adjacent to Suil na Cloiche. Druim Nàil Signifies Neils Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/103/11)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + pn *Niall* (Neil), m.

Loch **Neill Bhain** NB529554

Situation: 'In the North Western section of the plan, 140 chains West of Cellar Head.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small and very shallow fresh water loch, around which is a portion of rocky heathy pasture on which are a number of shealings. Signifies Fair Haired Neil's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/12/7)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Niall Bàn*, m.

Cnoc **Ni Bheilder** NB090364

Situation: 'On the Western side of the plan, 55 chains S by E of the letter G. in the Uig parish name and 20 chains S.W. of Valtos Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky arable hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/42/72)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + ?pn *Ni Bheilder*, f.

Loch **NicDhòmhnaill** NB491490

Situation: 'On the southern side of the plan 60 chains S.E of Beinn Mheadhonach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch into which runs Feadan Ceamh and out of which flows Feadan Loch Neidhonil. Signifies Donald's Daughter's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/21/22)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Nic Dhòmhnaill*

Cnoc **Ni' Dhomhuill Bhàin** # NB391153

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, at the northern side of Grabhir Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill partly rocky heathy pasture and partly arable, the southern brow of which is abrupt and very rocky. Signifies Hill of Fair-haired Donald's Daughter.' (OSNB OS1/27/113/70)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Ni' Dhòmhnuill Bhàin*

Cnoc **Ni Dhonnachaidh** NB168254

Situation: 'In the north western side of the plan, 75 chains North West of the letter U, in Uig parish name and 250 chains W. by N. of Cireabhal.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small round rocky heathy hill, at the base of which is a shealing built of peat sods and stones, "Cnoc Nì Dhonnchaidh" Signifies Duncan's Cattle [daughter's crossed out] Hill' (OSNB OS1/27/86/44)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Ni' Dhonnchaidh*

Sgorr **Ni Dhonnachaidh** NB392174

Situation: 'On the South Western margin of the plan, 130 chs S.W. by West of Marabhig Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large portion of upland moor composed of several small hills of rocky heathy pasture, there are a number of shealings scattered over it. There is something approaching a small cliff on the northern end of it, from which it has taken its name. Signifies Duncan's Daughter's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/111/45)

G *sgòrr* 'a high pointed hill, a peak' + pn *Ni' Dhonnchaidh*

Creag **Ni Mhurchaidh** NB194305

Situation: 'In the centre of the plan, 30 chains N. by N. of [section crossed out] <u>Loch Smuaisabhal</u>.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low flat rocky heathy hill, on which are two shealings, and a small patch of arable land, "Creag Nì Mhurchaidh" Signifies Rock of Murdo's Cattle' (OSNB OS1/27/65/60)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + G *Nì Mhurchaidh* < G *nì* 'cattle' + *pn Murchadh*

Geodha **Nighean Aigh** NB540458

Situation: 'On the sea shore at the base of Gob Ghirdabiridh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small cave adjacent to Guredibrie.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/81)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + ?pn *Nighean Aigh*

Cnoc Geàrraidh **Nighean Choinnich** NB222348

Situation: 'A few chains E. of the Callernish and Barvas road midway between Loch na Beinne Biga and Loch bharabhat.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill. "Cnoc Gearraidh Nighean Choinnich" signifies Hill of Kenneth's Daughter's Shealings.' (OSNB OS1/27/46/66)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Geàrraidh Nighean Choinnich* < G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + pn *Nighean Choinnich*

Druim Airidh **Nighean Dhomhnuill Bhain** # NB147315

Situation: 'On the South western side of Beinn Drobhinish, a quarter of a mile South East of Loch Drobhinish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A long low hill, of rocky heathy pasture, "Druim Airidh Nighean Dhomhnuill Bhain" Signifies Eminence of Donald Bain's Daughter's Shealing' (OSNB OS1/27/62/52)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en **Airidh Nighean Dhomhnuill Bhain* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Nighean Dhòmhnuill Bhàin*

Creagan **Nighean Dhomhnuill Mhic Iain** NB216419

Situation: 'Fifteen chains from the Eastern bank of Amhuinn Charlobhaidh, adjacent to and South of Loch Airidh a Chreagain.'

Descriptive remarks: 'a small mossy rocky heathy hill. "Creagan Nighean Dhomhnuill Mhic Iain" signifies Rocky Hillock of the Daughter of Donald the son of John.' (OSNB OS1/27/28/88)

G *creagan* 'a little/small rock' + pn *Nighean Dhòmhnuill Mhic Iain*

Cnoc **Nighean Dhonnachaidh** NB134234

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, 50 chains S.E. by E. of Loch Phudharoil.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill on which is a Trigt. Station this hill produces good moor pasture, and has the ruins of a shealing on its southern side, It is bounded on two sides by Allt Loch Phudharoil, Cnoc Nighean Dhonnachaidh Signifies Duncan's Daughter's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/83/107)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + *Nighean Dhonnchaidh*

Geodha **Nighean Iain** NB355535

Situation: 'On the sea shore in the N. Western section of the plan 100 chains N.N.West of Barabhas Uarach Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small narrow creek or indentation of the sea shore. It is commanded by a small steep shelving rocky cliff. The shore adjacent on both sides is very rough. Signifies John's Daughter's Creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/14/16)

G *geodha* 'a creek or cove formed by surrounding rocks' + pn *Nighean Iain*

Airighean Bò **Nighean Mhuirich** NB104224

Situation: 'In the north E. section of the plan, 50 chains S.E. of Beinn a Tuath.'
Descriptive remarks: 'Three shealings with a sm[all] enclosure, which are occupied by the people of Bhunna in the summer season for about six weeks, "Airidh Bò Nighean Mhuirich" Signifies Shealing of Murdo's Daughter's Cow.' (OSNB OS1/27/98/34) [note: this entry also contains some faded, illegible reading in pencil]

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + G *Bò Nighean Mhuirich* ('cow of *Nighean Mhuirich*')

Allt Bò **Nighean Mhuirich** NB119210

Situation: 'It flows from the Eastern base of Beinn a Tuath into Loch Dúbh 130 chains S.E. of the above named hill.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream with which several others unite at Aireachean Bo Nighean Mhuirich, It runs South East into Loch Dúbh. Signifies Stream of Murdo's Daughter's Cow.' (OSNB OS1/27/98/47)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + G *Bò Nighean Mhuirich* ('cow of *Nighean Mhuirich*')

Sìthean Bò **Nighean Mhuirich** NB106218

Situation: 'In the north Eastern section of the plan, 90 chs. S.E. of Beinn a Tuath.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A low round hill of rocky heathy pasture. The rocks on it are small, "Sithean Bò Nighean Mhuirich" Signifies Hillock of Murdo's Daughter's Cow.' (OSNB OS1/27/98/35)

G *sìthean* 'a little hill or knoll, a fairy hill, (rarely) a big rounded hill' + G *Bò Nighean Mhuirich* ('cow of *Nighean Mhuirich*')

Loch **Nighean Shomhairle** NB283451

Situation: 'Midway between Druim Dubh and Cnoc Dubh Airidh Fhionnlaidh and 13 chains East of Loch Athabhat Beag.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch out of which runs Allt Loch Nighean Hoail, into Lochavat Beag. Loch Nighean Shomhairle signifies Samuels Daughters Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/30/17)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Nighean Shomhairle*

Cnoc Àirigh **Nighean Uilleim** NB520304

Situation: 'Near the Sea Coast on the South Western part of Eye 20 chains South of Pabaill Iosal Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small heathy hill at the base of which is Loch an Dun on the west, and is about 20 chains North of Eagle Hill. Cnoc Airidh Nighean Uilleam Signifies the Hill of Williams Daughters Shealing' (OSNB OS1/27/75/17)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Àirigh Nighean Uilleim* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Nighean Uilleim*

Leig Càrn **Nighean Uilleam** # NB557467

Situation: 'On the sea shore at the Southern side of Tolsta Head, 90 chains E.S. of Tolastadh o Dheas Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A prominent point of the coast. About 7 chains West of Eilean a Mhuic. Signifies Rock or Marsh of William's Daughters.' (OSNB OS1/27/24/64)

G *lèig* 'a marshy pool' + en **Càrn Nighean Uilleim* < G *càrn* 'a cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Nighean Uilleim*

Cnoc **O Dòmad** NB261478

Situation: 'Near the Eastern bank of Loch Sheaboist, adjoining to and South of Taobh Siar.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small eminence on which are the ruins of a few huts.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/55)

Cnoc O Dòmod:

the knoll of *Uí Tòmod* (the descendants of **Tòmod*), with gen. pl. of EG *úa óa ó*, eclipsing as in Irish place-names (Joyce 1913, III: 10); and gen. of the man's name **Tòmod* m., from ON *Hámund* acc. M., §7.1(iv). ON *Hámundr* was in use from early times in Iceland (Lind 1915: 480-81); it is also attested in Ireland, in the personal name *Amond mac Duibginn* in *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib* ('the war of the Gaels against the foreigners', Marstrander 1915: 45, 48) and *Pol mc. Amaind* AU 1103 (Mac Airt 1983: 542-43); it may also occur in the Lochgoilhead ogam inscription AMUD (Cox 1999: 85-88). (Cox 2002, p. 238)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *O Dòmod*

Buaile **Phàdruig** # NB129306

Situation: 'In Loch Roag 125 chains W.S.W. of the Trigt. Station on Beinn Drobhinish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Point of arable land "Buaile Phàdruig" Signifies Peter's Park.' (OSNB OS1/27/62/85)

G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Pà(d)raig* (Patrick), m.

Camas **Phadruig** NB322107

See 2.1.21

Sgeir **Phadric** # NB491301

See 2.1.2

Abhainn Uidh **Phàil** NB076203

Situation: 'Flows out of Loch Cro Criosdaig into Loch na Craobhaig, 150 chains S.S.W. of Beinn a Deas.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small river which flows from Loch na Criosdaig into Loch na Craobhaig, Its current is very rapid owing to a kind of declivity down which it runs, Signifies (Mc) Phail's Ford River.' (OSNB OS1/27/98/52)

G *abhainn* 'a river, a stream' + en ?**Aoidh Phàil* < G *aoidh* 'a ford, an isthmus' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Geàrraidh Uidh Phàil NB076208

Situation: 'Twenty chains N. of the Eastern end of Loch na Craobhaig, and 140 chains S.S.W of Beinn a Deas.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Three shealings one of which is occupied by the people of Brenish for about six weeks in the summer season the other two are in ruins Gearraidh Uidh Phail Signifies Shealings of (Mc) Phail's Ford.' (OSNB OS1/27/98/9)

G *geàrraidh* '1 an enclosure, enclosed land 2 pasture(land) 3 building land (for settlements and shielings)' + en ?*Aoidh Phàil* < G *aoidh* 'a ford, an isthmus' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.
Loch Uidh Phàil NB074206

Situation: 'In the south western section of the plan, 140 chains S.S.W. of Beinn a Deas.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small shallow fresh water loch which is nearly dry in summer, and out of which flows Allt Loch Uidh Phail, The name Signifies Loch of (Mc) Phail's Ford.' (OSNB OS1/27/98/51)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en ?*Aoidh Phàil* < G *aoidh* 'a ford, an isthmus' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Àirigh **Fail** [**Phail**] NB219254

Situation: 'On the South Eastern side of the plan, 115 chains South by East of the letter G, in Uig parish name, and 290 chains S.E. of Griosamol.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A number of Shealings in ruins, which were built of peat sods, and stones. Airidh Fail Signifies McPhail's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/84/80)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Allt an Mill **Phail** NB465584

Situation: 'Flows out of Loch Chearsaidh into Amhuinn Ghabhsunn O Thuath, 80 chains E. by S. of North Galson village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, which flows out of Loch Chearasaidh, through Eitaclaid and falls into Amhuinn Ghabhsunn O Thuath.' (OSNB OS1/27/1/48)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en *Meall Phàil* < G *meall* 'a lump, a mound, a round hill, a pile, a heap' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Baile **Phail** NB414168

Situation: 'In the north Eastern section of the plan, 20 chains S. by E. of Calabost Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Two houses built of peat sods and stones and thatched with the usual materials, there is a small portion of arable land and some moor attached to them[,] the latter of which is dry and affords good pasturage for sheep and cattle. Signifies McPhail's Village.' (OSNB OS1/27/113/44)

G *baile* 'a town' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Bodha **Phàil** NB002333

Situation: 'In the north W. section of the plan, 110 chains NN. West of Mangursta Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small, but very dangerous isolated, stratified, low water rock, seen at ordinary tides, and on which there is a continual swell. Signifies McPhail's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/9)

G *bodha* 'a submerged rock' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Feadan **Phàil** NB458454

Situation: 'Issues from Loch nan Leac and runs in an Easterly direction for nearly a mile where it falls into Amhuinn Gress.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A stream which flows out of Loch na Leac, and runs into Amhuinn Gress.' (OSNB OS1/27/35/14)

'Fhaul is a man's surname.' (OSNB OS1/27/35/57)

G *feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Rubha **Phàil** NB007334

Situation: 'In the N.W. section of the plan, 105 chains N. by W. of Mangursta Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A bold, high steep rocky shore, forming a small headland, on the northwest side of Ard Mhor Mhangursta. Signifies McPhail's Point' (OSNB OS1/27/57/10)

G *rubha* 'a promontory, a headland' + pn *Pàl* (Paul), m.

Rubha Tigh **Phàil** NB191345

See 2.1.

Alltan **Pheadair** # NB424260

Situation: 'Runs out of Loch an Druim Dhubh along the western side of Druim Dùbh, into Loch Grimashadar.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A stream, flowing out of Loch Druim Dubh, into Loch Grimashader. "Alltan Pheadair" Signifies Peters Streamlet.' (OSNB OS1/27/93/39)

alltan 'a brook, a little stream, a streamlet' + pn *Peter*

Teampall **Pheadair** (remains of) NB508638

See 2.1.2

Teampull **Pheadair** (remains of) NB379549

See 2.1.2

Cnoc Buaile **Radhail** NB541478

Situation: 'On the northern side of the plan, at the East side of Tolastadh o Dheas Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A very small cultivated hill, on the S.E. side of Allt Loch Osabhat, the side falling towards the stream has the most prominent feature of this hill, having an abrupt [?] the remaining portion being tolerably flat.' (OSNB OS1/27/24/28)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en *Buaile Radhail < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Raghnall* (Ranald), m.

Cnoc Buaile **Raicill** NB205336

Situation: 'On the Eastern bank of Loch Roag, half a mile N.West of Callernish.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/63/30)

Cox (2002, p. 224) 'perhaps with a loan name from the rare ON personal name, *Reikull* m.'

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en *Buaile Raicill < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn ?*Rèiceal*, m.

Loch **Rànail** NB234311

Situation: 'At the head of Loch Roaf where Amhuinn Dhubh empties itself.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small Loch or Pond Loch Raonuill Signifies Ronald's Loch' (OSNB OS/127/64/31)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Raghnall* (Ranald), m.

Beinn **Raodhuill** NB226283

Situation: 'On the north western side of the plan, 71 chains west by north of Loch Cleit Eirmis.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill of rocky heathy and mossy pasture, "Beinn Ràodhuill" Signifies Ronald's Mountain.' (OSNB OS1/27/85/53)

G *beinn* 'a mountain' + pn *Raghnall* (Ranald), m.

Creag **Raonailt** # NB413257

Situation: 'On the northern shore of Loch Grimashadar, 6 chains West of Sgeir na Beiste Duibhe.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A portion of rocks, and Bolders, between high, and low water, mark. "Creag Raonailt" Signifies Rachel's Rock' (OSNB OS1/27/93/31)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Raonailt* (Rachel), f.

Cnoc Àirigh **Raonuill** NB145399

Situation: 'In the Northern centre of the plan, 25 chains N by W. of the letter I in Uig parish name, and 27 chains N.E. by N. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hillock or knoll of rocky heathy pasture, but on which there is no shealing. Cnoc Airidh Raonuill signifies Hill of Ronald's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/150)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en **Àirigh Raonuill* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Raghnall* (Ranald), m.

Loch **Raonull** NB115274

Situation: 'In the western side of the plan 170 chains W. By N. Of Druim nan Caorach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream which runs into Loch an Eilein Coinneach and out of Loch Ruil, Allt Loch Raonuill Signifies Ronald's Loch's Stream,' (OSNB OS1/27/81/81)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Raghnall* (Ranald), m.

Sgeir **Roibin** NB160394

Situation: 'In the Eastern side of the plan, 22 chains E. by N. of the letter G in Uig paridh name, and 90 chains E. of Druim na Monach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A large reef of bold rugged rocks, which are to be seen at high water and are connected with the shore at low water.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/259)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Robin*, m.

Teampull **Rònaidh** (site of) # NB523653
See 2.1.2
Tobha **Rònaigh** HW815322
See 2.1.2
St **Ronan**'s Church (remains of) HW808323
See 2.1.2
Airidh **Ruairidh** # NB209118

Situation: 'On the northern side of Eilean Shithford, 80 chains south of the letter O, in Lochs parish name & 110 chains S.E. of Beinn a Mhuil.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A shealing in ruins. Airidh Ruairidh Signifies Roderick's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/116/33)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Àirigh **Ruairidh** NB096237

Situation: 'In the southern side of the plan, 50 chains S.E. by S. of the letter I in Uig parish name. on the north E. side of Beinn Mheadhonach.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small shealing in ruins, on the margin of Loch Sgannabhat, which has not been occupied for a long time past, Airidh Ruairidh Signifies Roderick's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/82/20)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Airigh **Ruairidh** NB305109

Situation: 'In the north Eastern section of the plan, on the northern bank of Loch Shell.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Three shealings in ruins on a heathy slope and partially surrounded by a patch of green pasture. Signifies Roderick's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/121/12)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Botan **Ruairidh** NB374455

Situation: 'A quarter of a mile South of Tom Liath and the same distance East of Loch Aòraidh.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hillock, on which is a Trigt. Station. Botan Ruairidh signifies Rodericks Pool or Bog.' (OSNB OS1/27/31/25)

G *bothan* 'a bothy' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Cnocan **Ruairidh** NB528501

Unable to find OSNB entry.

G *cnocan* 'a hillock' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Druim Àirigh **Ruairidh** NB266218

Situation: 'Between Lochs Cuthaig and Ibheir and on the Eastern base of Cnoc na Cloiche.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill partly rocky heathy pasture and partly moss. Druim Airidh Ruairidh Signifies the Hill of Roderick's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/90/29)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en **Àirigh Ruairidh* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Loch **Ruairidh** NB128220

Situation: 'In the South Western section of the plan, 90 chains S.S.E. of Loch Phudharoil.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A long, narrow fresh water loch out of which flows Allt Loch Ruairidh, Loch Ruairidh Signifies Roderick's Loch,' (OSNB OS1/27/83/132)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Loch **Ruairidh** NB173110

Situation: 'On Amhuinn Gleann Bheagadail, at the base of Cnoc a Bhuna and on the northern side of Motha Bheagadail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water loch in and out of which runs Amhuinn Bhagadoll [?] Signifies Roderick's Lochs' (OSNB OS1/27/117/8)

G *loch* 'a loch' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Sgeir **Ruairidh** NB424197

Situation: 'In the N.E. section of the plan, 65 chs. E.N.E. of Marabhig Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'An isolated stratified high water rock, which is connected with the shore at low water, It is low but prominent and situated on the south east end of Eilein Thoraidh. Signifies Roderick's rock' (OSNB OS1/27/111/57)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Sròn Gàradh **Ruairidh** NB532448

Situation: 'On the sea coast 17 chains South of Cnoc an Eoin.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small but bold and steep headland on the sea shore. Sron Garadh Ruaridh signifies Nose of Roderick's Dyke.' (OSNB OS1/27/38/84)

G *sròn* 'a nose, a promontory' + en **Gàradh Ruairidh* < G *gàradh* 'a garden, a wall, a dyke, a mound' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Tota **Ruairidh** NB032326

Situation: 'On the Southern bank of Camus Uige, 20 chains N. by E. of Carnis Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small knoll of good pasture. There is no house on it though the name implies there is. Signifies Rodericks Roofless House Walls.' (OSNB OS1/27/57/70)

G *tobhta* 'a ruin (of a building)' + pn *Ruaraidh* (Rory), m.

Tobhta **Ruairidh Dhuibh** NB399118

Situation: 'In the west centre of the plan, 30 chs. W.S.W. of Beinn Bhreac.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A long narrow tract of high moorland, the north and south ends of which are considerably higher and more rugged than the centre, Signifies Black Roderick's Roofless Walls.' (OSNB OS1/27/124/13)

G *tobhta* 'a ruin (of a building)' + pn *Ruaraidh Dubh*, m.

Airidh **Sèibh** NB264383

Situation: 'On Cnoc na Foirean at the Southern end of and on the East side of Loch Airidh Sèibh.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A few shealings, built of stone, and peat sods. "Airidh Sèibh" signifies Calm or Peaceful Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/17)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + ?pn *Sadhbh*, f.

Carnan **Sheoruis** (Cairn) NB255095

Situation: 'On the Eastern margin of the plan on the top of Beinn Mhor.'
Descriptive remarks: 'This name is applied to a pile of stones which was removed & have been rebuilt for a Trig Station Signifies George's Stone heap.' (OSNB OS1/27/118/15)

G *càrnan* 'a small cairn, a heap of stones' + pn *Seòras* (George), m.

Creag **Sgàire** NB194288
See 2.1.1
Loch **Sgàire** NB196288
See 2.1.1
Tom **Sgàire** NB529473

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 50 chains W.S.W of Tolastadh o Dheas Village.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small oval shaped hill on the summit of which is a Trigt Station. It bears a prominent feature in consequence of its commanding prospect of the

surrounding country. Its surface is tolerably even and produces a kind of short fine heath intermixed with coarse grass. Signifies Zachary's Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/24/16)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Sgàire* (Zachary), m.

Airigh **Slaine** NB197402

Situation: 'Between the old and new road from Callernish to Barvas West of Loch Bealach a Scail.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky heathy hill on which are some old shealings.' (OSNB OS1/27/44/66)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Slàin*, f.

Clach **Shomhairl** NB404110

Situation: 'ON the Southern side of the plan, 55 chains S. by W. of Beinn Bhreac.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A large stone nearly in the form of a cone about 12 feet high and about 12 [ ] at the base and on the surface of a small knoll It gives name to a num[ber] of shealings in ruins. Signifies Samuel's Stone.' (OSNB OS1/27/124/46)

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + pn *Somhairle* (Samuel), m.

Feadan **Stibhìnn** NB264408

Situation: 'Flows West out of Loch Dúbh Uishall into Gleann an Igain.'
Descriptive remarks: 'A small stream, flowing out of Loch Dubh Uishall and into Gleann an Igain.' (OSNB OS1/27/29/21)

G *feadan* 'a pipe, a tube, a channel, a runnel' + pn ?*Steafán*

Tota **Shutharlain** NB518629 (OS: does not survive)

Description: 'This is a small house on the road side built of peat moss and stone and thatched with straw it gives name to a rise adjacent and it appears that there has been the ruin of a shealing where the house is situated in the village of Tabost.' (OSNB OS1/27/3/70)

G *tobhta* 'a ruin (of a building)' + pn *Sutharlanach* (Sutherland)

Teampull **Thòmais** (site of) # NB508640

See 2.1.2

Airigh **Torcail** NB429399

Situation: 'Within 10 chains of the Northern margin of Loch Bhreagleit and 13 or 14 chains South of Blar na Beiste.'

Descriptive remarks: 'Two shealings between Gleann na Ceardach and Loch Bhreaglat.' (OSNB OS1/27/37/51)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Torcall* (Torquil), m.

Cnoc **Torcail** NB091368

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 35 chains S by W. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 15 chains W. of Valtos Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small arable hill, which is low with a few rocks scattered over it. "Cnoc Thorcail" signifies Torquil's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/42/62)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Torcall* (Torquil), m.

Cnoc **Torcail** NB140381

Situation: 'In the Western side of the plan 65 chains S.S.E. of the letter U. in Uig parish name, and 65 chains S. of Druim na Monach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small round rocky hillock or knoll in the village of Tobson. It is low and has some arable land at its base. Cnoc Thorcaill signifies Torquil's Hill.' (OSNB OS1/27/41/95)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Torcall* (Torquil), m.

Sgeir **Thorcuil** # (crossed out)

Descriptive remarks: 'A large low flat rock between high and low water mark on the shore of Rudha Sgeir Thorcuil' (OSNB OS1/27/95/93)

G *sgeir* 'a semi-submerged rock, a skerry' + pn *Torcall* (Torquil), m.

Airidh **Thormaid** # NB285137

Situation: 'In the north Eastern section of the plan, on the western margin of Loch Airidh Thormaid.'

Descriptive remarks: 'The ruins of three shealings, on the margin of Loch Airidh Thormaid. There is but a small portion of the walls now standing. Signifies Norman's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/119/21)

G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Tormod* (Norman), m.

Camas **Thormaid** NB408205

Situation: 'Between Meall na Monach, Cnoc Dubh & Sobhall 6 chains East of Loch Chromoir.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A large bay on a [?] of the sea. "Camus Thormaid" Signifies Norman's Bay.' (OSNB OS1/27/94/69)

G *camas* 'a wide bay' + pn *Tormod* (Norman), m.

Clach **Thormaid** NB212446

Situation: 'Adjoining to and South of Beinn Bheag, a few chains West of Beinn Dhaile Mora.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A rocky heathy hill. It is steep and has a bold appearance towards the West side. "Clach Thormaid" signifies Norman's Stone.' (OSNB OS1/27/26/76)

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + pn *Tormod* (Norman), m.

Cnoc Bealach Buaile **Thormaid** NB087371 (OS: now Cnoc Bealach NB086370)

Situation: 'On the Western side of the plan 17 chains South of the letter U in Uig parish name, and 25 chains W. by N. of Valtos Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill on the sea shore. "Cnoc Bealach Buaile Thormaid" signifies Hill of Norman Park's Valley.' (OSNB OS1/27/42/63)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + en *Bealach Buaile Thormaid* < G *bealach* 'a (mountain) pass' + en *Buaile Thormaid* < G *buaile* 'an enclosure, a (cattle-)fold, a pen, a circle, a ring, uncrofted land' + pn *Tormad* (Norman), m.

Cnoc **Thormaid Lagaich** NB163257

Situation: 'In the South Eastern corner of the plan, 90 chains S.E. by E. of Druim nan Caorach.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A very small round rocky heathy hill, on which is a Trigt. Station, "Cnoc Thormaid Laghach" Signifies Kind or Decent Norman's Hill, A portion of this hill falls on plans 31A and C which is requested to be indented there on, together with their documents if not already done.' (OSNB OS1/27/81/35)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Tormad Laghach*, m.

Loch Àirigh **Thormaid Lagaich** NB164258

Situation: 'In the south western corner of the plan, 160 chains South by West of Griosamol.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small fresh water Loch into which runs Allt Loch Airidh Thormaid Leaghach, "Loch Airidh Thormaid Laghaich" Signifies Good-natured Norman's Shealing's Loch.' (OSNB OS1/27/84/12)

G *loch* 'a loch' + en **Àirigh Thormaid Lagaich* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Tormod Laghach*, m.

Creig **Thormaid Mhòr** NB087378

Situation: 'ON the North Westerm side of the plan, 13 chains North West of the letter U. in the Uig parish name, and 50 chains N.W. of Valtos Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A round bold point of shore, which is surrounded by a cliff. "Creag Thormaid Mhoir" signifies Big Norman's Rock.' (OSNB OS1/27/42/108)

G *creag* 'a rock, a cliff' + pn *Tormad Mòr*, m.

Creagan **Thormaid Shronaich** NB238471

Situation: 'Between Druim Bhrataige and Braigh na Beiride, half a mile West of Sheabost a Deas village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rocky hill. Creagan Thormaid Shrònaich signifies Nosey Norman's Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/13/37)

G *creagan* 'a little/small rock' + pn *Tormad Sronach*, m.

Allt Port **Uilleam** NB346101

Situation: 'Flows north and falls into Loch Shell 70 chains E. by N. of Budhanais Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small but rapid stream which flows from the moor into Loch Sealg. Signifies Stream of William's Creek.' (OSNB OS1/27/122/16)

G *allt* 'a brook, a burn, a stream' + en *Port Uilleam* < G *port* 'a port, a dock' + pn *Uilleam* (William), m.

Both **Uilleam** NB247401

Situation: 'Adjoining to and between Cliarach, and Taca nan Glean on the Eastern bank of Loch Shanndabhat.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A flat portion of moss, in which are a number of rocky hillocks, and a few shealings. Bóth Uilleam signifies William's Bothy or Hut.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/27)

G *both* 'a cottage' + pn *Uilleam* (William), m.

Clach **Uilleim** NB405148

Situation: 'On the northern shore of Loch Odhairn, 70 chs. E. by S. of Grabhir Village.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small rock, seen only at low water, on the northern shore of Loch Odhairn. Signifies William's Stone.' (OSNB OS1/27/113/86)

G *clach* 'a rock, a stone' + pn *Uilleam* (William), m.

Druim Àirigh **Uilleim** NB262394

Situation: 'Adjoining to and East of Seathad na Cloiche Gile, also adjoining to and North of Druim Mòr.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A low flat mossy hill. "Druim Airidh Uilleam" signifies The Eminence oef William's Shealing.' (OSNB OS1/27/45/11)

G *druim* 'a back, a ridge' + en *Airidh Dhomhnuill* < G *àirigh* 'a shieling' + pn *Uilleam* (William), m.

Tom **Uilleam** NB423391

Situation: 'On the Northern base of Cnoc Mille Tho a ¼ of a mile South West of Loch Breigleit.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small mossy hill adjacent to Cnoc Meela hoe and on it are two shealings. Tom Uilleam signifies William's Hillock.' (OSNB OS1/27/37/43)

G *tom* 'a hillock, a knoll, a mound' + pn *Uilleam* (William), m.

Cnoc **Uilleam Chubair** NB408359

Situation: 'Midway between Grinnabhat and Beinn na Drobh 1 miles north west of Stornoway.'

Descriptive remarks: 'A small hill partly composed of rocky heathy pasture and partly moss. Cnoc Uilleam Chùbair signifies the Hill of William Cooper.' (OSNB OS1/27/54/25)

G *cnoc* 'a hill, a small hill, a hillock, a knoll' + pn *Uilleam Cùbar*, m.

Appendix 2 Unlikely and rejected Norse toponyms

Airinish NB424304 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Aernish*

1750 Dorret *Arnish*

1789 Ainslie *Arnish*

1794 Huddart *Arnish*

1804 Heather *Arnish (Pt)*

1807 Arrowsmith *Arnish*

1821 Johnson *Arnish*

1832 Thomson *(Moor of) Arnish*

OS1 *Airnish*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Arnish P.t*

Previous discussions

'*Arnish*, eagle-ness' (Watson 1904, 270)

'Arinish, better written Arnish, has its counterpart in Skye (Arnish); as also Arnisort (where ort=fjördhr), occurring again in Iceland as Arnarnes, Arnanes; from Orn, a proper name meaning eagle, the feminine of which is Orna.' (MacBain 1922, 102)

Etymology

ON *ǫrn,* m., g.pl. 'an eagle' (b.) or pn *Ǫrn*, m. (d.) or pn *Árni*, m. (d.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

cf. **Airnistean** for the specific element.

Airnistean NB489625 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Airnistean*

Previous discussions

Arnish 'eagle-ness' (Watson 1904, 270)

Airnistean 'perhaps from ON *Arn-stein* acc. "eagle-*steinn*" or *Arnastein* "the *steinn* of the eagles", with stem or gen. pl. of *ǫrn* m. "eagle"' (Cox 2006, 22)

Comparative material

pn *Ǫrn*: m. -ar; pn: Árni, m. g. -a, -e. Examples: *Arnarstadir, Arnarholt, Arnardalr, Arnarholmr*, and *Arnarnes*. Lind also states that there are several instances of *Arnarnes*, but that it is uncertain whether they belong to the category of pn or appellatives. (*NID*)

> 'On Iceland there occurs, except for the already mentioned, a number of place-names beginning with **Arnar**-, of which a majority should be formed by the appellative *ǫrn*'[167] (*NID*)

Arnestad 'Arnastaðir or Arnarstaðir from one of the masculine names Arne or Ørn.' (*NG* vol.2 p. 10)[169]

örn, m., g. *arnar*. 'an eagle' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

Although this place-name would appear to reflect an earlier *Arnastein*, as proposed by Cox, it is not certain whether this should be viewed as a representation of an appellative or a pn. The pn can be found in place-names, as evidenced by examples provided by *NID* and *NG*. However, Lind (*NID*) does bring attention to the fact that several instances or *Arnar-* on Iceland may in fact represent the animal. In terms of the topographical location, considering its prominent location on the coast, it seems very possible that the name refers to a spot frequented by eagles. Additionally, as discussed previously, both the White-tailed and Golden Eagles were relatively common in Lewis until at least the nineteenth century (Evans, O'Toole & Whitfield 2012, 341).

Etymology

ON *ǫrn,* m., g.pl. 'an eagle' (c.) or pn *Ǫrn*, m. (d.) or pn *Árni*, m. (d.) + ON *steinn* 'a stone' (a.)

Calabost NB414173 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Calbost*

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[167] 'På Island förekommer, utom de redan nämda, en hel del med **Arnar**- begynnande ortnamn, av vilka dock flertalet torde vara bildade av appell. *ǫrn*.'
[169] 'Arnastaðir eller Arnarstaðir af et af Mandsnavnene Arne eller Ørn.'

Previous discussions

It may be the noun kalfr 'calf' in the gen. pl…There is also a badly attested name or surname *Kalfi*, gen. *Kalfa*…Further, [kaʟàbɔst] may have developed from ON *Kaldbólstaðr* 'cold farm'…*Kolbólstaðr* 'coal farm' is another possibility…Finally, we cannot exclude the possibility that [kaʟàbɔst] contains a personal name in *Kol-*, preferably one in which the consonant next to *l* would require a svarabhakti vowel and whose genitive does not end in *s*, a consonant which is not readily dropped. *Kolbjarnarbólstaðr* would fulfil the requirements. (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 50)

The specific is probably ON *kaldr*, adj., 'cold' […] Watson also suggests ON personal name *Kali*, m. (cf. Lind 1905-15, cols 673-4), probably with an eye on the Gaelic pronunciation of the name [ˈkaḷɑbɔst] (Duncan c. 1930). However, the present medial vowel is most likely only a svarabhakti vowel and not an original morphological consistuent. (Gammeltoft 2001a, 106)

Comparative material

pn *Kolbiǫrn*: m., g. -ar (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Kali*, m. (d.) or pn *Kalfi*, m. (d.) or pn *Kolbiǫrn*, m. (d.) or ON *kaldr* 'cold' (b.) or ON *kálfr*, m. 'a calf' (c.) or ON *kol*, n., 'coals, charcoal' (d.) + ON *bólstaðr*, m. 'a farm' (a.)

Loch **Chalastaigh** NB407137 (Unlikely)

Etymology

pn *Kali*, m. (d.) or pn *Kalfi*, m. (d.) or pn *Kolbiǫrn*, m. (d.) or ON *kaldr* 'cold' (b.) or ON *kálfr*, m. 'a calf' (c.) or ON *kol*, n. 'coals, charcoal' (d.) + ON *staðir*, m. 'a stead, a place, an abode'(a.)

cf. **Calabost** for the specific element.

Carnis NB030323 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1776 MacKenzie *Cainish*

1789 Ainslie *Cainish*

1794 Huddart *Cainish*

1804 Heather *Canish*

1807 Arrowsmith *Carnish*

1821 Johnson *Carnish*

1832 Thomson *Carnish*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Carnis*

pn *Kárr*: m., g. -s. (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Kárr*, m. (d.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

Cealasaidh NB144419 (Rejected)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu *Kellasa*

1726 Moll *Kellasa I.*

1864 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Kalasay*

Cealasaidh: 'MacKenzie (1932: 273) suggests "Kellin's island" with an unattested persn. MacAulay (1972: 333) tentatively suggests ON hjalls-oy, i.e. *Hiallsøy*, with gen.sg. of *hiallr* m. […] with MacAulay I favour an original ON element here, although we should be careful not to overlook the possibility of Norse creations containing Celtic lww.' (Cox 1987b, 60)

Etymology

pn *Kellin*, m. (e.) + ON *ey*, f. 'an island' (a.)

Cleascro NB330285 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Cliasgro*

Etymology

pn *Klóíngr*, m. (d.) or ON *kleif*, n. 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (b.) + ON *gróf* f. 'a stream' (a.)

cf. **Feadan Cliasgro** for the specific element.

Airighean Druim **Cliasbrock** NB258457 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Aireachean Druim Chliasbroc*

Previous discussions

Cliasproc: 'A ln. fr. ON **Kleifsbrokku* '*the* slope (of the slope with a track running up it)' with gen.sg. of **kleif* nt. (see No. 130) and obl. case of '*brokka* f., var. of *brekka* f. 'slope (especially one between a lower and higher plain)'. (Cox 1987b, 70)

Etymology

pn *Klóingr*, m. (d.) or ON *kleif*, n. 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (b.) + ON *brekka* 'a slope' (a.)

cf. **Feadan Cliasgro** for the specific element.

Ben **Cliasgro** NB195427 (Unlikely)

Related features: *Druim Chliasgro* # NB193426

Early forms

OS1 *Beinn Chliasgro*

Etymology

pn *Klóingr*, m. (d.) or ON *kleif*, n. 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (b.) + ON *gróf* f. 'a stream' (a.)

cf. **Feadan Cliasgro** for the specific element.

Feadan **Cliasgro** NB501597 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Feadan Chliasgro*

Previous discussions

Clisgro 'klifs-gro, stream of the cliff' (Watson 1976 [1904], 268)

Cliasgro 'it is not improbable that it is *Klæ(i)ngr* or *Klø(i)ngr,* a man's name.' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 51)

Allt Chliasgro 'The identity of the element is probably ON **kleif* nt., gen. **kleifs*; cf. ON *kleif* f. 'steep hillside, usually with track or path'. (Cox 1987b, 130)

Cliasgro 'from an Old Norse name in final -*gróf* f. 'stream' (ON *Kleifsgróf* 'the stream of the hill-path', Cox 1992: 143; ?ON *Klæ(i)ngsgróf* or *Klé(i)ngsgróf* '*Klé(i)ngr*'s stream', Oftedal, ibid. [405]). (Cox 2002, 213)

Feadan Chliasgro 'from ON *Kleifsgróf* 'the stream of the slope', with gen. sg. of **kleif* nt., rather than the attested *kleif* f.' (Cox 2006, 18)

Comparative material

pn *Klóingr*: m. g. -s. (*NID*)

Discussion

The element *kleif* is commonly attested in Norwegian place-names such as *Kleiverud, Kleven* and *Kleiveland* (*NG* vol.7, pp. 221, 336; vol.11, p. 295). However, this is somewhat problematic since f. *kleif* would be expected to yield *kleifar-* in the g. sg. or *kleifa-* in the g.pl. The personal name *Klóingr*, as listed in *NID*, is a possibility but an interpretation with ON *kleif* seems more likely here. This is strengthened by the fact that five of six entries are formed with the same generic element, ON *gróf*, making it highly likely that the formation reflects the physical characteristics of the site in question. Looking at the vicinity of **Cliasgro*, it consists of peat moss interlaced with a number of minor streams and rivulets, none of which could obviously represent ON *kleif*. However, considering the frequency of streams found attached to this element, it seems likely that it does represent some feature of the topography in question.

Etymology

pn *Klóingr*, m. (d.) or ON *kleif*, n. 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (b.) + ON *gróf* f. 'stream'[170] (a.)

Allt **Chliscro** NB417326 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Allt Chliscro*

Etymology

pn *Klóingr*, m. (d.) or ON *kleif*, n. 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (b.) + ON *gróf* f. 'stream' (a.)

cf. *Feadan Cliasgro* for the specific element.

Allt Gleann **Clisgro** NB398258 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Allt Gleann Chlisgro*

Etymology

pn *Klóingr*, m. (d.) or ON *kleif*, n. 'a ridge of cliffs or shelves in a mountain side' (b.) + ON *gróf* f. 'a stream' (a.)

cf. *Feadan Cliasgro* for the specific element.

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[170] In Cl.-Vig. 'a pit' but in the sense here 'a stream' as defined by Cox (2002, 146).

Earshader NB163339 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Earshader*

1832 Thomson *Earshader*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Earshader*

Previous discussions

Iodharsadar (Iarsadar) 'very possibly *Eiðøyjarsǽtr* 'the dwelling of the *eið*-promontory'
with stem-form of *eið* nt. (or fem.) and gen.sg. of *øy* f.' (Cox 1990, 101)

Earshader:

> is possibly *Ævarsetr* "Ævarr's farm', from *Ævarr*, a man's name…as far as I
> can see, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that *Ærvík*, as well as
> many other names compounded with *Ær*, contains the element *ær*, gen. of *ær*
> f. 'female sheep' […] [it is] best explained as a cognomen, which may have
> applied to a man as well as to a woman. (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 46)

Etymology

pn *Ævarr*, m. (d.) or pn? *Ær*, m. or f.? (d.) or ON *eið*, n. (or f.) 'an isthmus, a neck of
land' + *øy* f. (c.) + ON *setr*, n. 'a seat, a residence, mountain pastures, dairy lands' (a.)

Garrabost NB511331 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1776 MacKenzie *Garbust*

1804 Heather *Garbust*

1807 Arrowsmith *Garbust*

1821 Johnson *Garrabost*

1832 Thomson *Garrabost*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Garrabost*

Previous discussions

Garrabost 'is ON *Garðabólstaðr*, containing the gen. pl. of *garðr* m. 'fence; enclosure
farmyard; farm'…*Garða* might also be taken as gen. of the man's name *Garði*, but this
is less likely, because the name is very rare in place names.' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 41)

'*Garrabost* for Geira-bólstaðr, comes most probably from geiri, a goar or triangular strip
of land.' (Watson 1976 [1904], 264)

'probably a reflex of ON *garðr*, m., "a farm, an enclosure" (cf. Forbes 1923, p. 195; Oftedal 1954, p. 396) [...] Capt. Thomas (1876, pp. 479-80) interpreted the specific as the ON personal name *Geirr*, m. (cf. Lind [*NID*] 1905-15, cols 317-9), but this is also unlikely because there is no vestige of a genitive marker (*-s*).' (Gammeltoft 2001a, 117)

Comparative material

pn *Geirr*: m., g. -s; *Garði*, m., g. -a (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Garði*, m. (d.) or pn *Geirr*, m. (e.) or ON *garðr*, m. 'a farm, an enclosure' (b.) + ON *bólstaðr*, m. 'a farm' (a.)

Liurbost NB371257 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1654 Blaeu cf. *Keanleurvay* and *Loch Keandleuroy*

1776 MacKenzie *Leurbust*

1789 Ainslie *Leurbust*

1794 Huddart *Leurbust*

1804 Heather *Leurbust*

1807 Arrowsmith *Leurbust*

1821 Johnson *Luirbost*

1832 Thomson *Luirbost*

OS1 *Luirbost*

Previous discussions

Leurbost:

> One might guess at *Ljúfarbólstaðr*, from **Ljúf*, a woman's name (meaning 'friendly, agreeable'), but this is improbable because the name *Ljúf* is not found in the old literature and because *Ljúfarbólstaðr* would more probably have yielded G **[Ĺu(:)ərbɔst]*, without loss of the second syllable. There is, however, a woman's name *Ljúfa* (weak declension), found in the *LNB.*, and an assembly place in Vågå, Norway, is called a *Liufærwange* in a document from 1336 (NG IV. 96). The latter name is unexplained. Another conjecture is *Lygrubólstaðr*, which might conceivably have resulted in the modern form, although the expected result is rather **[Ĺu:rəbɔst]* or *[Ĺi:rəbɔst]*. This name would contain the surname *Lygra* ('fair'?). (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 44-5)

Leurbost 'The generic[?] is not ON *leir*, n., 'clay, mud' (cf. Capt. Thomas 1876, p. 479) [...] Oftedal goes on to suggest a number of derivations, but none is satisfactory - as

Oftedal himself is aware [...] The origin of the specific is not determinable and must, therefore, remain open.' (Gammeltoft 2001a, 133)

Etymology

pn *Ljúf*, f. (d.) or pn *Ljúfa*, f. (d.) or pn *Lygra*, f.(?) (d.) + ON *bólstaðr*, m. 'a farm' (a.)

Mangarstadh NB010313 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1776 MacKenzie *Mangastay*

1789 Ainslie *Mangastay*

1794 Huddart *Mangastay*

1804 Heather *Mangastay*

1807 Arrowsmith *Mangastay*

1821 Johnson *Mangersta*

1832 Thomson *Mangersta*

OS1 *Mangursta*

1849 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Mhangursta (Sand)*

Previous discussions

'*Mangarsta*, múnka-staðr, Monks' stead' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Mangersta:

> ON *Mangarastaðir* 'peddler's farm', from *mangari* m. 'peddler', is satisfactory from the phonetic point of view, but I have not found *mangari* in any other place names. It is not, however, very rare that a farm is named after the occupation of its possessor […] may also be imagined to be from ON *Magnúsarstaðir*, containing the personal name *Magnús*. (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 32-3)

Comparative material

pn *Magnús*: m., g. -ar. (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Magnús*, m. (d.) or ON *mangari*, m. 'peddler' (c.) or ON *múnkr*, m. 'a monk, friar' (e.) + ON *staðir* 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

Orasaigh/Orinsay NB363121 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Ormsay*

OS1 *Oròsaigh*

Comparative material

pn *Ormr*: m. g. -s. (*NID*)

Discussion

The only indication that this place-name might contain the pn Ormr or ON *ormr* 'snake, serpent' is the spelling provided by Johnson '*Ormsay*'. This is however a very tentative interpretation. Considering the lack of snakes in the Outer Hebrides, if the form *Ormsay* is correct, the interpretation of the specific as containing the pn appears more likely.

Etymology

pn *Ormr*, m. (d.) or ON *ormr*, m. 'snake, serpent' (e.) + ON *ey*, f. 'island' (a.)

Scaladale NB191104 (Unlikely)

Early forms

1776 MacKenzie *Skeladale*

1789 Ainslie *Skeladale*

1794 Huddart *Skeladale*

1804 Heather *Skeladale*

1807 Arrowsmith *Skeladale*

1821 Johnson *Scalladale more, Scalladale beg*

1832 Thomson *Scalladale beg*

OS1 (*Glen*) *Scaladale*

Comparative material

pn *Skalli*: m. (mythological) g. -a. 'Partly formed by the by-name are without a doubt the not so few Norwegian and Icelandic place-names beginning with **Skalla**-.'[171] (also as a by-name). (*NID*)

ON *skáli*, m. 'a hut, shed, put up for temporary use; this is the earliest Norse sense, and it is still so used in Norway […] a hall'. Found in place-names such as Skála-holt. (Cl.-Vig.)

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[171] 'Delvis bildande av binamnet äro utan tvivel de icke så få med **Skalla**- begynnande norska och isl. Ortnamnen.'

Etymology

pn *Skalli*, m. (d.) or ON *skáli,* m. 'a hut, a shed' (c.) or ON adj. *skalli*, m. 'bald' (c.) +

ON *dalr*, m. 'a dale' (a.)

Scarrasdale Uarach NB500497 (Rejected)

Related features: *Loch Sgarasdail* NB502497

Early forms

OS1 *Scarrasdal Uarach*

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. g.sg. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON *skarfr*, m. g.pl. 'a young sea-mew' (b.)

or ON *skarð*, n. g.sg. 'a pass, a gap' (b.) + ON *dalr,* m. 'a dale' (a.)

cf. ***Aird Sgarastaigh*** for the specific element.

Sgairbh Sgeir NB253482 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Sgoirbha Sgeir*

Previous discussions

'*Sgarbh-sgeir*, Skarfs-sker, Cormorant skerry' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

Sgairbhisgeir 'A in. fr. ON *Skarf(s)sker* 'skerry of the cormorant' with stem-form or

gen.sg. of *skarfr* m. *phalacrocorax carbo,* and nom./acc. of *sker* nt.' (Cox 1987b, 206)

Sgarbhaisgeir 'from ON *Skarfasker* 'the skerry of the cormorants', with gen.pl. of *skarfr*

m.' (Cox 2006, 21)

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. g.sg. 'a young sea-mew' (d.) or ON *skarfr*, m. g.pl. 'a young sea-mew' (b.)

or ON *skarð*, n. g.sg. 'pass, gap' (d.) or pn *Skári*, m. (d.) + ON *sker*, n. 'a skerry, an

isolated rock in the sea' (a.)

cf. ***Aird Sgarastaigh*** for the specific element.

Sgalabhal NB141197 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Scàllabhal*

Etymology

pn *Skalli*, m. (d.) or ON *skáli,* m. 'a hut, shed' (b.) or ON *skalli*, m. 'bald' (b.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

cf. ***Scaladale*** for the specific element.

Sgaladal NB028216 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Sgàladal*

1862 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Sgaladal*

Etymology

pn *Skalli*, m. (d.) or ON *skáli,* m., 'a hut, shed' (b.) ON *skalli*, m., 'bald' (c.) + ON *dalr* 'a dale', m. (a.)

cf. ***Scaladale*** for the specific element.

Tom **Sgalagro** NB418494 (Unlikely)

Related features: Airighean Sgalagro NB421498, Allt Sgalagro NB426504

Early forms

OS1 *Tom Sgalagro*

Etymology

pn *Skalli*, m. (d.) or ON *skáli,* m., 'a hut, shed' (b.) ON *skalli*, m., 'bald' (c.) + ON *gróf* f. 'stream' (a.)

cf. ***Scaladale*** for the specific element.

Loch **Sgarabhat** Bheag NB358415 (Unlikely)

Early forms

Johnson, 1821 *Lh Scaravat*

Thomson, 1822 *Loch Scaravat, Loch Beg Scaravat*

OS1 *Loch Scárabhat Bheag*

Previous discussions

'*Scaravat*, young sea-mew loch' (Watson 1976 [1904], 272)

'Skára-bhat (Skári's water, see Scarista)' (MacBain 1922, 117)

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. g.sg. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON *skarfr*, m. g.pl. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or pn *Skári*, m. (d.) + ON *vatn*, n. 'water' (a.)

cf. ***Aird Sgarastaigh*** for the specific element.

Sgarastaigh Aird **Sgarastaigh** NB193323 (Unlikely)

Related features: Allt Sgarastaigh NB199322, Beinn Sgarastaigh NB194317, Eilean Sgarastaigh NB194326

Early forms

OS1 *Aird Scárista*

Previous discussions

'*Scàrasta*, Skára-staðr, from skári, a young sea-Mew' (Watson 1976 [1904], 271)

'In Harris we have Scarista, and there is another Scarista in Uig, Lewis, not named in the Rental; these are synonymous with Skára-stadr, in Iceland. Skári (Skorey, in Shetland) is a young gull still in its grey plumage; but it is also a nickname, so that Skára-stadr is not the "stead of a skorey," but the "stead of Skari."' (MacBain 1922, 111)

Comparative material

pn *Skári*: m. g. -a. 'Otherwise as a by-name both in Norway and on Iceland. The bird name *skári* young seagull used as a personal name.' (*NID*)[172]

skarfr, m., 'green cormorant'; 'freq. in local names, **Skarfa-klettr**, **Skarfa-hóll**.' (Cl.-Vig.)

skári, m., 'a young sea-mew'; 'hence a nickname, whence **Skára-staðir**' (Cl.-Vig.)

Discussion

In entries containing *Skár-* it is not obvious whether they are more likely to represent a pn or an animal-name. ON *skára* can be the g.sg. of *skári*, m., 'a young sea-mew', but as stated by Lind (*NID*), Cl.-Vig., and MacBain, this can also represent a nickname.

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. g.sg. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON *skarfr*, m. g.pl. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON *skarð*, n. g.sg. 'pass, gap' (c.) or pn *Skári*, m. (d.) + ON *staðir* 'a stead, a place, an abode' (a.)

Cnoc **Sgealaval** NB180345 (Unlikely)

Related features: Leathad Sgealaval NB175345

Early forms

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[172] 'Annars som binamn både i Norge ock på Island. Fågelnamnet *skári* ungmås använt såsom personnamn.'

OS1 *Cnoc Sgealabhuil*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *Cnoc Sgealabhuil*

Discussion

The spelling here is problematic – does it contain the same element as the *Sgala-* names? Looking at comparative evidence in Cox (1987b, 23), it would appear that the pronunciation in these place-names is likely to be similar: *Allt Sgealasgro* is given as *[ˌɑlt ˈskʼɑʟə ˌskro]*, but it should be noted that he only has one informant for this name.

Etymology

pn *Skalli*, m. (d.) or ON *skáli,* m. 'a hut, a shed' (c.) or ON *skalli*, m. 'bald' (b.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)

cf. **Scaladale** for the specific element.

Mullach **Skarisgeir** NB519441 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Mullach Sgarisgeir*

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. g.sg. 'a young sea-mew' (d.) or ON *skarfr*, m. g.pl. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON skarð, n. g.sg. 'a pass, a gap' (d.) or pn *Skári*, m. (d.) + ON *sker*, n. 'a skerry, an isolated rock in the sea' (a.)

cf. **Aird Sgarastaigh** for the specific element.

Skorashal Beag NB206445 / **Skorashal** Mor NB207445 (Unlikely)

Related features: Loch Skorashal NB207443

Early forms

OS1 *Sgórashal Bheag / Sgórashal Mhor*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland [*L.*] *Sgórashal*

Previous discussions

Sgairdheiseal 'a in. fr. ON *skarðsfiall* 'the mountain of the pass' with gen.sg. of *skarð* nt. 'pass., gap' and nom./acc. of *fiall* nt.' (Cox 1987b, 206-7)

Etymology

ON *skári*, m. g.sg. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON *skarfr*, m. g.pl. 'a young sea-mew' (b.) or ON skarð, n. g.sg. 'pass, gap' (b.) or pn *Skári*, m. (d.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, mountain' (a.)

cf. **Aird Sgarastaigh** for the specific element.

*Steinaclaid NB523602 (OS1) (Unlikely)

Comparative material

pn *Steini*: m. g. -a. Found in place-names such as *Stæina rudh, Stæina bakke, Stæinaby, Stæinaberg, Stenabergh, Steinasætrar*. (*NID*)

Steinaløkken 'From the masculine name Steinar.' (*NG* vol.4, p. 80)[173]

Discussion

Although there is some evidence for the pn Steini being incorporated into toponyms in Scandinavia, considering the generic element ON *klettr* 'a rock, cliff' it is much more likely that we are looking at the common noun ON *steinn* 'a stone' here.

Etymology

pn *Steini*, m. (d.) or ON *steinn*, m. g. pl. 'a stone' (b.) + ON *klettr*, m. 'a rock, cliff' (a.)

Airigh **Steinatotair** NB510437 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Airidh Steinatotair*

Etymology

pn *Steini*, m. (d.) or ON *steinn*, m. g. pl. 'a stone' (b.) + ON *topt*, f.[174] pl. 'a green tuft or knoll, a green, grassy place; a place marked out for a house or building, a toft' (a.)

cf. **Steinaclaid** for the specific element.

Tom **Steinatotair** NB516606 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Tom Steinatotair*

Etymology

pn *Steini*, m. (d.) or ON *steinn*, m. g. pl. 'a stone' (b.) + ON *topt*, f. pl. 'a green tuft or knoll, a green, grassy place; a place marked out for a house or building, a toft' (a.)

cf. **Steinaclaid** for the specific element.

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[173] 'Af Mandsnavnet Steinar.'
[174] Cl.-Vig. does not give the gender, but it is listed as f. in Cox (2002, 364)

Steinis NB449339 (Rejected)

Early forms

1821 Johnson *Stenish*

1832 Thomson *Stenish*

OS1 *Steinish*

1901 Admiralty Charts of Scotland (*Poll*) *Steinish*

Previous discussions

'*Steinish*, stone-point' (Watson 1976 [1904], 269)

Steinish 'if pronounced with a long [*e*:], this name undoubtedly represents ON *Steinanes* "promontory of the stones", both compounded with forms of *steinn* "stone".' (Oftedal 2009 [1954], 39)

Etymology

ON *steinn*, m. g. pl., 'a stone' (b.) + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (a.)

cf. **Steinaclaid** for the specific element.

Steinisbhal NB009212 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Steinisbhal*

Comparative material

pn *Steinn*: m., g. -s (*NID*)

Etymology

pn *Steinn*, m. (d.) or ON *steinn*, m. g.pl. 'a stone' + ON *nes*, n. 'a ness' (b.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, mountain' (a.)

cf. **Steinaclaid** for the specific element.

Loch **Thonagro** NB185402 (Unlikely)

Early forms

OS1 *Loch Thonagro*

1903 Admiralty Charts of Scotland *L. Thonagro*

Previous discussions

Loch Thunnagro 'With a ln. possibly fr. ON *Tunnu/Tunnagróf* "the stream of the barrel(s)" with gen.sg. or pl. of *tunna* f. "barrel" and nom./acc. of *gróf* f. Such a name

could have had an anecdotal origin or be descriptive of the shape of the valley through which the stream runs. *Tunni* was once a rather rare man's name.' (Cox 1987b, 182)

Comparative material

pn *Tunni*: m. g. -a (however, note that this is not frequently attested). (*NID*)

tunna, f. 'a tun, barrel' (Cl.-Vig.)

Etymology

pn *Tunni*, m. (d.) or ON *tunna*, f. 'a tun, a barrel' (b.) + ON *gróf* f. 'a stream' (a.)

Foireabhal Bheag NB226105/**Foireabhal** Mhòr [**Toireabhal**?] NB238101 (Unlikely)

Etymology

pn *Þorri* (d.) or pn *Þori* (d.) or pn *Þóra* (d.) or ON *þorn,* m. 'a thorn' (d.) + ON *fjall*, n. 'a fell, a mountain' (a.)